A history of libraries in Jamaica: 1697-1987

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A HISTORY OF LIBRARIES IN JAMAICA
1697-1987

by

HAZEL E. BENNETT

A Doctoral Thesis
Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy degree, Loughborough University of Technology.

October 1987

Supervisor: Paul Sturges, Ph.D.
Department of Library and Information Studies

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To date the history of Jamaican libraries has not been systematically documented and this study is, therefore, intended to make a contribution to the sparse literature on the subject.

I hope that researchers to follow will treat in depth the several areas requiring more focussed examination. My task here has been to sketch the main features of the history, which, with inexorable logic, demonstrate why library developments have taken the directions they have.

The work could never have materialized without the unfailing help, guidance and encouragement of a host of persons. First and foremost is my husband, Wycliffe Bennett, who, with patient understanding and determination, ensured that I did not let up until the task was completed.

To Prof. Peter Havard-Williams who was my first supervisor and to Dr. Paul Sturges who guided the major part of this work; to the many archivists and librarians at the National Library of Scotland, the University of Edinburgh Theology Library; the School of Oriental and African Studies, the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), Lambeth Palace Library and Sion College Library, the British Libraries Reference Division, London, and other research institutions in the United Kingdom; to the Bienneke Rare Books Library, Yale University, United States;
to the Directors and Librarians at the National Library of Jamaica, the Institute of Jamaica, the University of the West Indies Library (Jamaica campus) and the Jamaica Archives; to the University of Guyana Library; to the Jamaica Library Board and the present Director, Mrs. Sybil Iton and her staff at the Jamaica Library Service; to two former Directors of the Jamaica Library Service, Dr. Joyce Robinson and Miss Leila Thomas, who read the Jamaica Library Service chapter; to Mr. Kenneth Ingram, former Librarian of the University of the West Indies, who read the chapter on the Institute of Jamaica; to Mrs. Sheila Lampart, the Executive Secretary of NACOLADS, who updated me on that organization's progress; to the Department of Library Studies, UWI, which permitted me to undertake extensive research over the years, and gave material support; to all these persons and institutions I owe a debt of gratitude.
The History traces the development of libraries in Jamaica from the late seventeenth century to the present day. It examines reasons for the spate of anti-popery material in the earliest collections, and treats the subsequent story within the context of socio-economic conditions. Note is taken of the efforts of Ministers of Religion to inculcate the habit of reading among both the white and black population, as a means of improving their minds and strengthening their moral fibre. Increasing respect for books and demand for information appear, as the country puts aside its colonial status and assumes responsibility for its own destiny. The History documents the growth of the Jamaica Library Service, the emergence of the National Library of Jamaica, and the establishment of NACOLADS (the National Council on Libraries, Archives and Documentation Services) now regarded as a model for such development in the Third World.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ALA</td>
<td>Associate of the Library Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CARICOM</td>
<td>Caribbean Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAST</td>
<td>College of Arts Science and Technology</td>
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<tr>
<td>CLADES</td>
<td>Latin American Centre for Social and Economic Documentation</td>
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<tr>
<td>CO</td>
<td>Colonial Office</td>
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<tr>
<td>COLINET</td>
<td>College Libraries Information Network</td>
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<tr>
<td>DLS</td>
<td>Department of Library Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hq</td>
<td>Headquarters</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDRC</td>
<td>International Development Research Centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>ISER</td>
<td>Institute of Social and Economic Research</td>
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<tr>
<td>JAJ</td>
<td>Journals of the Assembly of Jamaica</td>
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<tr>
<td>JLS</td>
<td>Jamaica Library Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>KSAC</td>
<td>Kingston &amp; St. Andrew Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>KSAPL</td>
<td>Kingston &amp; St. Amdrew Parish Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lib.</td>
<td>Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>LINET</td>
<td>Legal Information Network</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS</td>
<td>Manuscript</td>
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<tr>
<td>NACOLADS</td>
<td>National Council on Libraries, Archives and Documentation Services</td>
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<td>NATIS</td>
<td>National Information System</td>
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<td>NLJ</td>
<td>National Library of Jamaica</td>
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<tr>
<td>OAS</td>
<td>Organization of American States</td>
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<td>PGI</td>
<td>General Information Programme</td>
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<td>PRO</td>
<td>Public Record office</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
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<tr>
<td>SECIN</td>
<td>Social and Economic Network</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPCK</td>
<td>Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPG</td>
<td>Society for the Propagation of the Gospel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STIN</td>
<td>Scientific and Technical Network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific Cultural Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Var.</td>
<td>Various</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WIRL</td>
<td>West India Reference Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>YWCA</td>
<td>Young Women's Christian Association</td>
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This study on the history of libraries in Jamaica commences with the period of the English capture of Jamaica from the Spaniards in 1655. It traces the history of libraries for almost 300 years and where possible, attempts to discuss library development against the social background of the times.

Library activity in Jamaica appears to fall into three main periods--from 1697 to the 1850's; from the 1850's to 1948 and from 1948 to the present. The first period reveals connections with Dr. Thomas Bray, who was instrumental in the spread of parochial libraries in England and North America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Jamaica was at the time part of the American colonies and there are clear links between library development in the island and that of the American Colonies and England.

The first collection of books for a library may have come to Jamaica in late 1696 or early 1697, not more than two years after parochial libraries had been introduced into Maryland by Dr. Bray, and 42 years after the English conquest of the island. The first reference to this appears in a letter from Dr. Hugh Todd of Carlisle, England, to Henry Chamberlayne, Secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) dated 14 March 1699. In the letter Todd mentions his brother in Jamaica "Rector of St. Elizabeth's who went over two years ago and carried with him about Sixty Pounds (L60.) worth of books". (1) The brother, Thomas Todd is known to have been at Port Royal in
1700, for in October of that year he wrote to Chamberlayne informing him that he had changed his plans about returning home and had now moved to the rectory of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale (2) that is, to Bog Walk, a small inland town about 37 miles from Port Royal and 25 miles from the present City of Kingston.

Nine months later in July 1701, Todd was still at St. Thomas-in-the-Vale and complaining that the Society had not replied to his letter for one year, concerning his readiness to comply with their "proposal". Todd had apparently given an undertaking to promote "Dr. Bray's Design" in Jamaica and to this end had helped to launch a branch of the SPCK at Spanish Town in 1700. On 29 August 1700, the Jamaican clergy agreed to establish a branch of the SPCK in the island, in keeping with directions from England. Thomas Todd drafted the final resolutions which were forwarded to England on 27 November 1700.

Another collection of books is listed as having been sent to Jamaica early in 1698, in the care of a missionary, or catechist or teacher. The transaction is recorded in the "Bray Account Book" of 28 March, as follows, "One Shilling for portage for a library sent with Mr. Passmore to Port Royal in Jamaica." (3) These libraries had a twofold purpose: to spread Christianity in the plantations, and to reclaim dissenters and recusants to the fundamentals of religion as practised by the Church of England. A third purpose which came later was to educate poor white children and slaves born in the colonies who could now speak the English
No fewer than fourteen collections have been identified up to about 1788, as having been assigned to missionaries bound for Jamaica or to the Moskito Indian Coast of Central America, then a protectorate of Jamaica.

A second wave of religious library activity was the introduction of itinerating libraries in the 1820's and 1830's. These were the result of the zeal of Samuel Brown, an ironmonger of Haddington, Scotland, with the active assistance of the Scottish Missionary Society. Itinerating libraries were part of Samuel Brown's scheme to supply wholesome literature to the whole world.

Jamaica was also not without its share of circulating libraries and reading rooms catering to more liberal tastes. They sprang up during the second half of the eighteenth century in Kingston, which was to become the island's capital in 1872, and in a number of smaller towns. How these libraries operated and whom they served are bound up with the social conditions of the times.

The period 1850's to 1948 examines the activities of some of these subscription libraries. It was possibly the fact of their existence that caused the Government of the day to provide small subventions to a few libraries. Two of these, the House of Assembly Library and the Library of the Legislative Council were moved from Spanish Town to Kingston, and in 1874 were amalgamated to form the first Government supported public lending library in
Kingston, and indeed in Jamaica.

In 1879, when the Institute of Jamaica was created by legislation, it took over the combined libraries which had been brought from Spanish Town, and the building on East St. which then housed them. One hundred years later, when the Institute of Jamaica legislation was passed to permit establishment of the National Library of Jamaica, the West Indian section of the Institute's Library provided the major part of the National Library's collection.

The work of the Institute of Jamaica, in encouraging the growth of libraries throughout the island during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries is examined in some detail. The Institute laid the foundation for what may be regarded as the modern period of library development in Jamaica.

The third period commences with the establishment of the Jamaica Library Service (JLS) in 1948, with assistance from the British Council. Jamaica now had a truly free public library service financed wholly from public funds. The JLS developed a network of small libraries and a free postal service to individuals not within easy reach of any of the existing libraries, so that every individual in the island desirous of reading could have access to books free of cost. The influence of the Jamaica Library Service in creating a desire for information can be seen today in the spread of public library facilities throughout the island, in the provision of rotating collections of books in over 900 Government primary and secondary schools,
and in the number of libraries in Government departments and private organizations which have sprung up since the 1950's and are increasing.

Of significance, also, were the Government's undertaking to support regional professional library education at the Jamaica campus of the University of the West Indies in 1971, and the establishment in 1973, of an advisory committee, the National Council on Libraries Archives and Documentation Services. The Council's main purpose was to strengthen the national information system through the rationalization of existing services, and to facilitate planned development for future services through training and appropriate methods of co-operation.
REFERENCES

1. Dr. Hugh Todd, Letter to John Chamberlayne, 14 March 1699, (SPCK Abstract Letterbook I-III), 1699-1701. MS.


3. Dr. Thomas Bray, Account Book Part I. Copy A. Being an account of benefactions and libraries for ye clergy sent to ye plantations procured by him, and of charges thereunto from the time he undertook ye care Anno 1695 ... 28 March 1698, p.34. MS. (Original, audited. SPG. London).
The first Parochial Libraries sent to the American Colonies in 1695 were the brain child of Dr. Thomas Bray, who, even before he was elected Commissary to Maryland in 1696, had been engaged in supplying the American colonies with collections of books. The earliest collection identified as having come to Jamaica arrived not more than two years after the first set to Maryland, and was sent "by Dr. Bray's direction". (1) Supporting evidence for this appears in Dr. Bray's letter to Mr. Smithson, Speaker of the Maryland Assembly (1697?) in which he notes that two years before i.e., in 1695 he had sent over 19 sets of his "layman's libraries besides many others to ye other colony". (2) Dr. Bray's audited Account Book also reads:

Being an account of Benefactions and libraries for ye Clergy sent to ye Plantations, procured by him and of charges thereunto belonging from the time he undertook ye care Anno 1695, to the time of his Departure for Maryland, 1699. (3)

The 1695 date must therefore be accepted as the beginnings of Bray's library activities in the American Colonies, and as at that time Jamaica fell within the province of the Diocese of the Church of England in America, the island was automatically included in the project.

Bray's Bibliotheca Parochialis (4) published in 1697, expanded his ideas for libraries in continental America and the foreign plantations, including the West Indian islands. He envisaged several types of libraries such as (a) a fixed parochial library to be used by the clergy for reference only,
(b) a layman's library to be available to parishioners for study and edification, which consisted of small books and tracts to be given or lent to the people; (5) and (c) a lending library for the use of the neighbouring clergy. To maintain interest in the libraries for as long as possible, different titles were placed in contiguous parishes. Catechetical collections were also prepared for the instruction of the young. Religious tracts and sermons comprised a large proportion of every collection.

Bray was a man of indefatigable zeal and energy, dedicated to establishing libraries for the clergy and to bringing some amount of organization to the Church of England in America. He was active in several other societies including those for the reformation of manners, reviving church discipline among the clergy, and prison reform. These interests are reflected in some of the titles appearing in the collections.

Prior to 1696 Bray held a number of unimportant church appointments. He was at different times curate of Bridgenorth, chaplain to Sir Thomas Price, vicar of Over Whitacre and rector of Sheldon. Then in 1696 he received the Doctorate in Divinity from Oxford University and that same year published the first volume of *A Course of Lectures upon Church Catechism*. (6) About this time he must have come to the attention of Henry Compton, Bishop of London, who was then seeking a worthy candidate for the post of Commissary to Maryland. Bray's appointment could have come about as a result of his recent academic and publishing successes, or as was customary in those days, he could have been
recommended for preferment by any one of the persons of influence with whom he had worked.

English congregations abroad had been put under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London in 1634, by Charles I through Archbishop Laud, and after the capture of Jamaica by the English in 1655, that island was, therefore, for religious purposes, incorporated into the American diocese. As commissary to Maryland Bray was expected to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the province, especially in places where the Bishop's principal consistory court could not easily reach.

Providing the colonies with clergy was not an easy task. Men with the least likelihood of preferment at home could not be persuaded to offer themselves for service overseas even when their prospects seemed better. Men of little consequence, of questionable character and inadequate training in the ministry were therefore on occasion appointed clergymen. For example, a journeyman weaver, having served as a book keeper for under six months in Jamaica, "through the influence of his brother, a pedagogue...got the parsonage of one of the best parishes in the island. (7)

Referring to the Jamaican scene in about 1681, Hanson had this to say:

For able orthodox divines there is so great encouragement that it is to be admired, so many content themselves with such mean or no beneficies in England where they may so comfortable subsist in Jamaica for that they are certainly provided for by an Act entitled "For Maintenance of Ministers" which see in this book folio 77. (8)
In 1693 Bishop Compton began to encourage poor young men awaiting ordination to take up these posts in the colonies. Their passage of Twenty Pounds (L20.) was paid from the Royal Bounty and on arrival in the colony they were entitled to a stipend. In the case of Jamaica, the sum was Thirty Shillings (30s.) per month but this could not always be guaranteed to be forthcoming. Therefore, only men in dire distress could be enticed to venture forth to face the dangers and hardships of a pioneering life while "propagating the Christian faith and increasing Divine Knowledge amongst all sorts". 

Bray was anxious that such men should be outfitted with suitable collections of books to keep themselves informed and to instruct others "in the designe of Christianity and in the nature of Christian dutys". If they were to operate efficiently they needed the assistance "of some good commentaries upon the Holy Scriptures and one at least or more of those authors who have treated upon those poyncts". Bray was most concerned that, without the support of books the clergy in those remote places could not be expected to serve the design well.

From 1681, when the Committee of Trade and Plantations recommended that no ministers could practice in Jamaica without first being licenced by the Bishop of London, the Church of England in the island received state support. This continued until its disestablishment in December 1869. Commissaries were also appointed to the island. Possibly the earliest was Philip Bennett who served as rector in St. Catherine
from 1683 to 1700, and was appointed commissary in 1700. He was later transferred to Port Royal where he remained until his death in 1707.

On 12 October 1700, Bennett wrote to the SPCK from Port Royal thanking the Society for admitting him as a member and promising his "utmost endeavours to promote their pious designs." At the same time he requested a copy of the catalogue of books which had come to Port Royal earlier as he had "seen divers scattered around the country marked for that library." He and the Governor (Sir William Beeston) and the Chief Justice (Col. Sir Nicholas Lawes) were endeavouring to recover them. He was here referring to 1,250 items, more or less, which had come with Todd, Passmore and others. Bennett also mentions that he had summoned another meeting of all those who had agreed to the proposals put forward at Spanish Town in August 1700. This other meeting was possibly the one held on 27 November, at which the resolutions of the Society, drafted by Thomas Todd, were signed by six clergymen.

Bray proposed that a general library consisting of the choicest books "in all parts of useful learning and especially of Divinity" should be provided at the direction of the Lords Bishops and the professors of Oxford and Cambridge universities. In that plan, apparently Virginia and Maryland were to receive large collections after which the foreign plantations like Jamaica and Barbados were to receive as funds allowed.
Instructions for management and care of the collection included wrapping the covers of the books with paper; clergymen in charge of the collections were to give a proper accounting of their use; each borrower was required to deposit the equivalent of the value of the book taken; a decent large room in the rectory was to be set aside for the library and neighbouring ministers were to be encouraged to meet there for regular discussion. These instructions were similar to those given to John Barrett who was posted to Jamaica in April 1724 with two collections in his charge. However, neither Barrett nor the collections reached Jamaica but that story will be recounted later.

In the "Reports of the Associates of Dr. Bray," some 46 libraries are said to have been set up by the time the SPCK was established in March 1699. Of the lot 39 went to Maryland and 2 are noted as having been sent to the parishes of Port Royal and St. Andrew's (sic) in Jamaica. Port Royal is recorded as having received 29 books and St. Andrew 27. (12) There are also two other references in the "Bray Account Books" prior to February 1699 showing a total of 1,250 items dispatched to Jamaica—a layman's library of 1,000 items costing Three Pounds (L3.) (13) and a parochial library of 250 items costing Eighteen Pounds Fourteen Shillings (L18.14s.). (14) In addition, in April 1701, a parochial library and a layman's library costing Seventeen Pounds Seven Shillings (L17.7s.) were sent with a Mr.
Between 1704 and 1707/8 seven other missionaries or teachers or catechists received sums of up to Ten Pounds (L10.) each for books for their personal use and Five Pounds (L5.) each for religious tracts for their parishioners.

The collections came irregularly, sometimes with breaks of up to eight years and continued until April 1788, after which the activity seems to have petered out.

Bray's Bibliotheca Parochialis is the catalogue from which most of the collections were prepared. It includes works on History, Geography, Travels with Religion constituting most of the items. However, the Jamaican catalogues so far identified and examined show that none of the liberal arts subjects came to the colony. The collections concentrated almost entirely on Religion, Pastoral Care and Catechizing.

Bray saw the work of the colonies as being in need of proper monitoring and in 1697 put forward "A General Plan of the Constitution of a Protestant Congregation or, A Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge." The Church of England authorities, not convinced of its feasibility turned down the plan and the SPCK was started as a voluntary organization. Three eminent lawyers, along with John Chamberlayne, a distinguished linguist and scholar, met with Dr. Bray at his room in Lincoln's Inn on 8 March 1699, and formed themselves into the SPCK. Their original aims were: (1) to assist Dr. Bray in raising libraries
for the clergy, and (2) in distributing practical books amongst the people. (15) Bray lost no time in getting member societies established throughout the colonies and plantations.

The Jamaican society inaugurated on 27 November 1700, agreed that every minister in his respective parish should raise contributions to provide poor people of the parish with copies of the Christian Monitor and Family Guide, to involve themselves in the general reformation of manners and in propagating Christian knowledge in the island. Governor William Beeston, having approved the proceedings, signed the document thus giving it official sanction and at the same time contributed Ten Pounds (L10.) to the cause.

The aims of the Society drawn up in London, (16) differed somewhat from the Jamaican aims. They were to crusade against looseness on the stage and to prosecute cases of profanity, found libraries in Great Britain and the Colonies, translate books into foreign languages and distribute tracts among British seamen. Later, the Society also concerned itself with educating the poor, sending "missions to British settlers, indians and negroes", while continuing to circulate books "of sound Christian doctrine."

The Jamaican aims were in the first instance to educate poor (white) children, to spread Christianity in the plantations and to reclaim "those amongst us who entertain opinions inconsistent with the fundamentals of our holy religion." (17)
With Bray's unrelenting efforts and with the support of Archbishop Tenison and Bishop Compton, the Church of England convocation was persuaded to set up a committee in March 1701 to "enquire into ways and means for Promoting Christian Religion in the Foreign Plantations." Bray drafted the letters patent for the new Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) on 15 March 1701, and three months later on 16 June, the charter was granted by William III. The case put forward for the King's support of this activity was that the number of (white) inhabitants in America had increased; that the colonists were much in want of instruction in the Christian religion and that they were unable by themselves to maintain an orthodox resident clergy.

One of the first acts of the SPG was to enquire into the state of religion and to this end they wrote letters to governors, congregations and prominent persons in the colonies and plantations. Reports indicated that church organization was weak among the Church of England membership and this left them vulnerable to atheism and to pressures exerted by the Roman Catholic Church.

The SPG saw its main functions as supplying and supporting missionaries to the plantations, distributing Christian literature, supporting schools and school masters, distributing libraries to missionaries and establishing colleges for training of the clergy. Whereas the SPG took over the major responsibility for missionary work in the colonies including supplying parochial
libraries, Bray continued to establish libraries on his own and in this undertaking was assisted by a group of friends.

The SPG required that collections should be vetted beforehand to ensure that they were "entirely consonant with the principles of the Church of England" on such matters as the correction of vices, lewdness, profanity, drunkenness, schisms and heresies, and the continuing controversy between Catholics and Protestants. Bray no doubt wielded a strong influence on the makeup of the collections as he was very conscious of manners and "popish activities". He owned a personal collection of martyrological memoirs both in print and in manuscript, which he later left to Sion College, London.

There were specific instructions for the preparation, care and use of the books. Every book was stamped in gilt with the name of the parish to which it was being sent, so that in 1700, Philip Bennett of Jamaica could track down and recover items belonging to Port Royal. Catalogues for the collections were prepared in triplicate—one for the library, one for the local vestry of the parish to which the books were assigned and one for the Bishop of London or his Commissary whose task it was to inspect the collection annually. With so many copies of the list available, Bennett's request for a catalogue of the Port Royal library was therefore not difficult to fulfil.

The Society apparently rented a warehouse in London for Twenty Pounds (L20.) (a year?), where the processing and
packaging took place. Collections were usually despatched in locked wooden cases or presses for safe keeping. There is no reference of a press having come to Jamaica but there is a note of such an item having been sent to another West Indian Colony. It can be assumed, therefore, that presses were also supplied to Jamaica, certainly with the large collections.

Both the SPCK and the SPG libraries were dependent on benefactions and donations. Gentlemen with large libraries were often invited to donate "duplicate titles and less valuable editions." The Council of Trade and Plantations also donated One Thousand Pounds (L1,000.) to the SPCK in 1699 (18) and after the SPG was founded in 1701, membership fees were collected.

Some novel ideas were put forward for building the collections but it is not clear how many of them were ever implemented. For example, in January 1699, one Mr. Ellison of Newcastle, Scotland, expressed the hope that "the trades of America" would furnish libraries there and "that every author of a useful book should give one or two to the plantations." (19)

Bray, himself was active in fund raising. In 1698, while accompanying Sir Thomas Lawrence, Secretary of the Province of Denmark, on a mission to obtain the Princess Anne's permission to name the new capital of Maryland, Annapolis, Bray used the opportunity to brief the Princess on his design. He received a contribution of Forty-Four Guineas (L46.4s.) which went towards
establishing the first large library in continental America—the Annapolis Library—with a collection of 1,095 volumes.

At first the libraries were primarily for the clergy and white settlers but Bray in time recognized that the spiritual needs of the slaves ought also to be met. In offering encouragement for them to join in the Sacrament, he said, "It may rejoice our very hearts to behold minds so enlightened in bodies so dark." (20)

In 1698 Bray petitioned for the use of some arrears of taxes due to the Crown, and the following year went to Holland to obtain William III's signature on the grant of Privy Seal. For his efforts he ended up with Seventy-Six Pounds Twelve Shillings and Sixpence (L76.12s.6d.). While on the visit he met the King's private secretary, Abel Tassin, Sieur d'Allone, who made a contribution and on his death in 1721, bequeathed one-tenth of his estate in England, and the arrears of his pension from the Crown "towards the work among the negroes." A trust was set up with the Nine Hundred Pounds (L900.) realized and for several years the proceeds supported a catechist in Georgia. (21) None of Tassin's legacy came directly to Jamaica but it possibly influenced the sending of collections for catechetical instruction "of the negroes".

We have some details of one set which should have come to the island with John Barrett and the instructions he received in this connection. Barrett was to go to the "several plantations"
and obtain permission from the masters to give the slaves Christian instruction. He was to induce "the overseer or some good body in the Family" to teach the negroes the catechism as well as morning and evening prayers. He was to teach them to read, and for this purpose spelling books were supplied. This attempt at instructing the slaves is worthy of note although it was not the first occasion on which this was tried. In July 1688, the House of Assembly had passed an act "to encourage and facilitate the conversion of slaves to the Christian religion and preventing inhuman severity to Christian servants." (22)

Until the slave was Christianized he was considered an infidel, hence little more than a beast of burden. However, the 1688 legislation appears to have been honoured more in the breach. Edward Long writing in 1774, noted that masters sometimes paid the exorbitant fee of One Pound Three Shillings and Ninepence (L1.3s.9d.) to have a slave baptized; and the figure could go as high as Three Pounds (L3.). (23) This meant that technically very few slaves were considered Christian, and therefore eligible for humane treatment.

Clergymen who attempted to hold meetings on some plantations often met with severe rebuffs from overseers and owners. A few attempted to offer some kind of instruction as in the case of the Rev. J. Peatt, rector of Spanish Town in 1742, who explained in a letter that he had "complied with the instructions for the lower class of white people who were extremely ignorant." (24)
Bray concentrated upon "the conversion of adult negroes, and the education of their children in the British plantations." On his death in 1730, "The Associates of Dr. Bray" carried on this work with the active support of his daughter, Mrs. Godetha Martin.

Getting the books and missionaries to their respective locations was complicated and at times frustrating business. Transportation was both hazardous and unreliable and could take from six weeks to four months from England to Jamaica, depending on the weather and the number of stops en route. Occasionally, a missionary spent all his money during a journey as in the case of the Rev. Wright on his way to Jamaica in 1710. Wright pawned and sold all his books "in his necessity at Portsmouth." His successor, the Rev. W. Johnston apparently undertook to repay the debt but why he chose to do so is not clear since it could not have been his responsibility. (25)

The collections of books were frequently transported free of cost and as a consequence could remain in a port for weeks and even months awaiting space on an outbound ship. For instance, in August 1723, Henry Newman, Secretary of the SPG, informed Mr. Galpine at Port Royal, that he had hoped to send the books which the Society had promised but the captain could give no certainty that he could find room. He would, therefore, send them by another ship sailing in three weeks. (26) Also, writing to the Marquis Duquesne on 18 October 1723, (27) Newman asks him to tell Mr. Galpine that his books were lying at Mr. Seracot's and could not
go until the middle of the next month, that is, November. Ships carried on their outbound journey merchandise manufactured in Britain and on their return took home sugar and other agricultural products from the plantations.

The Anglo-Jamaican Society During the Early Years of English Colonization

Libraries do not exist in a vacuum. They operate within the framework of a society, at a certain time and place, and such materials as are brought together are selected by individuals for their own personal enjoyment and edification or to influence others be it for social, political or religious motives.

The fact that the first Jamaican libraries were primarily moral and religious could indicate strong leanings in these directions in the society, or that some group wished to ensure that the local inhabitants be sustained with fare for their moral upliftment. An examination of the titles in these collections also reveals a degree of intolerance for Catholics, and as Jamaica was then only an insignificant outpost of the Empire it seemed worthwhile to examine the social conditions obtaining in Jamaica during the period, for it is against this background that such libraries were sent to Jamaica.

By the time the island was finally ceded to Britain in 1670, most of the Spaniards had been killed off in the battles leading up to the Conquest and most of the survivors had taken refuge in neighbouring Cuba. The former slaves of these Spanish colonists,
the Maroons, remained and from their mountain fastnesses, harried
the English with frequent raids.

The early British colonists who took over from the Spaniards
comprised a motley crew of pirates and adventurers, soldiers of
fortune, political and religious malcontents. All hoped to
improve their economic lot and to return home eventually to live
in comfort and ease. Many were attracted in the first instance by
Oliver Cromwell's offers of land, and especially the abandoned
Spanish plantations of cocoa, ginger and spices. Then after the
Interregnum, Charles II and succeeding monarchs continued for
some time to use the granting of land patents as inducement and
reward for loyalists who had served their political causes well.

Some settlers from Britain and Ireland came in search of
political asylum and freedom of conscience; others were
"transported" for their involvement in political and religious
struggles at home. Still others were taken from prisons and from
the seamier side of seaport towns to work as indentured servants
on the plantations. At the end of their indentureship, such
persons were free to join the ranks of fortune hunters. Each
individual brought his religious, political and cultural
background and these elements in turn became incorporated into
the ethos of the Jamaican society. When, for example, Cromwell
transported some 2,000 Irish men and women to the island, he was
reintroducing strong Catholic influences in the society which
later administrators had to reckon with.
Those Anglo-Jamaicans who rose to positions of influence endeavoured to remain in favour with the status quo and instituted or modified local laws in keeping with existing English laws as suited their purpose. Their religious persuasions shifted according to the leanings of those in authority. Some examples of instructions to colonial governors reflect the social and religious tensions then obtaining in England. For example, Charles II, sympathetic to the Catholics sought to ease pressures upon them by permitting other religious dissidents to settle in the island. When Colonel Modyford was appointed governor in 1663/4 his official instructions were:

*to give all possible encouragement to persons of all opinions and parties, to dispense with taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy except for members and officers of the council and in no other case suffer any man to be molested or disquieted in the exercise of his religion.* (28)

Similar instructions were handed down to Sir Thomas Lynch in 1670/1 and obviously carried the full weight of local support. In 1672, the Jamaican House of Assembly forwarded an act to the Governor for his assent which allowed free practice of religion in the island. (29) Jews at Port Royal were encouraged by this law to purchase land in the town and five years later, in 1677, to build a synagogue on the site. A few of these Jewish families had arrived during the period of the Spanish occupation and managed to remain under the English. They may have benefitted from the easing of religious restrictions but socially and
politically they were severely discriminated against, and on occasion publicly humiliated. Quakers, too, sought to benefit from the more liberal laws and in 1679, a group of 35 arrived from Barbados to settle here. (30)

The Protestant Act of 1729 introduced by Governor Hunter, shows how policies shifted. This law was intended to debar declared and suspected Papists from holding civil and military office but only served to discourage immigration since all persons arriving from other Commonwealth dominions had to produce certified proof that they were Protestants or forfeit Fifty Pounds (L50). Even the members of the House of Assembly rose in protest when one of their colleagues, Andrew Arcedeckne, was denied nomination to the House under the law. In coming to his defence the Assembly declared that for the past 16 years Arcedeckne had behaved as a true Protestant. The Act was soon repealed.

For most of the first century after the English occupation, the island was sparsely populated. Settlers were under imminent danger of invasion from the sea by Spaniards, French and Dutch in turn, and of attack by the Maroons from the mountains. For protection, planters were advised to settle along the coast "none at any great distance from the sea" and to build near together to protect themselves. (31) These instructions account largely for the fact that development took place primarily on the coastal plains which were also easier to cultivate. The settlers were
slow to move into the mountainous interior.

Demographic figures of the period are unreliable but they nevertheless give some impression of the size of the population at various times. The Journals of the House of Assembly in 1662 (32) and 1670 (33) estimate the population to be around 16,608 for an island of about 4,400 sq. miles. Thirty-three years later, the population had more than tripled with slaves outnumbering whites to such an extent that Deficiency Legislation was deemed necessary to protect the white settlers. Masters of slaves were required to provide themselves with a sufficient number of white men capable of bearing arms or white women or children or pay certain sums of money in case they shall be Deficient...

Power struggles raged continuously between local Assembly men and the English Parliament over the formulation and implementation of laws affecting their rights and privileges. In refusing to pass certain bills in 1678, the Assembly declared:

Nothing that invites people more to settle and remove their families and stock into this remote part of the world, than the assurance they have always had of being governed in such manner as that none of their rights should be lost so long as they were within the dominions of the Kingdom of England.

(35)

These settlers expected to be treated in every respect as their brothers in England. They felt strong ties of kinship to the motherland and reacted predictably to social, religious and political tensions at home.
With slave labour, Jamaica had started to become a leading producer of sugar and was seen from early as "one of His Majesty's darling plantations." The island was developing a one crop economy based upon sugar and African slave labour; and it was also becoming important as an outlet for English manufactured goods. Richard Blome's publication of 1672 (36) written as a promotional piece to attract new settlers, describes the good life in the capital town St. Jago de la Vega, as including "good house-keepings and recreations" such as evening rides in coaches and on horseback. To this, Hanson writing in 1682 adds "horse races, bowls, dancing, musick, plays at a public theatre." (37)

Hanson likened Port Royal, at the narrow strip of land protecting Kingston Harbour, where the buccaneers brought their loot from Spanish ships and from the Spanish Main as always like a continental mart or fair where all sorts of choice merchandizes are daily imported not only to furnish the island but vast quantities are thence again transported to supply the Spaniards, Indians and other nations who in exchange return us bars and cakes of gold, wedges and peggs of silver ... jewels, rich pearl necklaces and Pearls unsorted or undrill'd several bushels ... (38)

The wealth of the town he describes thus, "In Port Royal there is more plenty of running cash (proportionately to the number of its inhabitants) than is in London." (39)

About 30 years later, Jona Dennes and Charles Leslie give a somewhat more realistic picture of conditions generally. Writing
to the Earl of Wilmington sometime after 1718, Dennes explains why the process of settlement was so slow. The island, he says, may be divided into eight parts four of which is good arrable land, two other pasturage (or what we call savana) which is uninhabitable, but the four parts that is good land 'tis not because people will not or do not care to go and settle there, but because the land is engrost by a few rich men there and in England, who have run out vast tracts & obtained patents for them, but having so much are not able to settle them. (40)

A typical example of this can be seen in the actions of the Modyford family. Sir Thomas (who became lieutenant governor of the island) in the late 1660's, his two sons Thomas and Charles and his brother James among them owned 21,218 acres in eight parishes. According to Governor Lynch in 1683, 3,000 patents were issued for 1,080,000 acres (41) One hundred years later, in 1799, when the British Parliament attempted to regularize the situation by withholding patents for undeveloped lands, the Jamaican Assembly strongly resisted this and they said "it would strike at the very existence of property."

Sir Hans Sloane who had come to the island as physician to the Duke of Albemarle in 1687, described the master class as being mostly Europeans, with some creoles from Barbados, as well as persons from the Windward Islands and Surinam. Africans, mulattoes and other persons of mixed blood comprised the slave population. (42)

In 1739 Leslie observed that more than two-thirds of the island was still uninhabited. He named only three towns--Spanish
Town (i.e., St. Jago de la Vega) the official capital, Port Royal, greatly reduced in size and influence since the 1692 earthquake and again by fire in 1702/3, and Kingston, created to supplant the ill-fated Port Royal. Seventy years later Moreton could add only one more town, Montego Bay, a sugar and rum port to the northwest of the island.

Thomas Thistlewood, an overseer and landowner in the Parish of Westmoreland gives a breakdown of the lands in 1774 as follows: 160,000 acres in sugar, "a little above this quantity of lands" for pasturage, allotments for the negroes for provision and furnishing, timber, flintwood, lime etc., 500,000 acres for other economic crops and grazing for cattle. The remaining 3 million acres consisted of wild bush chiefly mountain, in which it was presumed there were many intermediate tracts capable of cultivation "but which from difficulty of access &c. continues in their present state." (43)

At that time the slave population had risen to about 200,000 while the white population stood at about 18,420.

Thistlewood mentions a letter dated 6 August 1776, from Port Royal, which appeared in the Weekly Magazine published in Pittsburgh, North America, in which the writer attributes the slave rebellion of 1776 in Hanover, to the subversive activities of "some American commissaries" whom the writer alleges supplied the slaves secretly with weapons. The Society for Effecting Abolition of Slavery had recently been formed in England, and
missionaries who, to some degree supported this movement, were seen as threatening the economic and social status of the land owners, hence, reference to commissaries.

Education did not seem to play any significant part in seventeenth and eighteenth century Jamaican life. Few persons took the trouble to send their children back to Britain or for that matter to North America for "polite generous education".

An anonymous writer eaves-dropping on a conversation between a father and his son in 1674, reported to Governor Vaughan that these gentlemen had been discussing possible ways by which "the new designed governor" (Vaughan) could improve himself and the country. In expressing this concern for the general behaviour of the society, the father suggested the introduction of sports—horse-back riding, wrestling, shooting and the like, instead of gambling at cards, dice and tables.

Obviously these gentlemen were of finer upbringing for the father's concern was also:

that a collection of books in the English tongue be gotten at public charge where to such of the gentry as are studious may always resort, and inform themselves of the affairs of the world, since there is nothing more ridiculous than ignorance in a person of quality ... (44)

This in one of the earliest references to the need for libraries in Jamaica. It is doubtful what acceptance these suggestions might have had generally, for in 1679, Dr. Trapham was at pains to point out:
There is so little of gaiety offered at, And in a place where bookishness is not reasonably to be expected. (45)

About the office of teacher and the state of education, Leslie further noted in 1739:

No gentleman keeps company with one of that character (and) to read, write and cast up accounts is all the education they desire and even those are scurvily taught. (46)

On his outward voyage to Jamaica Leslie had nevertheless noted that there were several gentlemen on board ship who understood manners perfectly well and with such he could not miss to be happy. (47) Among such men would no doubt have been members of the Long family, Bryan Edwards the historian, Thomas Thistlewood and his family, most governors of the island, members of the judiciary and other professionals, many of whom had substantial private libraries.

Not everyone was wealthy however, and the vast majority were far from cultivated. In describing his associates, Moreton notes their narrow-mindedness, their dull conversation which was limited to their treatment of the slaves, their promiscuous affairs and conniving to defraud their absentee landlords. Moreton describes them as "cowskin heroes" lacking in the social graces, with no pretensions to learning. He nevertheless mentions "extensive merchants" in Kingston, Spanish Town and Montego Bay, who live elegantly.

Schoolmasters, booksellers, physicians and the clergy were among the poorest but there were exceptions, as for example James Zeller, a Church of England clergyman who became a sugar planter,
and on his death left an estate of 39 slaves valued at Three
Thousand One Hundred and Fifty-Two Pounds (L3,152.) (48)

Religious Controversies and the Literature which came to Jamaica

On 21 July 1705, the Jamaican House of Assembly recorded:

That it is the opinion of the Committee that
the House do proceed upon ways and means to
prevent the growth of popery in the island
and that all possible encouragement be given
for the establishing of good seminaries and
schools for the instructing of youth. (49)

This was the third position within fifty years in official
policy, and represented a shift from a Protestant to a Catholic
and back to an orthodox Protestant stance.

The problem was, of course, of European origination and
demonstrates the far-reaching effects of events originating at
the centre of the growing Empire. Vehemence of zeal often
compensated for distance from the vortex. Indeed, despite the
comparative precariousness of their existence under unaccustomed
tropical conditions, some colonists made religious issues an
over-riding pre-occupation. These matters were part of the
cultural baggage each settler had brought with him and go back to
a long line of dissent, from the Renaissance and the Reformation.

When in 1515, the German Monk, Martin Luther, nailed upon
the church door at Wittenberg a list of criticisms in which he
accused the popes of encouraging the spread of false doctrines
and the sale of indulgences in order to finance their
extravagances, he set in train a series of events that were to
shatter the unity which the Catholic Church had given to medieval
Europe. This movement which became known as the Reformation, challenged the authority, doctrine and liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church, and led to the rise of Lutheranism, Calvinism and the Protestant churches.*

These controversies became the focus of a seemingly unending stream of publications from both Catholics and Protestants. Church leaders and scholars of all sects sought to put their every thought on the subject into print. These publications, mainly in the form of pamphlets, found wide circulation and coloured social and political views, even though very few writers brought any original insights to the more fundamental issues.

The subject is introduced here because of a preponderance of such publications in library collections which came to the island during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

An examination of religious literature of the period under review demonstrates that viewpoints were often uncompromising and

* Luther saw the complicated, bureaucratic network of church governance as obstructing "freewill", hence the layman's access to God. He further refused to accept the infallibility of the Pope and his authority to grant dispensations or to condemn a soul to purgatory.

Calvin pressed for separation of Church from State and for the removal of statues and other visible symbols of worship from churches. Discussions raged round questions of "freewill" and "substantiation" i.e., that the elements of the eucharist were transformed in essence though not in substance into the body and blood of Christ. Calvin contended that the Church did not need a visible form although he wished to retain the three sacraments—baptism, confession (without absolution) and the eucharist.
extreme. Protestant viewpoints often called into doubt articles of faith and reduced them to the level of controversy.

Catholic rebuttals were mostly apologetic, justifying their religious practice and fundamental beliefs. Protestant arguments centred round the old issues of dogma and morality and resulted in an abundance of rules governing church worship as well as holy and virtuous daily living. There was also a stream of fanatical propagandist literature headed by John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (50) popularly known as Foxe's "Book of Martyrs" published in 1554 in Latin, in Strassbourg. The "Book of Martyrs" first appeared in English in 1563, and for the next hundred years reappeared whenever anti-Catholic feelings surfaced. It could be relied upon to whip up extremist emotions among Protestants. So popular was this work that in 1654 the Stationer's Company could afford to sell off the copyright and use the proceeds to repair their building.

This lengthy account of the Marian persecutions also carried extracts from the writings of martyrs. The 1651 edition published by Samuel Charles, details the hangings of Puritans by Archbishop Laud, and the Irish Massacres of that year with 87 lurid descriptions of ways in which martyrs had been put to death. (51)
Ever since the days of Henry VIII, excepting during the reigns of avowed Catholic sovereigns such as Mary and James II, recusant literature had been proscribed by appropriate legislation banning their importation, circulation, reading and possession. Depending on the zeal of a particular censor, punishment could be as severe as physical mutilation. Even so, there was little that the Church of England could do to halt the flow of these and other unlicensed publications.

Catholics on the Continent as well as in England dedicated to bringing about the re-establishment of the Holy Catholic and Roman Church on British soil, studiously applied their efforts to counteract Protestant opinion and put the Church of England on the defensive. (52)

The "popish plot" fabricated by Titus Oates in 1678 made out that Catholics had hatched a plot to assassinate the King and this caused a frenzy of verbal and written attacks by members of the High Church.

Most of these publications took the form of broadsides, poems, political and religious sermons. Primarily they were original works, simply written, but occasionally they were abridgements of longer publications, such as The Whole Duty of Man "so abridged for the benefit of the poorer sort." (53) Not only did these political and religious pamphlets press their party line, some included as well, answers to opposing views that chanced to appear at the time of writing. An example of this is the pamphlet Zelotes and Honestus where the author adds his
strictures on three pro-Catholic pamphlets which had recently appeared. The Church of England was kept on its toes.

In 1687 William Claggett observed:

Since publication of these tracts our divines have kept themselves ... upon the defensive their whole work having been little else than to answer such printed books and papers scattered abroad in writing as the Romanists have from time to time sent abroad ... It is a wonder that persons engaged in laborious attendance at parish cures and a constant return of and painful accurate preaching ... should find time to adorn the press with so many books. (54)

Claggett proceeded to list a number of "Romish" publications along with some Church of England rebuttals. On the Roman Catholic side their justifications appear under such headings as "The Persuasive to an Ingenious Trial of Opinions in Religion"; or "A Discourse About the Charge of Novelty Upon the Reformed Church of England Made by Papists Asking us the Question, Where was our Religion Before Luther"; or "A Discourse Concerning an Invocation of Saints". The question of freewill was defended under such titles as "Zelotes and Honestus Reconciled ... being the first part of the scripture scale ... to prove the gospel marriage of free-grace and free-will and restore primitive harmony to the gospel of the day." (55)

Cumber's Plausible Arguments of a Romish Priest Answered by an English Protestant (56) sets out the pro-Catholic viewpoint using a priest as protagonist, in which his arguments are studiously refuted in favour of the Church of England.
From time to time dissenting Puritans--Anabaptists, Presbyterians and Quakers--would find severe strictures placed against them. Taswell's Anti-Christ Revealed Among the Quakers in Answer to a Book Entitled the Rector Corrected (57) is typical of such vitriolic attacks. A Letter From Some Dissenting Laymen ... (58) complains to sympathizers in Parliament about strictures under the Test Act. The letter states:

The Act was originally designed against papists and levell'd directly at their Head, the late King James, when Duke of York ... (59)

In short it was to secure the nation against the secret artifices of hidden enemies, but not to debar it from the assistance of those who were known to be its cordial friends. (60)

Works on piety and daily Christian observances, especially morning and evening prayers, appeared regularly in the literature. The Whole Duty of Man outlines three levels of duties: to God, to ourselves and to our neighbours. Duty to God is expressed through our faith, fear and trust. Duty to ourselves emphasizes moderation in all things and Duty to our neighbours addresses anti-social behaviour such as adultery, murder and inflicting physical bodily harm. The reader was warned that only by pious observances could one escape the retribution which would follow as a natural consequence of wrong doing. It was necessary, therefore, to confront individuals constantly with the elementary claims of morality. (61)
Every preacher seemed preoccupied with having his sermon appear in print and this category of publications therefore formed a substantial part of the literature. Henry More's *Grand Mystery of Godliness* is an example of the longer more erudite works but is no less extreme in its statements. When he expresses anxiety about the lapse of the soul from divine life as displayed in non-Christian rites and festivities he describes it as "The abhorred Monster, atheisme, proudly strutting with a hefty gate and imprudent forehead". (62)

About everyone with any pretensions to learning entered the debate. A short list of popular tractarians of the period, whose writings appear in almost every collection sent from England, reads like a who's who of the Church of England. It includes men like Archbishop John Tillotson of whom George Whitfield complained, "He knew no more about religion than Mohamet." (63)

Archbishop Thomas Tillotson wrote on matters of faith and the creed. John Lewis on Church catechism, William Beveridge on the value of prayer, John Kettlewell on practical religion and Bishop Bull on the priestly office.

Because life was unpredictable and proper health care non-existent, a good supply of the literature dealt with themes such as Death and the Hereafter, and consolation for the sick and dying. It also included explications on the more relevant sections of the Old and New Testaments.
Jamaican collections, as mentioned earlier, contained mainly religious works. One gets the impression that these austere puritans did not look kindly on the dissemination of ideas that might lead to independent thought. For example, they looked upon the theatre as "sinful, heathenish, lewd, ungodly spectacles" and as "intolerable mischiefs to churches, to republickes, to manners, minds and souls of men." (64)

The English stage had all but disappeared during the Interregnum, and following the Restoration there was little reason for orthodox Protestants to change their views, especially after the excessive behaviour of Charles II and his Court. Acting was not considered a suitable pastime for the general citizenry and Poetry fared little better. Not even Milton could make the lists of the SPCK and SPG. Poetry was considered the work of a liar, and the reader was warned that he was being entertained with fictions and he was to be careful that he did not lose his good taste and right judgment.

The novel as an art form was just emerging and while copies were to be found in private collections on the island, e.g., in Thomas Thistlewood's library, they were not included in collections for parochial libraries. There were other types of material such as the Greek and Latin classics, important accounts of travellers, historians and scientists which might safely have been added but they too were excluded. Preoccupation with religious and moral issues dominated.
Two Collections of Books for Jamaica and the Story of John Barrett

The average parochial library of the eighteenth century including those which came to Jamaica, consisted on an average of from 25-50 items but at times much larger collections were received. In addition to items listed in the catalogue, which had to be accounted for, there were quantities of cheap tracts for free distribution and sale at minimal cost. These numbered from 166-331 per set, and could be as high as 887. (65) They projected the main mission of the church which was to convert souls and to practise the Faith according to the tenets of the Church of England.

Collections included broad areas of interest whether or not they were designed for laymen or preachers:

1. Doctrinal and moral instructions covered such topics as nature and grace, godliness, the soul and God, repentance, rules for observance of the Lord's Day and expositions on the three sacraments—communion, baptism and confirmation.

2. Guides for study and meditation included family worship, and daily devotion, as well as interpretations of the Apostle's Creed, the New Testament, the parables and the Ten Commandments.
3. Practical religion and pastoral care comprised consolatory works for the distressed, the ill and dying.


Clergymen were encouraged to inform on and even to institute action against moral offenders. In 1692, through the instrumentality of the Society for the Reformation of Manners, more than 20,000 persons in London and Westminster were convicted for swearing, cursing, and profanation of the Lord's Day (66) and in 1735, 99,380 actions were taken out in the London area alone. (67)

Catechetical instruction intended for committing to memory, was the main instrument for preparing candidates for church confirmation. Then there were those items dealing especially with religious controversy, and a sprinkling of Latin works on the same doctrinal and moral issues noted above. There was even the occasional handyman's manual most necessary for survival in such remote outposts as Jamaica.

Although the 1724 collections assigned to John Barrett did not actually reach the island, they are typical of selections sent to the American colonies and other West Indian plantations. They also show, albeit late, the SPG's efforts to catechize blacks born in the colonies who could speak English. (68)
The slaves were taught to read in order to facilitate their Christian instruction. They were "taught by heart" the Christian Catechism, with morning and evening prayers from such works as John Lewis's *Church Catechism Explained by way of Question and Answer*. (69) and Thomas Tenison's *Discourse Concerning a Guide in Matters of Faith*. (70)

The story of John Barrett demonstrates the anxiety of Protestant societies to make proselytes from the Church of Rome, and how they were at times duped by the unscrupulous. In March 1722, Barrett offered his services to the SPG, was interviewed by a special selection committee, and apparently satisfied his interviewers as to his genuineness. Barrett claimed that he had left the Church of Rome for the sake of Truth and not for a pension. (71) The committee agreed to allow him Four Shillings (4s.) a week till they were better satisfied as to his sincerity.

Barrett next applied for a scholarship to Oxford or Cambridge University on the grounds that he wished to be better prepared before offering himself for holy orders. Henry Newman, Secretary of the SPG supported his application to the Bishop of London and suggested that this period of training could serve as a probationary period before Barrett was entrusted with a "cure of souls or any other business of moment." Newman further requested that if such a scholarship was not forthcoming, the Bishop of London could approach the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of Winchester on Barrett's behalf. (72)
The scholarship did not materialize and in April 1723, Newman sent Barrett to John Chamberlayne with a note requesting a loan of Five Pounds (L5.) and an undertaking that Barrett would repay the amount in a few months. In December of that same year, Barrett was assigned to Maryland. However, his ship became disabled and he returned to London. Dr. Bray then in poor health took him on as a preaching curate. (73)

Sometime early in 1724, Barrett was reassigned to Jamaica and it was then that he received the two collections of books dated 1 April 1724. Instead of taking ship for Jamaica, Barrett ended up at his parents' home in Stockport, Cheshire, where he apparently fell ill "from fatigue of his journey" and died within three months. (74)

In July, Barrett's story came to light much to the chagrin of Newman and the SPG. It turns out that Barrett had fraudulently benefitted on several occasions from funds available for the assistance of proselytes. He had claimed that his family were rigid Papists and that his father was dead. All this turned out to be false as both parents were alive and were declared Protestants.

At the time when Barrett was applying for a scholarship he had already graduated from the University of Leyden where he had gone in the service of a Protestant baronet. He had spent two years at the university there on an English scholarship. He is supposed to have had a wife and apparently kept a mistress, who,
after his death, applied to the Society for assistance claiming to be the wife. (75)

At one time Newman even persuaded Viscount, Lord Bishop Percival to employ Barrett as tutor to his children. With this job he was given accommodation which apparently he seldom used.

Barrett also received two sets of bounty money of Twenty Pounds (L20.) each for Maryland and Jamaica.

When it was discovered that he had not left for Jamaica, Rev. J. Dale, living in the vicinity of Stockport, was instructed to investigate the matter. It was then that the true facts of Barrett's deception emerged. Moreover, Dale discovered that Barrett was already dead, and in going through his belongings found most of the items in the two collections which had been consigned to Jamaica. (76)

Because travel time across the Atlantic in those days could take from one to three months in a sailing ship, it seemed impossible for Barrett to have travelled to Jamaica, carried out his mission and returned to England in the short space of time between April and June. An exhaustive search of the Jamaican Archives could not provide evidence of a John Barrett ever having come to Jamaica during the period under examination. This suggested that further investigation was required elsewhere and led to the discovery of the above facts which confirm that the 1724 collections had not reached Jamaica.
The titles listed in the two collections can be identified in several other collections sent to the American colonies, to English parochial libraries and to other West Indian plantations.
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47. Charles Leslie, p.2.

49. JAJ I, 21 July 1705, p.367.


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68. *A Catalogue of Books Sent With Mr. Barrett as Part of a Premium the Further to Encourage him in the Discharge of his Pastoral Duties in Consideration of Instructing the Negroes ... First in Order of their Being Taught to Read Surely a Very Necessary Means to Facilitate Their Christian Instruction in that they be Faithful With Spelling Books ...* (Fulham Papers XVII).


76. J. Dale, Letter to My Lord (Bishop of London) 26 June 1724, (Fulham Papers, XXXVI), p. 179. MS.
LIBRARY EXPANSION IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

Locations of book collections sent by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to Jamaica, in the first half of the eighteenth century, have so far been identified in six parishes—St. Catherine, Port Royal, St. Andrew, St. Thomas-in-the-East, Kingston and St. Ann. Port Royal received several sets between 1703 and 1725, and so did Kingston, between 1728 and 1751.

(APPENDIX II) Commissary Philip Bennett of Port Royal and Commissary William May of Kingston corresponded regularly with the Society in London. On each of two occasions May transferred Twenty Pistoles to the Society. On the first occasion he contributed 16 Pistoles (about L16.) to the "Designe" and the other Four Pistoles (L4.) for the purchase of books. On the second occasion he sent Four Guineas (L4.4.) for the Designe and Fifteen Pounds Sixteen Shillings (L15.16.) for books.

The French Pistole, the Spanish Dubloon and the English Pound were then all negotiable currency, if not always legal tender on the island. Based upon the cost of publications, at the time, Fifteen Pounds Sixteen Shillings (L15.16s.) was not an inconsiderable sum of money to be devoted to such a purpose. Between 1704 and 1716, nine other collections were sent to Jamaica, but their final destinations have, so far, not been traced. One was consigned "to the Honble. Governor Pitt to be dispersed among the Inhabit. of His Majties Island, Jamaica ..."
The Governor's official residence at that time was Spanish Town and it is possible that the collection may have been kept there. Then, there follows a period of 26 years about which little is known. Destruction, loss and dispersal of some of these early records must not be overlooked, for as recently as 1986 a catalogue of the 1701 Spanish Town collection turned up at Yale University.

The collections consisted mainly of sermons, cautions to swearers, Christian daily devotion, and discourses on the Sacrament. Renewed library activity possibly began about 1742, and over the next 34 years at least five small collections were directed to the island. Of these, four were routed through missionaries in Jamaica to the Moskito Indians of Central America. Jamaica's association with the Moskito Indians appears to have been formalized somewhere round 1720, when the Governor, Sir Nicholas Lawes, sought the assistance of Jeremy, King of the Moskito Indians, for a six-month period, to hunt down and capture "the rebellious negroes"--the Maroons. (2) The Indians had resisted Spanish domination and had by this time declared themselves British' subjects. Any transaction, therefore, with that part of Central America was handled from Jamaica.

Social Conditions

Communication proved a major factor during the period. In 1742 Dr. Wilson of the SPG was notified by the Rev. Peatt of Spanish Town that a collection due for Central America was, after eight years, still awaiting shipment from Jamaica. (3)
The possible impact of these primarily religious collections upon the colonists was not significant. The island was sparsely populated and settlements were often far apart and difficult to reach.

Charles Leslie's estimates of 1739 (4) are closest to the period under review but they are unreliable as Leslie drew heavily upon an earlier 1672 publication. (5) For instance, he could single out only three parish churches as being of any significance—Port Royal, which had a "fine church", Spanish Town and St. Andrew. Other churches, he notes, "are decent small houses scarce to be known as such. The clergy trouble them little and their doors are seldom open." (6) The well established parish church upon which the parochial library could be based was one way of assessing the state of development of a parish. By the mid eighteenth century, sustained parochial library activity was noted only in about three parishes—Port Royal, St. Catherine, and the new town of Kingston, which after the 1692 earthquake, had developed into the foremost town and port of the island. In 1737, it had an estimated population of under 2,000 (white) inhabitants. (7) St. Andrew Parish Church, situated on the same stretch of plains, was about two miles further inland from the port of Kingston. The estimated population of the island at the time was as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARISH</th>
<th>FAMILIES</th>
<th>INHABITANTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Port Royal</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>3,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Katherine</td>
<td>658</td>
<td>6,270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. John</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Andrew</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>1,552</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. David</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Thomas</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarendon</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>1,430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. George</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Anne</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. James</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Elizabeth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Inhabitants: 17,274 (8)

Had the population of the island altered significantly between 1672 and 1739, Leslie would most certainly have used the later figures. A contemporary historian, Edward Long, records about 1,700 "settled and resident white inhabitants" in 1774 (9) which gives credence to Leslie's figures. The slave population overall, of this period, was approximately ten times that of the white population, but slaves were not given education nor did they have access to such library facilities as existed.

It is therefore reasonable to assume that only a very small percentage of literate planters, professionals and artisans within easy reach of the three or four main towns would have taken the trouble to read the moral and anti-popery literature forming the bulk of these collections.

Kingston was only approximately one mile square, with a population of 3,000 whites, 1,200 free coloureds and 8,000 slaves. Spanish Town as an economic centre was gradually losing
ground to Kingston and had only about 3,000 inhabitants. Port Royal had an estimated 200 houses and most of the able-bodied worked at the naval dockyards. Montego Bay, the busiest centre after Kingston, was a port for sugar and other agricultural products, and had only about 600 houses. (10)

If the 1844 official census can serve as a reasonable guide, persons most likely to be literate and likely to use such libraries, possibly amounted to not more than about 3,000 of the total white population then given as 15,776. (11) The period leading up to, and immediately after the abolition of slavery in 1834, witnessed streams of migrants from the island, of those afraid to brave the uncertainties of the changing social and economic scene. This no doubt accounts for the lower population figures given for 1844. The following, taken from the census, is a selection of persons by trade or avocation who could possibly read and write:
### TABLE I

**PERSONS BY TRADE OR AVOCATION LIKELY TO USE LIBRARIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRADE OR AVOCATION</th>
<th>PORT ROYAL</th>
<th>ST. CATHERINE</th>
<th>KINGSTON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artists</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architects</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculturists</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bankers</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boatmen</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodging-House Keepers</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministers of Rel.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military, Attached to</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military, Pensioners</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mariners</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miners</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilots</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policemen</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planters</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail Traders</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surveyors</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Store Keepers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTALS:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PORT ROYAL</th>
<th>ST. CATHERINE</th>
<th>KINGSTON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>277</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>928</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


+ Males & females not distinguished for particular occupation (if followed by a number indicates a partial count of females).

- Zero

From 1844 Official Census
TABLE II

PERSONS BY TRADE OR AVOCATION UNLIKELY TO HAVE ABILITY TO USE LIBRARIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRADE OR AVOCATION</th>
<th>PORT ROYAL</th>
<th>ST. CATHERINE</th>
<th>KINGSTON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishermen &amp; Fisherwomen</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Servants</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>1,587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1,792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers, Agricultural</td>
<td>1,531</td>
<td>1,426</td>
<td>1,555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradesmen, Master</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradesmen, Journeymen</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tavern Keepers</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed in var. Occupations</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Occupation</td>
<td>1,120</td>
<td>1,408</td>
<td>5,790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>3,058</td>
<td>3,453</td>
<td>11,867</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ Males and females not distinguished for particular occupation (if followed by number, indicates partial count of females).

- Zero

From 1844 Official Census

Although the above listings may be of some help, close examination reveals obvious omissions in the returns. For example, there is no count for persons attached to the military at Port Royal, and only one mariner is listed for that seaport town. Such omissions are equally obvious in St. Catherine where there are no listings for agriculturists, bankers or military
personnel, neither are there any for policemen.

When distance from the parish church or vestry is taken into consideration, and the difficulty of transportation as well as a general indifference to intellectual pursuits are recognized, it seems reasonable to assume that not more than one-tenth of those literate parishioners possibly took the trouble to use the collections. A more realistic figure might even be nearer 300, and that seems generous.

Samuel Brown's Itinerating Libraries

The next wave of religious library activity began in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, through the efforts of Samuel Brown, an ironmonger of a small market town in East Lothian, Scotland.

Born on 30 April 1779, the fifth child of the Rev. John Brown and his second wife Violet Croumbie, Brown was left fatherless before his eighth birthday, and three years later, when his mother moved her family from Haddington to Edinburgh, the young boy was left in the care of his uncle John Croumbie, the owner of an ironmongery business. At age 11 years, Samuel quit school to become an apprentice in the business. "His sole attainment at this time being the arts of reading, writing and figuring." (12) Although his formal schooling ceased then, Brown continued learning in his spare time, and indulged his interests in simple mechanical and scientific experiments.
At age 25 years, he became a partner in the business and on
his uncle's death in 1816, succeeded to the relatively prosperous
enterprise. Brown was a successful nailmaker and drysalter,
besides being actively involved in social and church work. He
visited the local prison, took books to the inmates, and taught
Sabbath School. He even fitted up a large room on his premises
for the use of the Sabbath School. He was manager of the
Haddington Tract Society, and between 1833 and 1838, served as
Provost of the town.

Brown was never a robust man and shortly after his marriage
in 1806, he developed a series of illnesses which confined him to
bed for extended periods of time. It was during the first of
these illnesses that he thought up the idea of supplying
prisoners with books, in order to improve their moral and
educational state. In 1817, he broadened the scheme even further,
establishing itinerating libraries in small villages and
districts of his native county of East Lothian. By organising
small collections of books, at a very cheap rate, and by
exchanging these on a regular basis, he hoped to provide
libraries to persons living too far away from the regular town
libraries.

The rural folk were hard-pressed with farming activities
which left them little time for other pursuits. A regular supply
of books, therefore, would be one way of keeping them mentally
alert. As his dream materialized, Brown envisaged first Scotland,
then all of the United Kingdom and eventually the whole world supplied with books by this method.

The scheme was to prepare sets of 50 volumes at a cost of between Eight Pounds (L8.) and Ten Pounds (L10.) including the cost of stationery, book case and transportation. At the end of a two year period, a collection would be moved to a new location and replaced by a set from another library. By this most economical method a collection, of say, 400 books would reach eight different communities and would be actively used for at least 16 years. Experience had shown that after a short period of time, books remaining at one location gradually fell into disuse, especially where the collection had not been regularly supplemented. Brown's scheme ensured that at least every two years 50 new books would be available in a community.

A set of books cost, on an average, Ten Pounds (L10.) and even as low as Five Guineas (L5.5s.). A typical set usually consisted of 30 volumes of religious booklets, 40 Kildare-place books bound in 20 volumes, a book case, a loan register, directions for administering the library, a catalogue of the collection and some advertising material. Two important ingredients for the success of the scheme were, a librarian who would run the library without charge, and at least 15 subscribers paying a total of between Twenty-Five (25s.) and Thirty Shillings (30s.) each in the first year. (13)
The idea of itinerating collections to schools, the military and the navy was not new. Thomas Bray's parochial libraries 100 years before had served the same purpose; the practice of moving about the means of instruction had been initiated in the circulating schools of Wales in 1730, and copied afterwards in the Highlands of Scotland. (14) What is noteworthy, is that Brown, a simple tradesman of limited education and exposure, formulated and implemented a scheme of such magnitude.

The first set of 350 books for these itinerating libraries was put together by amalgamating two collections of some 100 items from the Haddington Boys and Girls Sabbath School libraries; about 50 copies from John Croumbie's collection and 200 items purchased with funds from an unclaimed Militia Insurance Scheme which Croumbie had administered during the Napoleonic Wars. About two-thirds of the books were of a moral and religious nature, while the remaining comprised travel, agriculture, the mechanical arts and popular science. (15)

In 1823, Brown began to realize his dream of itinerating libraries to other parts of the world. To keep the financing as economical as possible, books were bought wholesale and from second hand dealers. In order to raise extra funds, the new books were placed in town libraries such as Haddington, North Berwick, and Dunbar, where the subscribers contributed an annual sum of Five Shillings (5s.) each, for their use. After two years they were transferred to village libraries to be loaned free of cost.
The subscription charges from the town libraries were used to create a revolving fund.

Brown sought the co-operation of religious tract societies and gladly accepted gifts of books and donations. He himself sold magazines and tracts at a small profit, which went towards the project. Obtaining the necessary funds was always a major problem, and because of this the scheme did not develop as rapidly as Brown envisaged. The following table demonstrates Brown's optimism in reaching far corners of the world: (16)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEARS</th>
<th>ANNUAL CONTRIBUTION</th>
<th>REVENUE FROM LIBRARIES AT 25c PER ANNUM</th>
<th>TOTAL INCOME</th>
<th>NUMBER OF LIBRARIES</th>
<th>TOTAL NUMBER OF LIBRARIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>5,625</td>
<td>562</td>
<td>1,062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>1,327</td>
<td>6,327</td>
<td>632</td>
<td>1,694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>2,117</td>
<td>7,117</td>
<td>711</td>
<td>2,405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>3,006</td>
<td>8,006</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>3,205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>4,006</td>
<td>9,006</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>4,105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>5,131</td>
<td>10,131</td>
<td>1,013</td>
<td>5,118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>6,397</td>
<td>11,397</td>
<td>1,139</td>
<td>6,287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>7,621</td>
<td>12,621</td>
<td>1,282</td>
<td>7,539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>9,423</td>
<td>14,423</td>
<td>1,442</td>
<td>8,981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>11,226</td>
<td>16,226</td>
<td>1,622</td>
<td>10,603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>13,253</td>
<td>18,253</td>
<td>1,825</td>
<td>12,428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>15,535</td>
<td>20,535</td>
<td>2,053</td>
<td>14,481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>18,101</td>
<td>23,101</td>
<td>2,310</td>
<td>16,791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>20,988</td>
<td>25,988</td>
<td>2,598</td>
<td>19,389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>24,236</td>
<td>29,236</td>
<td>2,923</td>
<td>22,312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>27,890</td>
<td>32,890</td>
<td>3,289</td>
<td>25,601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>36,626</td>
<td>41,626</td>
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<td>20</td>
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<td>41,828</td>
<td>46,828</td>
<td>4,682</td>
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</tr>
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<td>21</td>
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<td>47,681</td>
<td>52,681</td>
<td>5,260</td>
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<td>53,641</td>
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<td>65,268</td>
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</tr>
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<td>67,636</td>
<td>72,636</td>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>75,826</td>
<td>80,826</td>
<td>8,082</td>
<td>67,945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
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<td>84,931</td>
<td>89,931</td>
<td>8,993</td>
<td>76,030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
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<td>100,017</td>
<td>10,001</td>
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<tr>
<td>28</td>
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<td>113,286</td>
<td>11,128</td>
<td>95,018</td>
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<td>153,043</td>
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<td>170,146</td>
<td>17,014</td>
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<tr>
<td>33</td>
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<td>189,132</td>
<td>18,913</td>
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<td>210,207</td>
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<td>233,595</td>
<td>23,359</td>
<td>203,637</td>
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<td>259,546</td>
<td>25,951</td>
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<td>283,335</td>
<td>288,335</td>
<td>28,633</td>
<td>252,213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
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<td>315,256</td>
<td>320,256</td>
<td>32,025</td>
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<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>330,672</td>
<td>335,672</td>
<td>35,567</td>
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<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>389,928</td>
<td>394,928</td>
<td>39,429</td>
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<tr>
<td>41</td>
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<td>433,441</td>
<td>438,441</td>
<td>43,844</td>
<td>385,329</td>
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<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>481,641</td>
<td>486,641</td>
<td>48,666</td>
<td>428,131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>539,163</td>
<td>544,163</td>
<td>54,016</td>
<td>475,621</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>591,526</td>
<td>596,526</td>
<td>59,952</td>
<td>528,909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>660,385</td>
<td>665,385</td>
<td>66,385</td>
<td>586,845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>733,456</td>
<td>738,456</td>
<td>73,845</td>
<td>654,616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>814,520</td>
<td>819,520</td>
<td>84,952</td>
<td>723,546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>904,445</td>
<td>909,445</td>
<td>90,945</td>
<td>803,581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>1,004,226</td>
<td>1,009,226</td>
<td>100,992</td>
<td>891,926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>1,114,967</td>
<td>1,119,907</td>
<td>111,900</td>
<td>990,152</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Brown figured that if he could raise the sum of Five Thousand Pounds (L5,000.) he could establish 500 libraries in the first year, and if he could continue to raise an annual sum of Five Thousand Pounds (L5,000.) and collect Twenty-Five Shillings (25s.) from each library, in the second year, the number of libraries would grow to 1,062. In five years the number would reach 3,205; in ten years 8,981 and in 50 years there would be 990,152 libraries financed from an income of One Million One Hundred and Nineteen Thousand Nine Hundred and Seven Pounds (L1,119,907.).

**Itinerating Libraries in Jamaica**

In the seventh report of the East Lothian Itinerating Libraries, December 1829 to December 1831, Brown declared his willingness to supply itinerating libraries to any part of the Empire or Colonies, and early in 1831 he approached the Scottish Missionary Society about the possibility of sending some of these libraries to Jamaica. Several missionary societies had been working in the colony from the middle of the eighteenth century, and the Scottish Missionary Society had been there since 1800. Many land owners and overseers were Scottish, as were many of the smaller farmers who were then engaged in opening up the interior of the island. Contacts were, therefore, in place to ensure success for the undertaking. The Scottish Missionary Society which first started in 1796, was non-sectarian in its constitution and management. It concentrated its efforts on Jamaica, Africa and the South Seas.
The Jamaican library project which began in 1831 received liberal contributions from "several highly respectable Jamaican proprietors." Brown also sought contributions from gentlemen connected with other West Indian islands; and the itinerating libraries of Leith and Edinburgh among others, donated funds. The SMS also contributed Twenty Pounds (L20.).

In working out the details of the project, Samuel Brown estimated that if Fifty Pounds (L50.) were raised annually, and in addition each library contributed Twenty-Five Shillings (25s.) annually, in ten years he could provide a service for every 400 white and coloured person on the island (blacks excluded of course). This meant serving 25,000 persons eventually, through some 62 libraries. If, however, he could double the contribution to One Hundred Pounds (L100.) per annum, he would meet his objective in half the time. (17)

On 1 January 1831, Rev. James Watson at Lucea was informed by letter from Rev. William Brown, Secretary of the SMS, that in the next three weeks itinerating libraries were being sent to the island. On 12 February, Rev. Brown also wrote to three other missionaries giving the arrival date of the collections as "three weeks hence". The libraries would be shipped to the northern part of the island--to Montego Bay, Falmouth, Port Maria and Lucea. But as had happened with the Bray collections earlier, the organizers were solely dependent on free cargo space on ships and this sometimes resulted in long delays of upwards of a year.
More than four months later, on 12 May 1831, Mr. Watson was informed that his library was still lying in Glasgow with Messrs. Sterling and Gordon but would be forwarded within a few days. It was being sent to Falmouth, a distance of some 100 miles from its final destination. The condition of the roads was such that Mr. Watson must have had some problem getting the books from Falmouth to Lucea and possibly arranged to have them transported by coastal boat.

Brown saw these itinerating libraries as a blessing to the West Indies, "countering the demoralizing effects" of that society. No doubt, he was influenced by the strong anti-slavery debates taking place at the time, and this could have prompted him to provide a service to blacks able to read. One suspects that Samuel Brown and the SMS may have been more interested in the numbers of converts rather than in any genuine concern for the personal dignity of the slaves. At one stage William Brown even advised the missionaries to exert expediency in what advice they gave the negroes, to be sure that they kept on the good side of the planters. (18) Obviously, the interests of planters and slaves could not coincide. As one missionary noted:

To spread Christianity is to spread the habits of subordination, industry, sobriety and contentment (with the slave's apportioned lot in life.) (19)

This seeming insensitivity to the feelings of the slaves is also demonstrated in a letter from Rev. J.M.Trew at St. Thomas-in-the-
East in 1821:

A spirit of religious enquiry daily increases. As they become acquainted with leading truths of Christianity, the slaves have evinced a meekness of deportment and a contentedness of spirit, evidently conducive to the interest of the proprietor as well as their own temporal and spiritual happiness. (20)

Rev. Trew also in that same year requested the Bishop of London to send him books for the use and benefit of his indigent parishioners (presumably white). (21)

About the state of the country in 1823, John Stewart was careful to explain that while the education of slaves was thought desirable as a means of accelerating moral and religious instruction, it was at the same time considered dangerous as educated negroes could threaten the safety of the whites. (22)

Samuel Brown's libraries were selected by several persons including his brother Rev. William Brown, and other directors of the SMS. In addition to religious booklets, the regular Scottish itinerating library carried works of travel, biography, arts and sciences but these latter were noticeably absent from the Jamaican collections. The following description of materials provided by the London Missionary Society applies equally to the selections made for Jamaica:

The volumes were small, so that their size will not deter persons whose daily employment do not allow them to devote many hours in the week to reading. Their contents are varied, so as to engage the attention of those who, after their daily toil, are not able to enter upon subjects which require much or long continued application. (23)
Regulations for village libraries in Scotland no doubt also applied to Jamaica. Persons over the age of 12 years were free to use the library so long as they returned the books once per month on a predetermined day or evening. An overdue fine of One Penny (1d.) per book was usually charged and there was an additional fine of Twopence (2d.) per week after the first week.

If a book was soiled or kept two months overdue the delinquent member was required to replace it or pay the full cost of replacement. The annual stock taking was set for the first week in September each year, and for this exercise all books were recalled. Negligent members were fined One Shilling (1s.). Samuel Brown's projections of 25,000 persons in Jamaica were too ambitious especially when examined against the size and distribution of the population at that time.

The first Jamaican census which records literacy rates, was not compiled until 1861, i.e., 27 years after the abolition of slavery, so there are no official figures for the period. However, one account which may be of some help is the Report on Negro Education in Jamaica by C.J. Latrobe, ordered by the House of Commons in 1837. (24) Latrobe spent several months on the island from April to about August 1837. From all accounts he attempted to visit every school which had received grants from the British Government in 1836, for erection of school buildings. He gives the average school attendance for the whole island as follows:
9,789 children and adults at day schools
16,806 attending Sunday Schools
3,946 attending evening schools
4,012 attending private schools

Of these numbers, 8,321 were free children of apprentices. Although slavery was officially abolished in August 1834, the freed slaves were forced to continue to work for their former masters for another four years, as "apprentices", at minimal wage. The treatment meted out to them changed very little.

Latrobe records 381 day schools, 139 Sunday Schools and 95 evening schools with another 124 private schools, some of which he equated to the typical English Dame School. Latrobe's figures were more generous than some others quoted in the 1839 Jamaica Almanack which are set out below: (25)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>SCHOOLS</th>
<th>MALES</th>
<th>FEMALES</th>
<th>SCHS. ATTENDED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1,125</td>
<td>912</td>
<td>2,037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1,346</td>
<td>982</td>
<td>2,328</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most schools were located along the coastal areas and in villages adjoining sugar estates. In the upper mountain villages schools were few in number, mostly scattered over wide, broken regions occupied by cattle pens, coffee plantations and provision grounds. Latrobe records three-quarters of the children attending school as offspring of apprentices; the other quarter comprised poor whites, free coloureds and Maroons. The private schools served mainly the children of proprietors, business men, and professionals. In the uncertain political and economic climate created by Emancipation, many of these more well-to-do who would
normally have sent their children abroad to school chose to keep them at home.

To estimate, therefore, the possible extent of the literacy problem and its effects upon itinerating libraries, the above attendance figures need to be examined against what ought to be a more accurate count of the slave population which was used as the basis for valuation and compensation at the time of Emancipation. They show 309,167 apprentices and 38,754 free children of apprentices. (26) According to Latrobe's count under 10% of apprentices and their children attended schools of some sort—a figure which could go up to about 30,000. This would equate with the count used for compensation.

It is possible from the Latrobe report to identify the SMS mission stations and schools in the four parishes in which the SMS operated—St. Mary, Hanover, St. James and Trelawny. They are listed as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>DAY</th>
<th>SUNDAY</th>
<th>EVENING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1837</td>
<td>HANOVER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1837</td>
<td>Lucea</td>
<td>150 A</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>65 chn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Green Island</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ST. JAMES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>Cornwall</td>
<td>74 chn.</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>67 A &amp; chn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836</td>
<td>The Spring</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1837</td>
<td>Barret Hall</td>
<td>10 chn.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>30 app.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TRELAWNY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>Hampden</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836</td>
<td>Hampden</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>650 chn.</td>
<td>14 app. &amp; A Hampden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836</td>
<td>Hampden</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20 app. Hampden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Orange Valley</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>91 chn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ST. MARY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1828</td>
<td>Frontier</td>
<td></td>
<td>350 chn.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Port Maria)</td>
<td></td>
<td>of app.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>Frontier</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Port Maria)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1837</td>
<td>Goshen</td>
<td></td>
<td>120 A &amp; chn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Cottage</td>
<td></td>
<td>of app.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Carron Hall)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>76 app.</td>
<td>four epw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>The Cottage</td>
<td></td>
<td>250</td>
<td>120 chn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Carron Hall)</td>
<td></td>
<td>of app.</td>
<td>40 chn.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>597</td>
<td>1670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>381</td>
<td>76 4 epw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>92 2 epw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**KEY:**
- A = Adult
- chn. = Children
- app. = Apprentices
- epw = Evenings per week
Latrobe also cites the concentration of missionary activities by groups as follows:

- **MORAVIAN**
  St. Elizabeth, Manchester, Westmoreland

- **BAPTIST**
  St. James, Trelawny, St. Catherine

- **LONDON M.S.**
  Clarendon, Manchester, Trelawny, St. Ann

- **SCOTTISH M.S.**
  St. Mary, Hanover, St. James, Trelawny

- **MICO CHARITY**
  16 stations distributed islandwide

- **CHURCH M.S.**
  Dispersed over mountainous parts of the island

- **WESLEYAN**
  Zealous but not directed to education.
  Model school in Kingston

He remarked on the lack of communication among societies, which may well have been caused by inter-denominational rivalry as well as by isolation due to poor conditions of travel.

Except for some overlap of activities in Trelawny and to a lesser extent in St. James, it is unlikely that the itinerating libraries reached beyond the boundaries of the SMS's stations in the four parishes listed above. Also, it is unlikely that any significant number of persons affiliated to other societies in those parishes availed themselves of the facilities.

Had there been census returns for 1830, the population would in all probability have been less than that given in the 1844 returns. Assuming, therefore, that the 1844 population from ages 10 to over 60 years were all literate, the number in the four parishes would have then been about 66,371. Also, if all children attending schools run by the SMS were literate (which was not
the case), based upon the above attendance figures, after eight years of operation the numbers of persons likely to have been served would have been under 3,000—far below Samuel Brown's projections of 25,000 in 10 years.

Rev. J.M. Phillippo's report of his Baptist schools for the year ending May 1830, is useful for comparison here. He records 152 scholars in his day school of which only about 70 could read. This again supports the view that a total of 3,000 literates in these four parishes could be an overestimate.

Until the first decades of the nineteenth century, when lobbying began in earnest for the abolition of slavery, blacks and coloureds, with very rare exceptions, were not allowed access to formal education. When the British Parliament began to take an active interest in such matters in the 1830's, they did so "for the moral and religious improvement of the negro population." The Jamaican legislature predictably refrained from articulating a clear education policy for this group.

Since the middle of the eighteenth century, several wealthy landowners and businessmen had endowed schools for the education of poor whites, but it was only with the imminent approach of Emancipation that a few of these schools, e.g., Tichfield in Portland, opened their doors to coloureds. Education for the black labouring classes had to come through the uneven efforts of missionaries.

The following list gives some indication of the spread of
their activities as late as 1837:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOCIETIES</th>
<th>STATIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soc. for the Propagation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the Gospel</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Missionary Society</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesleyan</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moravian</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mico Charity</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladies Negro Society</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(27)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The totality of these efforts could hardly affect in any significant way the literacy problem among the underprivileged. Compounded with this, was the fact that after the abolition of slavery apprentices often refused to send their children to school, or sent them irregularly. Some were too destitute to provide the necessary clothes and food, and others preferred to keep them at home to help with household chores or in the fields. Latrobe makes a sad commentary on the state of their nutrition, at the time, when he mentions that the good mango season that year was a great relief to vast numbers of persons.

Samuel Brown and his associates in the SMS were no doubt unaware of the tremendous difficulties facing the expansion of itinerating libraries in the island. The Rev. William Brown was a dedicated man, corresponding regularly with the missionaries. Much of this correspondence refers primarily to preaching and teaching activities, the behaviour of communicants and the size of the congregations. There are also regular references to
despatch and receipt of books and instructions on how they were to be used and the SMS may have assumed that conditions were much the same as in Scotland.

Prior to the introduction of the itinerating library scheme, each missionary was equipped with a library either at his own expense or at the expense of the Society. From time to time these would be supplemented by the odd titles with instructions to the missionaries to pass them on, at the end of the two year period, to another station.

George Blyth who arrived in March 1824, and remained until 1850, was one of the longest serving in the Jamaican mission and was possibly the first to organize libraries, even before the itinerating library scheme commenced. He was one of the four men selected for the experimental itinerating library scheme. From all accounts, he and his wife were most diligent workers, teaching day school, evening school and Sunday School, in addition to preaching and other pastoral duties at Hampden, a sugar estate some seven miles from the prosperous sugar port of Falmouth.

Congregational Libraries

Soon after his arrival in Jamaica, Blyth started a library for his black and brown congregation. In April 1825, the SMS resolved, in response to Blyth's request, to supply him with tracts and other suitable books for circulating and lending, and in July 1826, he received a parcel of books for this purpose. The
books were labelled as being the property of the SMS and carried a set of instructions concerning their use. (28) Similar libraries were also started at Lucea in 1827, and at Montego Bay and Port Maria in 1835.

William Brown and his associates selected the books, and in writing to Blyth at one stage, Brown expressed his concern that the selectors were unable to examine all the items, and that some were perhaps "too strong meat for the negroes and people of colour. (29) Maybe he thought that the materials were too advanced, or that the pronouncements on social and moral behaviour too restrictive, considering the laxity of the society at that time.

The purpose of the collection was to improve the minds of the blacks and coloureds "rather than to descend to their present level." It was Brown's hope that some of the books would also get into the hands of the white people. He also noted that some books sent out earlier "were put in partly as being suitable for lending". If Blyth thought fit, he could transfer them to the Congregational Library and inform the Society accordingly.

Watson's itinerating library included Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, Fletcher's Sermons for Children and about 40 other small pieces, in addition to 100 "first" and 50 "second" school texts.

The Moravian school at Somerset, in Westmoreland, described by Westphal was typical of the times:
Almost nothing was taught except reading and committing Scripture texts and hymns to memory. The only books in use were a spelling book, Bible, hymn book and a manual of Christian doctrine. (30)

Blyth even adapted the Lancastrian primers and charts for his own use. These learning materials were not very exciting but children at the Wesleyan Missionary Sunday School (at Montego Bay) were preserving and exciting the interest of adults considerably advanced in age, to learn to read several hymns, and easier parts of the New Testament". (31)

Some pupils even taught adults the alphabet and the rudiments of reading and spelling in the evenings.

Samuel Brown kept a very careful record of membership and loans of his East Lothian libraries but it was not easy for him to do the same for the Jamaican libraries. There is reference to William Brown requesting reports but if these records were ever sent they have so far not been traced.

Over the eight years from 1831 to 1839, itinerating libraries operated with varying degrees of success. For instance, in 1835 Blyth reported that the books in his library were still being read by the more intelligent of the congregation though the numbers loaned were not so great as in former years. He attributed this to the irregularity of prayer meetings at which time the books used to be exchanged. It was expected that the collections would be rotated every two years but again no records have been found to confirm that this did take place.
How the congregational libraries fared alongside the itinerating libraries is also not clear. They appear to have been kept separately. Each type of collection filled a special need.

After about seven years of activity in Jamaica the SMS decided to discontinue the itinerating libraries scheme, and in January 1838, local missionaries were alerted that the programme was to be phased out. Samuel Brown's deteriorating health may have precipitated this development, for he died about a year later in 1839, in his sixty-first year. The scheme is supposed to have become defunct by 1840; however, books continued to be supplied for some time thereafter. As late as 1846, William Brown was in correspondence with John Cowan of Carron Hall, St. Mary, concerning a library for the young people there.

Brown explained that if the Society wished young people to read the Bible with understanding and to set a value on education, it should put into their hands books, not only on religion, but on a variety of other subjects. He had therefore taken the trouble to get together "an interesting and useful set of books at cheap rate." (32)

There was one attempt on the part of James Watson, at Lucea, to establish a more general library but this apparently did not receive the support of Samuel Brown. As William Brown explained, his brother thought that such a library would be in competition with the itinerating library. Watson was advised to try instead, to get this through friends or through a bookseller, and he was
to encourage the young men to become subscribers to the branch library there, as their subscriptions could purchase other books. (33) Watson may not have been able to put his plans into effect immediately but in 1838, he formed a Society for Diffusing Useful Knowledge, which had a library of "150 volumes of excellent works." He even lectured on science as it related to religion. (34) A similar society was also formed in St. James.

Watson was one of the founders of the Colonial Library and Reading Society located in Kingston. He gave the inaugural lecture there in October 1849 and is recorded in 1866 as being the president of the Society.

Libraries Established by other Religious Denominations

The SMS was the most diligent group supplying libraries over an extended period of time. The Baptists were active in Falmouth, Spanish Town and Kingston in 1817. In 1831, Rev. Joshua Tinson, a Baptist Missionary, who had arrived in the island in 1822, completed the building of a church with a school at Yallahs, and set up a library in the basement of the school. Tinson could not obtain the necessary licence to preach, and so had to relocate to Kingston. (35) This library may well have been closed on his departure. Prior to 1838, the Rev. Phillips of Spanish Town is reported as having a library of 150 volumes for use of his teachers and pupils. (36) Calabar School in Kingston was mentioned as having an excellent library "possibly the best in the island." This was in 1867, when the Baptist School
Society claimed that no fewer than 60,000 children had passed through their system. (37)

The Church of England took an interest in their poor white congregations both at home and abroad. There is a note in the *Scottish Missionary Register* of November 1820, which states that this was "in order to attend to the growing demands of the poorer classes for wholesome instruction." In 1821 the SPCK operated a branch in Kingston with 30 members and one Philip Young as librarian. The SPCK supplied parochial lending libraries which consisted primarily of tracts and books of the Society. The local parish paid for the library where possible, and its control was under the church minister. Preservation of the books was stressed. A catalogue was supplied which also included works on history, biography, useful knowledge and religion.

Another branch was started in St. Mary in November 1822, and at the SPCK's anniversary meeting held that same month at Spanish Town, it was reported that Headquarters would shortly be sending more books and tracts to the island. (38) Several years later when Young apparently relocated to Montego Bay, a branch was started there also and he was listed as the librarian. A fourth branch at Spanish Town had one Roy Reid as librarian. In 1830, the SPG voted the sum of Two Hundred and Forty-Four Pounds (L244.) from Archbishop Tenison's bequest towards the Jamaican scheme. (39)
The project survived for over 20 years, for the 1843 *Jamaica Almanack* records what it termed "the Jamaica Branch Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge". It gives the name of the librarian and a list of his duties. (40)

The Methodists apparently did not develop any great enthusiasm for libraries but they nevertheless supported related activities. In November 1867, Rev. Robert Raw of Port Royal, writing to the General Secretary of the Methodist Missionary Society in London, noted that a yellow fever epidemic had sent the soldiers from Port Royal to the mountains, i.e., to the military station at New Castle. Ships were quarantined and the town was suffering from lack of trade; as a result, his Sabbath School, juvenile and adult libraries, and mechanics literary institutions were "all injured by the fever." (41)

Another missionary, Richard Harding, from Claremont in St. Ann, also complained to the Home Office that the local people were not readers and could not obtain books easily. The only way for them to do so was through the missions but this posed a risk for missionaries since there was no allowance made for dead stock. He failed to mention bookshops in Kingston and elsewhere at that time. There is also reference to a list of 47 books in the possession of John Jeffrey of Watsonville, St. Ann and a note that the local Chairman of the Jamaica District would pay Mr. Jeffrey Thirty-Five Pounds (L35.) "in lieu of the books which had been destroyed", presumably by some natural disaster.
One Moravian missionary, Rev. Heath of New Bethlehem, in St. Elizabeth is also noted as having had a lending library at his church in 1846, and "many people availed themselves of it." (42) There would surely have been other Moravian libraries.

School Libraries

The Latrobe report (1837) also identified several school libraries including Wolmer's Free School and the Central School in Kingston. Two girls' schools (not identified) were supposed to possess the best libraries. Rusea's Free School in Lucea is recorded as having a library, and in 1839 its Board of Governors approved the sum of Twenty Pounds (L20.) as allowance for the librarian. (43) Since James Watson resided in Lucea at the time he may well have been involved in setting up the Rusea's school library.

By 1870, the state of education had improved to the extent that Rev. George Sargeant, writing to the Methodist Missionary Society in London, commented that many young men and women and those of middle life who had been trained in the day schools would be able to understand the class of books written for the peasantry of England. He further noted that a considerable number of blacks and coloureds could read and understand the types of literature read by the English artisans and middle classes. Bibles, hymn books, tracts, smaller and cheap periodicals were available from ministers as well as from booksellers in Kingston, and he asks why "the little storybooks which the people relish" were not written in Jamaica or adapted with Jamaican scenery--
a matter not addressed even by the education authorities in Jamaica until the 1950's. (44)

Circulating Libraries

After the introduction of the printing press in the island in 1718 and the publication of the first local newspaper, *The Weekly Jamaica Courant*, publishing gradually spread from Kingston to other towns, including Falmouth, Montego Bay, and Savanna-la-Mar. This indicates a sufficient number of interested persons in the island to support such ventures. But printers could not rely solely on the uncertain returns from the press; they acquired a comfortable living by also involving themselves in other trading activities. Several were shopkeepers and stationers, selling both local and overseas publications and a range of other goods. A circulating library service for which subscribers paid, was a natural extension of their bookselling activities.

One cannot make a positive link between the parochial libraries which appeared to have grown defunct not long after 1776 and the first circulating libraries which began to come into vogue about the same time. The first of these circulating libraries identified to date, is William Aikman's, which operated from his dry goods, stationery and book store in Kingston.

Aikman began publication of the *Jamaica Mercury and Kingston Weekly Advertiser* in May 1779, and at some later stage entered into partnership with David Douglass an experienced printer and manager of the American Company of Comedians, which played in
Jamaica from 1774 to 1784. Douglass had apparently first come to Jamaica in the 1750's as a printer, and then migrated to North America with Lewis Hallam's Company of Comedians. Douglass became America's greatest theatrical manager, and when the American War of Independence closed down theatrical activities there, he returned to Jamaica with his company of players. Douglass was appointed King's Printer for Jamaica and its Dependencies, and served for a time as Master of the Revels. In 1785 he was appointed Master in Ordinary and Justice of the Quorum for the Parish of St. Catherine. He died in 1789 leaving a fortune of Twenty-Five Thousand Pounds (L25,000). (45) From the partnership between Aikman and Douglass a number of small publications emerged, including Dr. Thomas Dancer's A Brief History of the late Expedition Against Fort San Juan (1781) and the Annual Almanack and Register. Aikman sold tea, wine, fabrics, shoes, tobacco and other items in addition to books and stationery. He was also in the real estate business.

Operating a circulating library may have been viewed as a means of trying to recover funds tied up in slow moving or dead stock. Such books could be thrown in among more popular works and their cost eventually written off. A Jamaica bookseller, 6,000 miles away from his source of supply, had to dispose of his stock or suffer financial loss.

Aikman's circulating library project was short-lived. The earliest advertisement concerning this library appears in the
Jamaica Mercury of 26 June 1779, in which he advised subscribers that a catalogue of the additions to his circulating library would be delivered on Monday, 12 July. That put the commencement date of the library at least six months or possibly one year earlier. Bookselling and newspaper publishing would have brought Aikman in touch with the more discerning of the planters and professionals who were his likely customers.

Kingston was the largest and busiest town in the island and the major port of call for ships from Europe and North America. Spanish Town, the seat of Government, was only 13 miles away. Members of the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council, and other gentlemen from the country found it convenient to transact business in Kingston. Aikman's enterprise would have been one of the places that brought them into Kingston.

Most persons reading for pleasure were not likely to want much of the moralist fare put out by religious tract societies and distributed through the churches. They very likely preferred more general and recreational reading matter, especially the novel which was just beginning to gain popularity. Subscribing to a circulating library such as Aikman's enabled them to read more extensively and at much less cost than if they had to purchase each item outright.

Non-return of borrowed items and pilfering were hazards which Aikman and his successors had to face. As early as March 1780, and several times during that year, Aikman advertised the
forthcoming closure of his circulating library early in 1781. He regretted the inconvenience to such ladies and gentlemen as would wish to peruse the best English authors at a moderate expense. (47)

Before taking this final decision Aikman may well have tried to recoup his losses by auctioning part of the stock, for The Jamaica Mercury of 16 October 1779, advertised a book auction at the New Printing Office, Harbour Street (i.e., at Aikman's printery). It was described as a most valuable collection "most of them new, the best editions and elegantly bound." The sale was advertised for Tuesday the 25th, Wednesday the 26th and Thursday the 27th October, at 5 o'clock in the evening. Wednesday's sale included the most approved law books. The circulating library's stock was apparently auctioned on the 6th and 7th November 1781. (48) The bookshop nevertheless continued to operate for quite some time after.

Bookshops and libraries tend to receive most patronage from individuals closest to where they are located. In 1793, Kingston's white population numbered about 3,000 including children. This would not have produced a sufficient number of subscribers for a viable circulating library. Country members consisted of the most avid readers who were prepared to put themselves to some inconvenience to get to the library.

Outside of Kingston, the next town to have a circulating library was Montego Bay. James Fannin, publisher of the Cornwall
Chronicle in that town, started his St. James Circulating Library some time prior to 1784. (49) His advertisement, requesting ladies and gentlemen still possessing books to return them, suggests that the library was in operation even earlier. Furthermore, he was also announcing revised conditions of membership. The revised subscriptions were advertised at Two Guineas (L2.2.) per annum, paid in advance. Two books were allowed out at one time and could be changed daily between 8.00 a.m. and 6.00 p.m. or could be kept for two weeks.

Fannin must have had problems also with losses because he was about to impose stringent controls—a proper identification by name and address, and if necessary, a deposit to the value of the book borrowed. Subscribers should not relend the books on penalty of forfeiting their membership. A catalogue of the collection was also available at a cost of Five Shillings (5s.). In order to reduce the possibility of disappointment, subscribers were encouraged to send in about 10-12 book numbers. Special consideration was given to persons living some distance from the town and in the adjoining parishes of Hanover and Trelawny. For Five Pounds (L5.) they could receive "a large quantity of books."

If any overdue item formed part of a set, the subscriber would be required to pay for the cost of the whole set. If pages were defaced by writing or tearing, the item would have to be replaced, and if it was part of a set then the whole set would have to be replaced.
Fannin, like Aikman before him, had problems with delinquent subscribers because one of his advertisements sets a deadline of 1 September 1785, after which date delinquent subscribers would be sent a "Bill of Parcels". (50) He may have operated for several years after but must have gone out of business before 1816. Five to ten years seems a reasonable period to expect one of these circulating libraries to remain in business if the organiser was to recover most of his investment.

In February 1816, another library was operating in Montego Bay, as the owner, Asa Wilder, begs leave to inform subscribers that he had added upwards of 700 volumes of the latest publications to his stock. This included novels, romances, sporting magazines etc. A catalogue would soon be ready at a cost of Two Shillings and Sixpence (2s.6d.) from John Fray Esq., and Mrs. Ismay's. (51) Wilder may well have acquired what remained of Fannin's stock.

The third attempt at establishing a circulating library in that town was undertaken by David Wauchope whose proposal for a Public Library and Reading Room appears in the Jamaica Standard of 30 January 1839. (52) Wauchope who claimed to have had experience in "one of the first houses in London" announced that his stock would contain the best historical works, the most amusing biographies, voyages and travels, novels and romances as well as daily and weekly newspapers from London and Edinburgh.
He went the route of first class and second class subscribers. Those who paid an annual subscription of One Dubloon had first choice of new additions and could borrow two sets per time. Country members in that same category would receive three sets. Second class subscribers paid a lower fee and could borrow one set per time. For regular members, a popular annual charge seems to have been about Twelve Shillings (12s.). That would be about what the second class of subscribers paid. A set probably consisted of two or three volumes.

On 13 July, Wauchope further announced a third class of users, i.e., non-subscribers, who would be required to pay on each occasion they borrowed a book. (53)

Although Montego Bay was at the time the second port to Kingston, the town was not large. Moreton estimated 600 houses in 1793 and the 1844 census gives 970 white persons--hardly sufficient to make an improvement on the earlier figure. But the surrounding countryside must have had some persons interested in reading even if their numbers were small. It should be noted that about this time, the Itinerating Library supplied by the SMS also existed in the town, and that in 1843 an Agricultural Society, with possibly a small library, was also operating there.

Even if neither Fannin nor Wilder nor Wauchope managed to make a fortune from their library, they must have had a steady readership, albeit small. The proprietors themselves would not have gone to so much trouble had they not been interested in books and reading. For instance, after the death of Alexander
Aikman in 1838, the *Jamaica Almanack* could record that his library contained almost all that was rare and valuable in West Indian history, including the very valuable manuscripts of Dr. Anthony Robinson on the plants and animals of Jamaica. (54)

Kingston was where most of the circulating library activity took place. From about 1790, two circulating libraries were operating at the same time and within a short distance from each other. In addition, there were coffee-houses and commercial rooms all carrying collections of books and or magazines.

Both George Bower and Thomas Stevenson operated bookshops. Both sold stationery, dry goods and other supplies. Both sold shoes and boots and hats. Bower's *Kingston Circulating Library* and Stevenson and Company's stationery store were in operation in 1786 or earlier. A newspaper advertisement of November of that year, announcing the proposal to publish *A Jamaica Magazine and Literary Miscellany*, included "the circulating library on King St." as well as Stevenson and Company's stationery store, where specimen copies could be inspected. (55)

Bower had problems recovering his books, for in the *Jamaica Gazette* of 26 July 1788, he urged his subscribers to return some 104 titles, "a great number of his most valuable books most ingeniously with-held" from him. His collection shows a fair range of current publications on history, poetry, biography, travels, essays, and education as well as novels, including such titles as *Clarissa Harlowe* and *Roderick Random*. Bower was optimistic that his endeavours would succeed and he begs leave
"to return thanks" to the subscribers who had honoured his Kingston Circulating Library. At the same time he announced his departure for London to augment the collection by about 3,000 volumes.

Bower planned to include ancient and modern authors, natural and moral philosophy, history, memoirs, novels and periodical publications. He promised that the collection would be kept up with regular and early supplies from the most eminent booksellers in London. He also planned to carry some most curious and entertaining pamphlets "for an amusement of such gentlemen as may be inclined to pass an hour in the library." Based upon knowledge of his clients and "with care and judgement" he hoped to present a selection "as cannot fail to challenge, and as he trusts, will receive, general approbation." However, as this was an undertaking of considerable importance he was giving notice of new subscription charges, "the result of which will be the surest test of the public opinion in regard to his proposals." He would call for the money on his return. He also requested his clients to supply him with lists of suitable books for purchase.

The whole exercise must have taken him all of a year. On his return from London, Bower seems to have reorganized the library and changed its name, for the Daily Advertiser of 26 January 1790, advertised for sale a large and general assortment of material—new plays, a historical dictionary of the Gods, Demi-Gods, Heroes etc., at his Jamaica Library. (56) Three days later, he again advertised the same assortment of items, this
time adding prints, gold-burnished picture frames and playing cards; and took the opportunity to "respectfully" acquaint his subscribers that he had new works in the library. Titles mentioned included Cowley's original works published 1674, and Robertson's History of Ancient Greece. On 2 February following, another advertisement gave inkling that he was running into trouble. Here he referred to books removed from the Jamaica Library without permission. He offered an award of Fifty Shillings (50s.), a large sum of money in those times, for a lost pocket book:

Eloped from the Jamaica Library with a person unknown, a young lady's pocket (book) in red morocco dress with a silver lock. (57)

Bowker attempted to set up a law collection in conjunction with his circulating library, and on 29 January 1790, requested "guidance from the profession" of what he should purchase. (58) He was optimistic that a subscription of Five Guineas (L5.5s.) would permit use of the Law Library and the other circulating library. He planned to take the law collection to Spanish Town to accommodate the Assizes meeting there but this seems to have fallen through as within three months, he was requesting his debtors to settle their accounts promptly. He was planning to leave the island owing to his increasing indisposition. On 14 March 1791, the Daily Advertiser announced the stock for auction.

Thomas Stevenson worked for some time in William Aikman's King St. shop, and when Aikman died in 1784, he left the business
to Stevenson and to his younger brother John. The business continued as a stationery store until 1790 when Stevenson managed to get his circulating library collection ready. In September 1788, Stevenson announced proposals for a circulating library which was to comprise a collection of some 3,000 to 4,000 volumes purchased in England by young John Aikman. Subscriptions were set at Three Pounds Five Shillings (L3.5s.) and Two Guineas (L2.2s.)—again differentiating between classes of subscribers. The loan period was 15 days for town members and an additional week for country members. He made every effort to keep the collection up to date. On 7 August 1790, there was an announcement of the arrival of books including William Beckford's History of Jamaica, Gibbon's Roman History, Taplin's Farriery, Gaffe's Cookery, and also a trunk of Smith's dog-skin shoes and other items. (60)

The above books and many others, including novels were available at the Library. Magazines were advertised but these were only for use in the library. An additional catalogue would be printed in a few months. These new additions were processed at great speed, for three weeks later the Kingston Chronicle of 26 August, announced that the stock was now ready although the catalogue was not. In December another shipment arrived.

John Aikman very likely gave up his half interest in the business as there is no further reference to him after his departure for England. Stevenson entered into partnership with
Andrew Aikman, publishing the yearly Almanacks—first the New Jamaica Almanack and Register from 1796 to 1803. Andrew Aikman then became ill and left the island. Stevenson now entered into partnership with Robert Smith. It is possible that the circulating library mentioned by Stewart in his Account of Jamaica, 1808, (61) could have been the one run by Stevenson and his partner. In about 1808, Stevenson retired from the business but it very likely continued under the management of Smith and Kinnear. The Royal Gazette of 22 June 1819, refers to a considerable addition of stock. Robert Smith may also have bought out his partner right after, for on 30 December he announced that although the partnership was being dissolved, he would continue the business alone. He further gave warning that subscribers in arrears for two years and over would be struck from the list unless they made good the outstanding sums. He also announced that he was actively preparing an augmented catalogue. (62)

Prior to 1825, Smith went into another partnership, for on 1 January 1825, Smith and Clarke announced their move to more commodious quarters higher up on King St. For want of adequate room they had found it difficult to conduct their establishment satisfactorily but they had now at considerable expense, fitted up a cool and spacious apartment as a library and reading room for the convenience of their subscribers, "as also gentlemen from the country who may think proper to resort to it as a place of retirement and amusement." (63)
The shop carried a general assortment of stationery and a large collection of books—a catalogue of which, could be obtained on application. Fine binding was executed with neatness and despatch. The partnership possibly continued for nearly 13 years, for on 14 August 1838, they advertised several hundred surplus volumes for sale. Roderick Cave theorizes that they may have sold out to Bravo and Company whose advertisement in the Morning Journal of 2 May 1839, (64) mentions that the library had shrunk to just over 7,000 volumes.* Subscription was set at Five Pounds (L5.) per year and non-subscribers could now borrow at a charge of Fivepence (5d.) per volume plus Tenpence (10d.) per day. The library was apparently still in existence in 1841.

The Bravo mentioned could have been Alexandre Bravo, Member of the House of Assembly for the parish of St. Dorothy's who was described in 1835 as a Jew, and infidel, and one of the wealthiest men in the parish. He is supposed to have had a large library with a heavy concentration of French authors, including works by Voltaire and Rousseau. (65)

Coffee-Houses and Commercial Rooms

Serving a slightly different purpose was the coffee-house, patterned on the style of the English coffee-houses, where men of discernment met for political and literary conversation as well as for the exchange of commercial and other news. In

* The largest size so far mentioned for any of these libraries.
February 1783, James Doddington announced that he had taken over the coffee-house lately occupied by Mr. Jenkins and was about to open it "on Wednesday next" as the Exchange Coffee-House. There, a regular marine list would be kept which he would endeavour to maintain efficiently for the convenience of his clients. Beef steaks, gravy, soups and so on, would be available between 11.00 a.m. and 2.00 p.m. (66)

Thomas Edie's coffee-house was in existence in 1786. (67) It also provided a resting place for out of town folk on their visits to the city. There they could have a meal of soup and cold victuals with vegetables. A special room furnished with newspapers and lists of current prices "for entertainment and information" was open to subscribers. A marine book, which he claimed was the most accurate record of vessels calling at Port Royal and other ports in the island, could also be consulted there. Opening hours were from 7.00 a.m. to 10 p.m. Non-subscribers could have access to these facilities on payment of a fee. (68)

The Kingston Commercial Room which opened on 7 July 1817, was possibly modelled after the style of the coffee-house. It supplied much the same type of material and services. There were newspapers, maps, charts, a look-out telescope and refreshments. The usual subscription would have been a requirement. The commercial room was still in existence in 1839. (69)
Morant Bay to the east of the island also had a Circulating Library and Commercial Room in 1819, operated by D. Wilson and Company, which opened from 7.00 a.m. to 8 p.m. daily. It offered stabling for horses and a post-chaise as well as the usual books, foreign periodicals and newspapers. Wilson attempted to accommodate as many types of subscribers as possible. The regular subscription was one Dubloon per annum but masters of vessels paid half price of Eight Dollars ($8). In addition, persons residing 20 miles and over from the town were facilitated by longer loan periods and the opportunity to borrow more books at one time. (70)

An advertisement on 10 July 1822, announces a Circulating Library and Commercial Rooms to be opened at Morant Bay on Monday, 22nd instant, "for which an excellent assortment of books is already provided." The organiser, James Scott, (so runs the advertisement) had arranged for a respectable London bookseller to supply him, from time to time, with new publications including novels and periodicals. Subscription was set at One Dubloon per annum. A printed catalogue would be circulated as soon as it was ready. (71) It is not clear if this James Scott had a father of the same name, or if the business had continued under the original name of the firm, for it would appear that a James Scott had already died sometime before April 1822.

The whole parish of St. Thomas, in 1844, had a population of not more than 486 white persons, including children—a population
too small to support a successful circulating library. The location of the parish capital, about 15-20 miles from the adjoining parishes of Portland to the north and St. David to the West, did not encourage residents of these parishes to journey to Morant Bay by horse and buggy, over rough hilly terrain to use a small collection, when, with the same effort they could get to Kingston. It seems unlikely that the library did not survive for long.

Of special interest is Francis Egan's Circulating Library which specialized in elementary and scientific works as well as in music—both vocal and instrumental. Egan's significance lies in the fact that he elected to set local songs to music and to publish and sell them. He must surely have been one of the earliest arrangers of these songs. His pieces include titles such as "Prentice's Song of Liberty Addressed to his Pickninny" * "The Pinda Boy" ** "Massa Tommy", "St. Mary Sha Sha" and "Lady Mango Flew Away". All the above appeared one year after the apprenticeship system had been introduced, at a time when folk music would have been frowned upon by the majority of the ruling class. (72) When Egan's stock was to be disposed of in 1836, there were still some 948 items remaining. (73)

*Pickninny means child

**Pinda means peanut. Pindaboy is a seller of peanuts.
Alexander Aikman Jr. may not have operated a circulating library but through the years, certainly from 1811, he kept announcing lists of music scores as well as novels—all imported. His 1817 list contained more than 67 items of music, and in 1819 he was advertising long lists of the same material.

The common factor with all these circulating libraries was that the proprietors hoped to make a profit from their efforts. They all suffered from too small stocks, infrequent supplies of new books and inadequate financing. 2,000 to 3,000 general works could not give a sufficient range of choices. Proprietors were caught in a dilemma; if they charged a fair subscription, membership would fall; and if they charged lower rates they could possibly get more subscribers, but the returns would not be sufficient to make the undertaking worthwhile. There were also the problems of non-return of books and, in some instances, pilfering. The most popular works were the ones most likely to disappear first. As organizers were not in a position to replenish the stock at the rate required, they could not maintain the readership and eventually went out of business.

Book Clubs and Reading Societies

The nineteenth century saw another type of library organized by groups of persons wishing to have a ready supply of reading matter. By pooling resources and purchasing items which could then be circulated, and gave members access to far more books than they could have bought individually.
The earliest reading society so far identified is the Kingston Medical Society. Between 1793 and 1794, "a malignant fever" swept the island and baffled the medical profession for many months. As a result of this, on 4 September 1794, the local practitioners formed the Kingston Medical Society. (75) Many of the books that went into this library were possibly acquired immediately after the society was inaugurated. In 1799, there were 16 full members and 16 corresponding members with a Dr. A. Smith as librarian. (76) The size of the potential membership would have been limited by the number of licensed practitioners on the island. As late as 1861, when the census report for the first time indicated population by profession, the number (minus those not recorded for the parish of St. Catherine) was only 66. A membership of 32 in the Kingston Medical Society 67 years earlier, seems a fair representation of the possible number of doctors then. Limited numbers and poor finances undoubtedly inhibited the expansion of the library.

Doctors were not the only specialist group to set up libraries. There was an Agricultural Society in Montego Bay in 1806 or earlier, (77) and the Jamaica Almanack of 1825 refers to a Jamaica Horticultural Society. (78) The growing popularity of agricultural societies can be seen from the fact that in 1843 the Royal Agricultural Society was founded under the patronage of the Earl of Elgin, Governor of the island, and that before the
year was over, there were branches in 11 parishes.*

That very year the House of Assembly voted the sum of One Hundred Pounds (L100.) for the importation of "agricultural models and works." The books were to be distributed among those societies having at least 50 members. The publications must have been well received for the *Jamaica Almanack* of 1844 (79) highlighted them as likely to provide the Societies with useful information. Two years later, in 1846, there were branches in 15 of the 19 parishes.

On 30 March 1864, the Royal Agricultural Society of Jamaica and the Jamaica Society of Arts were incorporated by Act of the Legislature into a new association, *The Royal Society of Arts and Agriculture*, which sometime before 1868, opened a museum to the public. The reorganized society was never vibrant although the *Blue Book for the Island for the year, 1865*, (80) refers to it as the "Royal Society of Arts", Kingston, and gives the combined membership as 150.

The *Jamaica Society of Arts* which afforded "assistance to such as were desirous of enquiring into various branches of Art and Science as well as encouraging improvements in agriculture and horticulture" (81) appears to have overlapped with the Agricultural Society for a few years. This society which started in 1825 remained operational until 1864, when the merger took place.

* St. Catherine, St. Thomas-in-the-vale, St. James, Clarendon, St. John, St. Andrew, Trelawny, St. Elizabeth, St. Dorothy, St. Thomas-in-the-East and St. Mary.
In 1843, the Society of Arts had a membership of about 109, and owned or rented premises at 143 Harbour St., Kingston, where it maintained a library cum museum. The stock varied from 1,000 to 1,600 volumes, with mineral specimens, collections of shells, zoological preparations etc., numbering about 1,100 items. Quarterly meetings were held "in the circulating library" when premiums were awarded for the best specimens of fruits, flowers and other products.

Both the Agricultural Society and the Jamaica Society of Arts faced constant financial worries, for in 1856 the Society of Arts made representations to the Colonial Office for assistance. (82) It presented an 18 page pamphlet setting out the objectives of a Royal Society of Arts and the need for a museum with a library and lecture room attached. The petition noted that "means are not at command in the island to enable the Council of the Society to act efficiently," and it deemed it necessary to make an urgent appeal to Her Majesty's Government for assistance. (83)

It seems to have taken a long time before the Society received any meaningful response, since the merger and change of name did not take place until eight years later. The Royal Society of Arts and Agriculture then began to receive an annual subsidy of One Hundred and Fifty Pounds (L150). But this eventually proved inadequate, and in 1873, the Society requested Government to take over the museum and library. This eventually happened in 1878, and the whole stock of books and specimens were
incorporated into the newly established Institute of Jamaica in 1879.

Other leading clubs sprang up in several parts of the island. The earliest so far identified, the St. Elizabeth Club, was at Black River. There are several references to it in the Royal Gazette of August 1811, but like others before and after, the St. Elizabeth Club had the usual problems of management, lack of facilities and money and on 10 April 1819, it was wound up. A general meeting was called at Miss Hook's Lodging House, Black River, "for the purpose of dividing the books of the club and for settlement of the accounts." (84) Members still having books in their possession were requested to return them immediately. The notice also stated that dinner would be provided.

The organizers may have had to abandon the project after eight years, but the idea of a library still persisted. In the Jamaica Almanack of 1838, there is reference to the St. Elizabeth Library formed in 1837. Six years later it was still functioning, as the Jamaica Almanack affirmed in reporting the list of officers including the librarian. (85)

The St. George's Library Society founded by Robert Dunbar in May 1824, appears to have been the society that had the greatest impact on the spread of libraries during this period. The facilities were located in the "lately built" Court House at Buff Bay. According to the 1836 Jamaica Almanack, the parish of St. George was "the only one in the island which can boast a public library."
The report also gives the stock as 500.* (86) In 1838 the St. George's Library had a membership of 79. A year later it was described as follows:

(It) has since rapidly increased in prosperity and usefulness and has conferred great benefits on the Community by diffusing into it a taste for mental accomplishments and acquirements, to an extent which did not previously exist. Its success has given rise to similar institutions in several parishes.

(87)

In 1844, it was referred to as "an old established library and book club society", having been in existence for 20 years. The library no doubt owed its success to the personal attention of Robert Dunbar, a graduate of St. Andrew's University, Scotland. One of Dunbar's estates was only about 7 miles from the town of Buff Bay, therefore within easy riding distance of the library.

The 1844 Census for the parish of St. George gives the number of inhabitants as 8,800, including blacks and coloureds. Based on the average ratio of white to black during the period, the potential number of white users could not have been more than about 400 or approximately one twenty-second part of the total. Even if all white servants used the library, and it is fairly safe to say they did not, the ratio of user to white population would have been about one in five—a not insignificant proportion of the literate population of the parish at the time.

* This figure was deleted in the copy of the almanack examined by this writer, which gives the impression that it was not accurate.
Sometime after 1844 the stock of 1,500 volumes was taken over by the Custos of the Parish, the Hon. William Hosack "in lieu of a debt of One Hundred and Four Pounds (£104.) due to him for books sent out from England". (89) In 1880, Hosack agreed to transfer the books to the recently established Institute of Jamaica on condition that the Institute establish a branch library in the parish of St. George. Mr. Maunsell, Hosack's agent, had custody of the library books and was requested to have a catalogue of the contents compiled.

Even though the library was officially defunct, the books apparently continued in use, for when the town residents learned that they were to be transferred to Kingston, there was strong protest from certain elements. The Governor of the island, anxious to see to the setting up of the branch library, contacted the Custos but his unfavourable report on the likelihood of public support was discouraging and the matter was laid to rest for the time being.

The size of the collection has been given at around 800, but a listing of the collection received by the Institute of Jamaica, dated 1890, notes 234 complete works and 223 incomplete, of which only 36 seem to have been added to the Institute's stock. Even if the St. George's library had started well and been operating successfully for a long time, 60 years later the stock would have been badly run down.

St. Mary may also have had a circulating library for in 1834, a public meeting was called at the court house at
Mannings Town* for the purpose of forming the St. Mary Circulating Library. The group met again in 1836 (89) at the same place but nothing more is known of their activities. The town at that time already had an itinerating library.

Other reading clubs were coming into existence. A note in the 1838 Jamaica Almanack credits "two gentlemen of the city" for the origin of the Athenaeum Club and Library, established 1 November 1826, at the corner of George's Lane and Milk St. in Kingston. (90) The Athenaeum started with a committee of more than thirteen officers, and a membership of 35. Two years later, membership had risen to 145. It was said then to be an extensive library comprised of the most literary, useful and entertaining works. Abundant means are here afforded to the junior members of storing their minds with useful knowledge and of profitably spending their leisure hours ... also, there is the additional privilege of gaining information from their elders. (91)

The library was in existence up to 1843, but became defunct at some later stage. The annual report of the Kingston Athenaeum of 31 March 1906, gives a summary of the years from 1900 and notes that the Society was started 1 March 1899. It is therefore unlikely that there was any link between the old Athenaeum of

* Mannings Town was a 90 acre estate bequeathed to the poor of St. Mary by Thomas Manning in 1710. By Act of Parliament in 1816, the poor were relocated on another estate to enable a new town to be laid out there. This became the "new town" of Port Maria which 18 years after the transaction was still being referred to as Mannings Town.
1826 and the later organization of 1899. The later society will be discussed in the following pages.

The St. Dorothy's Reading Society "for the introduction of new publications and periodicals" merged with the St. Dorothy's Agricultural Society when that society was formed some time about 1838. (92)

The Colonial Library and Reading Society in Kingston, survived from October 1849 to 1868, when it was reorganized as the Kingston Literary and Reading Society. The Colonial Library and Reading Society started with two librarians. In 1855 it had approximately 1,700 volumes, adding over 500 in three years. Nine years later, in 1864, it had a stock of about 3,000. The collection comprised such topics as British Empire History, wars, the French Revolution and works on Greece, Egypt and France. Biography numbered 185, and consisted mainly of lives of painters, sculptors, members of the British royal family, military generals, political figures and Shakespeare. There were also some 310 works of English Literature, 16 on Theology and 175 miscellaneous items. Popular novelists included Scott, Cooper, Bulwer, Maryatt, Dickens and George Elliot. There were 21 reference works, sets of encyclopaedia, language dictionaries, atlases, dictionaries of quotations etc. The Society subscribed to 35 overseas periodicals and 12 newspapers (local newspapers were not listed). "Editors of journals of this city" were admitted as honorary members if they furnished the Society with
copies of their papers on the day of issue. (93)

Applicants for membership to the Colonial Library and Reading Society had to be recommended by two members in good standing. Members residing five miles or more from the city were termed "transient". Conditions of membership changed from time to time to meet current needs. There were "first class", i.e., honorary life members who paid Five Pounds (L5.) in cash or donated the equivalent in books within six months and then paid another Ten Pounds (L10.). There was also the usual entrance fee of Ten Shillings and Sixpence (10s.6d.). In 1850 this fee was reduced to Five Shillings (5s.) for the benefit of ladies who were then admitted on the same terms as regular members except for the privilege of voting. (94)

Honorary members were persons thought to have literary merit such as editors of the local newspapers. Edward Jordan, editor and bookshop operator, was one of the few coloured persons, if not the only one, to become a member.

The Society's half-yearly meeting of 15 April 1850, showed an income of One Hundred and Fifty-Three Pounds One Shilling (L153.1.) of which One Hundred and Fifty Pounds Two Shillings and a Penny (L150.2.1.) was expended on books. In 1855, the balance sheet showed One Hundred and Forty-Four Pounds Three Shillings and Fivepence Halfpenny (L144.3.51/2.) of which One Hundred and Twenty-Three Pounds Eight Shillings and Tenpence (L123.8.10.) had been spent. (95)
At the inaugural meeting, the guest speaker was none other than the Rev. James Watson of Lucea. The Society's aim was "the improvement of the mind by the diffusion of general information, and the providing of intellectual amusement for those who compose it." (96)

The unreliability of subscriptions as a means of support is demonstrated in the first half-yearly meeting held in April 1850. Of the 140 subscribing members, 57 were in arrears to the amount of Twenty-One Pounds (L21.). The book stock stood at 524 of which 289 were donated and 235 purchased. By October of that year, the collection had grown to 880 volumes. After four years the membership had increased by only 31 and of that number 18 were honorary. In over ten years, from 1849 to 1859, the membership rose to only 236, and there is no indication that they were all in good standing.

Subscribers could take out one new book and one magazine for seven days; they were not permitted to reloan them to any one else, and the penalty for doing so was a fine of Two Shillings and Sixpence (2s.6p.). The Library was run by the committee of thirteen, whose main job was to select and import the books and periodicals and to regulate the finances. The society apparently received much of its stock from popular library book suppliers, for it is recorded as having complete sets of Bohm's Standard Library, Murray's Home and Colonial Library, and the Family Library. The library opened every day except Sundays, from 9.00
a.m. to 6.00 p.m. four days per week and from 9.00 a.m. to 9.00 p.m. on Wednesdays and Saturdays. (97) It was located on King St. in premises rented at Twenty-Four Pounds (L24.) per year. Lectures were a regular feature, delivered by "several gentlemen of knowledge and erudition." Prominent among them was Richard Hall of Spanish Town who gave six lectures in the first six months on a variety of topics.

In May 1856, the Royal Society of Arts of Jamaica sought membership in the Colonial Library and Reading Society and was informed that the president or secretary could be admitted on payment of the entrance fee and subscription. But this was not what the Royal Society had in mind. It was seeking an arrangement which would allow its members additional reading privileges.

In the first year, some persons took out subscriptions in order to assist the fledgling society, and others donated books but after that these subscriptions ceased. Membership and stock fluctuated and loss by delinquency and theft plagued the society. The November meeting of 1853, records 1,306 items added, of which 306 could not be accounted for; and the 1864 report shows 151 fiction and 44 non-fiction items missing. Despite these problems the committee of 1853 was pleased to report an increase in the "number of young men of the city who had demonstrated a taste for reading." For all this optimism, the library was severely
handicapped by size of stock and membership. The following figures demonstrate this:

TABLE V

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>LOANS</th>
<th>MEMBERSHIP</th>
<th>DELINQUENTS</th>
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<tr>
<td>1849/1850</td>
<td></td>
<td>140</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1849 (1 mth.)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 1850</td>
<td>123</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb. &amp; Mar. 1850</td>
<td>168</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1852 May (2 yrs.?)</td>
<td>1,742</td>
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<td>1853</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>April (6 mths.)</td>
<td>1,516</td>
<td>110</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov. (7 mths.?)</td>
<td>1,926</td>
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<td>1854</td>
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<tr>
<td>May (6 mths.)</td>
<td>2,205</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. (6 mths.)</td>
<td>2,693</td>
<td>162</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>May (6 mths.)</td>
<td>2,335</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov. (6 mths.)</td>
<td>2,693</td>
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<td>1856</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>May-Oct. 1856</td>
<td>2,173</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

The society was reorganized in 1863 and renamed the Kingston Literary and Reading Society. (90) It remained in the same premises and had the same officers as the original society. At the outset, the new society, conscious of earlier financial problems charged subscriptions of Twenty Shillings (20s.) per annum paid in advance. Members living more than five miles from the city were charged a lower rate of Twelve Shillings (12s.) as it was assumed that they would not make as great use of the
facilities. The stock was then 3,000.

When the society ran into financial trouble in 1870, it gave up the rented premises and moved to more modest quarters in a room at the Mico School. The society was on its way to becoming defunct. At the end, the books were divided among the remaining members. The society's records were regrettably destroyed in the fire of 1882.

There were reading societies in several other parishes during the 1880's. The Falmouth Reading Association is listed as having been in operation in 1850, but the usual troubles are reflected in subsequent changes of name. There is reference to a Trelawny Literary Society which ran for about 8 years to 1858 when a new society was formed. This new society could have been the Trelawny Mutual Improvement Society which in 1858 had a membership of 112. It was located on Market St. in Falmouth in 1859, and charged a subscription of Thirty-Six Shillings (36s.) per annum with an entrance fee of Five Shillings (5s.) (99)

The Spanish Town Reading Room Association may have given way to the St. Catherine Literary Society which ran for nine years from 1852 to 1861. (100) The St. Ann Library Society started about the same time and at one stage had about 2,000 to 3,000 volumes. It too, charged Thirty Shillings (30s.) subscription and an entrance fee of Five Shillings (5s.). (101)

In 1859 St. James once again listed a Society of Arts. There were also three Improvement Societies operating in the island
about this time which had libraries. They were the Trelawny Society already mentioned and two in Kingston, the Mutual Improvement Society which survived for about three or four years to 1867 and the Young Men's Improvement Society from 1863 to 1870. (102) The latter must have been sufficiently active to require two librarians in 1867.

Parochial libraries, itinerating libraries, circulating libraries, reading clubs and literary societies existed in at least 9 parishes prior to the establishment of the Institute of Jamaica in 1879. It is also worthy of note that country subscribers from as far afield as the parishes of St. George on the north and Hanover to the far west used the libraries in Kingston. But membership in these organizations remained limited to a privileged few. The great majority, especially the black and coloured population, were not normally eligible for membership. The 1861 census records 60,724 persons of all colours able to read, 50,726 able to read and write and 33,521 attending school, yet at no time did any of these societies have as many as 300 members.

Some Other Libraries

There is a Colonial Office dispatch dated 29 July 1865, which refers to an earlier communication of 18 May, which states that copies of laws were to be sent to the Crown Agents from Lincoln's Inn, the Inner and the Middle Temple libraries presumably for Colonial Law Libraries including Jamaica. (103) Fourteen years later, in 1879, Gall's Who's Who and What's What
in Jamaica, 1879-1880, gives credit to the law librarian for the manner in which the library was kept. It further notes that the library was maintained from subscription of the profession "who have access to it at all times." (104)

The Jamaica Chamber of Commerce, strategically located at the corner of Duke and Port Royal Streets adjoining the Royal Mail Wharf, carried on the earlier tradition of commercial rooms. In 1876 it had "a public news room and industrial exhibition in which are exhibited newspapers from all parts of the world ... a circulating library and a library of reference." (105) It opened daily from 7.00 a.m. to 8.00 p.m. and its secretary was the local printer and bookseller, James Gall.

The earliest mention of the libraries of the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council is in 1806, (106), (107) but it would appear that these libraries were in existence prior to that date. In 1809 the names of two officers in charge of the libraries are given and through the years until 1865, reference is made to these libraries, sometimes recording the names of "librarians" and the wages they received. The libraries were transferred from Spanish Town to Kingston in 1872, amalgamated, and then opened to the general public in 1874. The reorganized library was located in an old inn and hostelry, Date Tree Hall, at the corner of East and Tower Streets. Over the years a number of persons with obviously no preparation for the job served as librarian. They included the sergeant-at-arms, and the messenger
of the legislature.

The last of the librarians, a Mr. MacNab had held the post of librarian of the Council at Two Hundred Pounds (£200.) per year and the post of inspector of Government printing at another Two Hundred Pounds (£200.). Because he was now "broken in health" it was thought necessary that he should be replaced but MacNab pleaded to be allowed to carry on as librarian and reporter at the smaller salary of Two Hundred Pounds (£200.).

From time to time the Government allocated funds to purchase books. In 1821 the House of Assembly directed the Receiver General to import "sundry books" for the use of the House. (108) The proceedings of the House of Assembly for 1857 also list 80 titles (in 168 volumes) added. Deploring the absence of proper rules, the House instructed the Library Committee to address this matter. The rules in the printed catalogue of 1865, apparently prepared after 1857, provide for daily opening except Saturdays, Sundays and public holidays, from 10.00 a.m. to 3.30 p.m. The libraries served primarily the members of the Assembly and the Council and their friends. The latter could be granted such privilege at the discretion of the Librarian or on the recommendation of a member of the Council or Assembly. (108)

The 1865 catalogue shows a strong collection of works related to administrative functions, the promotion of local agricultural industries, and road building as well as many works on military and historical matters. More than 645 volumes from
this collection survive at the Institute of Jamaica. The most relevant titles on the West Indies were transferred at some early date to the West Indian collection. The others were kept for historic interest. They consist mainly of historical works, military exploits and the like. The 1857 report provides a detailed account of expenditure, almost all of which went to the purchase of books, and would indicate that an average of Two Hundred Pounds (L200.) was spent annually.

The 1865 printed catalogue indicates that some effort was made to sustain interest in the libraries, but this apparently failed for the libraries were closed in 1866. Their transfer in 1872 to the more populous Kingston, which became the island's capital in that year, eventually made the books more freely accessible to a wider cross-section of the public.
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THE INSTITUTE OF JAMAICA

Enabling Legislation

The Institute of Jamaica Act 27 Victoria, Cap. 22 of 7 May 1879, was designed to encourage the pursuit of Literature, Science and Art in Jamaica. The Act empowered a Board of Governors to establish and maintain in Kingston an institution comprising a public library, reading room, museum and collection of works and illustrations of science and art; provide for the reading of papers and the delivery of lectures and courses of instruction and the holding of examinations on subjects connected with Literature, Science and Art; provide and award premiums for the encouragement of literary, scientific and artistic work; provide for the holding from time to time of exhibitions illustrative of the arts, crafts and industries of Jamaica. (1)

General Overview

Over the years, the Institute assumed the role of cultural catalyst for the nation and has created departments to chart new directions and to implement its policies. A great many developments have derived either directly or indirectly from its work in Education, Natural History, Literature and the Arts.

From the beginning the Institute organized exhibitions of local products, crafts, painting and sculpture. The creation of a national art gallery in 1974, marked a culmination of this activity.
In 1889 it organized the first series of Art Classes under the direction of a Miss Long, a teacher from the South Kensington Art School, London. When she left the island in 1892, the classes continued for another 21 years and then petered out. It was mainly a small group of white people who attended these classes, which dealt primarily with flower painting in oils and water colours. In 1940, formal classes for adults began again under the guidance of the sculptor Edna Manley and a team including Cecil Baugh (potter), Alvin Marriott (sculptor) Vera Cummings and Albert Huie (painters). Together, they produced a group of enthusiastic practitioners who were later to make their name nationally and internationally. These classes led eventually to the establishment of the Jamaica School of Art in 1950.

The Institute encouraged music as an art form, with the first series of lectures beginning in 1896. The emphasis was on classical music and to some extent sight and part singing but the appeal was limited. When the Institute much later began lunch hour concerts in the 1940's, the emphasis was once again placed on European classical music. The wealth of indigenous folk tunes and rhythms was ignored. Later, the concert series provided some exposure to a limited number of young Jamaican musicians; but it was the music workshops directed by an able elementary school teacher Mrs. Daphne Vidal-Smith, in 1951, that elicited enthusiastic response from the children and caused the Junior Centre to continue its classes in instrumental and vocal music.
The establishment of the Cultural Training Centre in 1976, as one of the Divisions of the Institute, incorporated the School of Art (1950), the School of Music which started as a private independent body and limited liability company (1961), the School of Drama which began as a part-time institution under the aegis of the Little Theatre Movement (1969), and the School of Dance founded (1970) by the National Dance Theatre Company.

The Jamaica Portrait Gallery established in 1892 "to encourage a love of historic and biographic study" and to house portraits of deceased celebrities and benefactors of the island, brought together hundreds of portraits of eminent personalities (even if their execution was not always of merit). The collection of paintings and photographs, records Jamaican landscapes and lifestyles from the late nineteenth century and "Jamaican Scenery" from 1906.

The Museums Division is one of the original units created in 1879 and has responsibility for thousands of Jamaican historical artifacts. The division includes the Arawak Indian Museum located on the site of one of the largest Arawak middens in Jamaica, near Spanish Town; the Old King's House Archaeological Museum at Spanish Town; the Jamaica People's Museum of Craft and Technology, also at Spanish Town; the Fort Charles Maritime Museum at Port Royal; the Forces Museum at the Up Park Military Camp; and the National Museum of Historical Archaeology at Port Royal.
The Natural History Museum, also started in the early days, contains a large herbarium of over 125,000 specimens of West Indian plants. In addition, there are collections of insects and spiders along with a fine collection of rare publications.

The Institute has always published books and periodicals whenever such operations proved possible and several Jamaican authors have had their works issued under its imprimatur. The _Jamaica Journal_ which has appeared regularly since 1967, covers a wide spectrum of the island's cultural and artistic life, and is a splendid record of such development. Reproductions of famous original prints from the National Library's collection as well as works from modern Jamaican masters are included among the publications. The Institute's Musgrave Medals of gold, silver and bronze are highly prized awards in the fields of literature, science and art.

The Junior Centre came into being as the result of an initial suggestion by W.R. Durie, a Kingston businessman and publisher of the _Jamaica Times_ newspaper, who proposed to the Institute's Board on 1 October 1909, that the Institute should establish a "lending branch" of the General Library, for young people 14 to 19 years of age, who could not afford to pay subscriptions either to the Institute or to the Athenaeum. Within a month, this free corner was in operation and became an ongoing feature which grew in importance. Eventually, in 1939, the Board agreed to erect a building to house the children's library. This
was opened as the Junior Centre on 31 March 1940. Robert G. Verity was appointed its first director with the main purpose being to encourage cultural awareness among the youth 5 to 18 years old.

In addition to providing library services to the young, Verity organized Lunch Hour Concerts and Art, Dance and Music classes. The approach was non-elitist and out of these programmes in the 1940's and 50's, children from working class homes became exposed to creative activities which would normally have been out of their reach. In addition, such organizations as the Poetry League of Jamaica, and the Musical Society of Jamaica used the Institute regularly for meetings, concerts, contests and other events.

The Institute has played a very critical role in the development of cultural awareness in Jamaica and in the growth of national consciousness. The founding of the division of the African Caribbean Institute of Jamaica, an area neglected in the past, has served to emphasize the fact that the antecedents of upwards of 90% of the population of the island came from Africa, and to focus interest on African traditions which have influenced the development of Jamaican cultural and artistic life. Thus in the search for a Jamaican identity, this aspect of the work of the Institute remains critical. But it is perhaps the work in libraries and library development, and in particular the establishment of the West India Reference Library (WIRL), now the
National Library of Jamaica, that has proven to be the Institute's greatest contribution to Jamaica. The National Library possesses the finest collection of Jamaican research materials anywhere in the world outside of the British Museum. This collection was spearheaded by Frank Cundall who served as Secretary and Librarian of the Institute of Jamaica from 1891 to 1937: over 45 years of unremitting labour.

Cundall was an established writer at age 33, when he came to Jamaica from England. He had edited several art books and had begun to work with his father, Joseph Cundall, on the 38 volume Illustrated Biographies of Great Artists. It was perhaps his involvement in the organization of several exhibitions in London and elsewhere which attracted the Jamaican Government's attention to him.

The creation of the Institute's picture and art galleries was a logical extension of his interest in the Arts and in time he came to develop an interest in the early period of Jamaican history. H.P. Jacobs describes his contribution thus:

The astonishing thing about his historical work is its broad sweep, the all-embracing character of his interests, and the rigid consistency with which he collected every kind of material for a wide range of purposes. By the end of the century, he had made a beginning of collecting books on Africa, and he seems at a very early date to have realized his work must be in part West Indian in scope. He collected everything--copies of manuscripts, pictures, photographs, maps, account books. He accumulated data from letters of
enquiry. He obtained from Spain typescripts of the old official documents about Spanish Jamaica, and a century and a half of history took on a new aspect. (2)

The launching of the Institute and the direction it took assume even greater significance when viewed against the social background of those times.

Social Background

Sir John Peter Grant who became Governor of Jamaica on 6 August 1866, assumed the difficult task of stabilizing the island's social and economic condition, following upon the Morant Bay Rebellion of 11 October 1865.

After Emancipation in 1834, local legislation generally favoured the planters and restricted the social and political advancement of the masses, thereby keeping them dependent upon the plantations. For example, a freeholder who had managed to acquire a small plot of land after Emancipation, who earned Six Pounds (£6) per annum from his property, and who wished to exercise the right to vote, was taxed Twelve Shillings (12s) per year for the privilege. Eventually when this unjust bill was withdrawn the smallholder was still charged stamp duty of Ten Shillings (10s.). Naturally very few of those eligible to vote chose to exercise this right.

Other social benefits once available under slavery were also denied; there was no longer medical aid for the sick, help for the destitute, or any redress for genuine grievances. Philip Curtin notes that of 256 cases before the magistrates in St.
Thomas-in-the-East in 1864, in only two cases were planters the defendants; 139 cases were brought on the complaint of planters compared with 78 by workers. (3) Punishment on the treadmill was reinstated for certain offenses as was flogging for stealing fruits and foodstuffs. Many persons found themselves evicted from cottages they had built and were living in, and from plots of land they had cultivated for years. Houses were taxed not on size and value but on the number of able-bodied persons living in them. Such persons either paid the tax in cash or had it commuted to labour of an average of one full day's work per week.

Rumblings of discontent surfaced from time to time, but it was Governor Edward Eyre's apparent insensitivity to the plight of the masses after he took up office in 1862, and his support of the unfair practices mentioned above that triggered off the confrontation on 11 October, 1865, popularly known as the Morant Bay Rebellion. In a despatch to the Colonial Office, dated 2 March 1865, Eyre acknowledged:

It is undeniable that wages are low, and necessaries are dearer than in former years; therefore the mere labourer for hire is necessarily poorer ... Applications for private relief are no more numerous than formerly, and there are, no doubt, many instances of extreme poverty and distress ... Deterioration, decadence, and decay are everywhere noticeable, and the elements which ought to sustain and improve the national character and progress of the country are gradually disappearing. (4)

Petitions were made on behalf of the aggrieved by a few caring persons both locally and in Great Britain. These included
the wealthy coloured Independent Baptist preacher, George William Gordon and Dr. Edward Underhill, Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society in London but such efforts were of no avail. Governor Eyre circulated Underhill's letter throughout the island requesting comments from prominent persons and Government officials who replied as expected, that economic hardships existed, but that these were due to the laziness of the blacks. These attempts to discredit Underhill's letter exacerbated prevailing conditions and intensified protest meetings which became known as "Underhill Meetings". The situation grew even more volatile in the following April, when a petition to the Queen from "The Poor People of Jamaica and the Parish of St. Ann's ..." to open up the Crown Lands for their use brought a curt reply, "The Queen's Letter", from the Colonial Office advising petitioners to look to their own industry and merits for an improvement of their situation.

The outburst came in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, notorious for an oppressive and corrupt administration by the Custos, Baron von Ketelhodt, and his lay magistrates. On 11 October 1865, Paul Bogle, a lay deacon in one of George William Gordon's churches and a group of 200 peasants marched from the village of Stony Gut and attacked the Court House at Morant Bay, where the local Vestry of elected members and lay magistrates were meeting under guard of the local militia. The marchers killed the 30 vestrymen present, burned the Court House and
opened the gaol.

Eyre's retaliation was swift and excessive. He declared martial law and with undue severity brought the uprising under control. 354 persons were court-martialled and executed, 600 flogged, 1,000 houses burned down and soldiers unleashed their vengeance through looting and rape. (5) Gordon was brought to Morant Bay, tried and hanged as the ringleader of the "black rebellion". In Eyre's own words, "The retribution has been so prompt and so terrible that it is never likely to be forgotten." (6) For his excessive zeal, Eyre was suspended and finally dismissed from the Colonial Service.

A Crown Colony type government replaced 200 years of self rule and it took almost 100 years before even this limited constitutional state was restored. The reduced status gave the newly appointed Governor Grant, a free hand to institute changes without reference to any local elected body. He introduced more equitable tax measures, placing the additional burden on those who could pay; raised trade licenses and introduced the differential tax on houses which brought some measure of relief to the poor; by redefining parish boundaries and reducing their number from 22 to 14, he facilitated local government reform; and transferred the seat of government from Spanish Town to the more prosperous and populous city of Kingston in 1872. In commenting upon the educational reforms which were also introduced, the Falmouth Post noted, "He knows that in order to promote the well-being of the body-politic the education of the people must be
encouraged."

The First Public Library

With the transfer of the island's Capital to Kingston in 1872, came the libraries of the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council, both of which had become defunct sometime after 1866. Shortly before Governor Grant demitted office in January 1874, he ordered the combined and reorganized libraries opened to the general public.

Library members were required to pay a subscription as they had done in the past for circulating libraries, but for the very first time Jamaica had a public library. Government's contribution of One Hundred Pounds (L100.) for books was not a large sum even in those days, but it assured a steady operation which none of the earlier libraries had ever achieved. An old inn and hostelry, Date Tree Hall, bought in 1870, in anticipation of the relocation of government offices from Spanish Town, and situated at the corner of East and Tower Streets, was selected to house the library. The facility, almost in the centre of the city proved ideal for Kingstonians. Their use of it undoubtedly influenced the Governor, Sir Anthony Musgrave, in 1879, to establish the Institute of Jamaica.

The public library which had been opened in 1874, now became the nucleus of the Institute's collection. In addition, the Institute received the extant works from the defunct Royal Society of Arts and Agriculture, handed over to the Government in
1873 for lack of funds. (This collection included the original geological surveys of the island assembled by James Gay Sawkins in the 1860's.) It also took over the remaining collection from the St. George's Library and Reading Society at Buff Bay, and benefitted from gifts and exchanges from the British Museum, Johns Hopkins University and the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, whose officers were instrumental in identifying and classifying the Natural History collection. The complex on East Street comprised a library, reading room and museum, and on the same premises but not directly connected, the Government Chemist's Laboratory.

The Institute started off with a Board of seven recruited from the ruling elite. The Hon. Edward Newton, Lieutenant Governor in 1879, appointed himself a member of the first Board of Governors. Other members included the Attorney General, E.L.O'Mally; the Deputy Surgeon General, C.B.Mosse; the Hon. H.J. Kemble, Custos of Kingston; the Hon. Dr. Hamilton, Member of the Legislative Council; the Rev. John Radcliffe of the Established Church of Scotland and Dr. J.C. Phillippo, a Kingston physician who was named chairman of the Board. (Ten years later, in 1889, the Board membership was increased to 11.)

The Librarian was H. Priest, a civil servant who had been in charge of the earlier library brought from Spanish Town. He was appointed at a salary of Two Hundred and Twenty-Six Pounds (£226) plus Twenty-Four Pounds (£24) per annum; Mr. J.J. Bowery,
the first Island Chemist, served as curator of the museum at Sixty Pounds (L60.) per annum in addition to his substantive salary of Five Hundred and Eighty Pounds (L580.). (8) An assistant librarian supervised the library, loaned books and maintained "order and the comfort of the reading rooms."

The Board immediately launched a series of activities that could not fail to attract attention to the new institution. In addition to stimulating educational pursuits by opening the library to the public on a daily basis, it offered lectures on a wide range of topics, promoted literary and agricultural competitions; encouraged the improvement of marketable products; organized the first scholarship examination "to Jamaica men" to London University in 1881, and introduced the Cambridge Local Examinations in 1882. (9) In 1907, the Secretary even presided at an entrance examination for admission to the Library School of Drexel Institute, Philadelphia. (10) The records are so sketchy that we have no idea who sat the examination but it is certain that no one succeeded in training as a professional librarian.

To stretch the limited book allocation, the Institute purchased second-hand books from circulating libraries in England, America and from local sources. For example, in 1883, it bought Twelve Pounds Ten Shillings (L12.10.) worth of books from the Charles Town Library, Trelawny, which was about to close down; Five Pounds Twelve Shillings and Threepence (L5.12.3.) worth of books from Mr. Scott's sale in 1887; and 40 Jamaican
books from Mr. Dewar for Eight Pounds (L8.) in 1891. Among donations received were a most valuable set of old Jamaican almanacks "antedating 1790" and other manuscripts on the island from Mr. Thomas Witter Jackson of Spanish Town as well as a set of newspapers and state papers of the West Indies and America covering the years 1654-1668. It also acquired the Minute Book from the Old Kingston Council and up to the 1940's continued to purchase second hand books from sources such as the Womarth Libraries of New York.

The library operated along lines of the earlier circulating libraries and had a special reading room for paid up members. They were entitled to a free copy of the Institute's publications and could attend lectures and classes free of cost. The general public could use some materials in the general library but could not borrow without taking out membership. Visitors and some other special persons in the community had borrowing privileges on deposit of One Pound sterling (L1.) per volume, for a period of one month. But this privilege to locals was soon withdrawn. 

(11) Personnel from the Navy and Army had free access.

Membership was not restricted but applicants had to be proposed by a select group of persons drawn from the Government service, the planter class, the professions and from the well-to-do merchants. They were the Colonial Secretary, the Governor's private secretary, members of the Legislative Council, the Chief
Justice, judges of the Supreme Court and puisne judges, heads of Government departments, custodes and members of town boards. But comparatively few persons had access to this group or could afford the annual subscription of One Pound (L1.).

In setting policy the Board observed that as the books were provided at the common expense, the professional man, the scholar, the merchant, the mechanic, the student of nature or of Art should each have a share in the provision made, and the most useful and most interesting—the very best in all respects—should be placed at their service. (12) Very few if any of the general public would fall into the above categories.

This is obvious from the level of development of the island at that time. Just prior to the Morant Day Rebellion, only 1,903 or .2% of the island's 440,000 population paid rates or taxes and thus could exercise the right to vote. (13) Former slaves and their offspring formed a very insignificant part of that already small number. Those that earned wages lived below the subsistence level, earning an average of Ninepence (9d.) to One Shilling (1s.) per day. Such persons as ministers of religion and headmasters of schools, were more easily available to the general public, but were omitted from the list of recommending persons. This meant that only those with the necessary social contacts managed to obtain letters of introduction. This possibly explains why adult membership of the General Library never reached beyond 1,000 until 1914. The highest figure of 9,000 members recorded,
took place in 1946, after the Junior Centre with a registration of 4,000 members had been in operation for six years.

The Institute library started with three bookcases crowded with books of varying descriptions. From time to time, light literature, popular and standard novels were added as well as leading reviews and journals of the day from Europe and America. The collection also had some books on law, politics, sociology, commerce and education. Early reports do not give sufficient detail concerning activity and interests of users except to note that the library was well used. For the year ending 1879, i.e., the year in which this library legislation was passed, 2,100 persons used the library facilities during the daytime and 1,870 did so on two evenings per week. The year ending 30 September 1880, shows an increase of 1,000 in the daytime and 1,567 in the evenings, as against only 278 registered members who borrowed 3,439 items, an average of 286.5 books per month or about one book per member per month. In 1883, the membership stood at 962 with 5,360 books loaned during the year.

As the library image improved so did the membership and in the next three years, membership and daily attendance about doubled; but by 1890, the enthusiasm somehow began to wane and membership fell to 156. The fact that new books were not allowed out of the library until six months after they had been received could possibly account for the high daily attendance especially among persons anxious to read the latest publication.
Several clubs and reading societies were about this time becoming affiliated to the Institute and this served to swell the numbers of users. They were The Victoria Institute, The Kingston Athenaeum, The Royal Yacht Club, The Police Reading Room (Sutton Street, Kingston), The Stony Hill Reformatory (for boys), Camp Reading Room (for soldiers) and the Port Royal Reading Room. The stock was limited and the number of additional readers in daily attendance increased pressure upon the old building. The decision was taken to erect a new museum and when this was completed in 1896, the library was redistributed over the rooms of Date Tree Hall.

In remarking upon current reading tastes in 1896, the Board noted the marked decrease in novels as follows:

This decrease in the number of novels borrowed is due apparently rather to the fact that but few additions have been made to fiction during the year than to any increased love of more serious reading on the part of members of the Institute. (15)

Conscious of the disadvantage country members faced, the Board sought to obtain free postal privileges but on this matter the Government was less than co-operative. First it granted restricted privilege and then withdrew it; then it allowed "books representing reading for the sake of improvement", but novels and magazines were excluded. In 1905, the order was again revised and free postage reinstated. In 1913, the privilege was once more withdrawn to be restored partially in 1921. It still excluded
packages by mail coach. Four years later the privilege was once more withdrawn but was reinstated finally some time later. It remains still in force at the present time.

Branch Institutes

Several branches of the Institute were established in different parts of the island and to these were sent periodically, a large number of volumes of "solid and modern literature." Each member of a branch was automatically a member of the parent body and entitled to all such privileges of membership. (16) Between 1880 and 1898 some 11 of these branches were established across the island, in Spanish Town (1881), Buff Bay (1881?), Falmouth (1881), Savanna-la-mar (1887), Lucea (1887), Black River (1887), Port Antonio (1888), Mandeville (1896), Montego Bay (1896), May Pen (1898) and Port Maria (1898).

Originally, groups of 25 subscribers could qualify for branch status and could receive 50 books which could be exchanged quarterly. Small communities able to muster only 10 subscribers were also considered for inclusion. The main objective of these services was "to encourage a love of reading in the community generally" without prejudice to any sector of the society; and on occasion the Institute would insist that this condition be met. For example, in 1897, the Mandeville branch organizers complained about the cost of providing a public reading room for non-
subscribers, and the Board had to explain in no uncertain terms that the library was not set up for the sole purpose of enabling a few comparatively well-to-do people to borrow books by becoming members. Each library was expected to maintain a public reading room in addition to any other arrangements that might be made for the convenience of local members. (17)

From the outset these Branch Institutes faced problems of viability. Half of the branch member's subscription of One Guinea (L1.1.) per annum went to local expenses and the other half to the General Library in Kingston, for purchase of books and periodicals. The branches were without exception, unable to pay for rental of accommodation and custodial services from the little amount collected. The sum of Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds (L250.) which the Institute allocated annually for the branches could not provide adequate supplies of reading material, with the result that membership soon began to fall off, and within the first two years a number of branches pulled out of the scheme. By resorting to the use of second-hand books the Institute did not help the situation, especially when it called upon branches to make good the cost of damaged items.

The first Branch established in Spanish Town in 1880, (18) incorporated the older Spanish Town Reading Room Association. It had 48 members in all, with the Rev. C.T. Douet being their chief spokesman. But the Fifty Pounds Eight Shillings (L50.8s.)
made available to the local committee could not pay the rental to accommodate members and the general public. After protesting about the inadequate service, and after a fruitless discussion between the Rev. Douet and the Governor of the island, the branch officially severed connections with the Institute on 1 August 1882, although it had already ceased transactions from October 1881. The arrangement with the Institute, therefore, lasted for only a very short time.

The Savanna-la-mar Branch established 5 April 1881, grew out of the Savanna-la-mar Book Club and had a membership of 25. In 1887, it recorded a stock of 422 volumes; but the local readers did not find the selection to their taste. It is said that they preferred novels, travels, adventure stories and popular science. Of the Twenty-Six Pounds Five Shillings (L26.5.) paid in subscriptions, the branch had only Thirteen Pounds Two Shillings and Sixpence (L13.2.6.) for expenses, which was far from adequate, and to add to their frustrations the book supply from Kingston was irregular.

The Trelawny Branch, at Falmouth, had at one time, as many as 441 volumes and its own special problems. In 1891, its custodian is reputed to have pawned several books for drink. While the Institute's Board was prepared to waive charges for novels and "lighter stuff" it expected the branch to replace "the more valuable books". How the branch resolved the matter the records do not state. (20)
Lucea and Black River disputed the poor condition of the books and on occasion refused to pay for damages as they claimed they had received the books in bad condition.

In an effort to increase membership, the Montego Bay branch succeeded in getting the annual subscription reduced to Ten Shillings (10s.) but while this may have encouraged more persons to use the library it affected the cash flow and the branch could not afford to provide the mandatory public reading room. It claimed it could not accommodate the general public except for a few hours in the evenings or afternoons. If this was the state of affairs when Montego Bay was being hailed as the model branch, what must have been the state elsewhere?

The town of Mandeville, in 1896, had a population of 1,100 but the operating expenses of the branch amounted to only Thirty Pounds (L30.), and it could not muster even the recommended 50 members. This branch was at one time located in a room at the Mandeville Middle Grade School, where teaching did not go above the Junior Cambridge examination level. Such a school was intended for those on the lower rungs of the social ladder. At one stage a senior boy from the school supervised the library under the guidance of the branch secretary. The library opened 8 hours daily during term time, and 5 hours daily during holidays. (21) Members were allowed two books each per time and one member on temporary location in Kingston even obtained the privilege to use his membership card at the General Library.
Library activity in Mandeville and other branches was not dynamic. Members were tardy in returning books and in paying dues and by 1889, the Institute had become convinced that the branches were not functioning as originally conceived. It was therefore decided to replace them by a less ambitious scheme modelled on one in New South Wales, Australia, whereby boxes of books were made available to local social and cultural groups at a much reduced charge. Nine years later, the 1898 Annual Report records the following:

From the correspondence received, it would seem that there were people in the townships of Jamaica anxious to take advantage of the facilities offered by branch libraries but there is a sad lack of effective agents willing to undertake the trouble of managing such institutions, and without such agencies it is difficult to encourage the desire of literature which is beginning to show itself in rural districts. (22)

Communication with outlying towns was not much improved over a century before; roads were few and still in poor condition; transportation of large quantities of books by post was not allowed and mail van charges were prohibitive; free transportation by rail became available from 1903 but only two main towns, Mandeville and Spanish Town were within easy reach by railway. Most of the others were served by the Atlas Shipping Company's coastal vessels which carried the packages of books free of charge.

The Institute's Board may have made efforts to establish branches but it apparently did not seriously pursue the question
of a truly free library service. In 1887, it offered the first positive encouragement to schools when it allowed six pupils from Dr. Robb's school in Kingston to use the General Library on deposit of Twenty Pounds (L20.). From 1888 it attempted to provide a special service to teachers and educators but the response was discouraging. "With regard to the Education Library", the Secretary noted "I have to again express my regret that so few teachers and others interested in Education have taken the advantage of the privileges it affords." (23) Despite the poor response generally, the Institute continued to encourage even the smallest efforts; and the Board of Governors must be commended for their foresight and for attempting to provide the special services noted, but many factors operated against the fulfillment of their plans, not the least of which was the lack of interest and adequate support of the policy makers.

The Government's annual subvention of One Thousand Pounds (L1,000) for running expenses, including Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds (L250.) for books, could not accomplish all that was planned such as building a West Indian collection, providing more serious works of a general nature for lending in Kingston and through branch institutes in the parishes, as well as supplying schools and teachers with reading matter even if in limited quantities.

The Institute was disturbed over the lack of reading material for school leavers and moreso over its own inability to
to supply a sufficient amount of suitable literature for this group. It recorded in March 1898, "The supply of literature is almost as important to the welfare of a people as the supply of wholesome air and water." (24) But it could not get the Government of the day to support the scheme.

When Frank Cundall assumed office as Secretary and Librarian of the Institute of Jamaica, in 1891, he attempted a general reorganization of the system by cutting expenditure on light fiction and focusing instead on more serious works of a general nature, as he said, "in an endeavour to train young people of Kingston and the neighbourhood in a love of literature." He set out to acquire all works on Jamaica, the best publications on other West Indian islands and on the West Indies generally; good works of reference, and "as many as possible of the current contributions to the higher branches of literature." (25)

The branch institute experiment had failed by the time he took office. Overdue books and delinquency in paying subscriptions aggravated the problems. According to Cundall, the branches wanted "literature of fickle and little edifying character" which he thought could be filled by circulating libraries such as Mudie's Library. In an effort to make its services available to a wider cross-section of the public, the Institute extended lending facilities to individual country members in 1903. For payment of an additional Five Shillings (5s.) that is, for a total of Fifteen Shillings (15s.) a country
member could borrow four books at one time, while a regular member paying Ten Shillings (10s.) was allowed two books.

In 1907, the year in which Date Tree Hall was destroyed by earthquake, there was further adjustment of the subscription fees to allow for quarterly payments of Three Shillings (3s.) for regular members and Four Shillings and Sixpence (4s.6d.) for members who were allowed 4 books per time. Only 15 persons applied for the Four Shillings and Sixpence (4s.6d.) category. Later in 1910 the annual membership fee was reduced to Five Shillings (5s.) for regular members, (26) and Seven Shillings and Sixpence (7s.6d.) for those with special privileges who could borrow four books, two of which were considered new (having been in the library under six months), and two magazines as well. Loan periods ranged from 14 days for books to 10 days for periodicals. Delinquency drew a fine of Threepence (3d.) per week. Loss or damage was to be made good.

By 1896, Branch Institutes were being phased out and the Board hoped that small townships with literary associations could handle the more modest box-of-books scheme whereby on deposit of Two Pounds Ten Shillings (L2.10.) any group could keep a collection of 100 books for upwards of a year. This arrangement was later adjusted to One Pound Five Shillings (L1.5.) for 50 books. The Institute once again attempted to provide service to elementary and secondary school teachers: a teachers' association could borrow 25 books for one year at a charge of Ten Shillings
(10s.) and individual teachers could at the same time participate by paying Two Shillings (2s.) each. But the response was as lukewarm as the earlier attempt, and the scheme was slow in getting off the ground. (27) Eventually the first set of books was borrowed by Frankfield Teachers' Association in August of 1911. Two months later, six other associations had joined the scheme: Central Cornwall, Port Antonio, Vere, Above Rocks, Central St. Mary and East Portland.

The secondary schoolmasters scheme which the Institute hoped would be operational by 1917, appears to have run into difficulties because the Department of Education refused to provide the expected financial assistance. The Department of Education claimed that its first responsibility was to elementary schools (for which it was doing precious little). The Board had also hoped that publishers would contribute books to the value of One Thousand Pounds (£1,000) but this also did not materialize. It was most difficult to foster the reading habit in a society with a predominantly oral tradition, especially when adequate support from what should be the most likely sources was not forthcoming.

One of the weaknesses of the box-of-books scheme was the Institute's too heavy dependence on ministers of religion and headteachers to serve as community leaders, to the exclusion of the ordinary members of the society for whom the service was intended. There is for instance a cultural group which was denied
service because a headmaster, who had been involved in making the planning was about to move to another school. At that level, the Institute apparently thought the co-operation of the local ministers of religion and headteachers indispensable to the success of these schemes. Clubs and societies were expected to furnish a list of officers and at least 25 members, to pay a deposit of Two Pounds Ten Shillings (L2.10.) or One Pound Five Shillings (L1.5.) and at the end of each year to submit an annual report.

Between 1900 and 1901, eight sets were in circulation and steps were being taken to supply another five sets to secondary schools, despite the Department of Education's negative response. (Strict observance of "red tape" meant that as late as 1961 when the Ministry of Education set up the Schools Library Service under the management of the Jamaica Library Service, it excluded the traditional grammar, or secondary schools. It was only in 1987 that serious consideration was given to rectifying this situation.)

The box-of-books scheme developed slowly. There were only 10 sets available in 1920, which meant that several applications for service were unduly delayed, but what was worse, three of the 10 sets remained unallocated. Service was only to six societies—Mandeville, with two sets, and Mico College, Kingston Athenaeum, Black River, Rio Bueno and Falmouth. The Institute's efforts to reach teachers apparently was sympathetically considered at one time by a Director of Education, Mr. Williams. Cundall gives him
credit for this, while noting that in 1921 there were 24 sets to which 8 were added afterwards. (28)

By 1931, 31 sets were in circulation, and a year later in 1932, the number had risen to 40. (29) However, in 1933, with no funds to top up the collection many books were reported "read to death". Cundall's disheartening report must have had some effect for in 1935 the number of sets had risen to 47 and by 1941 to 145:

40 in elementary schools
42 in elementary school teachers' associations
13 in secondary and technical schools
9 in training colleges for teachers and ministers
41 in social welfare centres and other societies

The Cayman Islands and Turks and Caicos Islands, then dependencies of Jamaica, also received the occasional set of books.

Contributions to the box-of-books scheme had never been healthy as the figures below demonstrate:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1895-96</td>
<td>L140.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1896-97</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897-98</td>
<td>78.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898-99</td>
<td>75</td>
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<tr>
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<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-1902</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In an effort to take the pressure off the limited space in the General Library the Institute encouraged the establishment of a number of branches in the Corporate Area, but at the same time
continued to provide additional lending services to affiliated libraries. For the sum of Ten Pounds (£10.0) each, the Kingston Athenaeum and the Victoria Institute could have their members admitted to the Institute for each current year so long as the applicants could substantiate that they were members of either of these institutions. Members of similar institutions in other parts of the island were also entitled to admission on the same terms. (30)

The Institute's membership at the same time suffered, as the Annual Report of 1905 noted:

The Institute of Jamaica has continued thus to aid in its endeavour to train the young people of Kingston and the neighbourhood in a love of Lit. (sic.) although the falling off in its own membership is undoubtedly in part due to the opportunity offered of obtaining Literature of a more popular character and at less cost from the Athenaeum. (31)

The Institute allowed societies such as the Masonic Fraternity of Kingston (1884) and the Athenaeum (1900-1907) to hold regular meetings on its premises, and continued to do so at a later date for such other societies as the Musical Society of Jamaica and the Poetry League of Jamaica.

After the 1907 earthquake, the Institute accommodated the Athenaeum's collection for five months although the rented premises were obviously too small and inconvenient. When the Institute finally discontinued service to its affiliated societies, it was because it was
straining its resources to provide free membership to young people and a free library service for a large number of rural communities, and it could not afford to carry the burden of these affiliated members any longer. (32)

While the Institute was aiming to supply "good wholesome literature" to the society generally, a number of other circulating libraries took care of the more popular tastes. A Mr. Gardner began operating a branch of the English circulating library chain, Mudie's Library in 1889. Mudie's continued its activities until they were interrupted by the Second World War in 1939. The Times Book Club began in 1905, although that same year the Institute noted that it was "not worth taking advantage of" because it did not carry what the Institute considered more serious works.

Possibly, because the Government's allocation to libraries proved so inadequate, Cundall organized the Jamaica Branch of the National Home Reading Union, with the Board of Governors of the Institute serving as the Committee of Management. The Union's declared aim was to encourage systematic reading through the formation of reading circles, and to guide readers of all ages in the choice of books. The Union supplied a monthly magazine with guides to reading, general information and answers to questions. Books were "popular, trustworthy, educational, selected by experts in romance, travel, biography, economics, ancient and modern history, science and art." (33)
Two Libraries Affiliated With the Institute of Jamaica

(a) The Kingston Athenaeum

During the Nineteenth Century, there were two libraries in Kingston having the name "Athenaeum" but each, as far as can be ascertained was independent of the other. The first started 1836, has been mentioned earlier. There are references to this library in 1840 and 1843 but for how long it remained operative has not been determined. It may have run into the usual difficulties of inadequate finance and supervision. It has been suggested that it was possibly the forerunner of the Victoria Institute which was started in 1836, (34) but the Victoria Institute, for which some records survive, was not started until the end of the nineteenth century. It seems unlikely, also, that the older collection would have remained in sufficiently good condition to be put into service fifty years later.

The second Athenaeum library, The Kingston Athenaeum, was founded on 1 March 1899, as The St. Andrew Kirk Library Union but in 1900, changed its name to the Kingston Athenaeum. From the outset this library was closely associated with the Institute and Frank Cundall at one time served as its vice-president. From all accounts, it started out as an elitist club of about 300 members, and a number of influential persons held office during the first ten years, among them W.R. Durie, publisher of the Jamaica Times newspaper; W.P. Livingstone, editor of the Daily Gleaner, (credited with being the driving spirit behind the club's formation); the poet Thomas Henry MacDermot (Tom Redcam); and
Mr. Sidney Olivier, later Lord Olivier, and Governor of the island, who was described as "a strenuous" honorary vice-president.

The Kingston Athenaeum had as its original objective the promotion of the moral, intellectual and social welfare of its members. At the outset it promoted culture generally, organizing such activities as monthly debates, lectures on current topics of interest, lecture demonstrations in music, and mock trials; but in later years it deteriorated into being primarily a circulating library. By 1932, the library had reached its zenith with 1,200 registered members and annual book loans of some 30,000. But membership gradually declined to 300 by 1948, with loans of between 6,000 and 7,000. Loan policies were somewhat more generous than at the Institute, as books could be loaned after being in the library for only three months. Provision was also made for members resident 7 miles or more from the city, to borrow up to four publications including one new work.

The Athenaeum had problems of accommodation from the start. Within three years of opening it had to store its books and periodicals at the Institute, and a member of the Institute's staff served as loan clerk for an additional Ten Shillings (10s.) a month.

An extant catalogue shows a good selection of popular nineteenth century authors including Thomas Arnold, J.M.Barrie, Balzac, William Beckford, George Borrow, Charlotte Bronte, Dumas,
George Eliot, Charles Kingsley, Rudyard Kipling, Stevenson, Thackeray, Trollope, Hardy, as well as some of the writers of lighter fiction including Florence Barclay and Hall Cain. The library also carried books on travel, history, drama, poetry, children's stories, biography and the classics. While the Athenaeum's members could make free use of the Institute's facilities the privilege was not reciprocal, and the Institute's members complained about this in 1911. (36)

Several factors contributed to the Athenaeum's decline; the book stock was never large--750 volumes in 1905, 2,400 in 1912. The subscription of One Shilling (1s.) per month for regular members and a deposit of Five Shillings (5s.) plus Two Shillings (2s.) per volume for visitors, netted an average of only Fifteen Pounds (£15.) per month—a sum far from adequate to meet operational expenses. In 1908 the Athenaeum could only contribute Four Pounds Ten Shillings (£4.10.) to the Institute for services. After the earthquake of 1907, the Institute accommodated its collection, but after five months the club moved to a more central location for convenience of its members. In 1938 the Athenaeum was back again seeking free accommodation at the Institute and when, in 1941, the Institute decided to discontinue affiliation with other subscription libraries, the only one it decided to retain was the Athenaeum. No special reason appears to have been given for this decision.
The Athenaeum finally had to seek assistance from public-spirited individuals. "Some of whom never used the library." They became sustaining members at One Guinea (L1.1.) a year but this did not help a great deal and a special drive in 1946, netted only Twenty to Thirty Pounds (L20. to L30.) from a few generous friends. In the end a Provisional Committee was set up in 1948 to examine conditions, following which, the members of the committee had to contribute about Thirty Pounds (L30.) to help relieve the financial situation. The committee reported the present situation as being hopeless and that an additional Eight to Ten Pounds (L8 to L10.) was required monthly, together with an additional capital outlay to liquidate outstanding debts.

A Special General Meeting was called to decide the matter. In recommending that the society be dissolved, the meeting noted that not only had reading tastes changed, but that it was impossible "for a circulating library intended for people of modest means to survive when the library of the Institute of Jamaica, which is subsidized by Government and by the British Council, is available at a subscription of Five Shillings (5s.) a year." (37)

The meeting attributed its former success to two major factors, that at one time the Athenaeum was the leading fiction library in the country; and that in the past it had secured the attachment of a number of persons "of wider reading tastes than ordinary" because it contained, in addition to "the preponderating mass of fiction," a number of books chosen with
great judgement and good taste.

It also claimed that when the Institute began to concentrate on fiction, the Athenaeum was forced to lose membership. This is possibly a fair statement for in reviewing existing library and book services Bateson noted in 1944, that 60% of the Institute's stock was fiction. This was a marked departure from policies articulated in 1891, when fiction purchases were severely curtailed. The meeting noted also that owing to the closure of Mudie's Library, the Athenaeum's chief source of supply was now cut off. The Athenaeum must therefore, have purchased second-hand books from Mudie's to supplement its stock.

When the meeting was held on 24 February 1948, the Athenaeum had already ceased functioning. The general membership had no constructive suggestions to make regarding the library's reorganization; they had long lost interest in the management; regular meetings had not been held for a long time and the committee which had become by this time self-perpetuating, operated without the direction of, or regard for the membership. 1948 was the year in which the Jamaica Library Service was launched and the awareness of these new developments, to a large degree may have precipitated the closure of the Athenaeum. The remaining books from the library were disposed of by sale.

An article in the Daily Gleaner of 12 April 1948, (38) refers to the formation of circulating libraries of higher
subscription in the City, which provided more up-to-date works. One such was the Phoenix Library, a purely commercial lending library, which lasted for about 20 years.

(b) **The Victoria Institute**

It has been suggested that the first Athenaeum Club may have been the forerunner of the Victoria Institute. (39) If this was so there must have been an earlier library by that name.

The Victoria Institute apparently operated along lines similar to the Kingston Athenaeum, and at an early stage sought affiliation with the Institute of Jamaica. It was granted the same privileges and concessions as the Athenaeum, that is, for Ten Pounds (L10.) deposit the Institute of Jamaica would accommodate loans of up to 100 items to affiliates free of cost; for Twenty Pounds (L20.) the number would go up to 200 and for Twenty-Five Pounds (L25.), 300 volumes. For every additional Five Pounds (L5.) there would be an additional 50 volumes. Affiliated members had to produce a circular letter certifying that they were members in good standing with their respective library i.e., the Kingston Athenaeum or the Victoria Institute.

An extant catalogue of the Victoria Institute dated, 1891, gives the size of the collection as 419 books, and sets out the rules for membership. Ladies paid half the annual subscription of Twenty-Four Shillings (24s.) and had the same rights as fully
paid up members. Country members, that is, persons living beyond a radius of 7 miles from the City paid half price. These rates were in some respects an improvement over those at the Institute of Jamaica, and indeed over most of the other circulating libraries identified so far.

The 1907 Earthquake and Other Disasters

The Institute has not been without its share of adversity. It has suffered from fire, hurricane and earthquake. In 1881, one set of books returned by steamer from Falmouth and was awaiting clearance on the Kingston docks when fire struck. By present day standards Thirty Pounds (£30.) for replacement of the collection may seem insignificant but when this formed 20% of the total Branch Institute book allocation for the current year, it was a major tragedy. One set of books was lost in a hurricane in Grand Cayman, and in the great earthquake of 1907, which destroyed or damaged almost every building in Kingston, Date Tree Hall was reduced to rubble and the two storey museum building erected in 1896, lost its top floor. Business literally came to a crashing halt. Emergency services were mobilized in putting out fires which raged in the aftermath of the earthquake, in removing the trapped, injured and dead from buildings, and in sheltering the thousands of homeless in tents in parks and other open spaces.

In the midst of this confusion the Institute's staff tried to salvage books and other artifacts, and set about finding
alternative accommodation. Several book cases were reported smashed to pieces, others lost their glass doors and the books and specimens "were strewn over the area in confusion." At the time of the earthquake, the Institute had just under 10,000 books, 1,741 of which were West Indian material. In addition there were 1,601 manuscripts, 723 maps and plans, and 1,281 pictures, stored or hanging. On 11 February, the salvaged materials were loaded in trays on to mule drawn drays loaned by the Botanical Department, and moved to 133 Orange Street, where the Institute had managed to rent a dwelling house from the Rev. N.A. Bacquie at Fourteen Pounds (£14.) per month. In these makeshift surroundings the library opened for business and remained for the next five years.

In the present city of Kingston, 133 Orange Street is well within the boundaries of the inner city, but in 1907 it was considered suburbia. For that reason the Athenaeum which had been offered shelter there moved out within five months because the location was not central enough.

In an effort to find more permanent location the Institute examined several alternatives—to rebuild Date Tree Hall or to erect a new building on the site; to move into the Court House on Harbour Street, or into part of the public building at the corner of King and Tower Streets. The decision was eventually taken to rebuild on the old site.
In 1906, prior to the earthquake, the Institute approached Andrew Carnegie for a grant to purchase books but the request was turned down because, as Carnegie explained, he usually confined his philanthropic activities to the erection of library buildings where none existed. Immediately after the earthquake another request was forwarded, this time, to seek assistance with the rebuilding programme, but for some reason which was never made clear, the Legislative Council took the view that Government could finance the restoration without foreign assistance. Instructions were therefore given that the Carnegie application should be withdrawn and that the philanthropist should be thanked for the help he had given over the past eleven months. As the records have so far not revealed the kind of help, one can presume that it must have been for the purchase of books. Jamaica, unlike most of the sister islands of the British Caribbean therefore, never acquired a Carnegie library building.

The cost of restoration of Date Tree Hall was put at Two Thousand Pounds (L2,000). However, when the restoration committee met three years after the earthquake, on 28 February 1910, the view was taken that restoration of the damaged building was impossible. The old building was in any case unsuitable and too small, and a new public library, reading room, members room, board room, lecture room, portrait gallery and other necessary facilities were what was required and should be built on the foundation of the old building, at an estimated cost of Three
Thousand Five Hundred Pounds (L3,500.). The museum and art
gallery would have to come later. One year and seven months
after, on 3 November 1911, the new building was completed and
ready for use. It was opened to the public two months later, on 6
January 1912; the cost of building, Three Thousand Three Hundred
and Ninety-Four Pounds, Fourteen Shillings and Elevenpence
(L3,394.14.11.). The organization of the collection in the new
building took some considerable time for up to 1916, about 4,000
to 5,000 volumes stored in an outbuilding and another 2,000
stored elsewhere still had not been sorted.

Even in makeshift quarters, the Institute never abandoned
its extension activities of affiliating associations and
supplying sets of books to branches and groups; and physically as
well as psychologically the new building not only made an
important statement, but also reaffirmed the Institute's roles as
arts council and cultural agent.

On the recommendation of Mr. W.R. Durie, publisher of the
Jamaica Times newspaper and a member of the Board of Governors
in 1909, the Institute had decided to form a "lending branch"
within the General Library, and to lend cheaper books, not above
Ten Shillings (10s.) in cost, to young people unable to pay
either the Institute's or the Athenaeum's subscriptions. Within a
month this free lending service was put in place, (40) and it
should be noted that this was done while the library was still
temporarily housed on Orange Street. It took a while for
youngsters between the ages of 14 - 19 years to respond, but
in time the section was to become a significant aspect of the public library activities. The following table gives some indication of the use made of the General Library just before it removed from Orange Street and two years after it returned to its own premises:

**TABLE VI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Membership</th>
<th>7/7/1911</th>
<th>3/4/1912</th>
<th>2/5/1913</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Honorary</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corresponding</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subscribing</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free (affiliated)</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free lending</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>J 87</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subscribers (temporary transfer)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>505</td>
<td>753</td>
<td>917</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On 3 December 1910, the Board recorded its intention to make the library free with effect from 10 February 1912. Somehow this enlightened approach was never followed through and had to wait another 38 years for JLS implementation. Meanwhile in 1936, after the Rev. Walter Lewis and his group had begun to promote free libraries in Manchester, the Institute once more expressed interest in the possibility of operating a free library service but again there was no follow through, except in the case of the junior library which moved into its own new building in 1939.

The following examples of small annual receipts from subscribers for the year 1910, demonstrate that this service
could not finance development and that it would have made little difference to overall revenue had a free service been instituted.

**Receipts 1910-1911**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subscribers to Lib.</td>
<td>£0. 2s per bk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Members subscriptions</td>
<td>24. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box-of-books</td>
<td>16. 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>41. 6</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The low figures for the year 1911-12 prove just as convincing:

**Receipts 1911-1912**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subscribers to Lib.</td>
<td>£12. 0 0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Members Subscriptions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book deposit (Form C)</td>
<td>30. 8. 0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers' Lib. (subs. &amp; deposits)</td>
<td>7. 7. 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>49. 15. 6</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 1913-14 estimates also display the same weak financial base with receipts of only Four Hundred and Sixty Pounds (£460.) although the library now had new and more comfortable accomodation. Over the next 11 years financing did not improve, and in 1925 the box-of-books allocation was struck from the estimates "on account of retrenchment." Although the box-of-books scheme continued for some time after, it did so without the benefit of the One Hundred and Fifty Pounds (£150.) annual subvention.

The General Library carried three classes of books:

- Those that were lent to anybody
- Those that were lent under special circumstances
- Those that were never lent.
However, where there were duplicates West Indian books were loaned.

On a special resolution of T.H. MacDermot, and with the support of the general membership, the Institute introduced opening on public holidays, and from December 1913 to June 1914, there was an average attendance of 28 persons on these days.

Beginnings of Struggle for Self Rule

The First World War, 1914-1918 affected all areas of Jamaican life. During hostilities it was almost impossible to ship raw materials to the manufacturing centres in England and this had adverse effects on the economy. After the war, the colonial administration, unmindful of little else besides trade opportunities, was anxious to preserve the status quo. The colony's financial structure depended heavily upon the large and often absentee-owned estates, both as a source of revenue and foreign exchange, and as the main employers of labour. By this time, however, a few natives were beginning to recognize that unless the people had a voice in the affairs of their country, they could not break the social and economic stranglehold. Champions among the large marginalized black population during the first decades of the century included Dr. Robert Love, medical doctor, legislator and publisher, and Marcus Mosiah Garvey, later to be declared, posthumously, first National Hero of Jamaica.
The report of British parliamentarian E.F.L. Wood, prepared between December 1921 and February 1922, shows that Jamaica had advanced very little beyond its stage of development immediately following the 1865 Morant Bay Rebellion. Except for minor constitutional changes which increased the number of elected members of the Legislative Council from 9 to 14 in 1895, and provided an extension of the vote to women in 1919, nothing much else had happened. Qualification to exercise the franchise required payment of tax on property to the amount of Ten Shillings (10s.) per annum if a male, and the more unfair tax of Two Pounds (L2.) per annum if paid by a female, in respect of personal property. The income qualification was Fifty Pounds (L50.) per annum or occupation of premises rented at not less than Ten Pounds (L10.) per annum.

The 14 elected representatives in the Legislative Council could criticize policy but could not effect change, because they could be easily outvoted by a majority of 5 ex-officio and 10 nominated members. Without constitutional change the legitimate views of the majority would continue to be thwarted. In addition to Love's and Garvey's, other voices of discontent were beginning to be heard. Wood was quick to recognize their power to mould the thoughts of the masses and he wrote:

Education is rapidly spreading, and tending to produce a coloured and black intelligentsia, of which the members are quick to absorb elements of knowledge requisite for entry into learned professions, and return from travel abroad with minds
emancipated and enlarged, ready to devote
time and energy to propaganda among their own
people. (42)

He suggested, therefore, that the British Government would be
wise "to build upon the remarkable loyalty to the Throne by which
the people are inspired and to avoid the mistake of withholding a
concession ultimately inevitable, until it had been robbed by
delay of most of its usefulness and all of its grace." (43)

In examining the general economic and social conditions,
Wood noted the country's great dependence upon exports of
agricultural products, especially sugar and banana. For example,
one-third of the total output of bananas came from Jamaica at a
time when Panama disease and leaf spot were beginning to affect
the industry. Sugar provided more employment and more revenue per
acre but there was acute depression in the industry. Nevertheless
Wood urged that at all costs, from the political, social
commercial and Imperial point of view, the sugar industry was to
be maintained because "the stability and progress of the West
Indies are largely dependent upon the presence of a European
element" at the head. (44) In real terms, wages and living
conditions were appallingly low. Europeans controlled all
positions of management, in the Civil Service, on the estates,
and in the few factories manufacturing crude sugar which was sent
to the Lancashire mills for refining and then re-imported into
the island.

Wood's recommendations were not acted upon with any
seriousness and frustration among the working classes continued
to build up. But change is never easily achieved and it took the wave of riots and unrest on sugar estates beginning in Trinidad in 1934 and moving through the region to Jamaica in 1938, to force the appointment of a Royal Commission of Enquiry in 1938-39.

The report of the commission headed by Lord Moyne is possibly one of the most disappointing documents to read today bearing in mind the time when it was prepared. Although poor health, sanitation, housing, education and economic conditions were addressed and recommendations made for some level of reform, the Commission did not seem to see native West Indians as performing any meaningful role beyond being "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for other people. The report noted that 61% of the Jamaican working population was engaged in agriculture. That meant mostly manual labour in the fields; and at no time did the report encourage any other form of employment besides agriculture, which was concerned primarily with cheap unskilled labour. It mentions a few tanneries and leather works, a chemical plant and a tobacco factory as well as tourism as fledgling industries. All manufactured products were imported from abroad. The average daily wage ranged from Tenpence Halfpenny (10 1/2d.) to One Shilling and Sixpence (1s. 6d.) for women, to One Shilling and Sixpence (1s. 6d.) for men. Only 80% of the 196,000 children of school age were registered in schools.

The report defined the purposes of the educational system as
teaching people how best to make use of the resources of their country, of the opportunities of social organization and of their individual talents, to enable them to lead lives as healthy, as satisfying and as prosperous as possible. However, in the West Indian context, this meant concentrating on practical subjects—sewing, domestic science, child welfare and handicrafts—at the expense of the more "literary subjects" especially at the elementary school level. In any event, only a small proportion of children who passed through the primary school system ever managed to make it to secondary school. The fees were beyond the financial reach of most of their parents.

The report further noted the high level of unemployment among secondary school leavers, who, it was alleged, refused to work in agriculture and chose only white collar jobs. Vocational schools concentrated upon woodwork, sewing, domestic science etc., and made no attempt to introduce the more creative and intellectual pursuits. The need for libraries and other cultural institutions was not mentioned in the report, but token allocations were made to on-going programmes such as those at the Institute of Jamaica.

Of the Three Million Five Hundred and Fifty-Six Thousand, Four Hundred and Ninety-One Pounds (L3,556,491.) allocated under Development and Welfare for the region in 1943/44, the following were made to library services in Jamaica:
Schemes Approved in Operation

Jamaica Institute (1 yr.)  L2,700.

Allocations Made Under Schemes Administered by Comptroller

Agricultural libraries  100.

Books, shelves etc. for Edn. Office Central Library  500.

Equip. & instruction in local crafts and Jamaica Institute and prizes  450.

A total of Three Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty Pounds (L3,750.) or point one percent (.1%) of the budget. (46)

More and more the Institute found itself becoming the repository of a conscience for ideal beauty in the society, and warmed to the role it could play in helping to shape the minds of the young. The Board encouraged the pursuit of the creative and the beautiful at a time when life generally was ugly and depressing. The Stockdale Report of 1943/44, articulated the conditions succinctly:

i. The increase of population (at a rate of 2% per annum) and heavy migration from rural areas to the main town;

ii. shortage of employment for the increasing population;

iii. the wastage which has taken place of natural resources (due to soil erosion);

iv. the limitation of the acreage of land suitable for agriculture (half of which in Jamaica was unutilized);

v. inadequate protection and development of forests and water supplies;
vi. poor housing and sanitation (aggravated by economic factors including high cost of building construction);
vii. inadequate provision for public health services for the prevention of disease;
viii. an educational system in need of overhaul;
ix. lack of public appreciation of the fact that the area cannot support social standards modelled on those of wealthier communities, and that full life and good companionship can be built up in accord with the general economy of the area;
x. a general need for improvements and developments in local government and community activities;
xi. the isolation and parochialism which was developed from inadequately developed transport by sea and air; from lack of satisfactory road communication in some colonies, from insufficiently developed telecommunications generally, both external and internal. (47)

Nearly fifty years later in 1987, these problems have not changed significantly, despite the fact that in several ways great strides have been made. Continuing population growth rate and a deteriorating agricultural economy have lowered living standards, and reduced the ability of successive administrations to provide school places for all children, or to maintain a
realistic and manageable teacher-pupil ratio. It was against this background that the Junior Centre of the Institute of Jamaica was inaugurated, and launched its cultural programmes in 1939. It proved a boon for the spiritually and economically deprived.

The Junior Centre

The Junior Centre set off a cultural explosion to which many of those who shared this experience bear testimony. Durie's idea of a free section for young people in 1909 was taken a step further by Miss Helen Lambert in 1925 when she proposed that the Institute convert a building recently acquired on the south side of the premises, into a juvenile library. (48)

Less than a year later she bequeathed One Thousand Dollars (US $1,000.) towards the project but the bequest could not be immediately accepted because she stipulated that the gift be administered by a committee of "northern born women"--a euphemism synonymous with being "white". Eventually, after some negotiation, the Institute accepted the bequest, which by then converted to Two Hundred and Fifteen Pounds Three Shillings and Fivepence sterling (£215.3.5.). The amount was used to purchase juvenile books for the General Library. However, it was not until 1939, that the Institute agreed to erect a library for children up to 18 years of age, and to supply libraries to elementary schools, provided the capital expenditure could be met.

The Centre was established in May 1940, across the street from the General Library. The cost of construction was met from
Dr. Denzil Callaghan's bequest of Six Thousand Five Hundred Pounds (L6,500.) and a sum of Two Thousand Eight Hundred Pounds (L2,800.) from the Jamaica Welfare Ltd.—a social welfare agency recently established by the Government. In 1943, the building was enlarged at a cost of Two Thousand Six Hundred Pounds (L2,600.) by the British Council. The Centre started at the height of World War II when most attention was focussed on the war effort and when publishing in North America and Britain was being severely disrupted. The Junior Centre became a cultural oasis, enriching the minds of the young people through exposure to, and practice of the arts.

The Centre offered lectures on topics of interest to students, and organized career talks, classes on weekends and afternoons in art, instrumental music, creative dancing and drama. This was in addition to art classes for adults that were also being given in the newly erected building by Edna Manley and others.

Public response was overwhelming. 1,000 children joined the Centre within the first 16 days and on 25 October 1941, membership stood at 1,700. After more books had been added and registration reopened, 500 young people registered in one and a half days. When membership reached 2,400 in November 1941, registration had to be suspended for the time being although hundreds more were still seeking admission.

The British Council provided new books, a collection of gramophone records, a small library of sheet music for orchestra
and a piano. To relieve the pressure upon the one building, another centre was opened at 50 Halfway Tree Road, in a private dwelling house loaned by a worthy citizen, Mr. Eustace Myers. Here, the Centre remained until 22 February 1943, when it was transferred to the Old Court House at Halfway Tree. In due course a third centre was opened in another part of the city, at Franklin Town.

The Centre on East St. also loaned boxes of books to rural schools for a time. For the year-ending 30 April 1942, it made 45,000 loans to a membership of 2,500, and that is without the means to maintain the collection. The records show only 48 books added during this period.

The inspiration behind these activities was the Director, Robert Verity, who was later assisted by Carmen Lawrence, whom he eventually married. Verity was convinced that the type of society in which the young people of Jamaica would be asked to participate would be determined largely by the quality of the minds of its citizens, and he set out to provide the kind of intellectual stimulation he thought desirable. John Hearne, a local writer once described the work of the Centre thus, "The Junior Centre of the Institute has always seemed to me the department which in Jamaica does the best work with the least limelight." (50) A sentiment echoed by the many thousands who have come under its spell.
The Institute in Process of Change

In the 1930's the Institute continued its work of lending books to teachers associations and other groups, sometimes with financial assistance from organizations such as the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the British Council. In 1936, Carnegie donated Five Thousand Dollars (US $5,000.) for library development, and these funds were used for the provision of an elementary school teachers library; secondary school libraries; and books of "a serious nature" to be placed in the General Library and circulated among subscribing members.

The need was great but the Institute was facing administrative problems, for up to two years later, the Carnegie grant had not been spent. Cundall remained in charge of the Institute up to his death in 1937. By then he was an old man and the Institute's management practices badly needed updating. Since its inception in 1879, it had never had the benefit of professional direction by a librarian. The decision was therefore taken to invite Miss Florence Thompson of Columbia University to reorganize the West India Reference Library. She spent about a year on the island and during that time trained several persons to catalogue books, using the Dewey Decimal System.

In November 1940, it was decided to invite Dr. Helen Gordon-Stewart, a Canadian librarian, then engaged in establishing the Eastern Caribbean Regional Library scheme in Trinidad, to advise
on library services for Kingston, the large towns and rural areas, as well as on services to secondary and senior schools and village community associations; (53) but Dr. Stewart never managed to take up the Jamaican offer.

By this time, however, the Comptroller for Development and Welfare in the West Indies had become conscious of the need for a planned programme for library development, and made provision for grant-in-aid of One Thousand Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds (L1,250.) to assist with the refurbishing of the Old Court House at Halfway Tree to be used as a branch, in addition to Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds (L250.) for staff, and Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds (L250) for maintenance.

In a letter to the Institute dated 25 October 1941, the Comptroller wrote:

For purposes of adult education the primary need is that library services should be extended over the island and that the possibility should be investigated of making them free. The provision of library services for scattered rural communities which have never had them before, calls in the first place for a study of the needs of the people by a person trained in administrative librarianship over wide rural areas. (54)

He saw Dr. Stewart as a suitable person for the mission and he even set out her terms of reference. She should cover organization of library services for Kingston and the large towns; an appropriate service for rural areas and services to secondary and senior schools, and village community associations.
Philip Sherlock's recommendations to the Board constituted an enlightened approach and corresponded with the views of the Comptroller for the British West Indies. In Sherlock's view the Institute should establish a free circulating library; free adult and junior library branches in the Corporate Area; extension of a free library service to the whole island; proper housing and cataloguing of the West India Reference Library, archives, historic prints and pictures; and the development of a science museum. (55)

The British Council was approached to finance the visit of a library expert, and on the recommendation of S.A. Hammond, Education Adviser to the Comptroller, Development and Welfare, approved One Thousand Five Hundred Pounds (£1,500) for books for the Junior Centre, and One Thousand Two Hundred Pounds (£1,200) for the library expert. (56)

In October 1941, Hammond had stressed the need for trained personnel with administrative experience in rural services, to study the situation and report on probable development. He had visited 11 secondary and vocational schools and of the lot, only St. George's College had anything that could be considered an adequate school library. He therefore recommended that sets of 200 to 600 books should be sent to schools, community centres etc., and he further commented:

No one who has even an elementary knowledge of the need for greatly extended educational facilities and the dissemination of knowledge in a country like Jamaica where "mental malnutrition" is even more prevalent than
"physical malnutrition" can fail to approve most heartily of these recommendations. (57)

During the 1930's there were free library operations in Manchester, St. Elizabeth, Montego Bay and Port Antonio; and a member of the staff of the General Library had helped to organize the Manchester Free Library. The Institute had continued to supply boxes of books to community groups but after 1948, once the Jamaica Library Service was established the overlap of services became obvious, and the Institute began to restrict its rural services and to devote more attention to cultural activities in Kingston. In 1950 it embarked upon a project to secure more suitable accommodation for the precious West Indian Collection. Six years later in 1966, the building was erected at a cost of Forty-Five Thousand Pounds (L45,000.).

By 1979, when the West India Reference Library became the National Library of Jamaica, it had acquired a distinguished collection of well over 27,000 printed works, masses of manuscripts, letters, account books, deeds, and estate journals dating back to 1655, as well as maps, engravings, newspapers and microfilms of documents held in libraries overseas. Today it is one of the finest collections of prime sources on subjects of Caribbean concern available to scholars, and that this is so, is due, in the first instance, to the single-mindedness of Cundall.

When Cundall died in 1937, he had collected almost 12,000 books and numerous other items. He summed up the purpose of the
West Indian collection in his plea to the Board of Governors for Ten Pounds (L10.) to purchase two books, when he said that any work on Jamaica not now in the library may be fairly described as rare; and that a book does not get its only value from its rarity. It must throw some light on an important epoch in the island's history. (58)

In the 1940's and 1950's the Institute concentrated on the development of its museums, on the historical gallery and on the acquisition of historical artifacts. It also acquired lands and began the development of important research stations at Green Hills and Mason River for the study of Jamaican Natural History. For much of this scientific research credit must be given to Bernard Lewis who served as Curator of the museum from 1939 to 1950 and as Director from 1950 to 1973.

The National Library of Jamaica

Just six months short of its hundredth year of establishment the law which brought the Institute of Jamaica into being was amended to allow for the creation of the National Library of Jamaica. The West Indian Collection which had, in a limited way, performed this function since 1894, was transferred to the National Library along with its 54 members of staff. A new staffing structure was then introduced to provide for the posts of Director and Deputy Director.

From the early 1960's proposals had been made from several sources for the establishment of a national library but it was
not till the 1970's when an integrated national information system was being designed, that the powers that be began to take the proposal seriously. It became clear that a co-ordinated library system would facilitate greater co-operation and greater efficiency among local libraries by using the island's limited information resources to the fullest; and it was at this stage that the pivotal role of a national library was fully recognized.

The plan for a national information system was presented to Government in 1977 and accepted in principle. (59) By Institute of Jamaica Act 1979, Sections 4.2a and 5, the Institute was empowered to set up a National Library as one of the Divisions of the Institute; and in January 1979, a 19 member Board of Management was appointed with Dr. Joyce Robinson, former Director of the JLS as Chairman. The National Library would have its own staffing structure and a separate budget. (60)

The National Library assumed certain specific responsibilities: to develop to the fullest extent a research collection of print and non-print material produced in Jamaica, about Jamaica, and wherever published; to acquire these by purchase, gift or exchange; and to serve as a focal point for bibliographic control of the island's information resources. When compared with other national libraries, the functions of the National Library of Jamaica seem limited, but manageable goals had to be set within the means available to a small and impecunious country.

The new National Library soon took on the added
function of providing technical assistance and guidance to library and information units in Government ministries and related agencies, especially where these operated without the direction of professional staff.

The accommodation built in 1966 for WIRL had by this time become cramped. And although the building was designed to accommodate a fourth storey, funds were not available to carry out the extension. The Council of the Institute of Jamaica has been most co-operative in finding additional space in sections of other buildings under its control. The ground floor of the old administrative building which is linked by a bridge to the three storey building became a reading room; a bindery was located in a building on the western side of the complex and rooms in the museum building on Tower Street were given over for exhibitions and lectures.

The National Library, however, lacked the necessary legal framework to carry out all of the national functions, especially the automatic deposit of all materials published in the island. The Legal Deposit Law (still in force in 1987), dates from the end of the nineteenth century and does not have effective sanctions. Government was requested to prepare new Legal Deposit Legislation, to require all material published in Jamaica to be registered and stored in designated libraries for preservation and for research. (Up to 1987 the matter was still pending.) The National Library has also assumed responsibility for collecting
audio-visual material of archival importance, and in due course will undertake co-operative storage of little used material of national interest.

The National Library has not been adequately financed, and as a consequence, has not been able to attract and hold experienced, qualified personnel to carry out urgently needed work such as the conservation of rare and fragile material, and the preparation of the necessary bibliographic guides.

In 1987, the National Library once more began to mount several major exhibitions annually, and has reinstituted the Institute's lunch hour concerts. The National Referral Service for which it is the focal point within the National Information System, commenced as a pilot project in 1981, and has since been extended islandwide. At the time of writing the number of referrals was comparatively small--an average of 55 enquiries per month, 90% of which was satisfied in 1987. (61) This number is expected to increase as the service becomes more generally known and computer links with international data bases are established.

As a focal point for information handling, the National Library also serves as the international centre for exchange of publications, as the centre for interlibrary lending for overseas transactions and as the sub-agency of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) Secretariat, assigning the International Standard Book Number to local publishers. ISBN is a system for unique identification of publications to facilitate sales and
inventory control.

In carrying out its co-ordination role, the National Library gathers information on user needs in different disciplines and at different educational levels, in order to facilitate the development of library systems for improved access and availability of information; improved methods and techniques for educating and motivating users and potential users; and research into general problems affecting libraries.

It provides a reference service to ministries and other Government agencies, provides technical support for information units within these agencies which are not manned by trained staff and provides a measure of training in routines for their staffs. To a lesser extent it has advised on improved operations of libraries in the private sector. Between 1983 and 1987, under this Library Extension Service, a staff of six has worked with some 70 libraries in the public and private sectors, reorganizing their collections, setting up information retrieval systems and providing training. (62)

As part of the conservation programme, the National Library has begun to microfilm local newspapers and to organize some 20,000 cadastral maps and plans of the island.

With funding from the International Development Research Centre, Canada, the library commenced developing a national database of local holdings, including a Union List of Serials in Science and Technology, an index of the Daily Cleaner newspaper.
and other in-house indexes, including a data base of socio/cultural/historical developments in Jamaica dating from 1937. In these endeavours it has received the full support of the Jamaican library profession, and has benefitted from technical and financial assistance from the International Development Centre, Canada, the Organization of American States and the British Council.
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The Manchester Free Library

When the Rev. Walter Lewis arrived from his native Wales in 1935, to take up duties with the Presbyterian Church in Jamaica, he was immediately struck by the absence of reading facilities on the island. This was especially noted among the peasantry, who, even had they the technical skills, and were so inclined, found it difficult to purchase books or to pay subscription fees to libraries. This was in sharp contrast to Lewis's British experience and caused him to observe that in every little town or village in England and America, there were free libraries serving people who could better afford books than the people of Jamaica.

Within a year Lewis was planning to start a library in the parish of Manchester and soon began to canvas public opinion on the matter. He received a mixed response. The governor of the island, Sir Edward Denham, enthusiastically replied that he was entirely in agreement with the proposal; that he would do anything he could to help, as he entirely agreed that the provision of free libraries should form part of any social welfare scheme. Some others thought the dream "absurd and utopian". They said people were not ready—perhaps in another 20 or 30 years. But soon the doubters gradually came round to
supporting the idea. One writer suggested that this library could
commemorate the centenary of Emancipation in 1938.

Lewis found a small group of enthusiasts willing to work
towards the establishment of a "free" library in Manchester and
they began circulating letters and a small 5 page pamphlet, in
which Lewis pleaded the case of free libraries especially for
Manchester. He felt that free libraries were a most important
factor in the spread of culture and in the production of a sturdy
and well informed peasantry and that free libraries were the
corollary of free education. It was not enough he thought, to
teach children to read while in school; a sane programme ought to
make some feasible arrangement for a possible continuity of
reading after school age. Such a library as he envisioned could
supplement secondary school libraries whose children ought to be
in a position to consult books of reference from which they could
obtain the most expert opinions on subjects under enquiry. In any
case, such books were often too expensive for ordinary schools to
purchase.

Teachers too ought to be in a position to keep themselves
informed upon the latest opinions in education and to have access
to suitable reading material for work or for leisure. (1) 60%
of the population was illiterate, and unless steps were taken to
counteract "this disease" future populations would suffer a
similar fate. Lewis challenged popular opinion that adults would
not read even if books were free, and said it was pessimistic to
think that such a state of affairs should continue. If this was true, it was a sad reflection on educational activities over the past 50 years.

He was convinced that if free libraries were established in Jamaica, the people would discover that not only were such institutions useful but essential to their welfare, and Manchester should do something about this important matter.

To finance the project initially, he suggested that if the 60 elementary schools in the parish raised about Thirty Shillings (30s.) each this would give about One Hundred Pounds (L100.); if 20 persons gave or collected Ten Pounds (L10.) each this would increase the amount to Three Hundred Pounds (L300.); and if a parish fete or gymkhana was held it could raise about One Hundred and Fifty Pounds (L150.), bringing in a total of Four Hundred and Fifty Pounds (L450.).

With such a sum available the Carnegie Corporation could be approached, and he was optimistic that this would result in a generous grant of books. The United Fruit Company could also be approached as a possible source of income. By these efforts the sum of Eight Hundred Pounds (L800.) could be raised which was sufficient to build and start a modest free library. This effort could be the beginning of a "mind liberating" campaign. (2)

Thus Lewis and his group began to make plans for setting up a free library in the parish capital, Mandeville, which they hoped would "give the rest of Jamaica a lead." They
collected small donations of cash and several hundred books, and on 6 July 1937, the group called a public meeting at the Roof Garden Theatre in Mandeville to launch the project formally. A deadline was set to have the library in operation within a year and on 1 August 1938, Emancipation Day, the Manchester Free Library was officially opened.

Material and financial help came from many sources. A gentleman of the town who wished to remain nameless opened the subscription list with One Hundred Pounds (L100.) and the Parochial Board of Manchester made available a building at pepper-corn rental. Books were donated by local persons as well as by friends and well wishers in England, Scotland and North America. These included John McClure Hamilton, an English Historian residing in Mandeville; Professor Pickering, a Harvard astronomer, and Mrs Pickering whose library contained mainly works on astronomy and art; and Mr. T. Sharpe, a solicitor of Christiana.

A group of 12 enthusiastic volunteers led by Mrs. F. M. Goldsworthy organized the collection and later operations of the library. By April, 1938, the volunteers had catalogued 1,300 books with the help of a member of staff of the Institute of Jamaica, and were then lending about 140 books per week. West Indian books were kept together for reference and the more valuable ones handed over to the Institute of Jamaica for safe keeping.

The library was housed in two rooms, one for children's books and fiction and the other for adult reading, reference and
non-fiction. As the building was not lighted, the library opened at first only during daylight hours but later a patron, Mr. Melhado, donated lighting fixtures which allowed the reading room to remain open until 9.00 p.m. three days per week. But accommodation soon became a problem as the Parochial Board took back the building at short notice during an emergency, to house security forces. The books had to be placed in safe keeping for a time. After six months the library was reopened. Soon the demand began to grow and the library started opening daily, even on Sundays for short spells to allow out-of-town members who came to church in Mandeville to take advantage of the facility.

In April 1939, the library had a stock of 4,230 books and a membership of 965. By 1943 the collection had grown to 10,428 with a readership of 1,315. The library was intended to serve not only the town of Mandeville but the environs as well and in time branch book rooms and book shelves were set up in as many as 32 villages. Individuals who so desired could also obtain books free by post. This rural work was mainly the responsibility of two ladies—Mrs. E.W. Monkman and later Miss Cynthia Iver—who continued their voluntary service for many years even after the library had been incorporated into the Jamaica Library Service.

The library started with the princely sum of Three Hundred Pounds (L300.) and in 1939 the Parochial Board made a one-time grant of Fifty Pounds (L50.) towards maintenance, giving as an excuse the statement that it was concentrating on the war effort.
However, another benefactor came forward in the person of Mrs. Helen Wrightson who donated One Hundred Pounds (L100.) in 1940.

The Hammond Report of October 1941 took special note of this library activity and suggested that it should be absorbed into the larger library scheme i.e., the Institute of Jamaica. It recommended that a new building should be provided which should however do more than house an ordinary library service. It should contain space, rooms to cover all the services of a cultural centre for the Manchester area ... for concerts, lectures, educational film exhibits, exhibitions of fine arts etc. Smaller rooms should be provided for meetings of women's institutes, youth clubs and the many other social organizations that will develop and require regular meeting places.

With this pattern developed, Mandeville could serve as a model for other towns. The report went as far as to identify two individuals who could be seconded from the Institute of Jamaica to help with the reorganization. They were Mrs. Philip Ogle, wife of a former chief librarian of the City of Ipswich, England, who was experienced in the Dewey Decimal Classification Scheme, and Mrs. Hoffman-Bang, whose husband had been sent to Jamaica to introduce silk worm culture, and who was at the time working at the Junior Centre. The latter would be employed by the British Council for three years or until such time as a central free library service was established in the island.

On 1 January 1943, the Institute of Jamaica formally agreed to release the ladies. The duties of Mrs. Hoffman-Bang were to
include the training of two young people (preferably coloured) with a view to their being employed in the library at some future date. (4) The question of who used the library had also attracted the attention of the British Council representative who observed that as the voluntary workers and the proposed librarian were all white, there was a tendency among coloured folks to stay away in the belief, quite mistakenly, that it was a white man's library. (5) That the coloureds stayed away was true but whether or not they were mistaken is in question.

The Hammound Report had noted that half the book stock of 9,000 was very old, out-of-date and shabby, should be removed from the shelves and "distributed among the peasantry of the district in the hope that they might be read." (6) The report also recommended that books should be sent to community centres of the Jamaica Welfare Ltd., and that the organizing officer, Edgar B. Hallett should arrange "reading groups where literate and semi-literate would read to the illiterate ..." (7)

There is also a letter from one of the volunteers to the Secretary of the Institute of Jamaica in which she requested a loan of 100 books to service "evacuées and better class people." The letter went on to note that there was "not enough leisure for planning and penetrating among the more needy." (8) The British Council representative on 27 November 1942, had also observed that circulation in Mandeville was swinging over too heavily to evacuées and better class people, "and that the use of
the library to the working people for whom it was originally intended was decreasing rather than increasing."

In 1942 the Government made a grant of Fifty Pounds (L50.) which it later increased to One Hundred Pounds per annum and continued to allocate until the JLS came into being in 1949. The Manchester Free Library was then supplying 31 of the 60 elementary schools in the parish with 25 books each, which could be exchanged quarterly, and it was also supplying 32 villages and a number of postal readers. The load was becoming too much for the volunteers alone to handle and the library committee approached the Parochial Board for assistance. It received a grant of Two Hundred and Twenty-Five Pounds (L225.) per annum for the employment of a trained assistant. Manchester in this way became the first parish to take responsibility for public library services.

The British Council also made contributions of books and magazines and donated Fifty Pounds (L50.) for equipment (9) in addition to paying for the services of the trained cataloguer for three months and the experienced Junior Centre employee for three years.

Library furnishings were all made locally from lumber donated. The West Indian Training College in the town donated stationery and printing services. The premises were small, inconveniently located and the committee's hold on them insecure. Later in 1947, when the Manchester Secondary School was about to
remove to other premises, the Rev. Morton York, principal of the school and chairman of the library committee, sent out an appeal for funds to purchase the old school building and site as a memorial to those who had served in World War II. The memorial would have housed the library, but the appeal did not realize the amount required and the premises were rented by the library committee instead. The parish library remained there even after the changeover to the JLS in 1948, and did not move until 1968.

The co-operative effort of the Manchester Free Library proved beyond a doubt that public spirited citizens were willing to share their knowledge, time and money, to help a worthy cause, and that peasants were as anxious to read as the more privileged and better educated. Mrs. Goldsworthy recalled that never once through the ten years did her roster of volunteers fail to show up at the scheduled time. Many were the tales she recounted of the eagerness with which the library was used; how after the library had been closed for six months, when services resumed every book was returned and in good condition; of an old lady who came regularly to have the Bible read to her; of a deaf and dumb boy who became their ablest book repairer.

Without a steady income for salaries and books, however, the library could not maintain the anticipated level of expansion and when the JLS took over the service in 1948 much of the earlier activity had been curtailed, especially the number of branch libraries.
Manchester may not have been the earliest of these libraries in the Twentieth Century but it was certainly the most dynamic, and the impetus was sustained even after Walter Lewis left the parish.

**St. Elizabeth Free Library**

In November 1943, the Rev. Walter Lewis was transferred to another station in the neighbouring parish of St. Elizabeth, and he soon began his library activities along lines of the Manchester Free Library. Within a few weeks of arriving in the parish he called a social meeting at the Black River Court House where he presented his ideas to a less than enthusiastic audience. In spite of very favourable publicity the public response remained indifferent. But three months later, on 5 February 1944, the St. Elizabeth Free Library (later re-named the St. Elizabeth Public Library) was opened with about 200 books, half of which had been donated by Lewis himself. Through the Parish Libraries Auxiliary which Lewis had set up in Mandeville, Black River received a steady supply of second-hand books. It also received 100 books and Twenty-Five Pounds (£25.) for equipment from the British Council.

The dynamic leadership and affluent supporters of the Manchester Free Library were missing and the service did not develop to the extent that Manchester did. Four years later, the stock was only 1,560. The library operated out of a room rented at One Pound (£1.) per month and the furnishings were makeshift.
A "tin billboard" on trestles served as the magazine stand; sweeping and cleaning were undertaken by the first custodian Miss May Barrett, who later paid a cleaner Three Shillings (3s.) per month to do the job as well as run errands. Members supplied string and wrapping paper for the postal service and gum for repairs. The custodian collected the parcels herself from the post office.

In 1945 the St. Elizabeth Parochial Board made its first contribution of Twenty-Five Pounds (L25.) and continued its support thereafter. A token membership charge of One Shilling (1s.) for life members was made. By 1946 the library was in such financial straits that the decision was made to charge a membership fee of One Shilling (1s.) per year for adults and Sixpence (6d.) for children.

Obviously the contributions could not finance the library and to make matters worse in 1945, following a visit by the wife of the Governor of the island, the landlord increased the rent to Two Pounds per month, which the committee could not afford to pay. The collection finally ended up in an upstairs room of a lawyer's office. The lawyer was Mr. Donald Sangster, who later became Prime Minister of Jamaica. Finally a local citizen, Dr. J.G. Johnston donated a site, but funds needed to be found to put up a building.

In 1949 the Free Library opted to integrate with the Jamaica Library Service and it was on the site given by Dr. Johnston that the present St. Elizabeth Parish Library was erected in 1953,
with funds provided jointly by Central Government and the Parochial Board.

St. James Public Library

When, in 1946, the Rev. Lewis was transferred once more, this time to St. James, he immediately allied himself with the struggling St. James Public Library. This was started in 1944 by a small group of ladies, under the leadership of Mrs. Joan Crum-Ewing (afterwards Mrs. Ewen). An Englishwoman, Mrs. Ewing had come to reside in Montego Bay during the war years and found herself in a town without any public library amenity. The only book collection she could locate was a small one of 150 books belonging to the YWCA, for use of its members.

In March 1944 she persuaded the Association to open the collection for public use and she and a small group of helpers began collecting books. Mrs. Ewing promised to double any quantity that was collected and in six weeks they had 500 books which the members of the YWCA sorted and repaired. A number of prominent persons made financial contributions. Three months later, on 1 June 1944, the St. James Public Library was opened at 43 Church St., Montego Bay, and six months afterwards a children's section was added.

In 1945 the fledgling library received 100 books and magazines and Twenty-Five Pounds (L25.) for equipment from the British Council. It also received help from the Parish Libraries Auxiliary, from the Institute of Jamaica and from the St. James Parochial Board, which made a small contribution towards running
expenses. The following year the British Council made another donation of books.

This library had, like the St. Elizabeth library, to resort to token charges of One Shilling (1s.) per year for adults, Sixpence (6d.) for children and Two Shillings for out-of-town members. While postage was free, wrapping materials and time were a charge upon the library. Senior girls from the Montego Bay High School were encouraged to volunteer at the library in return for which they were granted free membership.

Although the library had no regular means of support, the committee recognized the need for paid staff and decided to employ the services of a part-time librarian, and to send her for three weeks to Mandeville for training. In November 1945, Miss Amy McCourtie was employed as librarian. The membership was then about 400 of which 60 were children. A year later the stock stood at about 2,500.

The committee devised every means of raising funds and when their enterprises could not bring in sufficient funds to pay the rental of the library room, the committee made up the extra and paid the librarian from their own pockets. (10) One member even had to loan Fifteen Pounds (L15.) at one stage to pay the six months rental—from January to June 1947—and the Committee had to beg from people in the town to make up the librarian's salary.
Readers were encouraged to contribute half the cost of any book they wished added to the library, and to give books in memory of friends and relatives lost in the war. There were boxes placed in the library where members wanting a special title could put aside Sixpence (6d.) or One Shilling (1s.) and if that person could collect half the price of the book the library would provide the remaining half, provided that the title was approved by the library committee. Books no longer of service to the library were disposed of at a nominal price and the money used to purchase new titles. Even music scores were available for loan.

In her annual report of 1946, the chairman was at pains to explain the presence of so many American titles in the library and noted that England had lost 5 years supply of paper and the printing centre, Pater Noster Row, to bombing raids. This library too, was integrated into the Jamaica Library Service in 1949, and remained in its old premises until 1953 when it moved to the new building jointly constructed by Central Government and the Parochial Board.

Other Libraries

Rev. Lewis may have been instrumental in starting the Manchester Free Library and several others which later became flourishing branches of the Jamaica Library Service but there was another enthusiast who pre-dated him. This was C.A. Bicknell who was involved with the starting of at least four subscription libraries during the first quarter of the twentieth
century.

Wherever, as resident magistrate his job took him, either he was instrumental in starting a library or he allied himself with any already in operation. In 1903 he was secretary and treasurer of the St. Thomas Subscription Library. He started another in Clarendon in 1919, and between 1924 and 1925 he was associated with one in Portland and with yet another in St. James. The St. Thomas library was in existence certainly between 1903 and 1913 for there is a printed catalogue of the collection dated 1913 at the Institute of Jamaica. List A of that catalogue contains items loaned by the Institute and List B those books purchased by the library society from England. The titles on both lists are not duplicated. List A contains some lighter fiction as well as a number of standard works such as Boswell's life of Johnson, the lives of George Eliot and Jane Austen and the complete works of Dickens.

Another list addressed to Cundall at the Institute of Jamaica dated 28 May '07, has 96 books loaned by the Institute covering a range of popular subjects—history, biography, travels and adventures, art and science, agriculture etc. There is a note attached that the more popular works "on the war" and works of fiction could only be borrowed for 14 days. No records of the library have so far been found to give any further idea of its activities.
The Portland Subscription Library was started in connection with a men's club and located at the Grossett Building in Port Antonio. Only club members however had access to the collection which was comprised mostly of fiction. The Bicknell Library as it was popularly known, appears to have continued sometime after Bicknell left the parish, and the remnants of the collection were kept for a long time at the Town Hall.

Bicknell was also instrumental in starting subscription libraries in May Pen in 1919 and also in Montego Bay. An undated list of the St. James Subscription Library records C.A. Bicknell as honorary secretary and one George A. Campbell as librarian. The two and a half page list includes biographies of Browning, Burns, Arnold, Galsworthy, Tolstoy and a number of popular fiction titles. Readers were asked to request at least 3 or 4 titles at one time to increase the chances of finding at least one in the library.

Bicknell was certainly engaged in promoting libraries in at least four parishes for over 20 years.

In 1942 a group of young people led by Horace Edwards started another club in Port Antonio. On 14 March 1943, The Portland Free Library opened for business with a stock of 800 books and a membership of 50 adults and 500 junior readers. The library was located in a small building belonging to the Portland Public Works Department. In short time they were mailing as many as 276 books per month to subscribers in several towns of the
No sooner were they established than the Public Works Department took the decision to demolish the building, but with the assistance of Philip Sherlock, then Secretary of the Institute of Jamaica, the group managed to obtain a loan of Four Hundred Pounds (L400.) from a Kingston businessman, Edward Hanna, and the committee was able to purchase the building. Mr. Hanna was later repaid Three Hundred Pounds (L300.) and he donated the remaining Hundred Pounds (L100.). But they were not to occupy the building for long, for in August 1944 it was destroyed by hurricane. There is a note to the effect that the British Council had donated Ten Pounds (L10.) for shelving, and 200 books, and that 87 of the books had been destroyed. (11)

For the next eight years the collection was stored in the Town Hall, then at the Methodist Church Hall and finally at the Forrester's Hall where it remained until taken over by the Jamaica Library Service.

The Three Hundred Pounds (L300.) collected as insurance on the building was used to purchase the site from the Public Works Department and the committee undaunted, began to make plans to reconstruct their building, but they were dissuaded from proceeding further because the JLS was about to be launched.

After Bryant met the Parochial Board in 1949 and the Board had formally resolved to support the parish library, the Board made its first small grant. On 14 June 1950, the Portland Free
Library was incorporated into the JLS and paid part-time staff appointed.

The Falmouth Public Library

This library was started along with a stationery shop run by Mrs. R.A.L.Knight in 1939. The initial stock of second-hand books was acquired from a sale of R.T.B.Prentis's collection at Hampden Estate. Later second-hand books were purchased from Mr. Leslie Alexander's shop on Tower St. in Kingston. In 1945 there were only about 300 books of fiction (12) which were loaned to about 40 subscribers at Fourpence (4d.) per month. When the JLS was about to be established the stock was sold out to a firm in Kingston. (13)

One other attempt to start a library in Falmouth was initiated by E.B.L.Tomlinson of the Falmouth Credit Union Ltd. Tomlinson obtained a small collection of books from the Parish Libraries Auxiliary and set up a service in his curio and book shop. He also unsuccessfully approached the British Council for help but when he could not establish a steady source of income he abandoned the scheme.

The St. Ann Public Library

The idea of the St. Ann Public Library was launched at a public meeting in St. Ann's Bay on 13 March 1947. The committee headed by Louis Dyles and his wife collected books from as far away as England—the Croydon and Aylesbury Libraries—from Jamaican citizens in New York and from the British Council. The
library service which was designed to serve the whole parish was opened six months later on 8 December 1947. It started in rented premises on Market St. in the town, and opened two evenings per week. Mrs. Byles who had gained some library experience in England was the librarian. The British Council made donations of books and a grant of Fifty Pounds (L50.) to purchase a typewriter. The library also received small grants from Central Government and from Local Government although, while Central Government regarded the purchase of a typewriter as "expenses of administration" it did not think that Government contribution should be sought for this type of expenditure. Central Government was also not prepared to grant a subvention of One Hundred Pounds (L100.) for libraries to the parishes of Portland, St. James, St. Elizabeth and St. Ann although it had been doing so for Manchester. (14).

Westmoreland also began some small library activity just before the commencement of the JLS. The Rev. Canon Henry Cope then in charge of the Anglican Church gathered together a stock of 200 books which was housed in the Anglican Church Hall. It served about 40 members some of whom paid a small fee. In 1948, after two years of operation, the British Council donated 400 books bringing the total to 600. The library was then moved to more convenient premises in the Municipal Buildings where by 1948 it had a stock of 700 and a membership of 70 adults. In 1949 it was incorporated into the JLS.
The Library of the Poetry League of Jamaica

There were several social groups which also had small specialist libraries, of which that of the Poetry League of Jamaica was an example.

This library was founded in 1930 at the suggestion of the Jamaican poet, Mary Adella Wolcott. She provided the first book, an anthology entitled "The Poetry Cure" and subsequently donated many other volumes of poetry and poetic reference. Miss Wolcott's efforts were ably supported by Astley Clerk, a vice president of the League, who not only placed at the convenience of the library, a considerable number of items from his own private collection but also a book case in a corner of his Cowen Music Rooms, at 60 King St., Kingston, to house the collection. The books loaned by him were not withdrawn until many years later when Clerk retired from active participation in the affairs of the Poetry League.

The poet Vivian Virtue was appointed librarian and functioned for a long time with the assistance of Astley Clerk.

Because of the specialist nature of the League, the membership was never large nor were the demands upon the library great. In 1937 the Poetry League became affiliated with the Readers and Writers Club and the library was then transferred to the more commodious and congenial club rooms at 4 Central Ave., Kingston Gardens. The League received the occasional donations of books and in a few instances purchased some items with funds subscribed by members. The total number was about 200.
Two books were loaned for two weeks to a member and at the expiration of the period, the loan could be renewed on request.

In 1939, the Club suspended activities and the collection was moved to the home of the president, the poet J.E.Clarke McFarlane. But the location in Vineyard Town was inaccessible to most members and eventually the library ceased functioning.

The collection was devoted almost exclusively to the poetry of the English-speaking peoples. This the League members apparently found particularly attractive especially as it was customary for them to write in the styles of popular English nineteenth century poets such as Keats, Wordsworth and Tennyson, using the poetic forms—the lyric, the ode, and the sonnet etc.

It was noted in 1945, that many of the volumes were old and in need of repairs but the impecunious Poetry League was apparently never in a position to have them rebound, and over time the collection was disbanded. (15)

The fate of small specialized libraries such as this demonstrated the need for publicly financed libraries which would also address such interests in the society.

Bryant's arrival in Jamaica in May 1948, altered the whole picture of libraries in the island. There would be in future no need for subscription libraries and much less need for large donations of second-hand books as a major source of reading matter. Soon there would be supplies of new books in quantities never seen before at one time, and an organizational network addressed to the library needs of the entire island.
REFERENCES


2. Ibid. p.4. (unnumbered)


5. Ibid.

6. Hammond Report. 23 October 1941. (Ref. BW 17. No.5)

7. Ibid.


15. The Library of the Poetry League of Jamaica ... by the Hon. Secretary, Vivian Virtue. 7 March 1945. Typescript.
The history of libraries in Jamaica would be incomplete without a review of the British Council's contribution especially to the development of public libraries. Before this is discussed, however, note must be taken of an earlier report on local government reform published in 1943, which made a strong plea for local government involvement in the development of public libraries.

Because Levi Hill's suggestions predated the Bateson Report by two years and thoroughly anticipated the direction in which the present service developed, it deserves closer attention than it has received in the past.

In December 1942, Hill was commissioned by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to prepare a report on the reform of Local Government in Jamaica. (1) Hill took cognizance of all areas where local authorities could and should meaningfully contribute to national development. He set his report against the prevailing social conditions highlighted in two earlier reports (which have not been located):

(i) Philip Sherlock's Report on Rural Reconstruction in Jamaica which estimated that of the 300,000 children then of school age only 250,000 were on the registers and of that number, only 200,000 actually attended school and irregularly at that. Sherlock estimated that 90% of the children left school between the ages of 12 and 13 years and that overall, some 50% of the population was illiterate. (More recent records
show illiteracy still a problem: 1952 figures, 40%-50% and 1987 figures, 24.3%. (2)

(ii) The Report of the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the Prevalence of Concubinage and the High Rate of Illiteracy attributed such problems to (a) bad housing conditions with entire lack of privacy, where both sexes of all ages were herded together; where essential amenities such as light and water were lacking, and (b) to the absence of healthy occupation or recreation and the dullness of life for the majority of the people. (3)

In commenting on this situation Hill noted:

The above represent a staggering national debt and the cost of liquidating it must be borne by all classes ... any attempt to evade it will only pile up the debt. This is inevitable, and the progress of that debt will be as relentless as uncontrolled disease ... (4)

The evasion of that debt was to become an albatross round the neck of the country. Millions of dollars have been invested in adult literacy programmes in the 1970's and 1980's but have made little progress because deteriorating educational facilities and population growth rates have continued to retard progress.

Hill observed that Practical Training Centres catered only for youths with elementary level education preparation. The centres offered vocational courses in the growing of staple and minor crops and vegetables, stock rearing, poultry keeping and agriculture, with carpentry, shoe-making, tailoring and simple
work in masonry as subsidiary subjects. Very few pupils from these institutions managed to further their education in agriculture by scholarship to the only tertiary institution open to them, the Jamaica School of Agriculture.

He drew attention to the expansion of land settlements following upon the social unrest of 1938, when several large estates had been subdivided and sold to small farmers. In 1943, there were over 17,000 of these small holdings accommodating approximately 85,000 persons. Hill advised that Local Government should take responsibility for certain amenities such as roads, light and water in these settlements. And in making the case he described the purpose of local government thus:

It should do more than provide roads; it should encourage the people to be better citizens, comfort them in their distress and offer them facilities for "singing their songs". It is a personal thing, a human institution. Its services must be available at short notice; they may be wanted at any moment in case of emergency. Local Government must have a philosophy as well as a technique. By-laws alone will not solve our problems but unbounded faith in ourselves can ...

Also, in observing the trend of the masses towards urban living he continued:

The more education the masses get, the greater will be the demand for cultural facilities such as libraries, theatres, lecture halls, music, cinema and the best coaches for their athletes. Nothing can compete with the town except a system that can take the town's amenities into the countryside.
Hill's Recommendations for Public Libraries

Hill was a product of the English system, and he accordingly took for granted local government responsibility for public libraries, and expected that in Jamaica these libraries should also be financed from local rates. A library was not a luxury but an amenity that could easily be taken from town to country, and in appealing for their establishment, he set out the purpose of libraries as follows:

a) to relieve the tedium of idle hours, quite irrespective of intellectual profit or educational gain;

b) to secure that the taste for good English which should be acquired in the elementary school is kept alive and developed by a provision of good literature after school years have ended;

c) to enable the rural inhabitant to acquire, without difficulty, that general knowledge which alone can enable him to appreciate to the full what he sees and hears;

d) to provide facilities for study of the arts, trades and professions which constitute the occupation of the inhabitants;

e) to remove, as far as possible, all obstacles from the path of the serious student of any subject.' (7)

Because of the scarcity of reading matter in the rural areas (except, so he thought, in private homes), children taught to read in school often had no access to printed matter afterwards; and as a result, in a very short time had lost the taste for reading. This deficiency could only be remedied by the establishment of public libraries sponsored by local authorities.
However, as in so many other new directions, co-operation between Local Government and such voluntary help as existed seemed the best way of approaching the problem. He was very specific that public libraries should be one of the responsibilities of the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation.

He further recommended that the Institute’s General Library should be transformed into a public library with six branches in thickly populated areas of the City of Kingston; that the General Library should become the Central Library for the island, distributing books to municipal libraries (i.e., libraries in main parish towns) which would in turn distribute them to district libraries located in community centres or in some suitable room, under the supervision of volunteers. A decentralized Schools Library Service with bookmobiles could be based on these municipal libraries or schools could be served through district libraries.*

In Hill’s view Municipal Councils should be empowered and encouraged to establish lending libraries in each district community centre. These libraries would be guided by their own District Committees charged with responsibility for their proper

* The present Schools Library Service administered by the Jamaica Library Service since 1952, follows this recommendation to some extent. Bookmobiles based at four strategically located parish libraries serve schools in neighbouring parishes.
conduct. Recognizing that District Committees might not have the necessary expertise to ensure their efficient operation, he suggested that local authorities should seek the help and guidance of the Institute of Jamaica and the British Council. The operation of public libraries was one direction in which local initiative could be channelled, although it was questionable the extent to which such a development would be possible. As an alternative, therefore, a central library should be developed; local authorities should bear the cost of staff training, preparation and distribution of materials and the necessary funds recovered from rates charged for the purpose.

The system advocated by Hill was very similar to that of an English County Library network with central library responsibility for certain operations. Hill's idea of a central library was a place where the bulk-purchasing of books and the provision of other common technical services would optimize the use of limited trained staff. Any money available would be better spent on books and staff instead of on elaborate buildings. Hill's recommendations were both practical and sound, and it was only on the matter of building priority that later planners differed in any significant way.

Hill's report on the direction local government should take, came under attack from many quarters, especially from government departments and religious institutions on whose preserves he had dared to tread. His idea of establishing public libraries with
local government support was, however, not disputed. The only comment came from the Treasury:

> It is desirable that the library services should for the start at least, be purely voluntary. No local expenses should be incurred for helpers. This might be a good gauge of the growth of public spirit in the early stages of things. (8)

Beyond this, the recommendations on public libraries attracted no further attention. It is also noteworthy that those defending the right of individuals and religious denominations to dictate education policy, made no mention of the place of libraries in the education process. The real encouragement for libraries came about three years later from the British Council.

**The British Council in Jamaica**

The Council's main function, since its establishment in 1934, had been to foster British culture in foreign countries. In the first instance it was to counter the spread of Nazism in Europe, but the outbreak of World War II and the events immediately leading up to it had severely restricted operations. The Council then began looking towards the colonies as an alternative outlet.

The first tentative approach to Jamaica was made in 1939, when one of the Council's officers held discussions with Philip Sherlock, then Secretary of the Institute of Jamaica; and it was from these discussions that the idea emerged that public libraries might be one area in which the Council could contribute meaningfully. Follow up visits were made by other officers and within three years the Council had begun operating in the island.
The Council's interest in libraries was obvious from the outset, for through this channel it could continue to spread "British ways of thought and life." It gave material assistance to public and school libraries, and especially to the Institute of Jamaica. The General Library received regular supplies of new books and a member of the Institute's staff, Kenneth Ingram, was awarded the first library scholarship to Britain. He was the first Jamaican to qualify as an Associate of the Library Association (ALA).

The Council strongly supported the establishment of public libraries and provided funds for a survey of existing library facilities. The selection of a library expert was made on the recommendation of the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the American Library Association.

Nora Bateson, Director of Libraries for the province of Nova Scotia, who also had experience in the Legislative Library of Ontario and in the library of the University of British Columbia, was invited to carry out the survey. (9) Bateson's report, which had as one of its main recommendations that any islandwide scheme was to be detached from the Institute of Jamaica, ushered in a new era of library development. The Institute would, therefore, in the future concentrate upon the West India Reference Library and the Junior Centre as well as on other cultural activities in Kingston.
The Bateson Plan

Miss Bateson arrived in Jamaica on 3 April 1944, and in July completed the preliminary study. The main thrust of her report was one that the Institute may not have been prepared for but readily recognized as reasonable "in view of the size and importance of the scheme." (10) Bateson investigated the organization and administration of existing libraries—the Institute of Jamaica services, free libraries in the parishes of Manchester, St. James, Portland and St. Elizabeth—all of which were largely dependent on gifts. She visited rural communities, met with the local Parochial Boards as well as with educators and social welfare officers, and visited Trinidad for consultations with Dr. Stewart, the Canadian in charge of the Carnegie funded Eastern Caribbean Regional Library Scheme.

Bateson examined the need for a library service against the problems of an inadequate social and educational system, small settlements dispersed over the rugged mountainous terrain, and the poor economic conditions. She noted that of a population of over 1,000,000 in 1935, only 68,637 had a sufficient income to entitle them to a vote. The average annual income per head of population in 1942 was only Twenty-Six Pounds (L26.) with the average weekly wage for a family of four being Thirty-Five Shillings (35s.). (11)

Bateson therefore concluded that only a small minority of the population was ready to take full advantage of library
services, but with the planned improvements in education and constitutional reform (that would shortly give Jamaicans a university in the country, and also internal self-government), the number of library users would in time increase. She envisaged the public library helping to equip the worker to do a better job, serving as a channel through which accurate information on current problems could reach the people, extending and deepening human experiences in many ways and stimulating the creative use of leisure time.

Because of the current state of underdevelopment, Bateson recommended that the scheme should be organized either as one centralized service or as semi-autonomous libraries in each parish. The former recommendation was accepted. Bateson further proposed that when the islandwide scheme became operative, the General Library of the Institute of Jamaica should be transferred to the Island Library Board to become the nucleus of the public library branch for Kingston. The General Library then had a stock of 20,000, and an annual budget of Two Thousand Nine Hundred and Forty Pounds (L2,940.) of which only Seven Hundred Pounds (L700.) was for books. Of the staff of 11, Bateson suggested that 3 should remain with the West India Reference Library, and the other 8 transferred to the island service. The one experienced (but not professionally qualified) member of staff at the General Library was at the time engaged in offering in-house training in
cataloguing and in general library routines. Bateson also assisted by lecturing "in the broader aspects of library work."

Two other members of staff were at the time in training overseas and two others were planning to go shortly. Bateson proposed that some of those persons who had received training could be used for clerical work in the Kingston branch and at Headquarters. She also recommended that the General Library’s stock should be increased by 30,000. Though not lavish, this would probably be adequate to meet increased demands when the library became free and open to the public.

Bateson devised a seven year plan divided into two three-year terms, and what should have been a final year but which appeared in the report as "sixth and seventh years." In the first three years there should be: (i) a short training course for present Institute staff, (ii) an extension of service in Kingston if accommodation was available, and (iii) the opening of 2 parish branches. If Kingston was not yet ready, 5 other parish libraries should be opened. In the second three years, five more branches should be opened and a six-month training course for librarians organized unless it was decided to send persons for training to Trinidad. In the "sixth and seventh years" (sic) 5 more branches should be opened and the system consolidated.

The first libraries organized would serve for demonstration and experimentation. Trained staff would be required but these would have to be recruited from abroad. A small core of local
staff for Headquarters would be trained by regular short courses offered locally before the 7 year plan was embarked upon. The minimum education level for recruitment was to be matriculation and finally, all permanent library staff should be made pensionable. (This latter recommendation was never successfully followed through and it was only in 1987 that a proper pension scheme was put into effect for the JLS staff).

**Units of Service**

Based upon North American standards at that time, a desirable library unit was expected to serve a population of not less than 40,000; the library should be assured a minimum income of Six Thousand Pounds (L6,000.) per annum and a workable stock of 25,000 volumes. In their present low financial state, the rural parishes were unlikely to meet these standards and it was therefore recommended that a stock of 10,000 should suffice each parish. Kingston and St. Andrew would need a stock of 30,000 and the KSAC should therefore be approached to make an annual contribution of One Thousand Pounds (L1,000.) to meet the extra costs. Each parish library would in time become the focal point for village and community services.

Bateson did not recommend the use of old buildings because of the expense of maintaining them. She thought it cheaper in the long run to erect new buildings.

The total expenditure envisaged to establish the islandwide service was One Hundred and Fifty-Seven Thousand Pounds
(L157,000.) over seven years, of which One Hundred and Twelve Thousand Pounds (L112,000.) would be met by the Government of Jamaica. (12) Bateson's recommendations were modest enough and she said that anything less would be unacceptable. In the end, the initial period of support was set at ten years and the amount to be provided One Hundred and Seventy Thousand Pounds (L170,000.).

The British Council decided to back the scheme, and in January 1946, the Council's Representative in Jamaica, Hugh Paget, informed the Acting Colonial Secretary that the library plan for Jamaica had received the serious consideration of the Joint Standing Committee of the British Council and Colonial Office. Among those present at that historic meeting were Sir Frank Stockdale, Comptroller, Development and Welfare for the West Indies; Sir Charles Jeffries, Mr. Christopher Cox of the Colonial Office, Sir Harry Luke and the local British Council Representative, Hugh Paget. The meeting agreed:

The most important single contribution which the British Council could make to the spread of British culture in the West Indies lay in the development of public libraries. (13)

The decision was made to establish an autonomous service. Four years earlier, the British Council's administrative representative to the British West Indies had come to the conclusion that the activities of the Institute were too limited
to be of real benefit to the island as a whole; its book supply to secondary schools, vocational colleges and a number of elementary schools only touched the fringe of a real library service; its other cultural activities comprising WIRL, and the Scientific Museum were limited and could be taken advantage of by only a relatively small group of people resident in Kingston and Lower St. Andrew. (14) He noted also that nine-tenths of the population of Jamaica lived outside of the Corporate Area and were practically untouched by and received no benefit from the operations of the Institute. He believed that such a benefit should be extended to all.

The British Council therefore had no difficulty in accepting the Bateson recommendations. In commenting upon the Bateson Report, the Standing Committee noted that it provided the basis upon which a sound progressive scheme of library development could be framed and in the opinion of Sir Frank Stockdale,

The British Council would miss a great opportunity if they did not take the lead in endeavouring to secure that such a scheme was accepted and vigorously prosecuted. Indeed, the failure to do so might seriously jeopardize their prospects of fruitful work in Jamaica in the future in striking contrast as it would be to the attitude they had adopted in the Eastern Caribbean Colonies. (15)

The decision was taken that the Council should offer substantial financial assistance, and would appoint the librarian who would be under its jurisdiction during the period of his employment. (16) This was to ensure that the Council would, in
effect, have a large measure of control over the choice of books. All this was in keeping with the Council's terms of reference as stated in 1939:

To provide for the dissemination in the Crown Colonies as well as in foreign countries of a wider and fuller knowledge of British ways, of thought and life and a better achievement than at present exist there." (17)

Despite the Council's hidden agenda, which was to spread British culture, Jamaica was fortunate in having two directors, A.S.A. Bryant and S.W. Hockey who put professionalism first, and who unstintingly set out to establish a sound base upon which the new public library was to grow. Although most of the books acquired were of British origin, at no stage did they ever attempt to acquire anything other than what in their best judgment would be acceptable and of value to the Jamaican public.

The Council had in the course of its operations made valuable contacts with the British book trade and it passed on the benefits of these contacts to the Jamaica Library Service. In Britain, booksellers were bound by the "net book agreement" whereby the bookseller could not receive more than 10% discount on the purchase price of items. The Council was not bound by this agreement and could negotiate discounts which could range, for example, from 20%-40% for children's books. The Council later awarded the first set of scholarships to Britain and to Trinidad in 1954, and for the next 10 years handled arrangements for all JLS students on scholarship to Britain. It continued to provide
fellowships and travel grants for conferences, workshops and short attachments to libraries in Britain even after its formal arrangement with the JLS had ceased.

The British Council's offer to the Government of Jamaica, in 1947, was Seventy Thousand Pounds (L70,000) over a number of years, if the Government would agree to contribute Ten Thousand Pounds (L10,000) each year for the next ten years, and continue to maintain and develop the service on a permanent basis. This offer to the Jamaican Government was placed before the House of Representatives by the Governor of the Island, Sir John Huggins, on 20 August, 1946. (18)

The Governor's message, (APPENDIX III) urged that the provision of an efficient and modern library service covering the whole island was an object which should command the widest support. A service of this nature was not a luxury but rather an essential part of sound educational policy; should meet the needs of all areas and classes in the island and should provide books particularly for children leaving school, for the agricultural community and for those requiring practical and technical guidance. Without such a service the heavy expenditure on advanced education (pending establishment of the University College of the West Indies in 1948) would be jeopardized.

The message took note of the limited number of libraries in the island and said that these, along with the Junior Centre of the Institute of Jamaica, demonstrated the eager response of the
public. They provided evidence of a keen desire amongst all sections of the population to supplement the teaching in schools, with further education by private reading. The Government was requested to contribute not less than Ten Thousand Pounds (£10,000.) a year for the next ten years, and then undertake to maintain the public library service permanently.

The message noted that the scheme proposed by Nora Bateson was beyond the capability of the Jamaican Government; that available development funds were already heavily committed particularly for agriculture, primary and secondary education, housing and water supplies. It was therefore not considered possible to provide the funds for a library service amounting to Two Hundred and Forty Thousand Pounds (£240,000.) over ten years. (This figure was arrived at using Bateson's annual estimates over 10 years.) A less ambitious scheme on lines proposed by Miss Bateson had, therefore, to be put into effect.

In urging that the revised proposals be accepted, the Governor recommended that funds allocated by the Government be devoted, in the first instance, to the building of a central public library in Kingston, at an estimated cost of Twenty-Five Thousand Pounds (£25,000.), to be followed by the building of small branch libraries costing approximately Three Thousand Pounds (£3,000.) each. The British Council's contribution would be used to purchase books, pay salaries of overseas personnel, train library staff and meet administrative expenses.
The plan as proposed by the British Council and accepted by the Jamaican Government did not receive the unqualified support of everyone. One columnist, in particular, felt that it was too expensive for the country to enter into, and that in separating the scheme from the Institute of Jamaica it would now cost more. The writer went on to note that the Institute had for a long time wanted to abolish the Five Shillings (5s.) a year subscription and offer a free service, but that funds were never available for this purpose. Yet, when the British Council offered Seventy Thousand Pounds "Strictly conditionally upon permission to boss the show during the period of its contribution" the Government suddenly was in a position to find the funds and contribute Ten Thousand Pounds (£10,000.) for ten years.

The project as devised was unnecessary and too extravagant and the writer warned legislators to consider well before pledging the country to further enormous recurrent expenses, which would continue long after the grant from the British Council had ceased. (19)

After some debate the House of Representatives accepted the plan in principle and passed the following resolution on 28 August 1946:

1) that it should be accepted as a matter of government policy that an islandwide library service shall be established;

2) that the offer of the British Council to contribute Seventy Thousand Pounds (£70,000.) over a period of years should be accepted;
3) that the Jamaican Government should undertake to provide funds not exceeding Ten Thousand Pounds (£10,000) a year for the next ten years for this purpose;

4) that the Government should undertake to maintain the public library service on a permanent basis in the future. (20)

The Executive Council also gave its assent on 3 December 1948, for the establishment of a statutory island library board and parish library committees. (21)

British Council Leadership

As a matter of urgency, the British Council had been requested to select the Chief Librarian by the end of the calendar year, 1947, and the appointment was made early in 1948. In May of that year A.S.A. Bryant, former Chief Librarian and Curator of Nuneaton Public Library, England, took up the post of Director. The Deputy Director was Miss Ursula Judd, former British Council Librarian in Finland.

Bryant studied the Hill report and found little to disagree with. If anything his task may have been made easier, for in examining the report Parochial Boards were forced to consider local government responsibilities to public libraries.

Bryant opted for one centralized service with the parish as the unit of service. There were 13 parish units--the Corporate Area (the parishes of Kingston and St. Andrew are amalgamated for administrative purposes and constitute the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation) and the 12 rural parishes which range in size from 177-483 sq. miles (deemed too
small to support autonomous public library services.)
Populations in these rural parishes then ranged from
approximately 48,000 to 124,000, with the Corporate Area having
237,000.

Also, at least 50% of the population was under 18 years of
age. In theory, then, the service should have given greater
weighting to children's libraries but in practice this question
was never seriously addressed as the statistical records will
show. (APPENDIX IV) There was also the negative factor of a
high illiteracy rate which precluded many who may have wished to
take advantage of the facility.

Population figures of major towns given in the official
census for 1982, when the population had by then risen from
1.5 million to over 2.5 million, show the population of the main
parish towns to be still surprisingly small:

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<td>TOWN</td>
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<tr>
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(Official Census Figures 1982)
Thirty-four years earlier, in 1948, the population of every town would have been less than half that size. Places such as Old Harbour with 13,234 and Santa Cruz with 5,808, in 1982, were hardly more than villages and Portmore, a dormitory town of Kingston, with 66,976, did not exist. The area was covered by cane fields and swamp.

Many parochial boards were too poor to maintain the minimum services required, and were embarrassed to accept this added financial responsibility. For example, the St. James Parochial Board refused to entertain discussions with Bryant, when he first approached them on the matter. All the existing library committees accepted the idea of a larger unified service and readily agreed to hand over their operations to the Jamaica Library Board. (APPENDIX V) Bryant eventually obtained the commitment of parochial boards by formal resolution, to accept the scheme in principle and to make an annual provision in their budgets for this purpose. (APPENDIX VI) They agreed to finance local expenses including wages, travel and subsistence in connection with approved library business, rental of premises, maintenance and insurance of buildings.

Relations with the Institute of Jamaica

Bryant endorsed Bateson's suggestions regarding the establishment of an autonomous public library system but thought that the Institute should be involved in the planning, and be represented on the Provisional Library Board; further, that the
arrangement whereby the Institute would continue to operate the General Library and Junior Centres until the Jamaica Library Service had achieved some measure of financial security, should not be disturbed; and to enable the Institute to continue the valuable functions it still had to perform, arrangements for reasonable financial provision and staffing needed to be worked out. Finally, when the general collection of the Institute was handed over to the Island Library Board, the Board would undertake to maintain a lending library service in Kingston as well as the work of the Junior Centres. Agreement also needed to be reached on the degree of support the Kingston & St. Andrew Corporation (KSAC) would be willing to give to the service.

In 1951, the Institute began scaling down its lending library operations (22) and in 1954 offered items culled from the lending collection to the Jamaica Library Service. Most of the 2,500 items sent over in 1955 were well worn, and most unattractively bound in brown and black.

In 1944, Bateson had found small libraries in 5 parishes, some of which had been in operation for 6 years or less: Manchester (since 1938), Trelawny (1939), Portland (1942), St. Elizabeth (1943) and St. James (1944). In addition to these were the libraries of the Institute of Jamaica. Once it was known that a Government agency for libraries was being contemplated, several other parishes began to establish services; and they did so with varying degrees of success since their problems hinged mainly on
lack of funds. With the little help they managed to get from Central or Local Government, supplemented by private gifts of books and money, the parishes of St. Ann, Westmoreland, St. Catherine and St. Thomas all began setting up libraries.

When Bryant arrived in 1948, there were 10 parishes in which the groundwork had already been laid, and the parish of Trelawny where a library had closed down. (23) Three other parishes, St. Mary, Hanover, and Clarendon were still without any form of service.

Bryant's observations of the library scene in 1948 are worth noting:

Manchester, the pioneer parish library still maintains its lead over the other parishes, although its service of books to 32 rural centres mentioned in that (Bateson) report seems to have been curtailed ... Present accommodation 1,000 sq. ft. Portland has still not yet been able to replace the building which was destroyed in the hurricane of 1944 ... Meanwhile the parish has nowhere to accommodate its existing, small stock of books. St. James library has a vigorous supporting committee and continues to do valuable work ... Housed in 2 rooms with a floor area of 400 sq.ft. St. Elizabeth languishes for want of adequate premises ... Housed in upstairs room of a solicitor's office. St. Ann's library which was only a possibility in 1945 is now an accomplished fact and, mainly owing to the zeal of one or two local residents, has started in such an efficient and practical manner, that it promises soon to rival Manchester and St. James ... Present accommodation 600 sq. ft. Small parish libraries have recently been started in St. Catherine ... 2 rooms formerly used by the Inspector of Poor in the Square at Spanish Town, and St. Thomas. (The present accommodation is the worst in the island, consisting of a glazed bookcase in an inner second floor room of a solicitor's office.)
In Westmoreland a library committee has been formed and stock of books collected but at the time of writing the Committee seem to have been unable to open their library to the public. (Accommodation, room 11ft. x 7ft.) Despite the efforts of committees in these parishes and much voluntary labour by enthusiastic residents, the fact remains that the majority of the island is without an adequate library service. In some parishes nothing has been done. In others only the parish town itself is receiving a library service. (24)

To get more books into the libraries, Bryant optimistically suggested an islandwide book drive which he hoped would have the support of thousands of middle and upper class homes. The paucity of registered members at the Institute of Jamaica and the inability of that institution to establish and maintain branch libraries even at very little cost to the user, attest to the fact that the habit of reading was not widespread. Private attempts to establish book clubs had in the past met with limited success, and the public's access to published material was otherwise restricted.

In Bryant's day there were only four book stores--the Phoenix, the Yellow Book Store, The Times Store (which sold other goods besides books) and Sangster's Book Store, all in Kingston. These dealt mainly with recreational reading--mainly novels--and the last of the three named also with textbooks. Books in middle class homes were few and hard to find and were equally scarce in well-to-do homes. Bryant was not yet aware of the intellectual stagnation that obtained.
His report makes mention of two other libraries, the Jamaica Agricultural Society Library which was seen as "likely to prove a valuable force in the agricultural community" and the Department of Agriculture Reference Library under the direction of Miss Ethel Marson, "with its general air of efficiency."

The most urgent task of the new director was to prepare a detailed scheme within the sum allocated i.e., One Hundred and Seventy Thousand Pounds (L170,000.) over 10 years. His first recommendation made a significant difference to the way in which the Service was to develop. He proposed modification of the Bateson plan by beginning to work in the rural parishes instead of in Kingston, since the city was already being partially served by the Institute of Jamaica. He decided that expenditure on the Headquarters and "Kingston Central Library" could wait until experience had been gained from building the smaller libraries in the parishes. By 1954, five rural parish libraries were housed in new buildings and seven others established in reasonable accommodation, each with a network of small branches and book centres.

The population of the city at that time was well over a quarter of a million people. Had the municipal service started first, it would have demanded all of the meagre resources then available. Even so, the needs of the city would still not have been met and rural development would have been seriously delayed.

Bryant recommended the immediate establishment of a provisional Island Library Board to consist of the following:
Two representatives appointed by the Governor (one of which should be the Minister responsible for library matters);

Two representatives appointed by the British Council;

One representative appointed by the Board of Governors of the Institute of Jamaica;

One representative appointed by the Association of Parochial Boards;

One representative appointed by the Kingston & St. Andrew Corporation;

Two representatives of existing Parish Library Committees to be appointed in the first instance by the Governor. Subsequent appointments to be made by the Jamaica Library Association;

The life of this Board should be for three years. (25)

The first meeting of the Provisional Board was held 1 April 1949, at the British Council offices, 13 East St. in Kingston, with the Director of the Jamaica Library Service as Chairman. Present were, the Minister of Education, ex officio; the Director of Education, as the Governor's representative; Martin Blake and L.L. Murray-Aynsley, British Council representatives; the Hon. R.B. Barker, representing the Institute of Jamaica and Harold Holdsworth, Librarian, University College of the West Indies--all Englishmen except for the Minister of Education.

The Provisional Board was responsible to the Colonial Secretary for administering all grants or gifts available for the Library Service, and for the promotion and encouragement of the extension of library facilities in Jamaica and its dependencies.
An important recommendation was that the affairs of the Board should fall within the province of the Ministry of Education.

The Jamaica Library Service Law

The Law establishing a centrally administered islandwide public library service was promulgated on 18 November 1949, and since then has been amended on several occasions. (26) It established a centralized islandwide service under the supervision of the Jamaica Library Board and authorized the Board to establish, maintain, manage, control and operate a library service for the country. It set out in detail the duties and responsibilities of the Board as well as those of the Parish Library Committees.

The responsibility for operating the service in parishes was delegated to Parish Library Committees. These committees were established to advise the Library Board on all matters relating to libraries within the parish; to be responsible among other things, for the maintenance of all libraries within their jurisdiction; to promote library activities and be accountable to the Jamaica Library Board for the proper management of local expenditure. They were to submit annual estimates of operational expenses to their respective Parochial Boards (renamed Parish Councils in 1956 after the island had attained internal self-government).

The Library Board was set up as an autonomous body responsible for formulating policy for the island public library
service. Later, this responsibility also extended to managing a library service to certain sections of the school system.

Through annual grants from Central Government the Board implements its plans in keeping with set policies. It submits annual estimates to Government through the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Local Government (since 1986) and periodically prepares long term and medium term development plans which articulate the strategy for development.

Board members who all serve voluntarily usually carry a range of expertise which contributes to the smooth and efficient planning of policies. They have included at various times educators, financiers, persons with international contacts, legal training as well as administrators and politicians.

Central Government pays salaries of Headquarters staff and of all professional posts in the service. Since 1986, funds for parish library operations are no longer allocated by parish councils but by the Ministry of Local Government which deals directly with the Library Board. Parish councils continue to maintain representation on Parish Library Committees and this still gives them some measure of control in the spending of funds at the local level.

Because of their close involvement with library activities, Parish Councils have come to recognize the value of public library services and on occasion have made invaluable contributions to planning and implementation of these programmes.
Members of local committees usually know their localities well and often assist the parish librarian in making useful contacts. They can, for example, advise on such matters as the location of service points and on persons in communities capable of being entrusted with custodial responsibility for manning them.

As Parish Councils have on their staffs engineering and other technical personnel, they are sometimes in a position to undertake certain projects for the library at much reduced cost and with less trouble than could be arranged otherwise.

Local participation has been at the heart of the Library Service's rapid expansion. Local committee members are often experienced persons of some standing. They include lawyers, doctors, engineers, and other technical personnel, teachers, accountants and housewives—all of whom in their special ways have made invaluable contributions and at no cost to the Service.

The two-tiered method of financing was cumbersome, and on occasion may have impeded progress, but in the overall development programme it ensured a level of participation which otherwise, would have been difficult to achieve.

Viewed against the tremendous problem of illiteracy, which on two occasions has necessitated the establishment of national agencies for adult literacy education, the Government's decision to link public libraries with Education has meant that the Jamaica Library Service plans have always been viewed from an educational perspective, and received the sympathetic
consideration of the Ministry of Education.

Bryant was faced with developing a service for a population of almost 1,500,000 with the incredibly small sum of Seventeen Thousand Pounds (L17,000.) per annum or less than Threepence (3d.) per head of population. In 1955, the Government decided to increase its grant beyond the agreed Ten Thousand Pounds (L10,000.) per annum to Twenty-One Thousand Two Hundred Pounds (L21,200.). In following years, as the Service justified its place in society, Government contributions increased accordingly.

Training

In 1948, after the first months in which Bryant made detailed plans for establishing the Service, he began the reorganization of those libraries which had signified their willingness to participate in the larger public library scheme. He next arranged attachments at Headquarters in Kingston for parish library staffs and in January 1950, in collaboration with the librarian of the University College of the West Indies, offered the first two-week course in Library routines to 24 persons, drawn from the Jamaica Library Service Headquarters and from the parishes, from the Institute of Jamaica, the Jamaica Agricultural Society, the Forestry Department, the Agricultural Department, the Jamaica Social Welfare Ltd. and from British Honduras.

But it was left to Sidney Hockey, Bryant's successor, and to the Jamaica Library Association to institute planned training
programmes. In 1954, Hockey began the scheme whereby some four members of staff, each year, attended the Eastern Regional Library School in Trinidad, to work for at least two parts of the Registration Examination. Under the existing arrangements also, Joyce Lawson received a British Council scholarship to go to England in 1954.

Training naturally followed the British pattern administered by the Library Association (UK), but there were no courses locally to assist persons preparing for these examinations, which could at that time be taken locally and in parts.

Three JLS staff members, working on their own and with some amount of private assistance, sat the qualifying Entrance Examination of the Library Association in 1950, and the first member of staff to complete the Registration Examinations and be elected an Associate of the Library Association (ALA) was Joyce Robinson (nee Lawson) in 1955.

The Service had begun to gather momentum. By March 1955, there were 12 parish libraries (some still opening part time), 2 part-time branches and 46 book centres, in addition to hundreds of postal readers. But just when, at this time, the service was beginning to capture the attention of the public, the overseas staff pulled out. Bryant had resigned in 1952 and been succeeded in 1953 by Sidney Hockey, formerly Director of the Eastern Caribbean Regional Library Scheme. Between March and June 1955, W.F. Chape, the Deputy Director; Barbara Mandy, the Cataloguer;
and Hockey, the Director, all resigned.

Bryant had proposed, in keeping with British Council policy, that the Director, Deputy Director and other professional staff appointed and paid by the British Council should be deemed to be servants of the Council, which would have sole power of dismissal. It was, however, understood that at the end of the period of the Council's contribution, these persons could apply for appointment to the Island Library Board. In the meantime, the Director should be responsible to the Island Library Board for the efficient organization and development of the Service.

With the departure of all the foreign staff by June 1955, the question of allegiance became a matter of purely academic interest.

Need for trained personnel to man the rapidly developing service had now become very evident and an accelerated training programme had to be instituted under Jamaican leadership. In addition to the four short term scholarships to Trinidad, regular part-time classes were organized by the Jamaica Library Association and in collaboration with individuals who had succeeded in passing parts of these Library Association examinations. While continuing their own studies, these persons would also tutor others preparing for the examinations they had recently passed, and in five years, by 1960, 22 persons had completed parts of the Registration Examination, 11 had received
one year scholarships to Britain and three had gone on internship to Canada and the United States. At the outset these staffers may not have had much exposure, but they were now in a much better position to direct the activities of libraries far removed from the central Headquarters in Kingston.

With this young, enthusiastic, and dedicated team, the Jamaican directorate began to lay the foundations of a developmental strategy that was to see the JLS grow by leaps and bounds.

**Formation of the Jamaica Library Association**

In order to attract public attention to the fledgling service and also to encourage public spirited individuals to become involved, Bryant had recommended the formation of the Jamaica Library Association. The inaugural meeting took place on 14 July 1949, at the St. Catherine Parish Library at Spanish Town, and Bryant was elected the first president. Some 40 persons attended the meeting.

Persons interested in library development could now have an opportunity to meet formally to discuss matters of mutual interest and to share experiences. Membership was open to members of the Island Library Board (who should be honorary members); members of Parish Library Committees; members of the Board of Governors of the Institute of Jamaica; the controlling committee of the library of the Jamaica Agricultural Society and the Library of the University College of the West Indies; full-time
members of library staffs, paid or honorary; part-time library workers, library students, and all other persons interested in library matters. (27)

In the formative years, the Director of the JLS was authorized to meet the necessary expenses for arranging meetings and promotional activities throughout the island. The Association has played a significant role in uniting persons interested in the profession and in calling attention to the role and functions of libraries in the society. In addition to organizing and supporting meetings, it actively encouraged and promoted training, beginning with the examinations of the Library Association (UK). For 12 years the Association persevered in making representations to the Government, to the University of the West Indies and to international agencies in an effort to have training facilities for librarians instituted at the University of the West Indies. Finally, the proposals were accepted and with financing from UNESCO and the Government of Jamaica teaching began in Library Studies in 1971 at the UWI.

The first graduates from the Library School appeared in 1974, and by 1987 the School had supplied well over 300 professionals to the British Caribbean, as well as to Fiji, Mauritius and the Dutch Antilles.

The Library Association has published a number of professional works including the Jamaica Library Association Bulletin, A Directory of Libraries in Jamaica, Standards for School Libraries and a Union List of Serials, and co-hosted a
number of conferences in the island. It was also successful in having the secretariat for the Commonwealth Library Association sited in Jamaica in 1975. The Association has from time to time provided financial assistance to its members wishing to attend international conferences and in 1983, offered a bursary for a student to commemorate the establishment of the Library School.

Jamaican Leadership

After seven years of operation, by June 1955, the Jamaica Library Service had produced only one trained librarian, Joyce Lawson, (on scholarship in England) 9 assistants partially trained and 17 untrained (excluding clerical and ancillary) staff. Following Chapel's departure in April 1955, Joyce Lawson, (later Mrs. Robinson), was appointed Deputy Director, and in October of the same year, following Hockey's resignation she was named "Deputy Director in-Charge." She held this compromise position until April 1957, when she became Director. She was succeeded as Deputy Director by Hazel Gray (later Mrs. Bennett).

There have been only three directors during the past 32 years: Joyce Robinson 1955-1973; Leila Thomas 1973-1981 and Sybil Iton since 1981.

With the support of a strong and influential Library Board, Robinson took over the reins of leadership and was to demonstrate
that practical, sound planning and implementation could excite the interest and elicit the support of both the Jamaican public and the Government agencies. The general enthusiasm of the increasing numbers who began to make use of the libraries, justified the demands for additional funds to finance expansion. Government's provision rose steadily after 1955, although worldwide inflation and devaluation of the Jamaican Dollar in recent years have nullified some of these gains. For example, from Ten Thousand Pounds (L10,000.) in 1950, in the financial year 1984/85 Central Government grant stood at Two Million Six Hundred Thousand Dollars (J$2,600,000.) and Local Government's at Seven Million Three Hundred and Eighty-Five Thousand Three Hundred and Twenty-Eight Dollars (J$7,385,328.)--a total of Nine Million Nine Hundred and Eighty-Five Thousand Three Hundred and Twenty-Eight Dollars (J$9,985,328.). This sum has, however, fallen since 1986 to Four Million Seven Hundred and Thirty-Two Thousand One Hundred and Fifty Three Dollars (J$4,732,153.) due to stringent economic pressures.

Outside of Headquarters there were only one or two persons in charge of libraries with any amount of professional training and as a matter of urgency, the new administration found that it had to put in place new supporting structures. It placed priority on training of personnel and upgrading of posts and facilities based upon attainable standards set locally. These standards were periodically raised as more and more members of staff became
trained. The service was expanding more rapidly than funds and staffing could cope with but it would have been catastrophic to hold back the momentum; and every encouragement was given to persons interested in training for the professional examinations.

Regular instructional programmes were organized for library assistants and persons in charge of branches and book centres; other members of staff with clerical and other skills were encouraged to attend approved courses and given time off to do so; residential staff conferences were held periodically, and brought together staff of all levels to address issues and concerns of mutual interest and to plan strategy. A planned programme of recruitment, training and upgrading was put into effect. The first move was to recruit only persons having the minimum qualifications for sitting the Library Association Examinations; and as soon as they completed the qualifying Entrance Examination they were upgraded and put in charge of the larger libraries.

The next plan was to develop and upgrade parish and branch libraries by size of collection, membership and the number of service points supervised. As parish libraries met the minimum guidelines instituted the level of supervision was accordingly upgraded to permit persons holding at least two parts of the Registration Examination, and then the ALA, to be in charge.

While international standards were helpful, it was not practical to introduce them wholesale to the Jamaican situation
because conditions were not always comparable. Funds were woefully short and procedures developed in more economically advanced countries were sometimes not practicable. Standards were therefore modified appropriately. These were linked to the number of books to readers, the number of librarians to readers, the number of unqualified to qualified staff, the number of branches and book centres to be supervised by a librarian, and the distance of service points from users.

The scattered population, and poor transportation in rural areas which made it difficult for individuals to get from one place to another had also to be taken into consideration and realistic plans for rural development also had to be devised.

Expansion of rural centres and free postal service to individuals were actively encouraged, even when the ratio of books to readers was below the modest minimum local standards. So long as a village could find a volunteer to take responsibility, could find a book case and somewhere to house it, every effort was made to open a service there. And because of the limited book supply, sometimes a village would have to wait several months until the minimum 200 or 250 books could be put together.

A book centre in a village meant that many more individuals in a locality could select their own reading matter and not depend on some clerk or other person without sufficient knowledge of their reading tastes to make selections for them. The time soon came however, when villages began to demand a better type of service. When a centre showed sustained growth over a period
of time it was usually upgraded to a part-time or even to a fulltime branch. This meant that paid staff now opened the library at times convenient to the public and not primarily to themselves.

The administration learned early that very careful attention had to be paid to book selection. Suitability of stock for reading level and interest has always been a problem, not only in Jamaica but in every developing country. Jamaica does not have a vibrant publishing industry. It must therefore depend on the more developed countries for supplies of reading material, knowing fully well that such material designed for another culture and experience may not always have local appeal or even be appropriate. There were times, as a result, when book centre enrolment would gradually fall off after the initial launching, but there was always a hard core of avid readers who made the best of whatever was available.

Outreach programmes stimulated public interest in the JLS. Jamaica 300 was the first important activity which established parish libraries as cultural centres. The Tercentenary Celebrations, commemorating 300 years of Jamaica's association with Great Britain, took place in 1955, and involved parish libraries and their staffs in the planning and organization of the island-wide, year-long event. The librarian served on various parish organizing committees; and the library displayed artistic and creative works of local groups, accommodated planning
meetings and cultural presentations. Parish librarians quickly became very familiar with their parishes and well known to local social groups and organizations.

Over the years parish librarians have maintained contact with the national festival of arts which evolved from these celebrations, and have become, since Independence in 1962, a major annual event. They have also been active in local social activities and often provide well needed leadership for these organizations. Parish librarians have always been able to count on local support when they organize their outreach programmes. At no stage has funding ever been adequate for even minimum needs, but with a great deal of public goodwill and support, the JLS has pursued its mission of providing a library service to the whole island. Although there is now greater awareness of the importance of public libraries and the need for accurate information in developmental planning, there has always been the historical factor to reckon with—that in the past libraries were not a widespread feature of Jamaican life and were, therefore, in the view of some who held the purse strings, dispensable.

It took some time to convince parish councils and their officials that effective library services were expensive to maintain. Their awareness is subsequently reflected in the higher levels of Local Government contributions. (APPENDIX VII)

Financial planning was, therefore, another important aspect which the administration addressed. In addition to the regular
budgetary plans and the more detailed five year and ten year
development plans, (28) one strategy was to introduce into
the budget each year some well needed but modest programme which
could be implemented with the funds available, and where
possible, phase it in over time. For example, there were
occasions when a parish council's contribution towards a new
building or a vehicle had to be accumulated over several years.
What was important was that the goals set were kept constantly in
sight and eventually attained. Parish pride did much to help.
When, for example, it was learned that one parish had attained a
certain goal, others would strive to do likewise. This healthy
rivalry has continued to operate in the best interests of the
service.

Building Expansion

Library building expansion started with the launching of the
service took on a new dimension. The initial buildings proved
inadequate to the demands being made upon them. Within 20 years
every parish library was re-housed in its own specially designed
building, and the same was true for some 13 branches in smaller
towns. Most of the branches were erected solely by local effort
with contributions from parish councils and/or other local
organizations and individuals. A spurt of such activity during
the 1970's included Brown's Town in St. Ann, Kellits in
Clarendon, Christiana and Porus in Manchester and Old Harbour in
St. Catherine. The following table gives details of dates and
costs of erection of parish library buildings and illustrates the level of expansion in parishes which demanded libraries of much larger size:

**TABLE VIII**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish Lib. Bldgs.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St. Ann</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>L4,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Elizabeth</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>3,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westmoreland</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>3,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. James</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>5,770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Thomas</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>3,730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>4,880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarendon</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>4,970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>5,780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KSAPL &amp; Hq.</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>72,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanover (phases 1&amp;2)</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>17,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trelawny</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manchester</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>L100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Catherine</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>$287,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: JLS Annual Reports

The basic model library building up to 1957 was 1,600 sq. ft. in area, built to accommodate about 10,000 volumes. Government contributed three-quarters of the building cost and parish councils provided the site and the other quarter.

But these structures were too small to accommodate all the services expected of them, i.e., providing routine facilities for residents of the town, functioning as a central library to part-time and full-time branches, undertaking cultural activities, some of which were initiated by other groups in the community,
and operating a postal service to hundreds of readers in remote areas. For example, in 1960 St. Elizabeth was serving some 4,161 postal readers of whom some 1,000 were active users; (29) and in 1974, Clarendon also had a postal service to 1,000 readers. (30) In addition, when the schools bookmobile service was launched in 1957, parish libraries were called upon to accommodate the Schools Library Service stock, along with its staff of four.

The last parish library to be built was St. Catherine in 1976. The two-storey building with a floor area of 8,640 sq. ft. cost Two Hundred and Sixty-Three Thousand Dollars (J$263,000). The libraries in St. Catherine and Manchester far exceed in size and service anything envisaged in the early years, and all other parish libraries have by now more than doubled their original sizes.

**Libraries as Community Information Services**

Maintaining the quality of the collections and the development of outreach services have remained areas of priority. Most parish libraries organize film shows, lectures, community discussions on topics of current interest and these are not only for the literate in the society. More recently, they have begun to organize community information services irrespective of the source of the information. It is not unusual to hear on radio or television a government announcement advising that a copy of a particular legislation or standard may be consulted at the
public library or that a special form or brochure may be collected there.

The size and coverage of the book collection are however limited by available funds and by the demands of patrons. A survey carried out by the JLS in 1984/85 at the request of UNESCO to determine readership and use, showed that 54.2% of the readers were between ages 11 and 29 years. (31) and that religion followed by sports were the subjects most popular among both library and non-library users. Yet the statistical records for the island over 5 years, up to 1984/85, gave the order of popularity of subjects as follows: biography, history, literature, religion, sports and domestic arts. It is difficult, therefore, to determine the extent to which library borrowing has been influenced by the presence or absence of suitable material on the shelves rather than by a genuine interest in a topic.

Possibly because students constitute the largest concentration of users, the librarian was ranked second as a source of information, while among non-library users the librarian ranked seventh in order of preference. Books were preferred to newspapers and magazines, but as the library carries little other than this type of material the preference seems obvious.
In January 1947, Article 106A of the Education Code was amended to provide schools with not less than Five Pounds (L5. ) each for purchasing books. This was a one-time effort and superseded a One Pound (L1. ) every two years grant. Though not a great deal of money, it was, nevertheless, a move in the right direction.

It also meant that unless the school could by its own efforts keep renewing the collection, the few books would wear out within a short period, and the school would be back where it started--without books. There was also very little choice since the schools had to purchase what was available on the local market. The JLS recognized the wastefulness of this method of financing and suggested that a more structured programme be instituted.

In 1952, the Department of Education provided the sum of Three Thousand Pounds (L3,000.) and requested the JLS to undertake the organization and distribution of supplementary reading materials to schools. The amount per school was raised to Ten Pounds (L10.) for every Two Pounds (L2.) contributed by the school, thus making a total of Twelve Pounds (L12.). But this was still an uneconomic way of spending money, and the Education Department was in the end persuaded to establish a circulating collection. In that way, even if schools only received about 50 books each at any one time, the titles would keep changing.
A centralized schools library development programme was drawn up and in 1955, the Education Department provided the first allocation of Six Thousand Five Hundred Pounds (£6,500) towards the circulating library scheme. Text books were not included. Once the initial number of books was distributed to all 716 schools, exchanges began.

Funds were administered separately but the schools library staff was integrated with that of the JLS, in that persons in the JLS could be assigned to the Schools Library Service and vice versa without problem. Books were selected, purchased and processed at Headquarters from which 50 and later 60 books were distributed to each school using a delivery van service. It took all of one year for the van to complete the circuit.

Again the problem of book selection surfaced as selections based on standard graded reading lists for British and American children were not necessarily of interest to or appropriate for Jamaican children. These books were written for children of another culture.

There were also problems, in the first instance, to get teachers to assume responsibility for the circulation and safety of the books. Some saw the scheme as an added burden to their already heavy work schedule. And instead of making them available to the children, some locked the books away for the duration, so that they were returned without use, intact, to the van on its next visit. The situation had to be changed, not only
by official directive from the Education Department but by sensitizing teachers through a series of workshops. With the children there was no problem. They were glad to get hold of anything so long as they found it of interest.

Most adults of the day had passed through school and college without too much exposure to books and libraries. The teachers' college libraries consisted mainly of assortments of odd donations and a few items purchased by the college, few of which bore any relevance to the curriculum or to research needs. JLS staff, therefore, sought opportunities to give lectures in library skills at the schools and emphasized the importance of reading for information and pleasure.

Storage became another problem since book cases were not supplied with the initial collection. In many instances, books had to compete for limited space in the single general purpose cupboard holding stationery, other supplies and equipment such as garden forks, spades and machettes. On the whole the small collections were, in time, well used and wore out fast as books began to find their way into eager but often grubby hands.

To speed up distribution and provide a more efficient service, bookmobiles were gradually phased in. It was estimated that five of these units placed strategically across the island, and carrying on each a member of staff with some amount of library training, would provide a better service. They were stationed at 4 parish libraries and at Headquarters.
The first unit was put into service in September 1957. Each year one unit was added to the fleet and by 1961 all parishes were being served by at least one bookmobile. A sixth unit was also acquired as replacement. By 1962, all teachers from schools accessible to bookmobiles could now select their own supplies from a possible stock of 1,800-2,000 and at the same time use the small collection of quick reference works carried on the vehicles. Each school received a minimum of 150 items and where the school enrolment was over 500 the number was increased to 300. If a room could be furnished and maintained as a library the collection would be gradually increased to 1,000. In every case the allocation proved inadequate but it was a start.

In 1959, the Ministry of Education agreed to use the Vauxhall Senior School library, in Kingston, with an enrolment of 1,000, as a model. It was the first school to be properly equipped to accommodate at least a class of 35 at one time with a fulltime teacher in charge. The library started with a stock of 1,235—a ratio of 1.2 books to one student.

Four parish libraries (St. James, Manchester, St. Ann, Portland) accommodated a schools staff of 4 and a pool stock from which 150 or more schools in that parish and in two or three adjoining parishes were supplied. The fifth distribution point was managed from the Headquarters of the Schools Library Service in Kingston. This is the system still in operation today. From 716 schools in 1955 the number has grown to 913 in 1987, of which
26 are infant schools. The others are primary, all-age, new secondary and comprehensive schools.

At the time of writing the bookmobile was scheduled to visit an average of two schools per day, and where distances were too far away for the day's trip to be made in a reasonable time, the unit would be stationed at an outlying parish library until exchanges in the vicinity were completed. This might take from one to two weeks. Books were sent in advance to the parish library from which the bookmobile replenishes its stock daily. In 1987 there were some 34 inaccessible schools, most of which were served by a smaller vehicle. A few of the others the van could not reach. In such cases, teachers would meet the van at a convenient location and the exchange would take place. The replacements would then be carried by the children to the school.

By 1985, the grant for school libraries had risen to One Million Six Hundred Thousand Dollars ($1,600,000.), of which Six Hundred and Twelve Thousand Dollars ($612,000.) was earmarked for books. But in 1987, because of the prevailing economic situation the budget was cut by Two Hundred and Thirty Thousand Two Hundred and Seventy-Nine Dollars ($230,279.).

Traditional secondary schools were not included in the scheme. Most of them had started as private denominational schools in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries but had for a long time received Government subsidy. At the secondary level, students sit higher examinations
and are greatly in need of well ordered supplies of books to support and to enrich their studies. The custom has been for all secondary schools to have some form of library, to which the students make an annual contribution; several have succeeded in putting together well organized collections with trained librarians in charge.

The need for a properly structured service to these schools has also been part of the JLS development programme from the outset, but the funds to make this possible have not been forthcoming from the Ministry of Education in spite of repeated representations.

The Schools Library Service has been under-financed and under-staffed but it has endeavoured to carry out its scheduled visits, and provide some training for teachers from schools under its supervision as well as others from other schools. It has also advised on the establishment of many school libraries not directly under its control, and provided attachments for their teacher-librarians. With the support of the Jamaica Library Association, the JLS has succeeded in getting library training courses placed on the curriculum of some teacher training institutions, although with the financial cuts in more recent years, the number of such institutions offering this course has been cut back to one since 1986.
The opening of the KSAPL in July 1955, set in motion a train of events that was to have far reaching effects on public library development in the island. The library was strategically located at 10 Caledonia Avenue in Cross Roads, a busy intersection where several roads meet. It began in modest surroundings, in a converted dwelling house. The location was ideal for visibility as well as for access by all those who passed through the area or changed buses there. Public support was most encouraging. 800 persons queued to register within the first 7 days and for some time there were long queues every day. After the first 22 days, 2,500 persons had registered and many more were waiting to join. (32) Neither the meagre stock of 13,311 nor the cramped quarters consisting of three small rooms opened into one, with a fenced-in back porch for the children's section, could daunt the eager patrons who elbowed their way to the shelves. The small staff could not cope and had to be supported from Headquarters, especially in the afternoon rush hours.

During the period July 1955 to March 1956, when membership had to be restricted and the allocation of books per reader kept to two non-fiction and one fiction per adult, and one book per child, the library made 89,215 loans. Every available book that could be diverted from other parish services was channelled to this library, but an additional 4,346 over 8 months, which was all that could be spared, made very little difference
to the half empty shelves.

Public expressions of appreciation in the press as well as frank comments on the weaknesses of the service, probably influenced the Government's decision to increase the annual subvention to the JLS, to Seventeen Thousand Pounds (£17,000) in 1955. The Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation also increased its grant to the KSAPL, and with such fillip the JLS moved into a period of rapid expansion, albeit with still limited resources.

The stock, staffing and temporary accommodation for the KSAPL could not cope with the daily demands. Membership had to be curtailed regularly until new supplies of books were forthcoming. By 1957, with a registered membership held down to 10,000, in addition to the many hundreds of unregistered users converging on the building daily, the need for larger and more comfortable accommodation was amply demonstrated.

The KSAC was persuaded to make a site available in keeping with the policy whereby Local Authorities provided the site and one quarter of the building costs. A new by-pass road had recently been cut in the vicinity of Cross Roads, and although the elognated strip of land thus created was not ideal, additional space was desperately needed and the Library Service had to make the best use of what was available. The long, narrow site inhibited proper planning and layout; the location was not sufficiently close to any centre of concentrated population; it was over half a mile from the temporary location on Caledonia
Avenue in Cross Roads, but the opportunity to acquire more spacious accommodation could not be missed. This was the largest building project at that time and the building programme had to be phased in over two years.

The new building had a floor space of 22,000 sq. ft., of which about one-third was for the island Headquarters. It was recognized from the outset that both sections would prove to be too small. A very difficult decision had to be taken to throw every available space open to the public, leaving staff, for the time being, with very cramped and uncomfortable work areas. There was no room for a reference library; that would have to come at a later date, and there was seating for only 18 persons at any one time in the small stopgap reference section.

Concentration of users in the new building was as great as at the earlier temporary quarters. Within four months, children's membership had to be suspended once more and membership in this section limited to 10,000. Overall 26,023 persons joined the library within seven months and showed up the inadequacy of the premises and the need for additional branches to be strategically located in other parts of the city.

The small children's section with a stock of only 19,292 could not support adequately the number of readers and activities designed for them. Nevertheless, with the help of persons in the community, Saturday morning programmes were mounted, including art classes, film shows and story telling.
In order to make the best use of the limited resources, a survey needed to be undertaken over a reasonable period of time. This would determine the priority order of branch library extension in the overall national plan. A bookmobile with a capacity of over 4,000 volumes was put into service in December 1958. This vehicle made scheduled visits to a number of locations especially in the suburbs and the commercial centre of the city.

One of its main functions was to identify locations where branches might be set up in the future. Several small libraries in due course replaced bookmobile stops. In 1986, there were 12 branches, (two of which were in rural St. Andrew and one in Port Royal), 2 book centres and 19 bookmobile stops.

By 1970 the Kingston and St. Andrew Parish Library building had become so overcrowded that the extension plans could no longer be delayed. The building was extended by 23,000 sq.ft. Fresh accommodation included a more adequate reference section with 100 seats available as against 18 earlier. A much larger children's library was added, and part of the older adult section reorganized into a young people's library.

Encouragement of students preparing for examinations may not be the type of activity more developed societies find attractive, but in places like Jamaica, where school libraries are sadly underdeveloped, and where living conditions are often crowded and generally not conducive to study, the public library has
recognized a need, has attempted to supplement classroom teaching and school resources, and has actively encouraged students to use the library facilities. Also, in the summertime when most libraries wind down their operations for a spell, parish libraries and branches mount very strong summer programmes for children. The JLS views these services as a positive contribution to national development. In the same way, it gives every encouragement to new literates and provides special collections of simple reading material and special guidance programmes for this group. Often the public library bookmobile is stationed at graduation venues, and guided tours of the vehicle are organized for this group.

As an extension of its cultural role, the KSAPL has organized regular art and craft exhibitions, sometimes of works of little known artists, and has thus given exposure to a number of persons who otherwise may never have had adequate public recognition at the right time in their careers. The library's patrons too, have benefited. They have been exposed to a range of artistic creations, and have themselves developed an appreciation of Jamaican art forms.

The exhibits are mounted at minimal charge to the artist for a specified period—from one to two weeks—and exhibitors have the opportunity to sell their creations.

The KSAPL has also had an organized programme for new adult literates, and every encouragement is given to graduates from the
literacy programme to become regular users of the library.

National growth can be seen in the following table of readers, stock and issues, which also indicates levelling off, and at times decline due primarily to inflation in the prices of books which the Service must import from overseas. For example, in 1981-82, Headquarters processed 58,678 books, or 14.62% less than the previous year and as a result book loans fell by 15.88% over the same period.

TABLE IX

Comparative Statistics 1955/56 to 1985/86

<table>
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<tr>
<th>BOOK STOCK</th>
<th>READERS</th>
<th>LOANS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>Junior</td>
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<tr>
<td>1955/56</td>
<td>77,978</td>
<td>38,822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958/59</td>
<td>166,325</td>
<td>88,619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961/62</td>
<td>237,459</td>
<td>129,322</td>
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<tr>
<td>1964/65</td>
<td>289,643</td>
<td>149,638</td>
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<td>1969/70</td>
<td>371,632</td>
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<td>1973/74</td>
<td>489,600</td>
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<td>1974/75</td>
<td>513,905</td>
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<td>1977/78</td>
<td>621,959</td>
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<td>1979/80</td>
<td>625,823</td>
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<td>1981/82</td>
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<td>1983/84</td>
<td>631,165</td>
<td>589,028</td>
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<tr>
<td>1985/86</td>
<td>636,339</td>
<td>567,999</td>
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</table>

Source: JLS Fact Sheets and Statistical Reports

The above table shows the heavy use made of the modest collection between 1973 and 1984 but the economic problem has since begun to affect the growth of the service.

The opening of a new library is often followed by a heavy influx of readers particularly children, but even if there is some falling off in users once the novelty wears off, there is
usually a substantial number remaining to put strain on the limited stock and staff. In every library the pattern of reading has been the same. Children account for the greatest number of issues per reader even though they have usually been restricted to only one book at a time.

The heavy use of the limited junior stock has resulted in the equally heavy withdrawals each year. In more recent times a larger proportion of the book fund has been spent on children's books but it is not sufficient to maintain the required balance between stock and user. A logical solution would be to limit membership and halt expansion but this would be to defeat the prime goal of the JLS which is to provide the opportunity for every Jamaican who so desires, to have access to books and information. The Library Board, therefore, took the decision not to limit expansion even in the face of shortages.

Parish libraries all have general reading, small quick reference sections, and a limited number of popular periodicals. The KSAPL is stocked with more advanced works from which interlibrary loans to other parishes are made.

Parish libraries are besieged by students when examination times come round. Then every available seat is occupied and it is not unusual to see youngsters seated on the floor for want of a better place to work. After school years there is a marked decrease in use by this age group. JLS's challenge must be to ensure that these young people continue as active users.
Rural Development

In the early years, book purchasing and other technical services, inter-library loan transactions and development of book centres were all centralized. Expansion in the parishes including the building of each main parish library was handled from Headquarters.

Small towns and villages wishing to start their own libraries could provide some place to house the collection, be it in a corner of a school, a room in a private dwelling house or a shop. They also had to build a specially designed book case enmeshed for security and obtain the services of a volunteer for opening the centre at least once per week and at scheduled times.

The centres were supplied from a pool stock at Headquarters and exchanges were made periodically, usually every three months. This meant that a new set of books would be selected, recorded and taken out to a centre or branch where some or all of the previous collection would be accounted for, packaged and taken away. On an average, book centres were allowed 200 to 300 books and branches 1,000 or more. At the branches, only a portion of the stock would be exchanged on each visit as there was never a large enough pool from which to make a complete exchange without difficulty. Also this enabled the branch stock to be built up gradually.

Public response was such that by the end of 1951, three years after the service started, there were 27 service points including 12 parish libraries. Four years later, by 1955, the
number had increased to 60. The growing demand for book centres soon made it difficult for Headquarters to continue to carry out these exchanges from Kingston. In April 1955, the responsibility for parish extension services was, therefore, handed over to parish librarians.

Parish libraries now formed a network of mini central libraries, co-ordinating and managing the smaller branches and access points and expanding the work in rural areas. Part of the overall development policy was to upgrade the book centre services gradually and in time to replace them by either the more efficient bookmobile service that would allow villagers to interact with more qualified library staff, or to build them up to the level of part-time or full-time branches with better trained staff.

These new responsibilities increased the work of the parish librarians who continued to serve large numbers of readers by postal service as well as to provide a daily service to residents of the capital town. Parish libraries then hardly had more than two or three members of staff, and although they had acquired some professional training and some experience, many of them were still not fully qualified.

Moreover, there was the problem of transportation to supervise the work in outlying areas. There was so little money for this purpose that in the beginning not even the minimal exchanges could be carried out with regularity. But the parishes
soon rose to the challenge. By 1956, they began to hire transportation to make a few visits. Some centres were so remote and the roads so rugged that taxi drivers were not always willing to undertake the journey. Furthermore, since most of the library staff were women, the drivers sometimes had to be prevailed upon to assist with carrying laden boxes to and from the vehicle, at no additional cost.

In 1958, KSAPL became the first library to acquire its own van and by 1964, four other parishes had followed suit. The healthy rivalry which existed among the parishes ensured that within ten years all parishes had some form of transport. Once the initial cost of the vehicle could be met, the library was in a position to maintain the unit and could now provide better supervision of the branches and book centres. Many libraries saved for years to acquire their vehicle.

The appetite of the public was whetted. Requests began pouring in from villages and small towns, even though the parishes were not always in a position to follow through on the needed expansion. Book centres had to depend upon volunteers, who opened the centres at times sometimes not altogether convenient to the users. The enthusiasm and support of the volunteers, however, kept the morale of the parish librarians high in the face of many frustrations. Hockey's description of the situation was still relevant then:

We have with the incurable optimism with which librarians are born or which they
Rapid expansion meant heavy demand upon the limited book collection, and consequently equally rapid deterioration of the limited stock. Numerous adults and children, anxiously awaiting an opportunity to use the library facilities for the first time had to be put on waiting lists until fresh supplies could be acquired.

The library staffs themselves were equally industrious and sometimes took on more than they could manage. For example, an attempt to provide outreach services to hospitals had to be abandoned for the time being because neither could the librarian cope physically, nor the book collection maintain an efficient service. Rural expansion was absorbing every available sum of money as well as the time and energy of the already overworked librarians.

Reliance upon voluntary help to run book centres was never considered ideal, but as an interim measure it enabled books to reach individuals in remote areas who possibly would not have been served otherwise.

By 1955, the numbers of centres islandwide had grown to the stage where it was becoming more and more difficult to find volunteers to supervise them. It should be noted, however, that without the assistance of these many volunteers throughout the
island, the expansion of the JLS would certainly not have been as rapid or as far-reaching. A plan for systematically upgrading these centres was therefore devised. Where use warranted it, these centres would be upgraded and their stocks increased from approximately 200 to 1,000 items or more. They would be located where possible in a separate room where readers could at least sit in comfort at tables and could now have the use of a few general reference books and magazines. Supervisors of these libraries would be paid albeit a token sum.

The next step was to upgrade well-used book centres to branches which would carry more experienced paid staff, thus providing a better quality of service; and branches were opened for longer hours from 20 to 53 hours per week depending on size and usage.

The third phase of this rural development plan was to improve further, the efficiency of service to these rural areas, by the use of bookmobiles which would replace the small inefficient book centres where practicable. As happened with the schools service, a programme for the planned acquisition of bookmobiles to allow for at least one unit per parish was put into effect. The first unit outside of Kingston was located in the parish of St. Ann in 1964. It demonstrated that this was a more economical use of the library stock. For the same number of
books, the bookmobile made 60% more loans than the comparable number of book centres.

In 1978, the Government included the JLS proposals for a fleet of bookmobiles in its line of credit arrangements with the Dutch Government. The JLS by this means acquired 14 units which made a significant difference to public library penetration. By 1986, there were 505 bookmobile stops in addition to 57 fulltime branches, 104 part-time branches, 5 book centres and 19 special services to hospitals, youth camps and correctional institutions—a total of 703 public library service points. (34)

Where a parish obtained a bookmobile, convenient routes were planned and where book centres fell on the route, these were replaced by bookmobile stops. The bookmobile also afforded greater control, in that, on its way past a branch it could drop off supplies and the travelling librarian could at the same time provide a degree of supervision. Residents using the stop now had a much larger rotating collection of about 1,800 items from which to make selections, and there was also some person on the bookmobile who could offer guidance in selection if users so desired.

The bookmobile would travel six or eight different routes, visiting a number of communities en route once per week or once per fortnight. It would stay for an hour or two at each stop to enable residents to make their exchanges. Rough, steep, winding roads subjected the vehicles to heavy wear, and this has demanded
at least once per week servicing.

Costs of these units were rising with worldwide inflation and the Government found it impossible to keep to the schedule of acquiring additional units and replacements, all at the same time. Many units were, therefore, overworked and "run into the ground." Spare parts were also hard to come by and as a result there were times when a unit would be laid up for several months awaiting some replacement part. The bookmobile routes, nevertheless, continued to be serviced by delivery van carrying boxes of books.

The changeover to branches was not easy. Some areas continued to experience difficulty in finding dependable local assistance even with pay. Younger and sometimes more educated persons in these communities in search of better paying jobs, often used branch library posts as a stopgap. The result was that occasionally some centres had to be closed for short spells until a new recruit could be found.

The records show that between 1975 and 1976, the number of branches increased from 125 to 131 but the number of book centres decreased from 60 to 50. This means that some book centres were upgraded to branches, and some were incorporated into bookmobile stops while others closed. The net result was that the total number of service points fell from 447 to 438 during the period. (35)
Parish Council support for these projects have been most encouraging and can be seen in the increased size of their contributions over the years. For example, for the financial year 1949/50, the total sum approved by all parish councils amounted to only One Thousand Four Hundred Pounds (L1,400.)—an average of One Hundred and Seventeen Pounds (L117.) per parish (excluding Kingston & St. Andrew which did not have a parish library before 1955.) For the Financial year 1955/56 when the KSAC was added, and there was now greater awareness of the library services, the total provision had increased to Five Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty-Four Pounds (L5,754.). Three years afterwards, by the opening of the Headquarters and KSAPL building in 1961, Local Government contribution had climbed to Twenty-Nine Thousand one Hundred and Eighteen Pounds (L29,118.). The KSAC contribution alone was Eighteen Thousand Seven Hundred Pounds (L18,700.). By 1964/65 Local Government contribution stood at One Hundred and Fourteen Thousand Two Hundred and Ten Pounds (L114,210.). In 1984/85 it was Seven Million Three Hundred and Eighty-Five Thousand Three Hundred and Twenty-Eight Dollars (J$7,385,328.).

Economic Crunch

Despite the strides it has made, the JLS has had its share of frustrations. Book stock, readership and loans have not always managed to keep pace with expansion. Since the mid 1970's,
the country and the library services have been undergoing serious financial hardships: the oil crisis which has created worldwide inflation in every area of endeavour, and closures in the local bauxite industry have reduced the availability of foreign exchange.

But it is in the rate of exchange that the economic downturn has most seriously affected library activity. The Jamaican Dollar was pegged to the Pound sterling at 2:1 in 1969, at which time it stood in a 1:1.1 relationship with the US Dollar. It was first pegged to the US Dollar in 1977 and devalued in the ratio of 1.78:1. Since then it has stepped down by a series of mechanisms and more or less stabilized at 5.50:1. The 5.50:1 or more rate of exchange has created astronomical book prices, well beyond the reach of many Third World countries including Jamaica.

In summarizing the seriousness of this economic situation in Jamaica during the 1970's and 1980's, Professor Carl Stone of the University of the West Indies identified four distinct growth trends. (34) Using 1971 as the base date of 100% he notes an increase in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) between 1972 and 1974, then a steady decline between 1976 and 1980; a slow decline between 1980 to 1984; and a sharp decline from 1985 when certain stringent tax and other measures were introduced.
TABLE X

Annual GDP in Constant Prices as a Percentage (%) of 1971 GDP

|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|

Source: Stone's table (36)

In 1986 the GDP was still 16% below the output levels of the peak production year, 1973.

The Government then became the major employer of labour, using increased taxation as a major source of financing. The following table illustrates the serious negative effects, especially on the private sector which is normally an important income generating source.

TABLE XI

Sectoral GDP in Constant Dollars as a Percentage (%) of 1970

Output

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<td>100</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>97</td>
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<td>100</td>
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<td>182</td>
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<td>construction</td>
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<td>80</td>
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<td>excl. finance</td>
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Source: Stone's Table (37)

Only tourism (included under "other services") showed any real growth on two occasions i.e., between 1970/75 and between 1980/1985. Bauxite mining, the major foreign exchange earner
for the past 30 years, faced with pressures to pay an increased levy, deliberately cut production and by this method hurt the economy seriously. In 1985, the bauxite industry earned 37% less than it did in 1970.

The overall result of these economic pressures has been made even more acute by inflation on the international scene. There has been a dramatic decline in the standard of living especially among middle and lower income earners. It has also affected the ability of non-profit organizations financed by Government, to pay adequate salaries to their employees. The JLS is totally dependent upon public funds and consequently, whatever affects the Jamaican economy and Government's budgetary policies, affects the JLS, and the extent to which it can put developmental programmes into effect.

**Books and Foreign Exchange**

World inflation and unfavourable rates of foreign exchange have further pushed up the cost of goods, in particular books—a dilemma underscored by the fact that almost 96% of JLS purchases are imported from overseas. (1984/85 figures) The Jamaican book trade is not strong enough to make a difference, except for some types of school texts which are printed locally. The overseas market, therefore, dictates to a great extent what libraries are able to put on their shelves and what is read locally.

In Britain, the USA, Canada and Australia, the major suppliers of library material and equipment to Jamaica, the average cost of a book has increased markedly. British price
indexes quoted for 1985 increased from Six Pounds and One Pence (L6.01) in 1980 to Ten Pounds Eighty Pence (L10.80) in 1984. (38)

Between 1977 and 1987 the cost of a US journal almost tripled. The average subscription price for a technical journal in 1986 was Sixty-Five Dollars (US $65.00), up by Five Dollars Thirty Cents (US $5.30.) from the average price of Fifty-Nine Dollars Seventy Cents (US $59.70) in 1985. This has reduced further the amount of supplies the JLS can therefore acquire each year. (39) The following table of expenditure on books gives some idea of what these economic pressures have meant. Although the book vote tripled between 1980/81 and 1984/85, the increased sum could only purchase 2,338 more items than had been bought with less than half that amount of money four years earlier.

**TABLE XI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>BOOK VOTE</th>
<th>TITLES</th>
<th>COPIES</th>
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<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>J$370.836</td>
<td>1,310</td>
<td>31,118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-82</td>
<td>515,420</td>
<td>1,978</td>
<td>43,730</td>
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<tr>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td>514,890</td>
<td>2,119</td>
<td>40,779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>614,856</td>
<td>1,365</td>
<td>24,871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984-85</td>
<td>1,058,000</td>
<td>1,831</td>
<td>33,456</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: JLS Statistical Reports

The JLS has usually calculated an average increase of 20% per annum over the previous year's prices for periodicals but that amount is now insufficient to offset the rate of inflation on book prices, insurance and freight. At times the Service has
not even been able to obtain approval for the necessary foreign exchange expenditure. However, by means of UNESCO book coupons which can be purchased with local currency, this situation has been somewhat relieved. The bureaucratic procedures required to obtain the smallest amount of foreign exchange have created undue delays and resulted in late arrival or non-arrival of items. The JLS was forced to reduce the periodicals vote to the barest minimum with serious consequences to the flow of up-to-date information on professional, scientific, academic and other issues.

All this serves to explain the frustrations experienced by those who operate the public library service at this time. From the librarian's point of view, the most distressing factor has been the rapid erosion of the book stock, as the empty shelves everywhere confirm. These conditions have retarded growth of membership in recent years, in contrast with the rapid population increase recorded in the 1982 official census.

Lowering of standards has been reflected in a fall in book stock and use of the collection, and the inability of the Service to meet public demands for a wider range of resources and services. In 1986 there were only 684,668 registered users being served out of a possible 1,000,000. Because of the stringent financial situation, replacements have been fewer, and books have had to remain longer in use without repair, thereby causing unusually high numbers of withdrawals. With an average addition to the stock of under 35,000 items per year, it becomes obvious
why public library use has declined.

Adequate staffing has remained an illusive goal. At no time has any parish ever had the full complement of trained and other staff required for the library's smooth operation. There were 89 established professional posts or provision for one qualified librarian to every 32,584 head of population, but with 56 of these posts vacant in 1987, the ratio was in fact over 1:87,000—a serious reversal since 1964 when the figure was 1:48,000. With salaries pegged to current low Government scales, the Service could not compete in attracting suitably trained personnel.

The situation was further aggravated as potential employers became increasingly aware of the skills and administrative competence of librarians in the Jamaica Library Service. Business houses have had no scruples in enticing away librarians with higher salaries and better working conditions. In these circumstances the JLS has been put at a grave disadvantage, since it is not now in a position to attract other professionals to fill these vacancies. Sidney Hockey had noted the "incurable optimism" that kept the faithful going, as in Mathew Arnold's "Scholar Gypsy",

Still nursing the unconquerable hope
Still clutching the inviolable shade.
The adverse effect on JLS staffing has been reflected in the low levels of salaries for librarians generally, especially in the public sector, where library staffs have usually been directly or indirectly graded in accordance with the Jamaica Library Service salary scales.

In the past, only Headquarters budgets with Headquarters staffing and general expenses were clearly itemized in the annual government estimates. Grants from the 12 parish councils and the KSAC were hidden in block votes in Local Government budgets, and the subvention for the Schools Library Service in that of the Ministry of Education. This could possibly have masked the true size and complexity of the islandwide service, and accounts for the inattention of the Government to the proper grading of staff, in spite of numerous representations made by the profession.

Library materials, including books and periodicals, amounted in 1984/85 to One Million and Fifty-Eight Thousand Dollars (L1,058,000.) or 40% of the Headquarters allocation provided by Central Government. When compared with Parish Council contributions the inadequacy of the Central Government's grant, which must also purchase library resources in addition to paying centralized staff at Headquarters, becomes obvious.

The present administration has had to devise new strategies to slow down, if not to reverse the pace of decline. One method has been to keep the more popular and expensive non-fiction items in reference sections, where they can at least be more readily available for use. The annual statistics record an ever
increasing number of items consulted in these sections. In 1986 this amounted to 259,447, which is significant when it is recognized that the prices of books for high school students have risen out of the reach of most Jamaican students.

Careful selection ensures that funds are not wasted, and to assist in the process, periodically members of the JLS staff are invited to the United States and Britain by publishers associations to carry out selections based upon actual examination of new publications. This method has its limitations but it helps to reduce the numbers of unsuitable items purchased, which usually occurs when selection is made primarily from publishers lists and reviews.

Contacts with charitable organizations locally and overseas have resulted in the JLS receiving large donations of books but, as in all such cases, there have been the usual numbers of duplicates and unsuitable titles, which must be sorted and passed on to other organizations, if possible.

The JLS is also in the process of developing a computerized union list of titles which will speed up the handling of interlibrary loans within the system and also facilitate greater exploitation of the resources within the national information system. Greater emphasis on libraries as community information centres will also mean that there will be greater reliance on other information sources instead of only on "the book".
Public Recognition and Support

A significant measure of support over the years has been the public generosity in donations of lands and funds for the erection of library buildings, and institutional commendations on the performance of the Service. Here are a few instances.

In 1964 an American lady donated Four Thousand Pounds (L4,000.) to erect a branch library at Highgate, in memory of her late husband who had lived for a number of years in the town. The building was as large as the main parish library at Port Maria.

In 1965 the Santa Cruz Citizens Association collected funds and materials to erect a branch library at a cost of Two Thousand Pounds (L2,000.) Individuals who did not have large sums of money could donate even a building block. After completion of the building in 1965, loans of books in the town rose from 1,900 to 19,200 in the first year.

In 1967 another set of residents, this time in Clarendon, subscribed Seven Thousand Pounds (L7,000.) towards the construction of a library building at Race Course, in memory of a prominent public spirited citizen, Clare McWhinnie. Again, this building was as large as the original parish library at May Pen.

Throughout the years several other branches, some larger than others, have been erected as a result of public involvement, and this has helped the JLS to increase its holdings to 35 buildings, designed and built specifically for library purposes. Public concern has also been demonstrated in other ways. For
example, early in 1987, it was announced on radio that a service club at Port Antonio had, at some considerable expense, rewired the public library in the town to enable it to resume its normal opening hours.

One important example of public recognition was the National Press Award in 1972, "To the Jamaica Library Service for outstanding service to Jamaica."

**Change in Method of Staff Payment**

Until 1986, library staffs were paid by 13 different local authorities and Central Government. This cumbersome machinery added to the administrative problems of the Service. For example, staff on transfer or promotion from one parish to another, theoretically had to resign in order to take up the new appointment. Also, if the parish finances could not meet the proposed transferee's present salary, it was not always possible to assign the most suitable person to a job.

The Jamaica Library Board recognized this problem early and had the JLS Law amended to relieve parish councils of such a financial burden. The JLS proposed that Central Government should assume responsibility for the salaries of professionals, leaving Parish Councils with running expenses, and salaries for non-professional and support staff. The Law was enacted on 13 January, 1961 (39) but the regulation to put this section into effect was not prepared until 1964. At that time Central Government created four additional supervisory posts in four
parishes, to make possible closer control. Even so the take-over of all professional staff did not occur until 25 years later in 1986. What in essence happened then was that the Ministry of Local Government, as part of its policy of reform, decided to transfer Local Government's share of the budgetary allocation directly to the Ministry of Education instead of through parish councils. (40) Local authorities still retain representation on local library committees, and continue to provide guidance and be actively involved in parish library development, but no longer have a say in how much Local Government will contribute.

Within two decades after its establishment, the JLS had developed into a tightly organized service. It had begun to attract the attention of library planners internationally and to be regarded by agencies such as UNESCO, the Organization of American States (OAS), and the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Ottawa, Canada, as a model for small developing countries. Librarians from many countries have visited the system and served attachments there. It is an important organization for the practical training of students from the Library School who must complete a period of practical work experience before being allowed to qualify as librarians.

The success of the Service is partly due to the quality of planning and teamwork, and the stability of its Jamaican leadership.
The work of Joyce Robinson has been internationally acclaimed. This is demonstrated by the wide range of honours she has received both in Jamaica and overseas. She served the library profession for over 30 years, first as a volunteer librarian in the parish of St. Elizabeth; then in 1950 she joined the staff of the Jamaica Library Service where she rose to the post of Director in 1955.

She was appointed a Member of the British Empire in 1959 "for her contribution to the development of the Jamaica Library Service"; awarded the Silver Musgrave Medal of the Institute of Jamaica in 1969, for "devoted and effective service to the development of libraries in Jamaica"; elected a Vice President (for life) of the Library Association (UK) in 1973— an honour "for overseas librarians who have made outstanding contributions to librarianship." (The number of Vice Presidents in this category is limited to a total of 12 persons). She was made a Commander of the Order of Distinction, Jamaica, in 1974, "for public service in the field of librarianship and literacy"; awarded the Doctor of Laws Degree (Honorary) by Dalhousie University, Nova Scotia, Canada, in 1979, "for outstanding pioneer work in libraries and literacy"; and elevated to the Order of Jamaica, the nation's third highest honour, in 1987, "for distinguished public service during the 25 years of Jamaica's independence."

Both Miss Thomas and Mrs. Iton have also been honoured nationally for their work in the JLS.
Since 1955, the JLS has had a seminal effect on the library profession in Jamaica, in that wherever librarianship is required, it is very likely that the professionals engaged have acquired much of their training and experience within the Jamaica Library Service.
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In 1971, the Jamaica Labour Party Government which had been in office since 1962, published a twenty-year National Physical Plan for Jamaica. It was an attempt to integrate physical, economic and social policies that would reinforce each other, and by so doing make the best possible use of the country's limited human and material resources. The plan gave support in general terms to the Jamaica Library Service's "Five Year Development Plan 1968-1973". The JLS proposed to expand public library services, and also the school library services beyond primary and junior secondary schools to include high schools, technical and vocational schools. Thus the National Plan at least recognized the importance of libraries to education.

Major developments in public and school libraries had been taking place in Jamaica since the early 1950's, but a national plan needed to focus attention also on other areas of library activities, whether in the public or private sector, so long as they could make a contribution to national planning and development.

Information is key to any such development process. Moreover, it is a renewable resource which is not depleted after use but remains available for reuse over and over again. A national information programme was therefore essential to assist
libraries in producing, acquiring and managing information in accordance with the nation's needs. Such a programme should set priorities, reduce duplication of effort and resources, and promote collaborative arrangements to make the best possible use of the existing limited information resources.

Library systems had come into being at different times for specific purposes, often without taking into consideration the overall information needs. That is not to say that individual systems were not efficient, or failed to operate by properly prepared programmes. But there were some areas which were sadly deficient. Government libraries which should have underpinned Government development planning were small, inadequately equipped, and woefully under-utilized—a condition which would seem to indicate that library and information services were not fully appreciated by many planners and decision makers. (2) A number of bureaucrats followed the age-old practice of hoarding documents they believed could be of use to them at some future time, thus denying their use to others.

A proper assessment of all types of libraries, in terms of coverage, quality of service and areas of specialization needed to be undertaken, and standards established especially for those services supported by public funds. At the same time machinery needed to be introduced to improve efficiency, and provide informed leadership in consonance with developments in the field; and the necessary authority had to be established that could
translate these developments, where appropriate, into improving the national information system.

The National Physical Plan was released only a few short months before the Jamaica Labour Party Government went out of office and they had no time to implement it. The newly elected People's National Party which assumed office in 1972 and remained until 1980, faced a plethora of unresolved social and political problems. The majority of the population still experienced low standards of living. Tied into patterns of trade determined by structures set up by ex-colonial powers and current world markets, the country had acquired a dependency syndrome, and remained at the mercy of foreign capitalism. Except for bauxite, Jamaica was not heavily industrialized and lacked a broad resource base. Unemployment had become rampant while thousands of acres of arable land, mostly in the hands of private owners and some owned by Government, remained idle.

Illiteracy continued to be the bane of the working classes, who, with this handicap, did not have the necessary skills to pull themselves out of poverty or to move the country forward economically. Two major amenities--piped water and electricity--were absent from most rural homes. For example, only 6% of peasant homes was electrified. In search, therefore, of a better life, many young people continued to flock to urban areas but found instead, unemployment, frustration and poverty.

The country's foreign reserves were being badly depleted.
The major foreign currency earners—bauxite and alumina—were controlled by foreign interests and the traditional agricultural exports—sugar and banana—were facing falling prices. In the search for solutions the new government set out to mobilize the national will by creating a series of economic and social packages.

The People's National Party managed to pilot a decisive shift in social attitudes that undermined centuries-old racist assumptions, and increased the pride and confidence of the black majority. Fundamental reforms included a minimum wage for all workers, free education at secondary and university levels to the extent of available places, the institution of a literacy programme (JAMAL), the formation of agrarian co-operatives utilizing some of the idle lands, the reduction of the voting age to 18 years, paid maternity leave and the abolition of the term "bastardy" to identify children born out of wedlock. (3)

The PNP's national thrust incorporated the development of human resources in the cultural and artistic fields—a task delegated to "An Exploratory Committee of the Arts." This committee in turn, appointed a Sub-Committee on Libraries to prepare suitable recommendations for library development.

The Sub-Committee on Libraries recognized only too keenly the growing information gap between developed and developing countries and the fact that if Jamaica was to progress economically and improve the quality of life, it would have to
utilize information generated for research, wherever this could be obtained. Existing, fragmented and unco-ordinated libraries in the country would have to be brought together; a national plan of action with attainable priorities within the context of the Jamaican society prepared; areas of weakness strengthened, information gaps filled and an information infrastructure put in place that was supportive of the country's planned economic and social development.

Instead of attempting to superimpose a new structure on existing systems, means had to be found for them to complement and strengthen each other in the national interest, and to enable every user to have greater access to the total informational wealth of the nation through the library of his choice.

As a national priority, the sub-committee recommended a structured national documentation, information and library system co-ordinated by a Government advisory committee.

The sub-committee's first major recommendation was the creation of a national library to acquire, store and make available for study and research, the nation's social, historical and cultural heritage. It also saw as urgent, the organization and development of subject related libraries and information centres, whether within government or non-government agencies, whose function would be to support national planning and development.

Legislation had to be introduced or amended to create
a national library and empower it to build up a comprehensive national collection. This recommendation was aimed at the Institute of Jamaica and the West India Reference Library which it was expected, would form the nucleus of such a National Library. The intellectual offerings of local authors also needed protection. Copyright legislation had been in abeyance since Jamaica became an independent state in 1962, with the result that piracy was rampant. The legal deposit legislation had not been amended since the end of the nineteenth century, and as it stood, there were no effective sanctions to ensure deposit of works published locally.

The library profession was in dire need of national recognition and status. Posts for librarians in public, school and government libraries were depressed, and needed to be reclassified and upgraded in order to attract and retain professionals and other skilled workers. (4)

The sub-committee further recognized the need to foster development of a local book publishing industry to provide the nation's youth with stories having a local setting and characters with whom they could identify.

To secure these changes the sub-committee recommended to Government the creation of a national advisory body, with one of its major tasks the preparation of a national information plan. This plan would develop action to strengthen capabilities of national information institutions, advise on appropriate
legislation, develop national standards for libraries, create national deposit and reference services, develop tools for national bibliographic control and establish a national clearing house for inter-library loans, locally and internationally. In fact to prepare the framework on which an efficient and effective national information system could develop.

The sub-committee identified five major types of libraries which could form the beginning of the national information system:

1. The West India Reference Library of the Institute of Jamaica which would form the nucleus of the National Library;
2. the Jamaica Library Service with islandwide public library outreach;
3. libraries in tertiary and academic institutions e.g., the College of Arts, Science & Technology (CAST), teachers colleges, the University of the West Indies;
4. libraries in Government Departments in specific areas such as trade and industry, science & technology, law and agriculture;
5. libraries in private organizations e.g., the bauxite industry, media houses and manufacturing firms.

The sub-committee's recommendations formed part of the over-
all report of the Exploratory Committee on the Arts which was presented to the Prime Minister. The library and information segment was approved in principle and the National Council on Libraries Archives and Documentation Services (NACOLADS) appointed in December 1973. The inaugural meeting of the Council was held on 25 March 1974. In August 1974, Cabinet also endorsed "the pursuance of activities which will lead to the effective provision or improvement of national information systems which can be accommodated within the National Budget." (5)

About this time, UNESCO was beginning to develop the concept of national information systems, and in September 1974 organized an "Inter-Governmental Conference on the Planning of National Documentation Libraries and Archives Infrastructures" in Paris. Government sent a representative to that conference and later that same year presented a paper on "Regional Library Development and Co-operation" at the Caribbean Common Market (CARICOM) Heads of Government Conference in St. Lucia. (6) Government also supported a UNESCO/JLS Caribbean workshop in Jamaica on "The Planning of National Information Systems" (NATIS) in November 1975, and requested UNESCO to provide technical assistance to expedite the preparation of a national programme.

On 26 February 1976, NACOLADS advised the library profession of Government's plans. Dr. Dorothy Collings, first head of the UWI's Department of Library Studies, was invited to serve as
consultant to a team of local librarians.

Ten working parties of professionals, with expertise in different areas, were invited to prepare the draft National Plan. The team surveyed some 200 libraries in Government and quasi-government agencies and in private institutions. They identified available types of resources and made suggestions for coordinated action which would strengthen their capabilities, within the framework of a national information system.

The team also recognised the need to improve management structures and to strengthen national information institutions and their collections, to provide for better location and retrieval of information, and the upgrading of standards of library work.

There were major problems to be surmounted. The lack of foreign exchange inhibited the upgrading and standardization of equipment; the use of computer technology was becoming widespread in libraries worldwide, especially in the creation of data bases and in repetitive routines, but libraries in Jamaica were not automated and could not benefit immediately from such new developments. If Jamaica hoped to keep pace with and benefit from information services offered by more advanced countries, it would have to learn to use the new technology also.

The team felt that a national council, representing all areas of the country's information needs, would be in a better position to attract international funding and technical
assistance from overseas.

The Council comprised representatives from the main types of libraries and documentation centres, senior representatives from Government ministries concerned, and persons with relevant technical knowledge, such as economic planning, and audio-visual skills, who could help to give direction to the profession. NACOLADS' terms of reference followed closely, those incorporated into the Report of The Exploratory Committee on the Arts. The aims were to overcome bottlenecks, reduce duplication of effort and duplication of resources through co-operation; encourage standardization of equipment and bibliographic data in order to facilitate exchange of information, both nationally and internationally; strengthen staffing and improve professionalism by training in new areas of need, and seek funding for training through the award of scholarships and travel grants.

The Council's role as negotiator with Government, for improved salaries and working conditions for librarians, was soon recognized as being very important.

At first NACOLADS was serviced by the staff of the Office of the Prime Minister; but in December 1976, three years after the Council was appointed, the organization was allocated a small secretariat, consisting of an executive secretary, a librarian-researcher and clerical staff and remained within the Office of the Prime Minister.
The National Plan

The plan was conceived as a tool to further the process of implementing a national information system; to obtain the commitment of individual institutions in the information field; and to improve upon earlier efforts to ensure the active participation, interest and involvement of all who recognize the need for improving the flow and quality of information, for the benefit of the population as a whole. (7)

In preparing the national plan in 1976, the team undertook a survey of existing library facilities and this was later used in the compilation of a directory of libraries and library resources in the country. The questionnaire sent out to all libraries requested information on size and areas of specialization, types of resources: books, periodicals, manuscripts, microfilms etc.; the types and levels of users; services offered: reprographic, audio-visual, reference etc.; staff structure and staff training in place, and the annual budgetary allocations. Based upon the results of the survey, certain libraries having related interests were grouped together into networks which would co-operate in the development of subject data bases, and in the acquisition of journals and other types of expensive specialist material.

The completed plan was presented to the Prime Minister, through the Minister of Information and Culture, on 29 April 1977, and NACOLADS was authorized "to move ahead with its implementation bearing in mind the financial constraints of the
country." (8)

The Plan recommended that NACOLADS, which was set up in 1973, should be continued on a permanent basis as a national body with clear responsibility and authority for advising the Prime Minister on planning and co-ordination in the field of library and information sciences. (9) It identified 7 groupings of libraries by areas of interest as follows:

1. Scientific and Technical Information Network (STIN), including agriculture, mining, medicine and technology;
2. Social and Economic Network (SECIN), including education, media, culture, business, finance;
3. Legal Network (LINET);
4. Physical Planning Network, including town planning, public utilities, urban development;
5. Academic Libraries Network i.e., the University of the West Indies libraries;
6. Public Libraries Network, including the Cultural Training Centre, public library services islandwide, teachers college libraries, school libraries;
7. Tertiary Institutions Network, including the College of Arts, Science and Technology, Knox College, Mt. Alvernia Community College, EXED and Brown's Town Community College libraries.
Figure 1

CHART ILLUSTRATING THE COORDINATING ROLE OF NACOLADS AND THE NATIONAL NETWORK

KEY
- COLNET - College Libraries Information Network
- DLS - Department of Library Studies
- ISER - Institute of Social & Economic Research
- LIMET - Legal Information Network
- SECIN - Socio-Economic Information Network
- STIN - Scientific & Technical Information Network

NETWORKING LINKS

COORDINATION CONNECTORS

THE JAMAICA NATIONAL INFORMATION SYSTEM

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON LIBRARIES ARCHIVES AND DOCUMENTATION SERVICES (NACOLADS) COORDINATING BODY

JAMAICA ARCHIVES & RECORDS DEPARTMENT (JARD)

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF JAMAICA (NLJ) SYSTEM

NATIONAL REFERRAL SERVICE

PUBLIC LIBRARY SYSTEM

JAMAICA LIBRARY SERVICE (JLS) SYSTEM

SCHOOLS LIBRARY SERVICE

STATISTICAL INSTITUTE OF JAMAICA (STATIN)

UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES (U.W.I) SYSTEM MAIN LIB.

MEDICAL LIB.

SCHOOL OF EDUC. DOC. CENTRE

NORMAN MANLEY LAW SCH

SCIENCE LIB.

OTHER DEPT. LIBS.

ISER

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON LIBRARIES ARCHIVES AND DOCUMENTATION SERVICES (NACOLADS) COORDINATING BODY

KEY
- COLNET - College Libraries Information Network
- DLS - Department of Library Studies
- ISER - Institute of Social & Economic Research
- LIMET - Legal Information Network
- SECIN - Socio-Economic Information Network
- STIN - Scientific & Technical Information Network

NETWORKING LINKS

COORDINATION CONNECTORS

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NACOLADS Diagram
The library with the greatest potential for development was selected as the focal point, with which all other members of the network would cooperate. This would ensure structured information provision for all sectors of the community, and support for national development objectives and priorities. The Plan further emphasized development of computer-generated data bases, co-operation in the development of human and physical resources, and on standardization of bibliographical records to speed up access to information. In course of implementation, over the next several years revisions were made. A separate network for college libraries was thought necessary; the physical planning network was dropped and its subjects absorbed into the Scientific and Technical Network (STIN) and the Socio-Economic Network (SECIN); the Statistical Institute of Jamaica, which had legal responsibility for co-ordinating statistical activity among government agencies, and the Jamaica Archives, became focal points.

A task force for upgrading the performance of government libraries was provided for, and the job of implementation became the responsibility of the NLJ, which was also mandated to establish the National Referral Centre. Because of the heavy emphasis which would be placed on computerized data bases in the future, training of staff in information science and systems planning had to begin immediately, and a series of short courses and workshops and more sustained, in-depth training were
instituted.

The Latin American Centre for Social and Economic Documentation (CLADES) advised on planning and organization of the SECIN focal point at the National Planning Agency (later renamed the Planning Institute of Jamaica), and assisted with a survey of existing library and information units, and the publication of *A Directory of Development Information Units: Jamaica* (10).

The International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Canada, was approached and agreed to finance Phase 1 of the project to the tune of Four Hundred Thousand Dollars (C$400,000). This was used to provide furniture and equipment for the socio-economic focal point, for the compilation of the socio-economic data base, and for technical assistance to the National Library of Jamaica in the form of a consultant for one year.

Other agencies e.g., UNESCO and the Organization of American States (OAS) also participated in the project by providing fellowships for continuing education and formal training, equipment including a microfilm camera and accessories for conservation of valuable records, and financial assistance for publication of the Plan and the preparation and publication of the *Directory of Information Units in Jamaica*.

In its first eleven years, NACOLADS made training the cutting edge of its operations. It has organized short
fellowships and attachments, scholarships to the library school at the UWI and overseas, in an effort to upgrade professional qualifications and develop expertise especially in information sciences. It has organized seminars and workshops in media technology, computer technology management, indexing and abstracting, as well as short workshops to sensitize non-librarians to the importance of obtaining accurate, up-to-date information in planning.

NACOLADS has encouraged professionals to participate in regional and international meetings and pressed for legislation essential to the proper functioning of the national information system. This includes legislation which brought the National Library of Jamaica into being; copyright legislation, and revision of the archives legislation. NACOLADS has made repeated representations to the Government's Classification Unit for the regrading and reclassification of librarians within the Public Service. In 1980, NACOLADS was designated the national focal point for UNESCO's General Information Programme (PGI).

Phase Two of the National Plan

At the expiration of Phase 1 of the Plan in 1982, IDRC agreed to assist with the evaluation and revision of the plan. It provided a short term consultant, Mrs. Rosemary Kavanagh, a Jamaican resident in Canada, who had been involved in the preparation of Phase 1, to assist with the revision. (11)
It recognized the growing importance of computer technology and telecommunications for speedy, accurate, short, medium and long term forecasting, and that the Jamaican information system had to move towards automating its services. In revising the plan, a team of librarians was again invited to review existing services and prepare recommendations for restructuring. (12)

The working parties recognized that the structure and process of information in contemporary society was changing rapidly, and that librarians had a social responsibility to strengthen the capabilities of the national information system. There was some urgency in getting the national information system automated. The revised plan took into consideration proposals for new areas of concern, e.g., establishing of a national audio-visual centre, and a multi-purpose conservation centre.

IDRC once more agreed to finance the second phase at a cost of Three Hundred and Twenty-Four Thousand Dollars (C$324,000.). In the new plan the role of NLJ was strengthened. NLJ would continue to develop the national referral service. A Library Extension Service Department attached to NLJ was assigned to improving the quality and effectiveness of Government libraries. NLJ would continue to automate indexing and abstracting tools for greater national bibliographical control and standardization of cataloguing and classification data.

The Directory of National Information Units was to be updated and a public awareness programme launched to sensitize
the public on the value of libraries and information services.

Four other subject related networks were to be developed. The JLS should institute a pilot project to automate its circulation services and assistance was to be provided for the establishment of three other data bases at the NLJ, the JLS and the UWI. (13)

In summarizing the achievements, IDRC described NLJ and NACOLADS thus:

Much of the effectiveness of the National Plan discussed here results directly from its concentration on practical goals that were significant as well as realizable. The establishment of the NLJ was an essential and logical step. The establishment of NACOLADS was concrete recognition of the role of library and information systems in Jamaica's national development. (14)

NACOLADS has succeeded in getting Government to take cognizance of the importance of information in the developmental process. It has analyzed and questioned national policies and institutions integral to the achievement of meaningful structural changes in the information and communications field in Jamaica.

Based on the performance of the National Information System, IDRC has chosen to use NACOLADS as a model for developing national information systems in other Third World countries.
REFERENCES


8. Ibid. p.8.


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14. With Our Hands ... p.155.
Catalogue of Books lent to Mr. Cunningham the 29th of April 1701 to form a Library in Spanish Town, Jamaica.

Parsi annotations. 2 vol. — — £ 5s. 0d.
Mrs. Gatault. 3 vol.
Mr. Babel's Work. fol.
Mr. Barrow's Work. 2 vol. fol.
Dr. Sanders's German.
Psalms & Lectures.
Cambridge Concordance.
Bible with ye Apocrypha & Common Prayer, x 9r.

April the 30th
Received the foregoing books by Mr.
James Cunningham.
A Catalogue
of Books sent to Spanish Town in Jamaica by
Mr. Cunningham the 26th April 1707.

10 Bibles.
20 Psalters with Prayers and Psalms.
20 Expositions of the Catechism with Scripture proofs.
20 Short Discourses on ye Baptist Creed.
10 Common Prayers.
10 Dr. Severidge's Sermon on ye Common Prayer.
20 Instructions of ye W. Version of Psalms.
20 Pastoral Letters Shewing ye necessity of Knowledge of an Early Religion.
100 Pastoral Letters from a Minister to his Candidates.
100 Second Pastoral.
100 Third Pastoral.
100 Fourth Pastoral.
2 Catechetical Discourses.
10 Guide to a Christian.
10 The Nature and Necessity of Justifying & Saving Grace.
10 The Importance of Christian Knowledge.
The late Dr. Swayne.
to Exhortation to Religious Duties both public & private.
& to obtain desired Repentance.
12. Act of your Society for Reforming of Manners.
13. Short Vindication.
15. Kind Cautions to prevent Injuries.
16. Reckons to your text of uncleanness.
19. Serious Call to the Quakers.
20. Ruth's Grand Call.
Adressed to the Roman Catholics.
22. A New Invention of men in the word of God.
April 28th 1686.

Received the foregoing book with the severest
testimony of gratitude.
James Cunningham.
MESSAGE FROM HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR

TO

THE HONOURABLE THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

I have the honour to refer to the report submitted last year by Miss Nora Bateson setting out a plan for the establishment of a public library service in Jamaica and to inform you that this plan has been examined in consultation with the British Council.

2. It is considered that the provision of an efficient and modern library service covering the whole Island is an object which should command the widest support. It will be recognised that such a service, if soundly planned and administered, will be in no sense a luxury but rather an essential part of sound educational policy. It should meet the needs of all areas and classes in the Island and should particularly provide books suitable for children leaving school, for the agricultural community, and for those requiring practical and technical guidance. Without such a library service the value of much of the heavy expenditure to be incurred on other educational advance will be lost. The few public libraries which already exist in the Island, particularly the library at the Junior Centre of the Jamaica Institute, have already proved the eager public response which is given to the opportunities which a library service can offer, and provide evidence that there is a keen desire amongst all sections of the population to supplement the teaching available in the schools with further education by private reading. An efficient Island-wide library service is moreover considered to be a first and essential step in the development of an effective system of adult education by which the population of Jamaica can become better informed and better able to work for the progress and development of the Island.

3. It was considered, however, that the cost of the scheme advocated by Miss Bateson, which was estimated at nearly £150,000 in the first seven years with recurrent expenditure of about £32,000 a year thereafter, was beyond the capacity of the Jamaica Government to meet. The calls on all available funds for other development and welfare schemes, particularly in agriculture, primary and secondary education, housing and water supplies, are at present so heavy that it was not considered possible to provide from Jamaica funds so large an amount as £240,000 over a period of ten years for a library service, and an attempt has, therefore, been made to work out a modified scheme on the lines proposed by Miss Bateson but at lower cost.

4. At the same time discussions have gone forward with the British Council, and the Council has now reported that it is prepared to contribute £70,000 to be spread over a number of years to be devoted towards the recurrent costs of a public library scheme in Jamaica. The Council is, moreover, prepared to assist in the administration of the libraries and to select skilled librarians who would both inaugurate the scheme and train Jamaican staff to administer the scheme in future. This offer is made by the British Council on the condition that the Jamaica Government will itself make a substantial contribution and undertake to maintain the public library service in the future on a permanent basis.

5. The whole question has been reviewed by Government in the light of the generous offer by the British Council, and I now recommend:

(a) that it should be accepted as a matter of Government policy that an Island-wide library service should be established;

(b) that the offer of the British Council to contribute £70,000 over a period of years should be accepted.
(c) that the Jamaica Government should undertake to provide funds at the rate of not less than £10,000 a year for the next ten years for this purpose.

(d) that the Jamaica Government should also undertake to maintain the public library service on a permanent basis in the future.

6. If these proposals are accepted it is recommended that the funds to be allocated by the Jamaica Government should be devoted in the first place to the building of a central public library in Kingston (estimated to cost not less than £25,000) and then to build branch libraries (estimated to cost approximately £3,000 each) or to extend existing library buildings in all the parishes. While this building programme is proceeding the contribution offered by the British Council would be used to meet the cost of purchase of books, payment of the salaries and training of library staff, and expenses of administration.

7. If these proposals are accepted by the House, provision for expenditure by the Jamaica Government of £100,000 during the next ten years will be made in the Ten Year Plan and immediate arrangements will be made for recruitment of staff and purchase of a first supply of books. I also recommend that the House should authorize an immediate advance against the Ten Year Plan estimates of £5,000 to cover preparation of plans and estimates and purchase of materials for the proposed new central library in Kingston.

These proposals are put to the House in advance of the finally revised draft of the Ten Year Plan as it is necessary to make a very early reply to the offer made by the British Council. A Resolution will therefore be moved in the near future seeking the approval of the House for the proposals set out in this Message.

J. Higgin
Governor

King's House, Jamaica,
20th August, 1946
### APPENDIX IV
### COMPARATIVE STATISTICS 1971-1972

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish</th>
<th>Stock</th>
<th>Readers</th>
<th>Issues</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>Junior</td>
<td>Adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tre.</td>
<td>13,515</td>
<td>5,698</td>
<td>1,857</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. N.</td>
<td>13,656</td>
<td>10,082</td>
<td>1,378</td>
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<td>St. J.</td>
<td>33,310</td>
<td>15,788</td>
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<td>7,671</td>
<td>3,017</td>
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<td>St. C.</td>
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<td>3,897</td>
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<td>Man.</td>
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### COMPARATIVE STATISTICS 1985-1986

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<td>Adult</td>
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<td>7,486</td>
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<td>St. C.</td>
<td>33,732</td>
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<td>10,471</td>
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<td>At. A.</td>
<td>31,839</td>
<td>16,359</td>
<td>3,338</td>
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<td>Port.</td>
<td>27,390</td>
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<td>Man.</td>
<td>28,978</td>
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<td>70,732</td>
<td>66,814</td>
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Source: JLS Statistical Records
Be it resolved that this Committee accepts the principle of an island-wide library service and applies to the (Provisional) Island Library Board for recognition as the official Parish Library Committee and on the approval of the necessary legislation for appointment as the statutory Parish Library Committee and agrees that the future constitution of the Committee shall be in accordance with the terms of the order by the Governor in Executive Council establishing the statutory committee.

Until such time as the order is promulgated, the Committee agree that it shall be composed of:

- 3 persons nominated by the Parochial Board,
- 5 other persons to be selected by the Committee and agreed to by the (Provisional) Island Library Board,
- The Director of Library Services or his representative.

This Committee may co-opt two further members.

The Committee undertake to be responsible for the control of the library service in the Parish of St. James in conformity with any regulations that shall be laid down by the Island Library Board, and subject to any provision which may be contained in the Jamiaca Library Service Act.

I agree

I agree

I agree

I agree

I agree

I agree

I agree
RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE PAROCHIAL BOARD OF SAINT JAMES AT

A MEETING HELD ON THE 12th, JANUARY, 1950

WHEREAS the Board by resolution passed on the 10th November, 1949 accepted in principle the establishment of an island-wide Library Service and undertook to make annual provision in its Budget in connection with the scheme the Board hereby agree to finance the undermentioned services by annual contributions to the Library Board:-

1. lighting
2. Cleaning (wages and materials)
3. Telephone charges
4. Salaries of local staff
5. Travel & subsistence of local staff and Committee on approved business
6. Rent of premises or maintenance of buildings
7. Insurance

Moved by: (SCD) Walter Fletcher
Seconded by: (SCD) K. D. O'Connor

Certified True Copy:

(Sgd.)

Secretary Parochial Board,
St. James
16th January, 1950.
## FINANCIAL ALLOCATIONS (EXAMPLES)

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Rate of Exchange 1969 = J$2: L1
Rate of Exchange 1987 = J$5.50: US$1
PERSONS INTERVIEWED

Aarons, R.L.C. Pioneer, Portland Free Library and former Chairman, Jamaica Library Board. (Deceased)

Brandon, Lois. Member of staff, Institute of Jamaica in the 1930's and 40's.

Ferguson, S. Director, National Library of Jamaica. 1980 to present.

Grossett, The Hon. F.V. Pioneer, Portland Free Library, and former Chairman, Portland Parish Library. (Deceased)

Ingram, K. Member of staff, Institute of Jamaica in the 1940's and former Librarian, University of the West Indies.

Iton, S. Former Librarian, St. Catherine Parish Library; former Principal Librarian, Kingston & St. Andrew Parish Library; Director, Jamaica Library Service, 1981 to present.

Jackson, N.S. Pioneer, St. James Public Library; former Chairman, St. James Parish Library and Kingston & St. Andrew Parish Library.

Knight, Mrs. R.A.L. Proprietor, Falmouth Library and first Librarian, Trelawny Parish Library. (Deceased)

Knight, Rev. R.A.L. Pioneer, Trelawny Parish Library. (Deceased)

McCalla, P.M. Pioneer, St. Thomas Public Library, former Treasurer, St. Thomas Parish Library. (Deceased)

Phillips, E.D. Pioneer, Portland Free Library. (Deceased)

Robertson, A. First Librarian, St. James Public Library; former Librarian, St. James Parish Library; former Principal Librarian, Schools Library Service.

Robinson, J.L. Former Secretary, St. Elizabeth Public Library former Director, Jamaica Library Service; Chairman, National Library of Jamaica and Chairman, National Council on Libraries, Archives and Documentation Services.
Sangster, F.L. Bookseller, Kingston.

Shelton, I.W. Former Secretary, Portland Free Library. (Deceased)

Sherlock, Sir Philip. Former Secretary, Institute of Jamaica in the 1930's and 40's; former Vice Chancellor, University of the West Indies.

Thomas, Leila. Former Librarian, Manchester Parish Library; former Principal Librarian, Kingston & St. Andrew Parish Library, former Director, Jamaica Library Service.
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Register of Documents: Jamaica, 1850-194

Supplementary Correspondence, 1822-1830. (inc. Jamaica.) PRO


Educational Operations of the Jamaica Baptist Union. Report, 1867. (Printed clipping) IJ

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Goveia, Elsa. A Study on the Historiography of the British West Indies to the end of the Nineteenth Century. (Mexico, 1956).


(Harley) Propaganda Pamphlets. 1705. BL


Jamaica Branch National Home Reading Union. Sheet Advertising, 1896. IJ


--- Departmental Reports, 1899-1900.

--- House of Representatives Resolution, 28 August 1946.


Journals of the Assembly of Jamaica. 1664/5 - Printed by order of the Assembly by Alexander Aikman. 1811.

Knight, R.A.L. (Mrs.) Proprietor of the Falmouth Library. Interview with H.E. Bennett, 10 June 1965.

Latrobe, C.J. Negro Education, Jamaica (1837). Ordered by the House of Commons to be Printed. 1838.
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---------- Letter to Hope Waddell. 5 Nov. 1835.

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---------- Letter to George Blythe. 30 April 1825.

---------- Letter to George Blythe. 31 August 1825.

---------- Letter to George Blythe. 30 Nov. 1825.

---------- Letter to George Blythe. 29 July 1826.

---------- Letter to George Blythe. 12 May 1827.
--------- Letter to George Blythe. 1 Dec. 1827.
--------- Letter to George Blythe. 3 August 1828.
--------- Letter to George Blythe. 1 Nov. 1828.
--------- Letter to James Watson. 1 Jan. 1830?
--------- Letter to Hope Waddell. 4 May 1830.
--------- Letter to George Blythe. 28 May 1830.
--------- Letter to Hope Waddell. 31 Dec. 1830.
--------- Letter to Mr. Chamberlain. 12 Feb. 1831.
--------- Letter to Hope Waddle (sic.) 12 May 1831.
--------- Letter to James Watson. 13 June 1831.
--------- Letter to George Blythe. 15 August 1834.
--------- Letter to Simpson. 6 Jan. 1835.
--------- Letter to James Watson. 1 July 1835.
--------- Letter to Cowan. 16 Jan. 1837.
--------- Letter to George Blythe. 16 Jan. 1838.
--------- Letter to Cowan. 16 Jan. 1838.
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--------- Letter to Cowan. 30 Nov. 1846.

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Dale, J. Letter to the Bishop of London. 26 June 1724.

Ellison. Letter to Sir George Wheeler. 27 Jan 1699. SPCK.

Goldsworthy, F.M. Letter to Philip Sherlock. 23 Aug. 1943. IJ

Johnston, W. Letter to Secretary of the SPG. 22 Nov. 1714.

MacGillivray. Letter to Martin Blake. 8 Jan. 1949. BC.


---------- Letter to Marquis Duquesne. 18 October 1723.


---------- Letter to Rt. Hon. Lord Viscount Percival of Charlton. 10 July 1724.


---------- Letter to the Bishop of London. 26 Mar. 1722. SPCK.

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---------- Letter to W. Galpine. 2 Nov. 1724.

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Paget, Hugh. Letter to George Nunn. 11 June 1946.

---------- Letter to L.G. Birton. 28 Dec. 1944.

Peatt, (Rev.) Letter to Dr. Wilson. 20 June 1742. SPCK.

SPG. Letter to Mr. Lloyd, Chaplain to Jamaica. 25 July 1705.

---------- Letter to Mr. Edward Shanks, Chaplain to Jamaica. 25 Mar. 1701.

---------- Letter to Mr. James Thompson, Chaplain to Jamaica. 21 Jan. 1707/8.

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---------- Letter to Henry Chamberlayne. 27 Mar. 1701.


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A Catalogue of books given by the Society for Promoting X'tian Knowledge, to the Hon. Governor Pitt to be dispersed among the Inhabitants of His Majesty's Island, Jamaica in the West Indies. 5 Nov. 1716. SPG

A Catalogue of books sent to Spanish Town in Jamaica by Mr. Cunningham. 28 Apr. 1701.

A Catalogue of books sent 1 Apr. 1724 with Mr. Barrett, Missionary to Jamaica Towards a Catechetical Library...

A Catalogue of the books sent with Mr. Barrett as part of a Premium the Further to Encourage him in the Discharges of his Pastoral Duties in Consideration of Instructing the Negroes but Consisting very much of books Shewing the Anti-Christianism of the Church of Rome the Better to Establish him in the Protestant (faith) to which he has been lately converted. (1 Apr. 1724).

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List of Books in the Packet for Govr. Rogers. Sent by Capt. Roake. 1718/19 (?)

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(Jamaica Almanack) (Kingston: A.A. Woodhead. 1779).
Douglass & Aikman's Almanack & Register for the Island of Jamaica... (Kingston: Douglass & Aikman. 1780).
(Jamaica Almanack). 1781.

Ephemeris... or a Diary. Astronomical & Astrological for the year of our Lord 1677... also something touching the noble country of Jamaica. (London: John Gadbury, printed for J.D. for the Company of Stationers. 1674).

------------- 1675.
------------- 1677.


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Henderson's Jamaica Almanack, (Kingston, 1855-1869).


The Jamaica Almanack. (Kingston. 1819).

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The Jamaica Almanack ... (Kingston: Alexander Aikman Jnr. 1825).

The Jamaica Almanack ... (Kingston. 1827).

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