

in Eighteenth, see relations in
Gould Trinidad, 1870-1900
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The Indians

Of all the immigrant groups which came to Trinidad during the course of the nineteenth century, the Indians were immeasurably the most important. They came in far greater numbers than any other group. Furthermore, they belonged to an intricate, ancient society, with a rigid system of stratification, strongly established non-Christian religions, and a high culture essentially alien to the westernised host society. They constituted an entirely new element in Caribbean societies, an element which would have to find a place in the existing race, class, and caste systems.

The Indians were imported into Trinidad to provide the stable and manageable labour force which, the sugar planters believed, had been lost to them since the full emancipation of the blacks in 1838. Other possible sources of labour had proved inadequate; it was India which proved satisfactory. India had a huge population, millions living close to destitution; most of the sub-continent was under British control, so that there was no necessity for troublesome negotiations with foreign governments; India's climate was not unlike that of the Caribbean, and most of her people were accustomed to agricultural work. The cost of importation, though high, was not prohibitive as it was in the case of China. Trinidad, of course, was only one of several colonies receiving Indian immigrants in the nineteenth century; a global traffic in Indian labourers was established, taking them to Assam, South-East Asia, East Africa, South Africa, Mauritius, the Pacific, and the West Indies.

Between 1845 and 1917, with a short break in 1848-51, Indians arrived steadily each year, the great majority being channelled through Calcutta; perhaps ninety per cent of the immigrants came from the area of the Ganges plains: United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, and Central Provinces; a minority came from Bengal, the North West Provinces, and South India via Madras.¹ Although a total of 37,440 Indians had arrived by 1869, they were not yet thought of as permanent settlers in Trinidad. The free return passage after ten years in the colony, which was insisted on by both the Colonial Office and the government of India, made the Indians seem like transient labourers, not a permanent addition to the population. And the indentureship system, by which the new arrivals were

contracted to the plantations for a five-year term of unfree labour, kept most of the Indians on the estates as resident indentured labourers, severely restricting their freedom of movement and their contacts with the wider society. At the beginning of our period, in fact, the overwhelming majority of the Indian population resided on the sugar estates; nearly forty per cent were indentured. They had hardly improved their material condition since 1845, nor had they made much progress in establishing their own social organisation and institutions.²

Further, their languages, physical appearance, religions and culture were so strikingly different that the Indians were considered to be separate and apart from the host society. Despite their increasing numerical strength, the Indians were regarded as an exotic group, marginal to Trinidad society, insufficiently integrated to be considered a part of it.³ The indentureship, the Indians' connection with a particular government department, special legislation affecting them exclusively, the separate social services provided for them: all this reinforced the Indians' separation from the rest of the island's population. They were, to repeat, a group outside the basic three-tier structure of nineteenth-century Creole society.

Yet they constituted a large and rapidly growing proportion of the people. Between 1870 and 1900 a total of 71,584 Indians arrived; within the whole period of Indian immigration, 1845 to 1917, 143,939 immigrants entered the island.⁴ It is important to note that the great majority did not return to India. Between 1870 and 1899, only 15,211 or 21.2 per cent of those eligible for repatriation chose to return.⁵ This made possible the development of a settled Indian community, and, of course, the emergence of a growing Trinidad-born Indian population. The latter formed only 16.5 per cent of the total Indian population in 1871, but by 1901 they were 44.8 per cent: nearly as many as the India-born immigrants. Thus the composition of the Indian group was changing over our period in favour of locally born Indians – the 'Creole Indians' – which naturally reinforced the development of a permanent Indian community. As the Indian population increased, both by annual immigration and by natural growth, its contribution to the total island population became significant. Indians constituted 25 per cent of the population in 1871; by 1901 they were 33 per cent.⁶ Their numbers alone made the Indians a critically important segment of the island's people.

At the beginning of our period close to 40 per cent of the Indians were still indentured, and all the new immigrants had to serve an initial five years' indenture. It seems logical, therefore, to begin our consideration of the Indian population by analysing the position of the indentured Indians, all of whom were resident on the estates. The essential element of the indentureship system was a long contract with a single employer, main-

tained by the sanctions of the criminal law. From 1862, immigrants signed up for a five-year indenture, during which they could not leave their employer, demand higher wages, live off the estate they were assigned to, or refuse the work given them to do. If they infringed the immigration laws, they could be prosecuted as criminals and sentenced to jail terms. Once the indenture had expired, however, they became free, although even time-expired Indians continued to be subjected to certain restrictions which did not apply to the rest of the population. After the indentureship was over, the Indian was granted a 'certificate of industrial residence', a sort of 'free paper' certifying that the person's indenture had expired and that he was a 'free' Indian. Even then, he was not entitled to a free return passage until a total of ten years' residence in the colony had been completed. After 1895, immigrants had to pay a proportion of the cost of their repatriation.⁷

A multiplicity of laws governed the immigrants' wages and hours of work. The indentured labourer was guaranteed in law 280 days' work per calendar year, with five days a week out of crop and six days during crop. Most field work was assigned on a task basis in Trinidad, and a task was supposed to be what an able-bodied labourer could perform in seven hours; for day-work a limit of nine hours was set in the field, but in the factory, during crop, fifteen-hour days were permitted. An 1872 Ordinance prescribed a minimum wage for indentureds of 25 cents (1s. 1d.) per day or per task for able-bodied adults, 16 cents (8d.) for others. Hours worked in the field during crop often went far beyond the legal nine hours; in the factory very long working days were usual, but wages were higher.⁸ The system of indentureship gave the planters a core group of resident, unfree labourers whose work was completely dependable; they were usually sufficient to meet the out-of-crop demand for labour, while during crop they provided the stable nucleus of a labour force which could be supplemented by resident free workers and non-resident labour.

Throughout our period Indians, indentured and free, dominated the plantation labour force in Trinidad. In 1872 they constituted 75.3 per cent of the total sugar estate labour force; in 1895 the proportion had reached 87 per cent. Of the Indian estate labourers, 44.7 per cent were indentured in 1872; they were the principal source of guaranteed labour available to the planters.⁹

Indian labour had made possible the recovery of the Trinidad sugar industry after 1848, and its vigorous expansion in the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s. But the last two decades of the century were times of trouble for West Indian sugar producers, with sugar prices falling drastically on the British market, particularly in 1884-5 and 1894-7.¹⁰ Planters attempted to cut labour costs by laying off non-resident labourers, reducing the

wages of unindentured workers, and offering less work to resident labourers, both indentured and free. This is why the situation of the Indian plantation labourers deteriorated in the last twenty years of the century.

Because the 1872 Ordinance had established a legal minimum wage for indentureds, planters pushed down their earnings by the simple expedient of increasing the extent of the tasks; and field work was predominantly assigned by tasks in Trinidad. This device, of course, had precisely the same effect as reducing wages, and it was widely resorted to in 1884-5 and 1894-7. The indentured Indians became so disillusioned at the extension of tasks at the same wage rate that they told the Protector of Immigrants in 1894 that they would prefer day-work to tasks. A wave of strikes took place in the 1880s, mostly to protest against the excessive size of tasks, and these strikes led the Protector of Immigrants to investigate the actual earnings of indentured Indians on a number of large estates. He concluded that on most of the larger estates, more than 15 per cent of the adult male indentureds were earning less than an average of 12 cents (6d.) per day (calculated over 365 days), the minimum average daily earnings stipulated by Ordinance 13 of 1870. The Legislative Council, with the cooperation of the Governors, simply passed special laws suspending the operation of the relevant clause of the 1870 law. In this way, the protective device which was intended to guarantee the indentureds minimum actual earnings was neutralised in the 1890s; and despite the 1872 law establishing a minimum wage rate of 25 cents per day or per task, the indentured Indian found his wage rate falling during the 1880s and 1890s. The conclusion is inescapable: during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, the great majority of indentured Indians earned far less than the minimum legally guaranteed to them.¹¹

They protested against the deteriorating conditions of plantation labour by a series of strikes, at least fifty-two between 1870 and 1900, with a peak in 1882-4. The majority took place out of crop, and the excessive lengthening of tasks was the predominant cause. But the majority of these plantation strikes during the indentureship period were spontaneous affairs, with little evidence of planning or coordination. They usually occurred in response to planters' increasing tasks, reducing wages, or withholding accustomed privileges; the strikers were defending existing plantation conditions from interference by planters rather than demanding new and better ones, and so these strikes were not a serious threat to the indentureship system.¹²

The maintenance of that system depended on the sanctions of the criminal law. For the Immigration Ordinances allowed criminal prosecutions and penalties for breaches of contract by the indentured immigrant. Employers could prosecute indentureds for a wide variety of offences,

ranging from threatening language or gestures, to negligence or carelessness in performing work, to wilful disobedience of a lawful order. The offence by indentureds which was most frequently brought to the courts was absence without leave, and the more serious charge of desertion. Penalties usually involved fines or jail terms, and could be severe; a sentence of fourteen days was common for wilful disobedience, or the use of insulting language against an estate authority. Desertion, or unlawful absence for three days or more, carried a maximum jail sentence of two months. The indentured Indians were in constant danger of prosecution for breaches of contract; by contrast, the officials of the Immigration Department were often reluctant to prosecute estate managers on behalf of labourers. It seems clear that prosecutions, or the threat of prosecutions, were often used to intimidate and coerce indentureds: a reliance on the courts to maintain estate discipline. It seems fair to conclude that the most objectionable feature of the indentureship system was the fact that labourers who infringed the immigration laws, even quite trivially, could be prosecuted as criminals and sentenced to jail terms.¹³ Those critics of the system who claimed that indentureship was merely slavery with the jail substituted for the whip were not far from the truth.

Once the Indian had worked out his five-year indenture, he was freed from these kinds of harassment. And the effect of reduced wages after the 1870s, and the low actual earnings of resident labourers, was to accelerate the withdrawal of free Indians from the plantations. As the century reached its end, indentured labourers were only a small fraction of the total Indian population; by 1901 they were only 8.5 per cent of the total. More and more Indians left the plantations after their indentureship expired – following the example of the ex-slaves after 1838 – and the centre of gravity of the Indian population shifted to the new Indian settlements away from the estates.

In 1869 Governor Gordon agreed to grant the request of twenty-five free Indians for grants of Crown lands in exchange for forfeiting their claim to a return passage to India. He hoped that his action 'would probably do much to induce a large portion of the Indian immigrant population, from being mere temporary sojourners, to become permanent colonists, a result greatly to be desired'.¹⁴ His decision was the beginning of a short-lived but significant scheme, lasting between 1869 and 1879, by which time-expired Indians were granted lots of Crown lands in lieu of their return passage. This scheme may be said to have initiated the transformation of the Indians into peasant proprietors. The authorities hoped to achieve two objectives: to reduce the financial liability of the colonial government for return passages to India; and to settle the free Indians in orderly communities within easy distance of the sugar estates, so as to provide the planters with a convenient source of non-resident but seasoned

labourers during crop. The lands granted under the scheme were all close to sugar estates. The Warden for Montserrat in central Trinidad reported with satisfaction that free Indians there 'evinced a strong desire to form themselves into small communities, generally... within easy distance of some sugar estate, where they may obtain employment'.¹⁵

Between 1869 and 1880, a total of 2,643 adult male immigrants were settled on 19,055 acres of Crown lands under the commutation scheme. In terms of the acreage granted, the scheme was significant; and it marked the beginning of an established Indian peasantry, with at least twenty-six settlements established. But the scheme encountered a number of difficulties: inadequate access roads to the new settlements, poor selection of lands, government neglect to provide basic social services like schools, suspicion by many Indians that the whole scheme was only a trick to defraud them of their return passage. Since many planters and a number of officials also lost faith in the commutation scheme, the land grants in lieu of the return passage were ended in 1879.¹⁶

But, by then, Indians had begun to buy parcels of Crown land in large numbers. Once Gordon had opened up the Crown lands to small purchasers in 1869, the way was open for free Indians to become landowners in the normal way. Between 1885 and 1896 24 per cent of all Crown land sales were to Indians; from 1891 to 1895 it was 34 per cent.¹⁷ At least 37,256 acres of Crown lands were sold to Indians between 1885 and 1900; by the latter date, at least 56,311 acres of Crown land were in Indian ownership.¹⁸ In addition, Indians rented land from landowners of their own race, or abandoned plantation land might be offered for rent in smallholdings and taken up by free Indians. By the end of our period, a substantial Indian peasant proprietorship had been established.

The Indian peasants cultivated a variety of crops, but probably their most important contribution to the island's economy was in the production of a local food supply. By the end of the century Indian settlements were the major producers of food crops in their districts, and the Indians reduced the colony's dependence on imported provisions and vegetables. They took enthusiastically to rice-growing, especially in the swamp lands of the Caroni Savannah and Oropouche Lagoon; by 1896 6,000 acres were in padi rice, providing one-sixth of local consumption. Cocoa became popular with Indian peasants; many became cocoa contractors or freeholders cultivating the crop. The last two decades of the century saw a large movement of Indian peasants into the remoter cocoa districts in the interior of the island. In these decades too the Indians entered cane-farming; by 1906 they outnumbered Creoles in this field.

The Indian peasants strengthened the island's economy by producing food crops and by helping to diversify agriculture. But, for the Indians themselves, the importance of the establishment of an Indian peasantry

was that it provided solid economic foundations for the development of an Indian community with roots in the colony. It gave the Indians in the new peasant settlements a degree of economic stability and independence, which would allow the development of autonomous social institutions.¹⁹

Free from the constraints of plantation discipline, the Indian villagers found it possible, and necessary, to recreate some of the social institutions of village India. But, inevitably, these institutions had to be modified in Trinidad, often drastically. The family structure which Indians in Trinidad developed is a case in point. Because of the disparity between the sexes – a feature of nineteenth-century Indian immigration to many parts of the world – females assumed greater importance than in India; Charles Mitchell observed in 1888 that ‘a person with two or three female children here has very valuable property, because the men want wives’.²⁰ In Trinidad, the custom developed of the bridegroom giving valuable presents to the bride and her parents, and paying the wedding expenses, a custom often misinterpreted as a ‘bride price’ or ‘daughter-selling’. Another novel feature was that village endogamy was usual, and that inter-caste marriages, even Hindu–Moslem marriages, were common. Indian marriages in Trinidad, in fact, could not be in conformity with traditional Indian personal law and religion.²¹ Furthermore, Hindu and Moslem priests were not recognised as marriage officers throughout this period, so that the religious ceremonies had no legal validity; Indian marriages had to be registered with the civil authorities in order to be recognised as legal. But the vast majority did not register their marriages, feeling, no doubt, that the age-old religious rite was all that really mattered to make a marriage legitimate; in India Hindu marriages were recognised. In the eyes of the law, therefore, Indian marriages were invalid and the overwhelming majority of Indian children were technically illegitimate.

The scarcity of Indian women throughout the nineteenth century posed serious difficulties for the re-establishment of family life. Tensions and jealousies which resulted from this situation led to the notorious ‘Coolie wife-murders’, crimes of violence by Indian men against wives suspected of infidelity. Between 1872 and 1900, eighty-seven murders of Indian women occurred, of which sixty-five were wife-murders.²² These crimes occurred primarily among the estate-resident Indians. On the plantations, the traditional sanctions of village India against infidelity had been eroded, and the abnormal living-conditions in the barracks, with frequent absences of husbands in jail or in hospital, contributed to marital tensions. Furthermore, in a situation where women were scarce, the possession of a wife was an important symbol of status and masculinity on the plantation, a crucial element in the husband’s self-esteem, which he could ill afford to lose. Traditionally, the Indian husband was expected to keep his wife in subjection; this was almost impossible in the plantation

situation where women earned their own living and were greatly in demand; the shame of failure was wiped out by ‘the cleansing violence of self-righteousness’. The man whose wife had been unfaithful suffered a disastrous loss of self-esteem, and in the absence of other mechanisms for expressing anger and self-assertion, violence directed against the other (murder or mutilation of the woman) or against self (suicide was almost as frequent in these situations) was the only way to recover his pride.²³ Yet Indian men did not cohabit with Creole or African women. As late as 1871, the Protector of Immigrants thought ‘there is not probably at this moment a single instance of an indentured immigrant . . . who cohabits with one of the negro race’.²⁴ Sexual unions between Indians and blacks remained extremely rare up to 1900, and there were no known cases of legal marriages between the races.

Indians in Trinidad found it impossible to recreate the extended family of India. Most immigrants came alone. In general, the traditional joint family, patrilocal and extended, was not established in Trinidad in the later nineteenth century, so that Indians in the first few generations in the island grew up with a quite different set of family relationships from those which their parents had experienced. The nuclear family and its interests took precedence over the extended family.²⁵

Both Hindus and Moslems found it possible to re-establish the practices and rites of their faiths in Trinidad. Temples and mosques were built, Hindu personal household worship was conducted, and various reformist Hindu sects were active in the island in the 1880s and 1890s. The adherents of both faiths proved to be strongly resistant to Christian missionary efforts, the Moslems, perhaps, more than the Hindus. Indian religious festivals were celebrated early in the immigration period. Firepass was a South Indian festival, celebrated by ‘Madras’ Indians since 1868 at Peru Village near Port of Spain, and elsewhere. It attracted considerable publicity because of its sensational nature, but the actual walking over hot coals was only the climax of an elaborate religious festival. From the early 1870s the press criticised this festival as a ‘degrading practice’ carried on by ‘gangs of semi-barbarians’; one editor regretted ‘the Police have not thought proper to interfere with these scandalous doings of the Coolies, which go to show their total ignorance of civilisation’. In the early 1880s restrictions were imposed on the celebration of Firepass in order to discourage it.²⁶

But it was *Hosein* which became the major Indian festival in Trinidad. It soon lost its special religious meaning as a commemorative rite celebrated by Shi’ite Moslems in memory of the murder of Mohammed’s grandson, and became almost entirely secular. Most of the participants were Hindus, not Moslems, and Creoles participated enthusiastically up to 1885. *Hosein* became a general Indian holiday. John Morton said it

was a 'fête day' in which Indians joined to remember the old country, while Sir Henry Norman called it 'a sort of national Indian demonstration'. It was celebrated chiefly by estate-resident Indians, and was the occasion for friendly rivalries between different estates, which sometimes caused street fights like those of Carnival.²⁷

The celebration of Hosein, involving large numbers of Indians and working-class Creoles, began to cause anxiety in the early 1870s, because of the allegedly increasing tendency to riotous behaviour.²⁸ The anxiety was increased in the 1880s, when discontent among estate-resident Indians was widespread because of reduction of wages and the lengthening of tasks. Further, the police action against Carnival in 1881-4 prepared the way for the authorities to move against Hosein. The Hamilton Report on the 1881 Carnival riots had made the point that Hosein should also be regulated to prevent it from developing into a disorderly affair like Canboulay. Hamilton thought that it would be a grievance if any privilege, such as the right to carry torches on a public street, was given to the Indians but withheld from the Creoles.²⁹ Accordingly, regulations were issued in 1884 to prevent Indians celebrating Hosein from entering Port of Spain or San Fernando, and from going along any public highway in procession. Excitement among estate-resident Indians mounted, the authorities prepared for a confrontation, and the result was a major disaster in San Fernando, where twelve Indians were killed and 104 injured.³⁰ Despite this massacre, the Government was determined to enforce the regulations rigidly in 1885 and subsequently, and the celebration of Hosein between 1885 and 1900 was restrained and orderly. One of the objects of the 1884 regulations was to prevent Creoles from participating in Hosein, and gradually after 1885 they withdrew from it.

The presence of a large non-Christian population in Trinidad presented a challenge to the Christian Churches. Bishop Rawle of the Anglican Church felt uneasy 'about these crowds of heathens, on whose influx the prosperity of the island depends', and he feared that the 'imperfect Christianity' of the Creole population was not improved by the presence of so many non-Christians. He secured the services of a Hindustani-speaking priest in 1884, but this individual left Trinidad in the following year, and it was only in 1891 that a very modest Anglican mission to the Indians was established.³¹ The majority Church of Rome did not entirely neglect the Indians; one Catholic priest, Marie-François Ribon, was known as 'Père des Coolies' for his work in the 1870s with Indians in and around Port of Spain. This priest vigorously attacked 'paganism' wherever it manifested itself. In 1876 he stopped a Hindu animal sacrifice just outside Port of Spain, and in 1877 he tried to end the Firepass festival in Peru Village; he so exasperated the Indians that his life was threatened on one occasion. But when this militant missionary died, the Catholic

mission to the Indians around Port of Spain was virtually abandoned.³² Nevertheless, some 2,258 Indians had converted to Catholicism by 1891, despite the strong resistance which both Hindus and Moslems offered to Christian missionary efforts.

Kenneth Grant, the pioneer Canadian Presbyterian missionary to the Trinidad Indians, thought that in all lands and at all times, Moslem converts to Christianity were very rare; for Islam, being monotheist, had 'a strength and vitality to which Hinduism is a stranger'. The Hindu in Trinidad, he believed, was more amenable to instruction than in India. Indians were 'a profoundly intellectual race who have to be reached through the reason as well as through the emotions to be convinced of Christian truth; but there are many who hear and enquire'.³³ Grant noted that Presbyterian missionaries and catechists were instructed not to attack Hinduism or Islam, but to preach Christ; and one important reason for the unique role played by the Canadian Mission was that it never demanded a complete break from the Indian past and tradition of its converts. Further, it provided the principal channel for the education of the Indians, for its major strategy for evangelising the Indian population was through the education of the young. Both English and Hindustani were used in Canadian Mission schools, in the services, and on church-related social occasions, and the Canadians were quick to train a native ministry. By the end of the century, the Canadian Mission virtually monopolised the education of Indian children. In 1892 it was providing schooling for about eighty per cent of Indian children attending a school.³⁴

The combination of education and relative tolerance towards Indian cultural tradition gave the Canadian Mission its special appeal to the Indians. Its staff performed an important role as intermediaries and guides in the acculturation of Indians to the wider society, helping them in many practical ways to survive in a strange world. In this way, despite its limited success in gaining converts, the Canadian Mission became closely identified with the Indian population in the later years of the century.³⁵

One of the most important social institutions of India which was radically modified in Trinidad was caste. From the moment that the immigrant entered the immigration depot in Calcutta, he was thrown together with peoples of different castes and he found it impossible to follow caste guidelines governing contacts with people of lower caste. On board ship caste rules and regulations were further weakened. On the plantation the breakdown of caste as a principle of social organisation was accelerated. Everyone shared communal bathing and drinking facilities; traditional caste occupations were submerged in the common labour of the fields, as the indentureship exercised a levelling effect on all the immigrants. In a functionally oriented, achievement-based economic system, a low-caste could earn more than a Brahmin, could succeed in the plantation

world. Members of different castes lived and worked together, and were ranked according to their performance as plantation functionaries. On the plantations, therefore, caste divisions weakened drastically, and even when most Indians had moved to the village settlements, the essential features of caste – occupational specialisation, caste endogamy, separation of castes in social functions and religious festivals – could not be revived.³⁶

No longer could caste function as an essential principle of social organisation among Indians in Trinidad. Caste affiliation remained a sensitive subject among them, but high-castes soon found that the traditional reverence was being eroded, particularly among Trinidad-born Indians. As a result, the Indians, who had previously been separated by a rigid system of stratification, were now compressed into a single group. Other marks of status, wealth and, later, education, reintroduced an element of stratification, but neither was as rigid or as permanent as that deriving from caste, and both were based on factors which fostered mobility.³⁷

But these developments within the Indian community went unnoticed by the wider society. Very few Trinidadians, black or white, tried to understand the culture or social organisation of the Indian community, or the changes which that community was experiencing in the later years of the century. The attitude of the host society to the new arrivals from the East was almost entirely negative. Because Indians entered the society on peculiarly disadvantageous terms, as indentured labourers replacing ex-slaves, it was only too easy for black and white Trinidadians to despise them. The legal disabilities of the indentureship set the Indians apart from the rest of society, as unfree and inferior beings; the low-status jobs which they performed on the sugar estates made it possible for the recently freed blacks to look down on them. Partly as a result of the indentureship, partly because of the Indians' culture and religions, a whole collection of unfavourable stereotypes was built up during the nineteenth century, which did much to form the attitudes of the host society towards the immigrants and their descendants.

From the Euro-Christian perspective of the dominant groups, Indians were generally judged to be an immoral people. John Morton, the pioneer Canadian missionary, thought they were morally unprincipled and degraded; husbands and wives were unfaithful, the women were 'quite as wicked as the men, and more ignorant and prejudiced'.³⁸ Indians were considered to be deceitful, prone to perjury, and abnormally fond of litigation. 'A jury knows', wrote Henry Taylor of the Colonial Office in 1871, 'that a Coolie is presumably a liar'; and the *San Fernando Gazette* thought that Indians systematically perjured themselves in court to defeat the ends of justice for their own interests.³⁹ Their attitude towards money was another aspect of the stereotype. Like most first-generation immigrants, Indians during the indentureship were single-minded in saving

their miserable wages and in sacrificing present comforts for future security. This thrift was felt to be almost a vice in the Indians; it contrasted sharply with the attitude of the lower-class Creole, famous for his love of lavish spending. Even the traditional dress of those Indians who had not yet adopted Western clothes was subject to ridicule: they were too mean to dress decently, too uncivilised to clothe themselves in a Christian fashion.

Further, the Indians' religions, especially Hinduism, were a source of contempt. Morton claimed that the Hindus themselves 'speak with the utmost levity of their gods and without the least reverence or respect'; the 'uncleanness' of the Hindu deities fostered 'a low sense of sin'.⁴⁰ Of course Morton, as a missionary, had a clear interest in attacking Hinduism. But the Trinidad newspapers expressed a similarly unfavourable judgement of Indian religions. Hindu and Moslem ceremonies were described as 'degrading practices', 'vile customs', 'scandalous performances carried on by gangs of semi-barbarians', 'painted devilry'.⁴¹

Indians soon acquired a reputation for violence which was almost completely undeserved. Indeed, an essential element in the host society's reaction to the newcomers was fear: fear of their potential for violence and rebellion. Memories of the Mutiny reinforced this reaction. 'The horrors of an Indian Mutiny are fresh in the recollections of Englishmen', wrote an editor in 1870, 'and we do not need to be reminded that the race to which our immigrants belong is easily roused.' A newspaper correspondent wrote in the following year:

The day is not far off, when these Coolies, bent on having everything their own way, and meeting with the slightest resistance on the part of the authorities, will break out in open rebellion, and reproduce here the barbarities of the great chief Nana Sahib in British India a few years ago.⁴²

A white Creole judge, presiding over the trial of nine Indian labourers for assaulting Creoles, warned that 'upon the slightest provocation, coolies would band together in large numbers to beat anyone not of their own nationality'; the editor of the *San Fernando Gazette* commented on 'the riotous tendency of coolies when banded together and the wonderful facility with which, under the least excitement, they are led into acts of violence and brutality'.⁴³ These anxieties were increased in the 1880s as a result of the discontent among estate-resident Indians, expressed in a wave of strikes. The police authorities reported a 'disturbed state of feeling' among the Indians in 1882-4, and on the eve of the 1884 Hosenin the *Port of Spain Gazette* urged:

Let it not be forgotten that these Asiatics now form one third of our population, and that, fanatics of an effete superstition and a most corrupt form of ethics, they must, as a matter of self-preservation, be kept in subjection to our laws under pain of the most disastrous results.⁴⁴

Although no serious Indian insurrection ever occurred, the fears persisted. For Indians were a people 'whose every thought and habit are antagonistic to our system of civilisation', and they constituted 'a permanent source of danger hanging over our heads'.⁴⁵ Yet the same editors who accused the Indians of being prone to violence stereotyped them as passive and docile when it suited them. The Indian was 'naturally submissive, and as a general rule very easily guided by a little kindness', declared the *Port of Spain Gazette*, apparently unconscious of any editorial inconsistency. Another editor described the 'pliant and submissive coolie' as suiting the planter better than the independently minded Barbadian.⁴⁶

Indeed, newspapers hostile to Indian immigration often contrasted Indians unfavourably with the British West Indian immigrants as potential settlers. The *San Fernando Gazette* believed that the Indians were not valuable settlers because they had no real commitment to the colony. The Indian was 'a dead weight. . . inert in all matters of Christian civilisation, and only a temporary aid to a development entirely material. He has no sympathies with the social and moral wants of the place.' This paper even refused to give the Indian credit for being a valuable peasant cultivator and pioneer of cultivation.⁴⁷ *New Era*, another opponent of immigration, considered that Indians contributed little to the community:

The Coolie is notoriously *with* us only, but not *of* us. He gives nothing for what he takes, and thus contributes but little to the wealth of the country. He hoards his treasure to take it back to his native land, and while among us, consumes hardly anything of our imports.⁴⁸

These papers took the position that Indian immigration was carried on to serve the selfish interests of the planters, to the detriment of the wider community.

The evidence strongly suggests that Creoles of all colours despised Indians. The Rev. R. H. Moor was only one of many who made this point:

The Creole, as a rule, looks down on the Indian; he is a semi-civilised being. He speaks in barbarous languages and his manners are barbarous. . . He takes work cheaper than the Creoles will do, hence he must be ill-treated when he can be ill-treated with impunity.⁴⁹

But we can feel fairly sure that the contempt was mutual. The Indians, heirs to the system of caste, soon decided that by the guidelines of that system, the blacks were hopelessly polluted. They invented a myth about the origin of the blacks which identified them with the ungodly and the polluted. Blacks engaged in occupations which were ritually impure, they ate the flesh of cattle and pigs, and in general their habits seemed unacceptable to most Indians. In effect, Indians tended to regard blacks as the equivalent of untouchables, and this attitude prevailed especially in

the question of intermarriage.⁵⁰ As we have noted, despite the scarcity of Indian women, sexual relations between Indian men and Creole or African women were extremely rare in this period. The characteristic Northern Indian contempt for darker-skinned people was brought by the immigrants to Trinidad, reinforcing the existing network of prejudices surrounding race and colour. The foundations of mutual prejudice and antipathy between the two races had been firmly laid.

It seems clear that Indians interacted with members of other races as little as possible. During the indentureship period, the Indians were largely concentrated in the sugar belt, or in new settlements which were often exclusively Indian, and such contact as they had with other races off the estates was usually temporary, such as visits to Port of Spain. In the towns, they tended to be roughly treated by Creoles. Casual abuse and ill-usage of Indian porters and domestics were commonplace; policemen would persecute them for trivial misdeeds; provocation of defenceless Indians was a kind of game for lower-class urban blacks.⁵¹ On the plantations there was regular contact with white or coloured managers and overseers, but this was in a formal management-labour relationship. Interaction between Creole and Indian labourers was minimal; there was a tacit separation of the races. A planter explained:

Somehow they do not come into contact with one another. There are certain works that the Negro will not do which are appropriated to the coolies. You do not generally find them working together in gangs.⁵²

Conflict between Indian and black estate labourers was not uncommon, but it was generally restricted to small-scale episodes, involving a few workers on a particular plantation. Two Indians were convicted of the murder of a black foreman on Macoya estate in 1870; a Creole driver of La Fortunée estate murdered an Indian labourer in 1878 after a dispute over tasks.⁵³ An 1872 case, in which nine Indian workers of Jordan Hill estate were convicted of assault against three Creole labourers of the same estate, reinforced fears about the Indians' tendency to 'acts of national violence'.⁵⁴ A serious riot on St Clair estate in 1879, between Indian and Creole labourers, had also caused anxiety.⁵⁵ Despite these and similar incidents, there was no large-scale violence between the races during the indentureship period; and granted the numbers involved, the long time span, and the possibilities for conflict, one has to conclude that violent conflict between Indians and Creoles in nineteenth-century Trinidad was conspicuous by its rarity. They never came into headlong collision. Geographical and occupational separation, combined with mutual contempt and misunderstanding, kept the races apart.

Until the early 1880s, Creoles and Indians were not competing for jobs or other scarce resources. The sugar estates continued to use Creole

labour for factory jobs and for the heavier and more skilled field work. As cultivation expanded as a result of indentured immigration, the estate jobs preferred by the Creoles became easier to get. The general economic development of the 1850s to 1870s opened wider fields of employment to Creoles.⁵⁶ After the 1870s, however, as more and more Indians were introduced while the sugar market was depressed, cultivation spread very slowly, and improved technology lessened the number of factory jobs, there is no doubt that the Indians caused unemployment and depressed wages. Further, Indians began to enter the jobs hitherto held mainly by Creoles. By the later years of the century, Creoles were well aware of the economic threat posed by the Indians, and a systematic critique of Indian immigration was developed by spokesmen for the coloured and black middle class.

These spokesmen argued that immigration had unfortunate social effects on the community, causing severe strain on the colony's social services and demoralising the population. The moral degradation of slavery and slave-ownership was perpetuated. They built up a strong case that the general community was taxed for the sole benefit of the planters, and had to meet the indirect costs of immigration by paying for the courts, jails, and hospitals which the system required. Perhaps their most telling argument was that immigration allowed the planters to control the labour market and force down wages.⁵⁷ Some critics of the system expressed fears of racial domination by the rapidly increasing Indian population. The *Port of Spain Gazette* claimed that Trinidad might soon cease to be a West Indian island, as Indians came to 'swamp' Creoles, 'so that the mistakes of Columbus will have been ethnologically rectified'.⁵⁸ Needless to say, the attack on the immigration system and its effects on the society and economy of Trinidad helped to reinforce hostile attitudes towards the Indians themselves.

The result was that Indians tended to avoid contact with people of other races, particularly with the blacks. 'The two races do not, and it is to be feared never will amalgamate', wrote Charles Kingsley; and J. A. Froude echoed him:

The African and the Asiatic will not mix. . . There is no jealousy, but. . . there is no friendship. The two races are more absolutely apart than the white and the black.⁵⁹

Indians preferred to remain within the protection of their own people rather than to interact with an often hostile host society.

It was in the last thirty years of the nineteenth century that the Indians in Trinidad were transformed into a community with roots in the island, no longer essentially dependent on the continual introduction of immigrants. The overwhelming majority lived away from the estates by 1901, while only a small fraction (8.5 per cent) was still indentured. This growth

and shift in the nature and composition of the Indian population lay behind the development of group-consciousness among them, while the wider society became aware of them as a community. Indians began to consider Trinidad as their homeland long before others recognised this fact; and Trinidad-born Indians often persuaded their India-born relatives to remain in the island.⁶⁰

By the end of the century Trinidad Indians began to resent the use of 'coolie' and 'immigrant' to describe them. Early in 1888 an Indian wrote to the *San Fernando Gazette* criticising the use of 'Coolie' when applied to Indian cultivators, merchants, clerks and others; and in the following year its editor decided that Indians found the word offensive and suggested the use of 'Indian' instead. The Canadian Mission staff had abandoned 'Coolie' at an early date, and the 1896 Protector of Immigrants' Report was the first to use 'East Indian' consistently as a general term of reference.⁶¹ By the 1890s Indians had come to resent the term 'immigrant' when applied to people who had lived for at least ten years in the island. K. J. Grant said that educated Indians regarded the term as 'odious'. These changes in terminology, and the awakening resentment of the use of 'Coolie' or 'immigrant', symbolised the emergence of an Indian community identified as such by itself and by others.

It was at this same time that a body of views expressing an 'Indian opinion' began to appear in the Trinidad press. Letter-writers using pseudonyms like 'Son of India' or 'Indo-Trinidadian' developed an image of the Indian community which contributed to a sense of group-consciousness. They rejected the low evaluation of Indian civilisation and pointed to the glories of India's past. In their view, Indians had contributed a great deal to the colony: they had kept the estates going and sustained agricultural development, they had opened up the country, they were tax-payers, proprietors and merchants; yet they were not justly rewarded. They were ill-treated in Trinidad, denied justice as British citizens, regarded as 'aliens' despite their valuable services. This sense of being a group which had done much for Trinidad, yet was deprived unfairly of its just deserts, was also expressed in the first Trinidad newspaper to be owned by an Indian, the *Indian Kohinoor Gazette*, with material in both Hindi and English, which began in 1898.⁶²

The first formal Indian organisation in Trinidad was established in 1897-8, to organise a campaign of protest against Ordinance 12 of 1897, which contained several sections which infringed the rights of free Indians. This was the East Indian National Association, which outlived its original purpose, and its efforts after 1898 increased the self-awareness of the Indian community. And in 1897 a group of Indians submitted a memorandum to the West India Royal Commission, in which they requested, for the first time, direct representation by an Indian member in the

Legislative Council. Although unsuccessful at the time, the request highlighted a growing political awareness; it indicated that Indians were beginning to consider themselves as an identifiable group with its own interests, different and separate from those of other groups, and with demands to be articulated.⁶⁸

The last decades of the century saw the transformation of the Indians from gangs of immigrant labourers on the sugar estates to a community based on its own economic interests. By 1900 most Indians lived in villages and scattered settlements; peasant proprietorship was now more typical than estate residence. As they acquired a degree of economic independence and stability, the outlines of an Indian community emerged, with its own religious celebrations and festivals, an autonomous social organisation, and an awakening group-consciousness. The Indian presence immensely complicated the pattern of race relations in nineteenth-century Trinidad.

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Racism and race relations: the divided society

Nineteenth-century West Indian society was pervaded by the racist ideology of local and metropolitan whites, an ideology created, as Donald Wood writes, by 'the whole intricate experience of the Afro-European encounter since the Renaissance, the stereotypes formed by slavery, the legacy of the master and servant relationship'.¹ The complex of prejudices and judgements which formed the white view of the 'negro character' during slavery, a mixture of affection and contempt, patronage and fear, was carried into the period of post-emancipation adjustment. Some of these ideas were modified by developments after 1838; others were to persist virtually unchanged all through the century. Furthermore, the second half of the nineteenth century saw a hardening of racist attitudes on the part of the educated British and European public, directed especially against Africans, and this inevitably helped to shape the views of Europeans and Creole whites in Trinidad.

This was a period when British humanitarianism, so long a dominant influence on official circles, was becoming less sure of itself. The cause of the oppressed peoples of the world, including the ex-slaves and blacks in general, was unpopular with the British public after the 1850s. Blacks had their champions, but the defence was weakening; many overt defences of the African gave way to cultural or racial prejudice on almost every point short of the minimum claim of spiritual equality.² Victorian comments about Africans were often outspokenly derogatory. The 'proverbial indolence' of the black, as we have seen, was an integral part of nineteenth-century British attitudes to race; the British public tended to contemplate blacks 'with mild amusement as irresponsible loafers in the sun'.³ The distorted 'image of Africa' as a place of savagery, superstition, and vice was another element in nineteenth-century racism.

The middle decades of the century were important years in the development of the concept of race. British and European intellectuals developed the idea of racial types as the most important method of classifying people; mankind was divided into permanently different biological types. These

- 97 CO 295/301 Freeling to Derby 30.1.1884 No. 22 and 14.2.1884 No. 30.
 98 CO 295/301 Freeling to Derby 30.1.1884 No. 22.
 99 NE 25.2.1884 and 3.3.1884. *Recorder* 27.2.1884. *FP* 6.3.1884. *POSG* 1.3.1884. *SFG* 26.1.1884.
 100 CO 295/301 Freeling to Derby 27.2.1884 No. 42 and 8.3.1884 No. 56. *Review* 28.2.1884. *NE* 3.3.1884.
 101 *POSG* 13.3.1886. CO 295/305 Havelock to Derby 26.2.1885 No. 53.
 102 *POSG* 22.1.1895, 7.2.1895, 27.2.1895.
 103 *NE* 23.2.1885; *Chron* 18.2.1885; *POSG* 15.2.1888; *NE* 21.2.1890.
 104 Pearse, 'Carnival in 19th century Trinidad', pp. 189-90.

CHAPTER 9 THE INDIANS

- 1 B. M. Brereton, 'The Experience of Indentureship, 1845-1917', in J. La Guerre (ed.), *Calcutta to Caroni* (London, 1974), p. 26.
 2 G. M. Tikasingh, 'The Establishment of the Indians in Trinidad, 1870-1900' (Unpub. Ph.D. thesis, UWI, 1976), fos. 8-9, 49. I am indebted to Dr Tikasingh's study throughout this chapter.
 3 cf. H. Hoetink, *Slavery and Race Relations in the Americas* (New York, 1973), p. 180.
 4 Tikasingh, fos. 50-1.
 5 *ibid.*, fos. 91-3. After 1895 new immigrants had to pay a proportion of the costs of their return passage: Tikasingh, fo. 86.
 6 M. Ramesar, 'The Impact of the Indian Immigrants on Colonial Trinidad Society', *CQ*, 22, No. 1 (1976), pp. 6-7.
 7 See K. O. Laurence, *Immigration into the West Indies in the 19th Century* (Barbados, 1971), pp. 23-6; Brereton, 'Experience', pp. 27-9.
 8 Brereton, 'Experience', pp. 27-9; Tikasingh, fos. 110-13.
 9 Tikasingh, fos. 100-1.
 10 See Ch. 2, pp. 18-19.
 11 Tikasingh, fos. 142-7; and H. Johnson, 'Immigration and the Sugar Industry in Trinidad during the last quarter of the 19th Century', *JCH*, 3 (November 1971).
 12 Tikasingh, fos. 133-5; and K. Haraksingh, 'Indian Leadership in the Indenture Period', *Caribbean Issues*, 2, No. 3 (1976), p. 33.
 13 Tikasingh, fos. 115-26; Brereton, 'Experience', pp. 29-30.
 14 CO 295/247 Gordon to Granville 22.5.1869 No. 63.
 15 CO 295/247 Gordon to Granville 10.3.1869 No. 29: Encl. Report of Robert Mitchell, Commissioner for Montserrat, February 1869.
 16 Tikasingh, fos. 155-69.
 17 Brereton, 'Experience', p. 34.
 18 Tikasingh, fo. 180.
 19 Tikasingh, fo. 212.
 20 Royal Franchise Commission: Evidence of C. Mitchell, 13th Meeting, p. 19.
 21 Tikasingh, fos. 263-5, 270-2.
 22 *ibid.*, fo. 272.
 23 D. J. Dodd, 'The Wellsprings of Violence: Some Historical Notes on East Indian Criminality in Guyana', in *Caribbean Issues*, 2, No. 3 (1976), pp. 10-12.
 24 Tikasingh, fos. 276-8.
 25 *ibid.*, fos. 276-8.

- 26 *Chron* 12.5.1871; *Pall* 7.7.1877; *NE* 18.8.1884; Tikasingh, fos. 240-2.
 27 Tikasingh, fos. 254-5; *FP* 18.2.1875; *SFG* 10.12.1881.
 28 *NE* 1.4.1872; *FP* 18.2.1875; *SFG* 10.12.1881.
 29 *POSG* 29.10.1881: Hamilton Report on the Carnival Disturbances.
 30 *POSG* 1.3.1884; *NE* 10.3.1884; Tikasingh, fos. 246-8; Haraksingh, pp. 32-6.
 31 G. Mather and C. J. Blagg, *Bishop Rawle, a Memoir* (London, 1890), pp. 240-2.
 32 R. P. Cothonay, *Trinidad, Journal d'un Missionnaire Dominicain des Antilles Anglaises* (Paris, 1893), pp. 75-88.
 33 K. J. Grant, *My Missionary Memories* (Halifax, 1923), pp. 66-76.
 34 Tikasingh, fos. 325-6.
 35 *ibid.*, fos. 286-90.
 36 *ibid.*, fos. 290-4; Haraksingh, pp. 27-9.
 37 Tikasingh, fos. 295-8.
 38 S. E. Morton, *John Morton of Trinidad* (Toronto, 1916), pp. 52, 187, 344.
 39 *ibid.*, p. 52. CO 295/256 Longden to Kimberley 8.5.1871 Conf. Minute by Henry Taylor 14.6.1871. *SFG* 1.5.1869.
 40 Morton, pp. 23, 52, 232.
 41 cf. *Chron* 12.5.1871; *Pall* 7.7.1877; *NE* 29.1.1877.
 42 *POSG* 26.11.1870; *NE* 3.4.1871: Letter from 'Protection'.
 43 *SFG* 8.6.1872.
 44 CO 295/295 Freeling to Kimberley 7.11.1882 No. 260. *POSG* 13.9.1884.
 45 *POSG* 14.5.1885. cf. also L. M. Fraser, *History of Trinidad* (POS, 1891, 1892), vol. 1, pp. 277-8.
 46 *POSG* 24.10.1885; *Creole* 4.5.1895.
 47 *SFG* 14.6.1890 and 1.4.1882.
 48 *NE* 26.10.1885.
 49 CO 295/327 Robinson to Knutsford 12.3.1890 No. 67: Encl. Rev. Moor to Robinson, n.d.
 50 cf. K. Haraksingh, review of *Calcutta to Caroni, Caribbean Issues*, 1, No. 1 (1974), pp. 67-8.
 51 Tikasingh, fos. 364-5.
 52 West India Royal Commission, 1897. C. 8657. Evidence of J. Greig, p. 61.
 53 CO 295/255 Longden to Kimberley 3.1.1871 No. 1; *SFG* 24.8.1878.
 54 *SFG* 15.6.1872; *NE* 17.6.1872.
 55 *POSG* 26.4.1879.
 56 Laurence, pp. 76-8.
 57 Tikasingh, fos. 381-4. B. M. Brereton, 'The Foundations of Prejudice: Indians and Africans in 19th Century Trinidad', *Caribbean Issues*, 1, No. 1 (1974), pp. 15-18.
 58 *POSG* 5.12.1890.
 59 C. Kingsley, *At Last, a Christmas in the West Indies* (London, 1889), pp. 100-1; J. A. Froude, *The English in the West Indies* (New York, 1888), pp. 65, 67.
 60 Tikasingh, fos. 361, 387.
 61 *SFG* 17.3.1888: Letter from an 'Indo-Trinidadian'; Tikasingh, fos. 391-3.
 62 Tikasingh, fos. 394-400, 405.
 63 *ibid.*, fos. 400-8.

CHAPTER 10 RACISM AND RACE RELATIONS: THE DIVIDED SOCIETY

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- 2 P. D. Curtin, *The Image of Africa* (Wisconsin, 1964), p. 385.
- 3 V. G. Kiernan, *Lords of Human Kind* (London, 1972), p. 210. See also C. Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race* (London, 1971), p. 58.
- 4 M. Banton, *The Idea of Race* (London, 1977), pp. 27-53. Curtin, pp. 363-87.
- 5 Banton, ch. 5.
- 6 *SW* 2.12.1871.
- 7 *FP* 1.3.1883.
- 8 C. S. Salmon, *The Caribbean Confederation* (London, 1889), Preface; J. R. Maxwell, *The Negro Question* (London, 1892), p. 10. This curious book, by the African Attorney-General of The Gambia, advocates miscegenation with whites as the only long-term hope for the improvement of the African race.
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- 10 C. Kingsley, *At Last, a Christmas in the West Indies* (London, 1889), p. 27. However, he contrasted West Indian blacks with 'tens of thousands of paupers, ragues' in Britain 'whose souls and bodies are alike unsound' (p. 27).
- 11 W. A. Paton, *Down the Islands* (London, 1887), pp. 211, 214.
- 12 J. H. Stark, *Guide Book and History of Trinidad* (London, 1897), p. 76.
- 13 A. Caldecott, *The Church in the West Indies* (London, 1889), pp. 192-203, especially p. 201.
- 14 *ibid.*, p. 35.
- 15 S. St John, *Hayti; or, The Black Republic* (London, 1889), p. xi.
- 16 *ibid.*, pp. 134-5.
- 17 H. H. Prichard, *Where Black Rules White* (London, 1910), in Kiernan, p. 209.
- 18 West India Royal Commission, 1897. C.8655, p. 17.
- 19 St John, p. 137.
- 20 E. Phillpotts, *In Sugar Cane Land* (London, n.d., 1893?), pp. 155-6.
- 21 *ibid.*, p. 169.
- 22 J. Paget, *Illustrated Guide to Trinidad* (POS, 1901), p. 103.
- 23 St John, p. 136.
- 24 H. de R. Walker, *The West Indies and the Empire* (London, 1901), pp. 30-1, 128, 136.
- 25 St John, p. 34.
- 26 L. A. A. de Verteuil, *Trinidad* (London, 1858), pp. 25, 175.
- 27 *ibid.* (second edition, London, 1884), p. 166.
- 28 J. H. Collens, *A Guide to Trinidad* (London, 1888), pp. 38-40, 50, 52.
- 29 Royal Franchise Commission, *Report and Evidence* (POS, 1889): Letter from J. Chittenden, 25.6.1888, pp. 6-7.
- 30 RFC: Statement by Robert Guppy, 15th meeting, p. 18.
- 31 Wood, p. 255.
- 32 H. J. Clark, *The Material and Moral Progress of Trinidad* (POS, 1888), p. 7.
- 33 See Chapter 5.
- 34 *SFG* 13.5.1882. *A Free Mulatto*, an attack on discrimination against the free coloureds of Trinidad, was first published anonymously in London in 1824.
- 35 *SW* 2.12.1871.
- 36 *POSG* 28.10.1893: Letter from 'Trinidadian'; 31.10.1893: Letter from E. Scipio-Pollard; 3.11.1893: Letter from L. M. Fraser.
- 37 *Pall* 12.11.1881.

- 38 *NE* 6.11.1871.
- 39 *NE* 22.1.1872.
- 40 *NE* 14.9.1872: Letter from J. J. Thomas. See Chapter 5 for Thomas' views.
- 41 *SFG* 25.4.1885: Letter from Edgar Maresse-Smith.
- 42 *NE* 21.9.1874: Letter from 'Africanus'.
- 43 CO 295/256 Longden to Kimberley 8.5.1871 Conf.
- 44 CO 295/257 Longden to Kimberley 7.8.1871 Conf.
- 45 *NE* 23.6.1873: Letter from J. A. Peters and editorial comment. The editor is using 'class' to mean 'race', a common usage.
- 46 *SFG* 30.10.1875.
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- 48 P. Dodge, 'Comparative Racial Systems in the Greater Caribbean', in *SES*, 16, No. 3 (1967), p. 254.
- 49 *Recorder* 31.10.1883: Article on 'Colour'.
- 50 See Ch. 3, note 26, p. 218.
- 51 CO 295/247 Gordon to Granville 24.5.1869 (Secret).
- 52 *SW* 23.9.1871.
- 53 *NE* 25.9.1871.
- 54 *POSG* 25.1.1879.
- 55 *PO* 13.1.1885.
- 56 *POSG* 22.2.1879: Letter from 'Pax' and editorial comment.
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- 58 R. T. Smith, 'Social Stratification, Cultural Pluralism and Integration in West Indian Societies', in S. Lewis and T. G. Mathews (eds.), *Caribbean Integration* (Puerto Rico, 1967), p. 234.
- 59 *ibid.*, p. 235.
- 60 H. Hoetink, *Slavery and Race Relations in the Americas* (New York, 1973), pp. 162-3.
- 61 cf. *POSG* 10.4.1875.
- 62 J. J. Thomas, *Fraudacity* (London, 1969), pp. 131-5.
- 63 *Reform* 9.2.1898.
- 64 cf. Hoetink, *Slavery and Race Relations*, pp. 164-5.
- 65 *POSG* 2.8.1884: Report of Inspector of Prisons for 1883.
- 66 WIRC: Evidence of J. Hart, p. 234.
- 67 *NE* 20.7.1885: Summary Jurisdiction Court.
- 68 *Chron* 19.6.1878.
- 69 cf. P. J. Wilson, *Crab Antics* (New Haven, 1973). He suggests that 'the principle of stratification that subsumes all others in the Caribbean is the principle of respectability' (p. 9); and that 'respectability holds a society together around a stratified class structure with standards of moral worth and judgement emanating from the upper class or from overseas and imposed on the lower strata' (p. 229).
- 70 *POSG* 20.7.1872: Court of Appeal and editorial comment.