LITERATURE AND CULTURAL PLURALISM:
EAST INDIANS IN THE CARIBBEAN.
VOLUME THREE.

ROBERT JEREMY POYNTING.

SUBMITTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

THE UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS
SCHOOL OF ENGLISH.

APRIL 1985.
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The numbers of Indians in other parts of the Caribbean is approximately as follows: Suriname, 142,300; Guadeloupe, 23,168; Jamaica, 20,736; Martinique, 15,000; St. Lucia, 5,000; there are also much smaller groups in St. Vincent, Grenada and Belize.


3 'The West Indian People', New World Quarterly, vol 2, no 2, 1966, p69.


7 Interview in Tapia, vol 5, no 28, July 1975, pp6-7.

8 My information on Guyana comes from personal contacts, and especially from the Caribbean Council of Churches' newspaper, Caribbean Contact. A cogent summary of the case against the Burnham regime is to be found in Dwarka Nath, Guyana of the Guyanese, London, 1982.

9 See G. K. Danns, Militarization and Development: An Experiment in Nation Building, 'Transition' vol 1 no 1 pp 23-44.


11 One study exclusively concerned with the African dimension of Caribbean writing (it is wholly dismissive of the relevance of any Indian writing) is O. R. Dathorne, The Literature of the Black Man in the Caribbean, Louisiana, 1981.

The confusions inherent in such an approach are to be seen in an otherwise distinguished critical work, Kenneth Ramchand's *The West Indian Novel and Its Background* (1970). Ramchand asserts that it is the function of criticism to offer a critique 'in more or less literary terms'. The vagueness is significant and permits Ramchand to work in wholly contradictory directions in which the relationship of society to literature is seen in both mechanistically causal terms and in terms which suggest no relationship at all. The criteria for assessing the value of individual works are sometimes intrinsic and aesthetic and sometimes moral and political. Ramchand announces that Part I of his study 'takes in general a deterministic view of the effect of social factors upon the growth of literature, the emphasis is different in Part II which drives towards the autonomy of the work of art'. Autonomy from what one might ask: Social factors? Put in this crudely deterministic way Ramchand ensures his view of autonomy, though he is too sensitive a critic to always follow his own prescriptions.

14 The Aims of Interpretation, Chicago, 1976, pp 1-3

15 Ibid. p 6.
16 Ibid. p 3.
18 Hirsch, op. cit. p. 87.
20 The Middle Passage, p 73 (Penguin Ed.)
23 See For instance my discussion of Brathwaite's and Rohler's treatment of Ian McDonald's *The Hummingbird Tree* in Chapter Five, footnote 105.
24 See Hirsch, op. cit., pp 110-123.
29 Lovell, op. cit. p. 93.
35 ibid. pp. 81-82.
39 In a conversation in Port of Spain, July, 1976.
Footnotes: Chapter Two.


3 For instance, the cultural position of urbanised Christian Indians tends to be seen by both Hindus and Creoles as being essentially a dilution from the Indian core.

4 *Population Census Bulletin No. 1A*, Govt. of Trinidad and Tobago, 1975, p. 19


7 See appendix for maps showing areas of Indian concentration in Trinidad and Guyana.


9 Inhabitants of Annandale remember vividly the attempts to reconcile them with neighbouring Buxton in 1964. In the presence of the then British Commonwealth Colonial Secretary, Duncan Sandys, the villagers of Buxton lead by Sidney King (later Eusi Kwayana) and the villagers of Annandale, lead by their pundit, advanced to the bridge between the two villages where the leaders shook hands. Hostilities did not, however, immediately cease.

10 J. Harewood in 'Racial Discrimination in Employment', *Social and Economic Studies*, vol 20, no 3, pp. 267-293, stresses that up to the 1960's at least the main reason for the lack of Indians in the civil service was the lack of suitably qualified applicants. Since then, it is certainly the belief of many Indians that political and racial biases operate in appointments and promotions. In 1976 there was a minor scandal when the police seized a novel by a local
Indian author, Peter Ramkeesoon, *Sunday Morning Coming Down* (Scope Publishing, 1975) ostensibly on the grounds of its sexual content. Since this was wholly innocuous—and the case was rightly dismissed by the court—it was widely suspected that the real reason for its seizure was its convincing exposure of racially biased job discrimination and party favouritism in the civil service.

11 *The Middle Passage*, p 85 (Penguin ed.) In 1976 the observation still held good.


13 In recent years the inequalities are likely to have sharpened.

The boom in oil lasted until 1980 at least; the sugar industry has been in steady decline, shedding a good deal of labour.

14 See A. Camejo, 'Racial Discrimination in Employment in the Private Sector in Trinidad and Tobago,' *S.E.S.* vol 20 no 3 pp 294-318.

15 Word-of-mouth information. The reasons for the strike were never reported in the muzzled Guyanese press.


17 For the above figures see D. Nath, *A History of Indians in Guyana*, London, 1970, pp266-68. The ratios are likely to have changed given the large scale emigration of Indian professionals over the last decade.


26 The classic account is in Edith Clarke, My Mother Who Fathered Me, London 1957. However, it should not be assumed that such a family pattern is an Afro-Caribbean cultural universal. M.G.Smith, for instance, reports that in the almost 100% Black community of Carriacou, one of the Grenadines, the dominant kinship pattern is patrifocal.


28 See Chapter Seventeen, pp. 786ff.

29 See Chapter Six, pp. 220-221.


33 Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands at the End of the Eighteenth Century, Newhaven, 1965, p 318 ff; and see 'Introduction', Savacou, vol 1 no 1, pp3-8.

35 See *Battlefront*, Issue 7, 1976, p 8. (paper of the Sugar workers Union.)


40 See Mukdar, Arima, Trinidad, 1974-1976, particularly the 'Expletives Deleted' column.


46 See Chapter 7, pp 330-34 for a further discussion of the significance of the Kali-Mai puja.


50 Hugh Sam, 'Music: National Compositions', *New World Fortnightly*, vol 1 no 6, pp 32-35.
51 See Chapter 7, pp338-339
52 The discussion is taken up more fully in Chapter Twelve.
53 Socialization Values in the Negro and East Indian Sub-Cultures of Trinidad, Ph.D. University of Connecticut, 1963.
55 Cultural Diversity Among Trinidadian Peasants, pp
56 See P.M. Lengermann, 'Working Class Values in Trinidad and Tobago.' S.E.S. vol 20 no 2, pp 151-163.
Footnotes: Chapter Three

1 See J. Harewood, The Population of Trinidad and Tobago, Trinidad, C.I.C.R.E.D. Series, 1975, pp. 120-121.


3 Personal letter, 1 August 1980.

4 For instance: W. H. Allen, E. Benn, Bodley Head, Cassell, Cape, Deutch, Collins, Eyre & Spottiswoode, Heinemann, M. Joseph, Faber & Faber, Jarrolds, Hutchinson, MacGibbon & Kee, Secker & Warburg and Alan Wingate.


6 For instance: Brinsley Samaroo, Gerard Tikasingh, Kelvin Singh, Hugh Sampath, Harold Sitahal, Sahadeo Basdeo, Kusha Haraksingh et al.

7 See Yogendra K. Malik, East Indians in Trinidad, Oxford, 1971. As an Indian from India, it is evident that Malik was given access to confidences which a researcher from a different ethnic background would not have gained.


11 'Concern For Criticism,' p. 56.

12 The West Indian Novel and Its Background, p. 5.

13 'Concern For Criticism,' p. 53.


16 Caribbean Voices Programme, 16 September 1956.


18 The Middle Passage, 1962, Penguin Ed., p. 75.


21 Includes folk stories, comic stories, love stories, studies of character and stories on religious themes.

22 This total includes some stories with Afro-Creole characters but neutral non-ethnic themes.

28. *Contradictory Omens*, p. 34.
29. ibid. p. 34.
30. ibid. p. 61.
31. ibid. p. 34.
32. ibid. p. 38.
Footnotes. Chapter Four


2 Savacou, vol 1 no 1, (Kingston 1970) pp 46-73


4 'West Indian', The Coolie in Demerara, A few words upon "The Coolie, His Rights and Wrongs," (London, 1871) p 12

5 Evidence of Sir N. Lubbock, Chairman of the West India Committee to the Sanderson Commission in, CMD. 5192, Report of the Committee on Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies & Protectorates. (London, 1910) p 91


9 See Adamson, op cit, pp 177-178 on question of metayage; pp 50-51 on free labour and wage bargaining.

10 See the proposals of H. R. Sandbach in, A Letter on the Present State of British Guiana, (London, 1839)

11 There were similar labour shortages in French colonies of Martinique and Guadeloupe after slavery was abolished in 1848, and in Dutch Guiana (Suriname) where slavery was not abolished until 1863.

12 Quoted in L. M. Fraser, History of Trinidad 1814-1839, vol 2, (Port-of-Spain, 1896) p 16


14 J. Scoble, Friend of India, Calcutta 1839.

15 See Adamson, pp 160-162 and 199-213.
Between 1871 -1912 there were at least 27 Indians slain by the riot police in four major labour disturbances in Guyana.


Adamson, op cit. pp 150-152

S. Bellairs, *Essay No. 5, Immigration as Carried on in British Guiana*, (Georgetown, 1878) p 67

see below pp 79-84.


ibid, p 42

Guyanese Sugar Plantations in the Late 19th Century: A Contemporary Description from the "Argosy", ed. W. Rodney (Georgetown, 1979)

Adamson, pp 180-183


Tinker, pp 182-183.

British Guiana: Circulars & Instructions to Immigration Agents from 1884-1899 (Demerara, 1899)

Letter to the Royal Gazette of British Guiana, quoted in Ruhomon, op cit. p. 28.


T. Thorne, planter and magistrate, quoted in Ruhomon, op cit, p. "The hospital was more like a charnel house than a place for living people; the inmates were living skeletons.


The estimate of the Acting Governor of British Guiana, Sir C. Clementi was that for every thousand Indians who entered the colony, only 572 survived. See Tinker, p 372.

See Tinker, pp 200-201

Adamson, p 194-5, Tinker pp 183-186.


PP. XVI Committee Appointed to Inquire the Exportation of Hill Coolies, (1839) p

For an account of the campaign waged by the Indian Nationalists to end indentured emigration see Tinker, op. cit. p283-366.

Report of the Commissioners (1870), 308–309. See also British Guiana: Circulars and Instructions to Immigration Agents, Circ 2911, 2696/1899, 27 Sept 1890 on such liaisons as "a secret source of disaffection and disturbances."


Evidence given to the Report of the West India Royal Commission, CMD.8656 (London,1897) Sect.295, p320. Alcazar was the first coloured mayor of Port of Spain.

Argosy (Georgetown) 4 Aug 1888, quoted in Bronkhurst, Among the Hindus and Creoles, p192.

S. Bellairs, Essay no 5, Immigration as Carried on in British Guiana, pp 53, 54.

J. S. Blake, "A Plea for Encouragement", Timehri vol 1, 1882, p


R. G. Duncan, Essay No vii , On Immigration as Carried On in British Guiana, p 94.

Bellairs, Essay No 5, p55.

H. Kirke, Twenty-five Years in British Guiana, (London,1898) p253

The Coolie in Demerara, p 10, p16. This pseudonymous pamphlet was written as an attack on Edward Jenkins's The Coolie, His Rights and Wrongs.

Not all the writers quoted in this section were actually planters, but they were all residents of Guyana for whom the fortunes of the sugar industry was evidently of prime importance. Thus I have included in this section the writings of the Anglican cleric, Rev. J. G. Pearson, who was clearly more interested in sugar than in Indian souls.


De Verteuil, *Trinidad*, p 160

Kirke, *Twenty-five Years*, p 167


See the evidence of O.W. Warner, Assistant Inspector of Immigrants in Trinidad, to the *Sanderson Commission*, vol 2 p 28.

For instance, the words of a leading planter, the Hon. W. Russell, in a letter to the *Daily Chronicle* 12 July 1882, quoted in Bronkhurst *British Guyana and Its Labouring Population*, p 191: "The Blackman has had his innings. He, in the space of eight years, has reduced the colony to 26,000 hogsheads and general bankruptcy. An alien race, from having 'fewer personal wants' has been able to compete with the outside world."

See the evidence of P. Abel, manager of the Usine St Madelaine, Trinidad, to the W.I.R.C. (1897) 1685 p272.

Bellairs, *Immigration as Carried out in B.G.*, p 79

Duncan, ibid., p 96

D.W.D. Comins, *A Note on Emigration from the East Indies to British Guiana* (Calcutta, 1893) p

Duncan, op. cit. pp95-96

Des Voeux throws a truer light on the significance of the vagrancy laws. Though he felt the law was unjust, as a magistrate he felt obliged to punish those who fell foul of it. He knew that it was the harsh conditions on the estates which drove the Indians to desert, but as an upholder of law and order he feared that without the law there would be a large scale abandonment of the estates. See *Experiences of a Demerara Magistrate*, p 93

Kirke, *Twenty-five Years*, p 252

Bronkhurst, *B.G.L.P.*, p 140

F.C. Thorpe, et al., *The Overseer's Manual; or A Guide to the Canefield and the Sugar Factory*, For the Use of the Young Planter, (Demerara, 1887) pp 75-76


Tinker, op cit, p 108.

Bellairs, *System of Immigration*, p 64
873.

4 Bronkhurst, B.G. L. P., p 279
5 Benson Maxwell, System of Immigration, p 84.
6 Port-of-Spain Gazette, 8 April 1913.
7 ibid. 11 July 1890
8 ibid. 5 Dec 1890
9 Kirke, Immigration, p. 39.
10 The Overseer's Manual, 'Argosy', Demerara, 1887, pp. 75-76. Hereafter quotations from this source will be documented with page numbers in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.
11 The Overseer's Manual, p 78.
12 The New Overseer's Manual, 'Argosy', Demerara, 1890, p 8. Hereafter quotations from this source will be documented with page numbers in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.
14 The individualistic, anti-trade union hero of Charles Dickens' Hard Times. (1854)
17 ibid p 145
18 ibid p 138
19 ibid p 145
20 Kirke, Twenty-five Years, pp 247-251
21 "The Life History", pp 143-145
22 Twenty-five Years, pp 164-165
23 West Indian Yarns, Georgetown, 1884.
24 Comins, op cit. , p 9
26 ibid. pp1-2
27 ibid. pp 2-3
28 'Boviander': of mixed Amerindian and Negro parentage.
29 In my discussion of the missionary perspective, apart from those original sources quoted below, I am indebted to the following studies: H. Sitahel, The Mission of the Church in Trinidad (Unpublished thesis, Montreal, 1967); Brinsley Samaroo, "The Canadian Presbiterian

107 Bellairs, Immigration, p 81.
109 Ibid, pp 8-9
111 See Sitahel, op cit. p 58
113 Sitahel, op cit, p 68.
114 Quoted in Grant, op cit., p 102.
115 Quoted in Johnson, op cit.
116 Morton, op cit., p 41
117 Grant, pp 73-74
118 P. Ruhomon, A Centenary History, p
119 A.H.C. of B.G., p 18
120 B.G.L.P., p 193
121 Ibid, pp 48-49
122 A.H.C. of B.G., p 30
123 B.G.L.P., 357-364
124 Ibid, 395-399
125 A.H.C. of B.G., p 11
126 'The black caste - kali or karoon jat - the Negroes, are, in the estimation of the Indian Coolie, people of the lowest or most degraded caste, not fit to be associated with.' B.G.L.P., p 286
127 Ibid. p 46
Ancestry or Origin, p 41

B.G.L.P., pp 238-247

ibid p 272.

A.H.C. of B.G. p 33.

Ancestry, p67.

Under the Southern Cross: A Story of East Indian Indentures, in British Guiana (Published serially in The Presbyterian Witness, in twelve parts, between Sept. 10 and Nov. 26 1904; quotations are taken from the edited reprint of G. Johnson (1972). Quotations from this source are documented with page numbers in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.

op cit. p 8

West Indies and the Spanish Main, p 106.

ibid p 63

ibid p. 164

ibid., p 178

Kingsley, At Last, pp 384-385

ibid p 241


At Last, p 21. Hereafter, quotations from this source will be documented with page numbers in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.

Dictionary of National Biography


Lutchmee and Dilloo, vol. 1 p. 10. Hereafter quotations from this source will be documented with page numbers in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.

The Coolie, His Rights and Wrongs, p 104.

The Coolie, His Rights and Wrongs, p 168

Examples of Revenge Tragedies include J. Webster, The White Devil, 1612; The Duchess of Malfi, 1614; Thomas Middleton, The Changeling, 1622 and C. Tourneur, The Revenger's Tragedy, 1607.


Daly, op cit. p 311.
Those That Be in Bondage, p 60. Hereafter quotations from this source will be documented with page numbers in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.

See for instance, A.H. Mendes, Pitch Lake (1934); C.L.R. James, Minty Alley (1936); H.G. De Lisser, The Cup and the Lip (1956); E. Mittelholzer, Corentyne Thunder (1941) and A Morning At the Office (1950); C. Nicole, White Boy (1966); I. McDonald, The Hummingbird Tree, (1969); E. Lewis, Voices of Earth (1972); M. Anthony, Green Days by the River (1967); G. Lamming, Of Age and Innocence (1958) and W. Harris, The Far Journey of Oudin (1961).

Corentyne Thunder, pp 186-187.
Footnotes. Chapter Five.


3 Lady Young quoted by B. Samaroo in his forward to A. M. Gomes, Through a Maze of Colour, Trinidad, 1974, p 64.


5 See P. E. T. O'Connor, Some Trinidad Yesterdays, Trinidad, 1978. O'Connor writes of how until the 1920's the 'Great Houses' of the French aristocracy (the De Gannes, Ganteaumes, De Verteuils) still flourished with their chandeliers, waxed floors and elegance. By 1937, "The days of the French Creole plantocracy was over... gone were the happy weekend house parties of the twenties." p 92.


7 See A. Gomes, Through a Maze of Colour, p 9 and p 153.


9 New World Quarterly, vol 2 no 2, 1966, p 69.

10 p. 187

11 Children of Kaywana (1952); The Harrowing of Hubertus (1954) and Kaywana Blood (1958).

12 It was not just that managerial posts on these industries were White dominated, there was an actual colour bar operating. See O'Connor, op cit. p 91. See also W. R. Jacob, The Politics of Protest in Trinidad, Paper delivered to the History Conference, 1973, U.W.I. St Augustine, T'dad. and H. J. M. Hubbard, Race and Guyana, Georgetown, 1969, pp 57-58.

13 C. Clementi, Colonial Secretary, quoted in H. Lutchman, The Crown


15 See S. Ryan, Race and Nationalism in Trinidad and Tobago, Toronto 1972, pp 28-43.

16 See W. M. McMillan, Warning From the West Indies, London, 1938

17 Evidence of E. A. Robinson to Select Committee of the Legislative Council 1926. Quoted in E. Williams, History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago, London 1964, p 212.

18 Quoted in Lutchman, The Crown Colony System, p 40

19 See Report of Commission on Trinidad and Tobago Disturbances 1937, CMD 5641 (Foster Report) pp 75-76


22 Capt. Hon. A. A. Cipriani, His Best Orations, Surprise Printshop, P-O-S, n.d. p 70. In his orations, Cipriani, who describes himself as a "true blue socialist", is revealed as a jingoistic, moralistic and self-regarding.

24 For this phase of the radical activities of a minority of Whites see, Ryan, op cit. pp 66-69 and A. Gomes, Through a Maze of Colour, pp 37-52 and 160-163.

25 Gomes, op cit, see chapter vi, "A Clash of Cultures", pp 71-112.

26 ibid, p 78

27 ibid, pp 156-157


29 Both published in Trinidad, vol 1 no 1, 1929. A selection of writings from Trinidad and The Beacon can be found in From Trinidad, Ed. R. W. Sander, London, 1978.


31 For Mendes' account of life in the 1930's see, A. H. Mendes, "Talking About the Thirties," Voices, Vol 1 no 5, pp 3-7.

32 For Gomes' account see Through a Maze of Colour, pp 15-26.


34 Through a Maze, p 16.

35 In truth a good many of the 'yard' stories are romanticised in that they see only the vitality and shut their eyes to the misery and squalor. One exception to this tendency was the sombre account, "Barrack Rooms", The Beacon, 7 Oct 1931, by James Cummings, a young black worker, then aged only seventeen, who himself, unlike most of the other contributors, came from a background of desperate poverty. (See Gomes, op cit. p 23-24). Instead of phrases like Gomes' "warm feral life of the island", Cummings writes about the barracks "degrading humanity lower than the level of the beasts." Instead of exuberant sexuality, Cummings saw the squalid brothels and the prostitution of young girls.

36 Mendes, Letter, "Is the Negro Inferior", The Beacon, vol 1 no 6, September 1931, p 27.
37 The Beacon, vol 1 no 5, Aug 1931, pp 11-14.

38 The Beacon, vol 1 no 11, March 1932, pp 18-25; vol 1 no 12, April 1932, pp 23-27 and vol 2 no 1, May 1932, pp 9-11. Hereafter, quotations will be documented with page numbers in parenthesis at the end of the quotation. Because of the general unavailability of copies of The Beacon, page numbers refer to the reprint of the story in From Trinidad, pp 142-172.


40 The theme of the unadmitted Eurasian child of a white planter is also to be found in a short story, "The Will", by M.G. Davies, published in the Trinidad Sunday Guardian, April 25, 1948.

41 Pitch Lake, p 153. Hereafter quotations from this source will be documented with page numbers in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.

42 Two other pieces of writing by Mendes do show his interest in the Indian background. There is a descriptive account, "Good Friday at the Church of La Divina Pastora", The Beacon, vol 2 no 2, June 1932, pp 7-11, which conveys Mendes's sense of distaste at the temporary occupation of the Catholic church by Hindus celebrating the syncretic cult of Siparia Mai and his contempt for the "stark naked absurdity" of Indian spirituality. There is also a short story, "Ramjit Das.", Trinidad Sunday Guardian, 15 June 1947, a lack lustre and stereotyped tale of a young man's revolt against his arranged marriage. A good deal of space is devoted to a description of the Hindu marriage ceremony in language which stresses it as an alien and exotic spectacle.

For other contemporary character studies and exotic accounts of Indian life by white authors see H.N. Fahey's story, "Lal Singh", Trinidad Guardian, 2 Nov 1947, a sentimental portrait of a Sikh driver whose eyes "smouldered with an eternal flame.", and see D.E.H. George's poem "Indian Wedding Drums", Trinidad Guardian, 25 June 1947.

43 See F. Birbalsingh, "The Novels of Ralph de Boissiere", Journal
I have recently been informed that Gordon is of Afro-Guyanese origin.


Crown Jewel, p. 58. Hereafter quotations from this source will be documented with page numbers in parenthesis at the end of the quotation. Quotations are from the Australasian Book Society original edition of 1952.

See Chapter Five pp 341-70.


The Cup and the Lip, London, 1956, p. 95

ibid, p 198

ibid, p 206

See also the story, "The Clue of the Leaking Lock", by a white Guyanese, Jack J. Gordon in The Trinidad Sunday Guardian, Aug. 20th, 1950. The Indian villain is both a milk-waterer and a revengeful murderer.

The Cup and the Lip, p 123.

See P. H. Daly, Story of the Heroes, Georgetown, 1943, p 322; and see H. Lutchman, The Crown Colony System and Patronage in a Colonial Society.
55. See Chapter Eight, pp. 394-398

56. The Luckhoos were one of the first Indian families to achieve the breakthrough to professional status in Guyana. They have remained the foremost legal family. See Nath, History of Indians in Guyana, p201-203.

57. A Swarthy Boy, p 33.

58. Mittelholzer's racial feelings are suggested in the way he signed himself in a letter he wrote to the Trinidad Guardian 28 Sept. 1945, as "of British Blood".

59. A Swarthy Boy, p 70.

60. Introduction to Corentyne Thunder, Heinemann reprint, 1970, p6. All subsequent quotations are from this edition.

61. Corentyne Thunder, p 88. Hereafter, quotations from this source will be documented in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.

62. 'A Far Cry from Africa', In A Green Night, London 1962, p 18

63. The rustic/civilised theme is one that Mittelholzer returns to in a later story, "Sorrow Dam and Mr. Millbank", (Caribbean Voices Broadcast, Script no 335, 30 Jan. 1949). In this story Mr Millbank, an office clerk, is accustomed to escape from the "dull urbanity of town" by wandering among the trash houses of the Indian peasants living outside New Amsterdam. His eyes "narrow wistfully" on what he sees as vital in peasant life, though he is always honest enough to recognise that he envies from the safety of town. Eventually, Millbank builds himself a cottage in the Indian settlement, determined that despite the hardships he can now 'live'. Mittelholzer ends the story on a note of irony, describing Millbank as now himself "a peasant. The silly madman."

64. Ramgollal is yet another Indian milk waterer. See also Duncan Boyce, 'Water Money', Kyk-over-Al, vol 1 no 1, 1945, pp22.; in which Ramlal has the ironic misfortune to lose by the same element, a flood, what has brought him wealth, watering the milk.

65. For a similar version of the Indian miser stereotype in fiction see Jack G. Gordon, 'The Yellow Yield', Chronicle Christmas Annual,

67. For a discussion of these novels see Chapter.

68. See also the story 'The Dream' by the English born-Trinidadian author, Jan Williams, *(Trinidad Sunday Guardian, 18 June 1950)* in which the Indian village world is portrayed as one in which jealousy and murder thrive. The story is melodramatic but exhibits a certain intensity in its telling. Lal has had recurrent dreams about murdering his sister, of whom he is jealous and by whom he is both attracted and irritated. He spots her talking to a man other than her husband-to-be and remonstrates with her. She laughs at him and the dream is once more enacted. This time though Lal awakes to find that he has attempted to bury the body of his sister. He is later found hanging from a tree. No direct motivation for his act is given, except the hinted at incestuous feelings, and the action as a whole appears rooted in a conception of a racial morbidity of character and tension within a close suffocating Indian family life.


71. A later Mittelholzer short story, "We Know Not Whom We Mourn", *Bim*, vol 3 no 10, June 1947, pp 82-86, explores similar tensions within an Indian family which contains both westernised lawyers and Hindu peasants.

72. The quality of Mittelholzer's response to Indian life is enhanced to the view if the characterisations in his novel are compared to the kind of portraits of Indian life which were appearing in the Georgetown *Daily Chronicle* at the time of the novel's composition. These portraits were part of a series of studies and ironic pieces.
appearing under the pseudonym of Pugagee Puncus (G. H. H. McLellan). Indians appear in the pieces chiefly as the butt of jokes or as stereotypes: e.g. 'The Ferocious Bride', (about child marriages); 'The Faithful Skinflint' (a rapacious money-lender), and generally emphasize the alien and the exotic. One or two pieces are more observant, for instance, 'No Poor Relation' which is a graphic account of the 'cough-ward' of the Public Hospital occupied by Indian victims of the lung disease caused by cane dust. These pieces can be found collected in, Old Time Story: Some Old Guianese Yarns Re-spun, Ed. V. Roth, Georgetown, 1943.

74 Gomes, op cit, pp 113-137 and Ryan, pp 86-101.
76 Gomes, p 182.
78 Published as a pamphlet, P. N. M. Publishing Co, 1961.
79 Brassington, Politics, pp 7-121 passim.
80 In British Guiana in 1940 29/34 Civil Service Departmental Heads were whites. Even in 1960 the numbers of whites in some areas of Government were still disproportionate: 22/57 Departmental Heads were white and the police and army remained led by Europeans. However, after 1965 only amongst the senior staff of the Governor's Office was there a substantial white presence. See, L. Depres, Cultural Pluralism and Nationalist Politics, Chicago, 1967, pp 163-164. See also Report of the Commission of Inquiry: Racial Problems in the Public Service, International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, 1965.

81 Depres, Cultural Nationalism, pp 178-210
82 Depres, op cit. pp 256-258, 264-266.
83 See J. E. Greene, Race vs Politics in Guyana, ISER 1971, pp 28-33;
Sunday Times, Nov 5, 1968
84 Seymour, E. Mittelholzer. The Man & His Work, pp 13-14
85 A Morning At the Office, Penguin Books Ed., 1964, pp 30-31. Hereafter quotations from this source will be documented with page numbers in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.
86 Trinidad Guardian, Jan 24, 1946
87 But see, however, Mittelholzer's story, "We Know Not Whom to Mourn", Bim, vol 10 pp 82-86, which suggests the contrary. Tommy Hoolcharan, a wealthy, educated and westernised rice-miller rises involuntarily from his seat when an English doctor enters his room. Mittelholzer glosses, "For Tommy, in spite of the education that Hoolcharan had given him, was still, at heart, a shy, salaaming coolie."
88 A Tale of Three Places, p 131.
89 ibid, p 119
90 Seymour, op cit, p 14.
91 One interesting story in a non-realistic vein with an Indian theme written around this time was "Worthless Diamonds", broadcast on the Caribbean Voices Programme, 13 Feb 1955, (script no 1633)
Since I have no reliable information about the background of the author, Herman Stephens, only a hunch that he is a white Guyanese, the reference must remain as a footnote. The story, written at a time when Indians were increasingly entering urban occupations, is written in the style of a fable. Its apparent purpose is to explain the Indian attachment to the land. Floods ruin the farm of two brothers.
Despite the pleas of the elder, "We cannot desert her when she needs us most", the younger abandons the land to go diamond prospecting. Years pass. The land is brought back into cultivation and the younger brother reappears, carrying bags of diamonds but emaciated for lack of food. The lesson is rubbed in that diamonds are fickle but "soil, like a faithful wife, is ever with him who remains by her."

The point is that though Woolford had obvious talents as a writer what the stories reveal most are the discontinuities of Caribbean literary development. Almost certainly Woolford would have had little chance of reading either Seepersad Naipaul's Gurudeva and Other Indian Tales, published with a print of one thousand copies in Trinidad in 1943 or Mittelholzer's Corentyne Thunder published during war time in a small edition.

93 Caribbean Voices Broadcast, Script no. 637, 29 July 1951.
94 Caribbean Voices Broadcast, Script no. C. 1950.
95 Caribbean Voices Broadcast, Script 731, 29 June 1952.
96 The West Indian Novel and Its Background, London, 1970, p 225
99 See also the short story 'Deferred Wages', by a white Guyanese writer, Percy Armstrong, in the Trinidad Sunday Guardian, 20 June 1948, in which a group of Indian labourers beat up an overseer and are then acquitted in court when the white overseer's evidence is twisted by the Indian defense barrister.

For other fiction which deals with the life of the white overseer but says little about their relationships with the Black or Indian workforce, see the novel, It Happened in British Guiana by A. Oswald, Ilfracombe, 1955; and the short story by M. A. Osman, 'Not in Doctor Book', Kaie no 5, Sept 1968.

100 See F. G. Rohlehr, "In Search of Innocence: An Introduction to Ian McDonald's, The Hummingbird Tree", in Tapia vol 4 no 49, Dec 8
1974, pp5,8; vol 4 no 50, Dec 15, pp 6-7 and vol 4 no 51, Dec 22, p 4, 9-10.


102. This tension is perhaps imposed on the character by McDonald as he puts the child's perceptions within the context of the broader social changes which were taking place at the time of the novels' composition. This is evident, I think, if one compares the way McDonald fictively treats the experience with the strictly autobiographical report of similar, though much earlier, experiences by P.E.T. O'Connor in Some Trinidad Yesterdays. O'Connor indicates that in his gilded childhood (1900-1910 circa) there was involvement with the Indian labourers on the estate, but no conflict between the attractions of the different worlds:

We children quickly learned to beat their drums and helped to build the tadjahs for the Hosein festival, while they quickly learnt the estate work and became good and efficient labourers." (p. 39)

For another white creole story which deals with the white child's shocked experience of rural Indian life see, A. Espinet, 'The Suckling Pig', Trinidad Guardian, May 14, 1950.

103. The Hummingbird Tree, London, 1969, pp 117. Hereafter all quotations from this novel will be documented with page numbers in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.


105. See E.K. Brathwaite, Contradictory Omens, pp 36-38; and F.G. Rohl-ehr, 'In Search of Innocence'.

Brathwaite very frankly relates his reading of the novel to the fact that he is a black West Indian and McDonald a white. He admits that 'one' can't help identifying the novel's young hero
with McDonald and can see only the "'honest' callous reaction given without comment or ironic distance." This seems to me a curious misreading, implying that McDonald's authorial judgement on the episode is a cynical, 'Well that's the way things are and have to be.'

Rohlehr's more detailed reading makes it clear how and why Brathwaite arrives at his view. Both their readings reinforce my basic thesis and indicate a neglected area of socio-literary study in the Caribbean: the nature of the readers' response.

For an exceptionally sensitive and learned critic, Rohlehr's reading of The Hummingbird Tree seems to me quite frequently misconceived. In the first place, Rohlehr, like Brathwaite, insists on an absolute identity between the character Alan Holmes and the author Ian McDonald. He implies that most of the views expressed by Alan Holmes are approved of by McDonald. He fails completely to see in the novel that pattern of ironic, detached regret which makes it very clear that Alan's behaviour towards Kaiser and Jaillin has been a betrayal and a failure. It seems to me that Rohlehr uses the fictional Alan's failings as a stick to beat McDonald with - and white creoles in general. Rohlehr's feelings about the role of whites are almost certainly justified, but they get in the way of a careful reading for this novel. Frequently he refers to Alan's behaviour and comments as a means of criticising white moral cowardice - without recognising that it is McDonald who has shown that to be the case. One can only assume that Rohlehr thinks that McDonald is quite unaware of what his fiction reveals. For instance, Rohlehr comments on Alan's guilt for his treatment of Kaiser and Jaillin as lacking any depth, and suggests that because of this the novel fails in being historically adequate to the real debt white owes to black in the Caribbean. Rohlehr is right when he says that 'Alan has no wound, no essential pain', but he transposes the comment to McDonald without giving the author any credit for making it quite clear that Alan lacks emotional depth. (See p 113 ff, for instance,
where McDonald describes Alan trying to make his palms bleed as a vain attempt to match Jaillin's powerful emotions.)

Again, Rohlehr seems to me to grossly underestimate the extent to which McDonald creates Kaiser and Jaillin as independent centres of consciousness whose words and deeds frequently condemn Alan's snobbery, hypocrisy and comfortable moral cowardice. At one point Rohlehr writes -rather gnomically - of how the incident where Alan witnesses an ox being beaten and describes his feelings as 'pity and fear and hatred and love' (p 70) shows how "the lash continues even when the master has forgotten his motive...[and] the denial of perspective and the possibility of retributive violence." (Tapia vol 4, no 50, p 6.) I take this to mean that McDonald, as a novelist quite fails to see how the oppressed should feel or accept that they should justifiably want retribution. Now McDonald makes it plain that Alan has only a very limited notion of how Kaiser and Jaillin feel, but there are many points in the novel when their resentments are made very plain. Rohlehr seems to be demanding direct authorial commentary and ignoring the meaning of the narrative.

Rohlehr appears to believe that McDonald has become 'the man his father was,' and has allowed what ought to be quite irrelevant to a judgement of the novel to distort his reading. It is in any case an unjustifiable blurring of reality and fiction.

The contrast between the narrow, exclusive sense of propriety offered by Alan Holmes' father and the broad, all-embracing approach to experience offered by Old Boss is re-examined in McDonald's play "Tramping Man," (Published in "A Time and a Season: 8 Caribbean Plays, Ed.E.Hill, Trinidad, 1976. Play first performed 1969.) The action of the play concerns an outbreak of 'tramping' (Carnival jump-up) which develops into a phenomenon akin to the dancing epidemics of the Middle Ages in Europe. What Tramping Man offers Guyana is perpetual carnival. However, the tramps are seen as subversive of order.
by the Government and the business elite and Tramping man is arrested and the movement suppressed. The play dramatises the conflict between the possibility of anarchic freedom with its fervent joy and the impossibility of such a community. "What community can survive if it is dedicated to enjoyment," one of the characters asks. Tramping man's chief persecutor is an Indian police officer, John Kassim, and it is soon evident that much of Kassim's acerbity towards Tramping man derives from the fact that though Kassim has chosen to live on the side of order and restriction, he knows what this has cost him in the loss of freedom. The link between the novel and the play is raised by the way one of Old Bosses' speeches - about tolerance for the spoiling scissors-tail at the rice harvest - is transposed into one of Tramping man's pleas for freedom.

It is interesting how this theme of the opposition between Dionysian and Appollonian principles in society is one which has attracted the involvement of several white creole authors.


Research carried out in the 1960's shows just how entrenched white creoles were (and still are) in the commanding heights of the economy. Of those who were classified as belonging to the business elite, 55% were white (23% fair, 12% light brown, 7% Indian and 6% Black). Camejo's survey also showed that a far higher percentage of whites than any other group had received university education, but that a far higher percentage of whites with relatively low educational qualifications held high level posts - of those in top jobs with low qualifications, 71% were white. 15% of all white males held key posts in executive, administrative or managerial positions. No figures for property and wealth have
been gathered, but the statistics for income distribution showed a median income for whites 500% higher than for Blacks and 700% higher than for Indians. Camejo's survey also suggests that whites were the most socially cohesive members of the business elite, much more frequently to be found in informal social and business networks than members of other racial groups. Whites were also much more likely to be members of the elite business clubs. Such cohesion suggests that it is still legitimate to talk of white creoles as a group which actively, if discreetly, seeks to further its common interests.

108. The Politics of Opposition, pp 84-85
111. Trinityism, (Revolution of Peace) and Trinidad and Tobago, Vedic Enterprises, Trinidad, 1964.
114. 'Hossay', Kairi, No 2, 1974 (loose leaf system of pagination, poem 14:1-3)
Footnotes: Chapter Six

1 The Middle Passage, Penguin ed., p. 75.
4 'Editorial Notes,' Kyk-over-Al, vol 1 no 1, Georgetown, 1945, p. 7.
7 ibid. vol 2, p. 72.
14 Cmd. 8657 (1910) § 1802, p. 301.
18 I am indebted to M.R. Monar for this observation.
19 See L. Depres, Cultural Pluralism and Nationalist Politics, p. 93.
20 See Chapter Nineteen, pp.
22 See Wood, op. cit. p. 137.
23 H.V.P. Bronkhurst, Amongst the Hindus and Creoles of British Guiana, 1888, p. 139.


23 Anthology of Local Indian Verse, Georgetown, 1934. See Chapter Eight for a discussion of this anthology.

24 See B. Samaroo, 'Politics and Afro-Indian Relations', Calcutta To Caroni, pp. 94-95.


26 See Samaroo, Politics and Afro-Indian Relations, p. 86; and see Franklyn Harvey, Rise and Fall of Party Politics in Trinidad and Tobago, Toronto, 1974, pp. 15-19.

27 See Rennie, op. cit. pp. 71-74; 91-95 and 136-151; Selwyn Ryan, Race and Nationalism in Trinidad and Tobago, Toronto, 1972, pp. 45-70; and see A.C. Calder-Marshall, Glory Dead, London 1939, pp. 229-235.

28 See Rennie, op. cit. pp. 65-69, 110 on the programme and politics of the N.W.A.; and see Albert Gomes, Through A Maze of Colour, Port of Spain, 1974, p. 161 ff. Gomes deals, from a white creole's point of view, with what he felt was the group's black chauvinism.


31 See Ryan, op. cit. p. 182.


33 Crosby was the name of the Immigration Agent-General for British Guiana between 1858-1880 whose courageous support for the rights of indentures Indians made his name synonymous with the office. Indians spoke of going to see 'The Crosby'. See D. Nath, A History of Indians in Guiana, pp. 48-55; for Critchlow's role see Carlyle Harry, Hubert Nathaniel Critchlow: His Main Tasks and Achievements, Georgetown, 1977.


36 See David Decaires and Miles Fitzpatrick, 'Twenty Years of Politics in Our Land', New World Quarterly, Guyana Independence Issue, pp. 39-45.


38 See below pp. 244-45.


Franz Fanon, The Wretched of The Earth, Penguin Ed. p. 45

ibid. p.42.


This is consistent with the complaisant and rather dismissive footnote reference to the East Indian population in James's contemporary pamphlet, The Case For West Indian Self-Government, Trinidad, 1933, where he writes, 'But there is no need to give them special treatment, for economically and educationally they are superior to the corresponding class in India, and get on admirably with the Negroes'. p.9.

Author of the plays: Flesh to A Tiger, You in Your Small Corner, Skyvvers, Don't Gas The Blacks; the television play, In The Beautiful Caribbean; and the reportage, Does Fidel Eat More Than Your Father (1971)

Caribbean Voices Programme, Script no. 825, broadcast 19 April 1953.

Carew's published works include, Black Midas, (1958); The Wild Coast; The Last Barbarian (1961); Moscow Is Not My Mecca (1964). Carew has also written a large number of broadcast and televised plays; his poems are to be found in Kyk-over-Al, New World Fortnightly and in his recent collection, Sea Drums in My Blood, Trinidad, 1982. For a detailed bibliography see Commonwealth Caribbean Writers: A Bibliography, compiled by S.E.Merriman and J.Christiani, Georgetown, 1970, pp 15-25.

Caribbean Voices Programme, Script no. 782, broadcast 14 December 1952.


'Guianese Wedding', p.3.

Hill's other published works include, Oily Portraits (1948); Square Peg (1949); The Ping Pong (1955); Man Better Man (1962); Dilemma (1966) Strictly Matrimony (1966); Broken Melody (1966); Chippy (1966) What Price A Slave (1970)


Under the literary editorship of Samuel Selvon, the Trinidad Guardian did much in this period to encourage local writing.

See for instance, Dennis Roy, 'East Meets East', Trinidad Guardian 18 April 1948. The Guardian Weekly also had a regular 'humour' section. Indian and Negro jokes were part of its staple fare. A fairly typical Indian joke went like this: Indian goes to the bank to ask for a 500 loan. The manager asks for security. Indian: Me gottam ten cows, The Indian gets his loan and returns two months later with 1000. The manager suggests he deposit the rest in the bank. Indian: How much cow bank gottam? Sunday Guardian , 13 Feb. 1949.

E.A.Carr wrote a number of powerful stories on black themes during
during the nineteen thirties and nineteen fourties, the best of which are probably 'Black Mother,' *The Beacon*, vol. 1, no. 4, 1931, pp. 8-13; and 'Gan-Gan', *Bim*, vol. 3, no. 10, 1949, pp. 92-100.

Trinidad Guardian, 23 March 1947.

Virtually unknown outside the Caribbean, Roach, a Tobagan, was by general agreement one of its finest poets of the generation before Walcott and Brathwaite. His work is still, sadly, uncollected; to be found mainly in *Bim*, *Caribbean Quarterly* and the *Caribbean Voices* scripts.

Trinidad Guardian, 23 March 1948.


Trinidad Guardian, 17 April 1948.

Author of *Poems* (1939) and *One Moment* (1980); one time speaker of the Trinidad House of Representatives.

Trinidad Guardian, 28 March 1948.

Trinidad Guardian, 18 July 1948.

Author of *Poems* (1939) and *One Moment* (1980); one time speaker of the Trinidad House of Representatives.

Trinidad Guardian, 1 April 1948.

E6 Trinidad Guardian, 17. April 1949.

Trinidad Guardian, 20 March 1948.


Trinidad Guardian, 28 March 1948.

Trinidad Guardian, 18 July 1948.

Author of *Poems* (1939) and *One Moment* (1980); one time speaker of the Trinidad House of Representatives.

Trinidad Guardian, 1 April 1948.

ibid. 30 November 1947.

*Caribbean Voices Programme*, script no. 675, broadcast 20 Jan. 1952.

ibid. Script no. 532, broadcast 27 August 1950.

ibid. p. 6.

Campbell was one of a trio of poets who came from St. Vincent (Daniel Williams and E. McG. Keane were the others). He established a considerable reputation during the 1950's, but no collection of his work was made. Poems are to be found in *Bim*, *Caribbean Quarterly* and *Kyk-over-Al*.


Trinidad Guardian, 21 November 1948.

Newton, who came from San Fernando, was another of those gifted writers who published a number of very promising short stories (to be found in *Bim*, the Trinidad Guardian and the *Caribbean Voices Programme*.

Trinidad Sunday Guardian, 24 July 1949. See also 'Cloud Burst' *Caribbean Voices*, script missing, 1952 and *Bim* vol. 4 no. 16, 1952.

Sunday Guardian, 26 Nov. 1950; also *Bim*, vol. 4 no. 14, 1952.

From *Grave To Gay*, Guardian Commercial Printery, Port of Spain, 1957, pp. 59-63. Giuseppe was a civil servant and part of the beginnings of Trinidadian writing. His publications include, *A Modern Pilgrim's Script*, (1938); *Verse and Prose* (1940); *A Light Of Thought* (1943) and *Selected Poems* (1973).

*Caribbean Voices Programme*, Script no. 1227, broadcast 26 May 1957.


India Republic Day speech 1954, quoted in Ryan, op. cit. p. 140.


See *The Spectator* (Trinidad) vol. 28 no. 1, 1955, pp 6-7.

Ryan, op. cit. pp 192-193, quotes from P.N.M. Weekly, 21 April 1958; see also A. Ramrekersingh, D.L.P. *Politics of Doom*, *Tapia* vol. 1. no. 2,
October 1969.

89 History of The People of Trinidad and Tobago, p. 279.


91 Quoted in Hyman Rodman, Lower Class Families, pp 210-211.

92 Quoted in K.V.Parmasad, 'Seeds of India on Caribbean Shores,' Tapia vol. 2 no. 8, 1972.

93 Notebook by Macaw, Trinidad Publishing Co. 1960, p. 81.

94 The Wedding Ring and Other Stories of Trinidad and Tobago, Trinidad, circa 1974, p. 38.

95 Also published I Want A Black Doll, 1967; a sex and race novel set in the U.S.A.


99 Green Days By The River, London, 1967, p. 117. Hereafter citations from this text are given in parenthesis following the quotation.

91 Interview in Trinidad and Tobago Literature: On Air, ed. A. Gonzalez, Gasparillo, 1974, pp 88-89.


101 See Depres op. cit. p. 264; and for this period in general see: Depres, pp. 221-262; Jagan, op. cit. pp 224-248; R.Burrowes, The Wild Coast, Massachusetts, 1984, pp. 101-131; Glasgow, op. cit. pp 114-120.


104 See in addition to the citations listed in footnote 102 Philip Reno, The Ordeal of British Guiana, New York, 1964, pp. 23-44.


107 See 'House Slave Politics', Ratoon, vol 1 no 1, 1969.


109 This issue is discussed at greater length in Chapter Fifteen.


113 ibid. p. 69.

114 London, Secker & Warburg, 1964, p. 84. (Also published in the United States as Green Winter, New York, Stein and Day, 1964.)

115 ibid. pp 74-75.

116 New World Fortnightly, vol 1 no 5, January 5 1965, pp. 45-49.
97.

118. 'Power To The People', Ratoon, vol 1 no 5, April 1970.


121. See Caribbean Contact, 'Fears over House of Israel', vol 6 no. 9, 1979, p. 11.


123. See Eusi Kwayana, The Bauxite Strike and the Old Politics, Georgetown, 1972, for the ASCRIA view, but also a valuable frank documentation of the criticisms of ASCRIA by the workers' strike committee. See pp. 59-65.


128. See Burrowes, op. cit. pp 306-309; and personal observations and discussions with sources who have to remain anonymous.

129. My own observations and listenings.


138. Information given to me by a member of the tribunal set up to investigate these events. Its findings were never published.


141. See for instance: Richard Jacob, 'The Struggling East Indian', Moko

What East Indians Have Given to West Indian Society,' Tapia vol 2 no. 6, 1972.

'Ten Years of Mockery', Liberation no. 9, Sept. 1972.


The Groundines With My Brothers, p. 28.

'Cultural Slavery', East Dry River Speaks, mimeographed, unnumbered, circa 1969.


See Owen Baptiste, Crisis, Trinidad, 1976, pp. 9-38.

See for instance Lloyd Taylor, 'New Sugar Union Coming', Tapia vol. 2 no. 9 and 'Sugar Workers Crying on the Inside', Tapia vol. 4 no. 13; and Jaques Farmer, 'Pussy-Footing in Sugar since 1970', Tapia, vol 5 no. 5.


Trinidad, author, 1974.


Score, Trinidad, 1972, pp 74-75.

'Discussion on Bim', Tapia, vol 5 no. 15, April 1975.


See for instance, 'As an Answer', 'After 'De Four O'Clock Hour', 'Better Gey We', by Lansana Kwesi (Winston Daniel) in Giving Back to My People, Trinidad, 1973; Selwyn Newton, 'Barren', 'Faith' in 474 Years of Pain and Suffering, Trinidad, 1972.

Robber-talk refers to the stylized verbal battles originally between carnival figures, the Midnight Robbers. See Errol Hill, The Trinidad Carnival: Mandate For A National Theatre, Texas, 1972, p. 91.
170 'Sita and Rawan', *The New Voices*, vol. 3 no. 6, 1975, p. 17.
171 *Revolution At Grass Roots*, Trinidad, 1976, pp. 54-59.
172 Trinidad, typescript, 1972.
173 *Corlit*, vol. 3 nos. 1-2, 1976, pp. 5-6.
174 *Trinidad and Tobago Review*, vol. 4 no. 4, 1980, pp. 16-17.
176 *The Star-Apple Kingdom*, p. 34, 35.
177 London, Deutch, 1979. Page references for quotations from this text are given in parenthesis following the quotation.
Footnotes: Chapter Seven.

1. See for instance, C. Boxhill, 'From East Indian to Indo-Trinidadian' East Indians in the Caribbean, Conference Papers, U.W.I. St Augustine 1975, p 2, where he refers to "the homogeneous class of East Indian indentured labourers."


3. C. Day, Five Years Residence in the West Indies, 1852, vol 2, pp 90-91.

4. It is estimated that no more than 60 remained in British Guiana out of the original 412(3).


10. See Tinker, op cit., p 55.

11. One genuine reason for the prejudice may have been that a far higher proportion of Madras emigrants than Calcutta emigrants came from urban backgrounds. But see also chapter three pp


19. W. Alleyne Ireland, Demerariana: Essays, Historical, Critical and Descriptive, Georgetown, 1897, p 56.

20. See Tinker, op cit, p 119.


23. See J. C. Jha, 'The Indian Mutiny-cum-Revolt of 1857 and Trinidad, mimeographed, UWI St Augustine, n.d. (197?).

24. J. Geohegan wrote of emigrants who "crossed the Kali Pani... to avoid a compulsory trip to Port Blair" (a penal settlement), quoted in Tinker, op cit, p 97.

25. See Weller, op cit, pp 5-6.


27. Quoted Tinker, p 123.


29. See Journal of a Voyage with Coolie Immigrants from Calcutta to Trinidad, by Capt. and Mrs Swinton, Ed. J. Carlile, London 1859, p 7,14.

30. Later in the century there is some evidence that prospective emigrants had some awareness of the respective merits of their possible destinations. Trinidad was most favoured because it was known that land was available for sale. See 'The Report of Major Pitcher: Royal Gazette 13 Jan. 1883, quoted in H. V. P. Bronkhurst, The Colony of British Guiana and Its Labouring Population, 1883, p
32 See Canadian Mission Council, Trinidad, The Canadian Presbyterian Mission to East Indians, Trinidad, 1911, pp
33 See Weller, op cit., pp61-64
34 See Chapter Four pp.94-95
35 See Weller, pp 98-112, 161; and Tinker, pp175-6, 214.
38 See Report of the West India Royal Commission, London 1897, CMD 8656 (henceforth WIRC (1897), evidence of the Protector of Immigrants, §761, p 264; and see Sampath, op cit, p 31.
40 This local Guyanese term for 'indentured (bound) Indian' as used to describe the Indo-creole culture of the estates was first introduced to me by Karna B. Singh.
41 See Tinker, p 168ff.
42 PP 1840 XXXIV (77) p66
43 PP 1843 XXXV (404) pp 19-23
44 Day, op cit, vol 1 p198
45 See Sampath, pp 36-38
46 See McNeill, J and Lall, C. Report on the Condition of Indian Immigrants in the Four British Colonies: Trinidad, British Guiana or Demerara, Jamaica and Fiji, and the Dutch Colony of Surinam or Dutch Guiana, 1914, CMD 7744, pp 4-5 (henceforth McNeill & Lall)
47 Sanderson Report, p 71
48 WIRC(1897) Sect. 256, p 260
49 Nath, op cit, p230. Most population statistics relating to Indians in Guyana are taken from this source. Further unattributed
population statistics may be assumed to derive therefrom.


51. Protector of Immigrants Report, Trinidad & Tobago, 1906-7

52. See Report on a Disturbance at Pln. Devonshire; in Correspondence, Reports & other Papers Respecting British Guiana, 1873-1898, [CMD 872]

53. See Correspondence Respecting the Recent Coolie Disturbances in Trinidad at the Mohurrum Festival, [CMD 4366] 1885, p17

54. See evidence of Bechu to WIRC (1897) §193 pp75-76

55. Sanderson Report, Part III, pp 135-6

56. WIRC, 1685, p296. And see also S. Bellairs, *Immigration as Carried on in British Guiana*, 1878, p60., who writes of the habit of the labourers striking in the middle of crop time as one of a manager's regular problems.


58. See 'Report on a Disturbance at Pln. Devonshire'

59. See Correspondence Respecting the Recent Coolie Disturbances.

60. These figures must be regarded as very approximate, since they ignore mortalities and re-indentures and assume that the majority of those who returned did so at the end of their ten year period of industrial residence when, after 1854, they were entitled to a free return passage.


64. Evidence to Sanderson Report, Part 2, p25 (cont. over)
British Guiana, Report of the Immigration Agent-General, 1882-3, shows that 559 letters had been sent to India with money and bills and 137 remittances totalling £473.11.8d.


66 C. B. G. & L. P. p258
67 PP 1859, XX Part 1, p312.
68 PP 1843, XXXV (404) pp 38-39
69 Day, op cit. vol 2 p 72
70 See Wood, op cit., p135.

71 Although Indians bought only 3 of the land sold during this period, there were by 1908 more Indian farmers than Creoles. By 1937 two thirds of the Cane farmers were Indians. See WIRC(1898) evidence of R. De Verteuil, Sect 265, pp273-275.


73 J. E. Jenkins, The Coolie, His Rights and Wrongs, 1871, p 165.
74 See Tinker, op cit., p179; and Adamson, op cit., p119.
75 For a detailed account of Indian settlement in Guyana see Potter, L. K. The Post Indenture Experience of East Indians in Guyana, 1873-1921: East Indians in the Caribbean, conference paper, 1975.

76 Quoted Adamson p 96.


78 See Adamson, p195 ff. See also Nath, op cit., pp93-109.


82. See J.S. Blake, 'A Plea for the Encouragement of Lesser Industries', Timehri, vol 1, 1882, p118ff.

83. These figures have been extracted from D.W.D. Comins, A Note on Emigration from the East Indies to British Guiana, and A Note on.....to Trinidad, 1893.

84. British Guiana Official Census for years shown.

85. Official Census for Trinidad and Tobago, 1891.

86. See Comins, op cit. for information on occupational distribution (appendices); and see letter of F.E.M. Hosein to the Mirror (Trinidad) 16 May 1913 complaining about the ill-treatment of the Indian sweepers; and see Andrews, op cit., p 96 on the condition of many of the Indians in Georgetown 'just scabbling a living as odd jobbers.'

87. Port of Spain Gazette, 16 Aug 1854.

88. See Bronkhurst's comment on the urban Indians in Georgetown in the 1880's who "do not care for the religion and language of their parents." A.H.C.B.G., p 17.


92. See C. Jayawardena, Conflict and Solidarity in a Guianese Plantation, who writes as if it were an unchallenged achievement of the plantation management: "The integration of the coolie in an effective labour force necessitated a reorganisation of his extra-labour relations." p 17.

See R.T. Smith, "Social Stratification, Cultural Pluralism and Integration in West Indian Societies", in ed. Lewis and Mathews,

93 See Tinker, op cit, pp 137-141, for a fuller account of the process of embarkation.


95 Jenkins, The Coolie His Rights and Wrongs, p243

96 In 1891 in Trinidad the ratio of men to women was 1571:1000, in 1911 it was 1354:1000 and in 1931, 1135:1000. Even in 1970 there was still a very slight imbalance. See J. Harewood, The Population of Trinidad and Tobago, Trinidad, 1975, p102.


98 Figures compiled from British Guiana, Immigration Agent-General's Reports.

99 In India the average suicide rate in the 19th century was 46 per million in the Madras area and 54 per million in the United Provinces. See Nath, op cit., p143 and Tinker, pp 200-201.

100 Quoted Tinker, p 78.


102 See Jayawardena, op cit., p48.

103 Bronkhurst, A. H. C. B. G. pp145-146

104 Morton, op cit., p


106 PP 1843 XXXIX(463)p 76.

107 For a later review of estate housing see Sanderson Report, Part 2, p43ff.

108 Evidence to the Royal Franchise Commission, 1888, quoted in WIRC Sect 295, p320.


110 See Jayawardena, op cit., pp18-20

3 W.H. Gamble, Trinidad: Historical and Descriptive; Being a Narrative of Nine Years Residence in the Island, London, 1866, p46.

4 J.H. Stark, Guide Book and History of Trinidad, Trinidad, 1897, pp79-80

3 See Klass, op cit pp55-64

4 A.&J. Niehoff, East Indians in the West Indies, Milwaukee, 1960, p96

See also Jha, 'The Indian Heritage in Trinidad', in From Calcutta to Caroni, p 11

5 A.&J. Niehoff, op cit p 91

6 Klass, op cit pp 199-205

7 See Jayawardena, op cit pp 17-18

8 Information from Mr Lutchman Persad, August 1976. Mr Persad was the secretary of the panchayat and preserved its records. The panchayat on Pln Lusignan was set up under the guidance of an Indian lawyer. Mainly it dealt with such cases as common assaults, claims for maintenance, petty thefts, nuisance, verbal abuse and family quarrels. It was even empowered to deal with divorce petitions if a lawyer was present. The panchayat came into existence in 1934 (circa) under the encouragement of a well liked manager from the Bookers company. It was readily accepted by the work force since it kept the police, mainly Creoles, out of the estate. Besides its traditional authority the panchayat also had the power of the manager behind it; anyone who refused to accept its verdict could be sacked. Mr. Persad told me that the manager was not present at the majority of hearings but required to see the records of cases as the patron of the panchayat. The surviving records of the cases provide a fascinating glimpse of estate life. The panchayat broke up in 1953 (circa) a few months after the movement off the estate into the new Annandale settlement began.
There is a report though in the *Port of Spain Gazette*, 12 April, 1892 of a panchayat at Peru village attended by 300 Indians, held to settle a religious dispute.

The origins of the power of such village leaders may well have come on some occasions from the previous role of sirdar or driver on the estate. The sirdar had an ambiguous role in the power structure of the Indian community, both a vehicle for the interests of the management, and a person able to dispense favours within the community, at the price of obedience, and hand out punishments. From the position of village boss/godfather developed the pattern of a generation of rural Indian politicians in Trinidad, typified by the career of the late B.S. Maraj.

Klass, op cit., pp206-215

Andrews, op cit., p9

Bhojpuri survived for at least three generations in a pure, virtually unchanged form from the language of nineteenth century India. It is one of the signs of colonial feelings of inferiority that Indians in the Caribbean came to regard it as a broken, corrupted language in comparison to the Hindi of visiting missionaries. In truth it was the Hindi which was changing. However, by the 1940s there was no longer a new generation of native Bhojpuri speakers in Trinidad or Guyana. See Peggy Mohun, 'A Language Implodes', Paper presented to the Third Conference on *East Indians in The Caribbean*, U.W.I. St. Augustine, 1984.


The opposition between the culture of the village and the culture of the estate should not also be seen as an absolute contrast between Trinidad and Guyana. For instance the description of the social life of Dinsley village in M.P. Alladin's *A Village in Trini-
suggests a life-style closer to that of Jayawardena's estates than Klass's 'Amity'. Similarly, M.A. Rauf's study of Crabwood Creek, a rice village in the Corentyne, Guyana (Indian Village in Guyana, A Study in Cultural Change and Ethnic Identity, Leiden, 1974) shows greater similarity to 'Amity' than to the Guyanese estate culture.

127. Klass, pp199-205

128. Typical of this view is C.F. Andrew's comment that on the estates as he saw them in 1929 "there had been uprooting without as yet new roots being struck in the soil." op cit. p9.

129. In 1945 in Trinidad only 16% of Indians were Christians. By 1970 the figure was around 12%. In Guyana in 1931 only 7% of Indians were Christians.

130. Bronkhurst, A.H.C.B.G., p52. A later Indian convert to Christianity in Guyana, the Rev. F.X. Muttoo, tells how he was insulted as "a nigger" and told he had sold his birthright for a white man's religion. Scars of the Cross, New York, 1967, pp 64-66

131. Bronkhurst, A.H.C.B.G., p 32


135. See K. Singh, Temples and Mosques, especially pp21-28; see also Bronkhurst, A.H.C.B.G. pp77-78.


137 Klass, op cit. pp. 147-148. See also the episode in A House For Mr. Biswas in which Biswas is sent to live with Pundit Jairam and disgraces himself over the bananas.
See for instance the pundits in Harold Ladoo's *No Pain Like This Body* (1972) and *Yesterdays* (1974); Ramnarace in Shiva Naipaul's *Fireflies* (1970) and the pundit in Selvon's *Those Who Eat The Cascadura* (1972).


For another 19th century account of Hossay see A.H.C.B.G. pp 357-365; for an early 20th century account see Alladin, op. cit pp 30-36.


See P.P. 1854 XXVIII (p. 251); and Correspondence Respecting The Recent Coolie Disturbances, P.P. 1884-85, LIII, p. 3. For an account of the ritual see J.G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 1900, vol 2, p. 450-51.

See Port of Spain Gazette, 12 August 1890. In other accounts the festival is known as 'Temiterna'.


See Jha, 'The Hindu Festival of Phagwa (Holi) in Trinidad and Tobago', UWI St Augustine, Occasional Paper, 1973; and see Klass, pp 165-168.

Klass, pp 170-172; and A. & J. Niehoff, pp 121-126.

C.B.G. & L.P. p. 459. In fact both Trinidad and Guyana have always had small numbers of religious mendicants.


151 See Niehoff, pp. 153-156. See also A.H. Mendes, 'Good Friday at the Church of La Divina Pastora', The Beacon, vol 2 no 1, June 1932, pp. 7-11. See also the cult of mariaman in Guadeloupe: Singaravelou, Les Indiens de la Guadeloupe, Bordeux, 1974, pp 190-174.

152 See M. Ahye, Golden Heritage: The Dance of Trinidad and Tobago, Trinidad, 1978, pp 59-72.

153 A. H. C. B. G. p92

154 Andrews, op cit., pp 23-24

155 It is virtually impossible now to ascertain what proportion of Indians in the 19th century were literate in their own languages. Contemporary views recognised sub-group differences. Bronkhurst estimated that about 40-50% of Madras immigrants were literate, and De Verteuil, writing about Trinidad, felt that a far higher proportion of Muslims were literate than Hindus. (Trinidad: Its Geography, Natural Resources, Administration, Present Condition and Prospects, London, 1884, p162.

Bronkhurst further noted that there were large numbers of professional scribes to be found in Guyana, far in excess of requirements. Evidently not all scribes were very competent at their task. Bronkhurst repeats a story about a scribe who turns down a request to write a letter to be sent to a neighbouring estate. "There is a pain in my foot," he explains.

"I do not wish to send you anywhere", the client replies. "Why are you making this unreasonable excuse."

The scribe answered, "You are speaking the truth, but when I write a letter for any person, then I am always sent for to read it, for nobody else is able to read my handwriting." (C. D. Q. L. p310)

As the proportion of Indian born settlers declined it is probable that the number of literates in the Indian languages declined. Even so, some members of the Indian community attempted to preserve these skills. Bronkhurst, for instance, reports that in the 1880's there were on some estates and in the city, "some Indian 'schoolmasters' who taught Indian children their own languages." (B. G. & L. P. p 310.)
156 Comins, Note on Emigration to British Guiana, p. 80
157 Grant, op cit., p 71
158 Verbal information from M.P. Alladin, August 1976.
159 Bronkhurst, C.B.G. & L.P. p389
160 See A. & J Niehoff, op cit pp124-126
161 One such plan, written in Tamil, was discovered in a village in the Corentyne in 1976.
162 Comins, A Note on Emigration to B.G., p82. A Number of other dance dramas are mentioned in Jha, 'The Indian Heritage in Trinidad', as having been popular at one time; the Indra Sabha, Raja, Harishchandra, Gopichand and Sarwarneer. p 10.
164 See Comins, Note on Emigration to B.G. p \ldots and on the popularity of the races with Indians see Charles Kingsley, At Last A Christmas in the West Indies, London, 1878, pp365-368.
165 See Jha, 'The Indian Heritage...' pp 12-13. The card games mentioned are referred to in an unpublished poem by J.W. Chinapen, 'Tales Under the Sankoka Tree'.
166 C.B.G. & L.P. p322
167 ibid., p252.
172 From an earlier unpublished manuscript of Parmasad's work.
173 Salt and Roti, pp. 7-14.
174 Published in Salt and Roti as 'King Frog and The Snake,' pp 79-88.
Or. ibid., pp 57-62.

17. In unpublished manuscript.

17. I am particularly grateful to the late Mr. Lutchman Prasad of Annandale village for his help.


17. I am grateful to Rooplall Monar for this detail.
The question of the position of Indian women within the general experience of Indians in the Caribbean is taken up in Chapter Eight. 

Suffice to say that in this period, women, with very few exceptions, remained tied either to agricultural labour or the domestic sphere.


2 See D. Nath, A History of Indians in Guyana, pp201-203.

3 The effects survived into at least the late 1960's. Y. Malik's survey in East Indians in Trinidad: A Study in Minority Politics, London 1971, p 47, showed that 75% of top Indian professionals came from Christian backgrounds, while 67% of top Indian business men were Hindus.


6 S. E. Morton, John Morton of Trinidad, p 42.


8 See, for instance, Morton, op. cit., p. 456, who reports Indians from Mausica petitioning for a school; and H. Sitahel, The Mission of the Church in Trinidad, unpublished thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 1967, p 79, who quotes a missionary report in 1931 on how a group of rural Indians had approached a missionary saying, 'Look, Sahib, you wouldn't help us, so we have built a school a mud and thatch hut. Now you send us a teacher.'


10 Another index of the impact of the Canadian Missions in Trinidad in comparison to their late arrival in British Guiana is to be found in the ratio of Christians to the whole and the relative proportions of each denomination within the Christian total. In 1931 there were 23,183 Indian Christians out of an Indian population of 138,667 in Trinidad and 9,045 out of 130,540 in British Guiana. In Trinidad, 10,335 of the Christians belonged to the Canadian Mission, in British Guiana only 1,055.


12 See Nath, A History of Indians in Guyana, pp 187-188.

13 Figures for 1891 extracted from D. W. D. Comins, A Note on Emigration to British Guiana, and A Note on Emigration to Trinidad; Census returns for 1931 extracted from Nath, op cit, p 239 and Indian Centenary Review, p 106.

14 L. A. De Verteuil, Trinidad: Its Geography, Natural Resources, Admin


17 My account of this period is particularly indebted to two papers: G. Tikasingh, *The Emerging Political Consciousness Among Trinidadian Indians in the late Nineteenth Century*, U. W. I. St Augustine, Fifth Conference of Caribbean Historians, 1973; and J. C. Jha, 'East Indian Pressure Groups in Trinidad, 1897-1921', *Political Protest and Political Organisation in the Caribbean from the Late 19th Century*, vol 1, U. W. I. St Augustine, 1973.

18 Quoted in Tikasingh, op cit, p268.

19 Tikasingh, p295.

20 Tikasingh, p 291-292.

21 Jha, 'East Indian Pressure Groups', pp 91-95.

22 Jha, op cit, pp86-89 and 97-99; Tikasingh, pp 288-290.


26 J. Rohomon, op cit, p 6

27 Ibid, p17

28 Ibid, p13

29 Ibid, p22

30 Ibid, p25

My outline of Indian economic, social and political action in Trinidad in this period is indebted to G. Tikasingh's paper, 'The Representation of Indian Opinion in Trinidad, 1900-1921', published in *East Indians in the Caribbean: A Symposium on Contemporary Economic and Political Issues*, U. W. I. St Augustine, 1975; and to Jha's paper, 'East Indian Pressure Groups'. The discussion of the role of the E. I. N. C in the strikes of 1919 is drawn from my own primary research.

32 See A. A. Burkett, *Trinidad: A Jewel of the West or One Hundred Years of British Rule*, London, 1914, pp 52-91. Burkett gives interesting biographical data on leading members of both Indian organisations.

33 Printed as an appendix to Burkett, op cit, p97 ff

34 See Jha, 'East Indian Pressure Groups', pp 105, 110-112.

35 Jha, op cit, p101.
34 Port of Spain Gazette, 14 Dec 1919.
37 Port of Spain Gazette, 3 Dec, 5, 7, 9, 12-14 Dec. 1919.
38 P.O.S. Gazette, 9 Dec 1919; and see B. Samaroo, 'Politics and Afro-
Indian Relations in Trinidad,' Calcutta to Caroni, p 86
39 See Jha, 'East Indian Pressure Groups,' p 115
42 All quotations from this paper are from the version printed in the
Port of Spain Gazette, 6 May, 1913.
43 See also Joseph Ruhomon's 'The Creole East Indian,' Timehri vol VII, 1921, pp 102 ff, which argues the same point of view.

44 P.O.S. Gazette, Editorial 8 May 1913
45 P.O.S. G, 8 May 1913
46 Information from Franklin's Trinidad and Tobago Year Book, P.O.S.
1898--; and P.O.S. Gazette, 2 Nov 1919.
47 See Jha, 'East Indian Pressure Groups', p 113.
48 See A. A. Burkett, Trinidad: A Jewel of the West, p 56.
50 P. Ruhomon, History of the East Indians, pp 227-230
52 'The Creole East Indian,' p 102.
53 Demerara: The Daily Chronicle Ltd., 1916, 117 pp
54 Signs and Portents: A Study of World Conditions and Prospects in The Light of Bible Prophecy, Berbice Gazette Printing Press, New Amsterdam, 1921, p 9
55 The Transitory and the Permanent: Being a Study and Comparison of Values, Georgetown, The Daily Chronicle, 1922, p
56 See below pp for a discussion of the context of the anthology.
57 Anthology of Local Indian Verse, ed. C. E. J. Ramcharitar-Lalla, Georgetown: The Argosy Company Ltd., 1934, p 12
58 ibid, p 27
59 ibid, p 39.


See S. Basdeo, 'The 1934 Indian Labour Disturbances'.

Indian Centenary Review, pp 55-6


Quoted in Tikasingh, 'The Representation of Indian Opinion', p 32
See also pp 29-34 of the same source, and see Ryan, Race and Nationalism, pp 30-34.


See Ryan, Race and Nationalism, p 31


The discussion which follows is indebted to J. C. Jha's, 'The Background of the Legislation of Non-Christian Marriages in Trinidad and Tobago,' East Indians in the Caribbean: A Symposium, 1975.


Indian Centenary Review, pp 55-57.

H. Teelucksingh, 'Indian Films and Trinidad Indians,' The Observer, vol 1 no 4, 1942. See also N. Ramaya, 'How Bala Joban Changed the Song
in Our Hearts,' Trinidad Guardian, 22 Jan 1974.


83 Chase, op cit. pp 87-90; see also British Guiana, Third Legislative Council, Fourth Session, 1938-1939. Report of the Leonora Enquiry Commission, no 10/1939, Georgetown: Argosy Co.Ltd. The report makes it clear that the M.C.P.A. remained firmly ensconced in Georgetown and played no active role in the strike.

84 ibid pp 112-113.


87 Source, Franklin's Trinidad and Tobago Year Book, 1919, 1920, 1923, 1924.

88 Indian Centenary Review, p63.
919.

89. ibid, p 77.
90. P. Ruhomon, History, pp 242-244
92. For the East Indian Weekly's role in the marriage legislation issue see Jha, 'The Background of the Legalisation of Non Christian Marriages,' pp 15-25.
93. Franklin's Trinidad and Tobago Year Book, 1933.
94. I am indebted to Mr. Dennis Mahabir for much of this information and for permitting me to see his own, unfortunately fragmented, collection of Indian journals.
95. See L. White, V. S. Naipaul, pp 27-33
96. Indian Opinion, vol II no 12, pp 410-412
97. ibid, pp 419-421.
98. See In Memoriam, Mr. Justice J. A. Luckhoo, A Souvenir of His Life, Death and Funeral, Georgetown, Daily Chronicle Ltd., 1949, p 38.
99. Ed. R. B. Gajraj, Christmas Number, vol I no 1, Dec 1938, p 1
100. Georgetown, Demerara, 'The Argosy' Company Ltd.
101. I am indebted for this information to Mr Herman Singh, nephew of Ramcharitar-Lalla, personal letter, Feb 18, 1973.
103. Anthology of Local Indian Verse, p 24
104. ibid. p 26.
105. From Albion Wilds, Georgetown, 1961 (but written at the same period as the anthology contributions) p 23.
110. Quoted in Verghese, op cit., p 40
111. Anthology of Local Indian Verse, p 43
916.


114 Anthology of Local Indian Verse, p 32

115 ibid, p 44

116 ibid, p 17

117 ibid, pp 22-23

118 Albion Wilds, Georgetown, British Guiana, 1961, pp 44

119 My thanks are due to the Chinapen family who very kindly gave me access to their father's papers.

120 Albion Wilds, p 34

121 Sunday Mirror, (Georgetown) 23 June 1968. (Interview)

122 Albion Wilds, p 9

123 ibid, pp 31-32

124 The Broken Wing, p 22

125 'Interview', Sunday Mirror, 23 June 1968

126 'Education and Indians', unpublished typescript.

127 Albion Wilds, pp 40-42

128 Scraps of Verse and Prose, p 3

129 ibid, p 4.

130 ibid, p 7

131 ibid, p 26.


134 Hyarima, p 19

135 ibid, p 26.


137 Hyarima, p 30.

138 'Tributes to Author', ibid, p 8.

139 ibid, p 30.
I am indebted to Dr Hardutt Singh, who was an active member of the B.G.D.S., for much background information and to the late Mrs Rajkumari Singh, daughter of Dr J.B. Singh, for making personal copies of playbills and magazines available to me.

Rules (Revised 1942) Dramag, 1942

Letter from Robert Adams to Dr and Mrs. J.B. Singh (undated)

The programme for Asra gives the following synopsis of the plot:

Harrichand, a wealthy merchant of Nagpur, is deeply distressed over the determination of his daughter, Neila, not to marry until she finds someone of her own choice. He consults priests and reluctantly decides to hold a house party to invite several eligible young men for his daughter to meet. During the week-long house party much of the discussion centres around Asra, a mysterious person who through his writings has become the political leader of India. Neila's two friends Sattia and Doolarie, who are at the party fall in love with two of the guests. Neila too at last finds a lover. Who?

See also The Dramag, Special Play Number, May 1945, p 3

The Dramag, Jan.-March 1943. Indeed, only towards the end of its existence did The Dramag publish any original writing in literary genres, and this comprised only two very brief short stories, Jamila's 'Only the Brave' (a sentimental love story set in India) and Rajkumari (Singh) 'Sakina I Love you Still,' which deals with the familiar theme of the arranged marriage but is more notable for a careful description of the wedding ceremony.

There were parallels in the contemporary plays of the Afro-Guyanese writer, N.E. Cameron, whose productions, Balthasar (1931) and Sabuco (1949) with their Hebraic and Ethiopian settings exhibit a similar distance either from the real Africa or the Africa which was present in Guyana in syncretic folk forms.

The Dramag, April-June 1944,

Special Play Number, 1944, p 3

The Dramag Special Play Number, May 1945, p 11


'And So We Came To Trinidad,' The Observer, vol. 2 no. 3, 4 & 5, 1943.


V.S. Naipaul, 'Foreward', The Adventures of Gurudeva and Other Stories, pp 15-16

Minerva Review, vol 1 no 3, 1941; see A House For Mr. Biswas, p 416

'They Have No Homes!', The Observer, vol 1 no 3, 1942.

157 See V. S. Naipaul, Finding The Centre, London, 1984, pp 71-82, for an account of Seepersad Naipaul’s brush with the followers of Kali.

158 ‘Those Indian Short Stories’, The Indian, vol. 7 no. 4, 1943.

159 See Chapter Twelve pp. 498-501.

160 Gurudeva and Other Indian Tales, Port of Spain, A Trinidad Publication: Guardian Commercial Printery, 1943, pp. 52-60.

161 Caribbean Voices Programme, 14 July, 1953, Script no. 849.

162 Caribbean Voices Programme, 14 July 1951, Script no. 574.

Footnotes: Chapter Nine

2. ibid. p. 35
8. Gurudeva And Other Indian Tales, Trinidad, 1943, p. 33.
11. An Area of Darkness, p. 35.
17. See also the description of the old men who squat in the arcade of Hanuman House, smoking their cheelums in the evening:
They could not speak English and were not interested in the land where they lived. It was a place where they had come for a short time and stayed longer than they expected. They continually talked of going back to India, but when the opportunity came, many refused, afraid of the unknown, afraid to leave the familiar temporariness.
18. Ismith Khan bases this part of the novel on the oral reminiscences of his parents and grandfather, whose name was Kala Khan, who 'told of being shot, and of having shot four policemen'. (Ismith Khan, personal letter, July, 1974.) These oral reminiscences in fact accord with the official reports of the Mohurrum disturbances of 1884 (except for the four policemen's deaths), though Ismith Khan was unaware of this report.
There is mention of a Kala Khan who was shot in the right arm and left leg but who discharged himself from hospital, not fully healed, after only three days. See Correspondence Respecting The Recent Coolie Disturbance in Trinidad at the Mohurrum Festival, London, 1885.


ibid. p. 236.

ibid. p. 387.


ibid. pp. 319-320.


See Chapter Fifteen, pp.; and Chapter Twelve, pp.


ibid. p. 19.

ibid. p. 22.

ibid. p. 13

ibid. p. 11.


See for instance 'Little Village' and 'Pundit' in A Season of Songs.

Voyage, Trinidad, 1981, p. 36.

ibid. p. 38.

ibid. p. 45.

See 'Delhi', 'Temple' and 'Heritage' in Voyage.

Heritage Two, Georgetown, 1973, p. 28.

See in particular, 'Dreams', 'Going For Lawah', 'Drought', 'Monza', 'The Brahmin Girl', 'Limbo' and 'Koker'. See bibliography for locations.

Meanings, Georgetown, 1972, no pagination.

ibid. See bibliography for other locations.

ibid.

Patterns, Georgetown, 1983, pp. 5-6.

Poems From Annandale, Georgetown, 1973, no pagination.

Heritage Two, p. 29.

Meanings.

Darling of The Rising Sun, 1974, no pagination.
Footnotes Chapter Ten.

1. A construct is the conceptual framework through which events are perceived and interpreted. For Kelly, constructs always contain two poles: a positive and a negative one. See George A. Kelly, A Theory of Personality: The Psychology of Personal Constructs, New York, Norton, 1955.


3. Personal letter, 13 May 1980


5. Trinidad Guardian, 2 April 1950. Extract from a larger story to be called 'The Meaning of a Word'. Parts of the story were incorporated into A Brighter Sun.

6. Trinidad Guardian, 8 Feb. 1948. (published under pseud. 'Ack-Ack')

7. Trinidad Guardian, 24 April 1948 ('Ack-Ack')

8. Trinidad Guardian, 12 September 1948.

9. See Bibliography.


11. B.B.C. Caribbean Voices Programme, broadcast 27 April 1952, script no. 703.


16. Miguel Street, pp 76-82.

17. Ibid. pp 127-140.


19. The Spectator, vol 1, no 1, September 1948, p. 3.


21. See Chapter Thirteen for a discussion of these novels.


Footnotes : Chapter Eleven.

1. Of the 343 short stories written by Indo-Caribbean authors surveyed in this study, 142 dealt with Indian characters in Indian environments. Well over three-quarters of these are set in rural villages.

2. Told me by various informants in Guyana; but see also Chandra Jayawardena, Conflict and Solidarity on A Guianese Plantation, 1963, p.12

3. A House For Mr. Biswas. Fontana Ed. p. 179. References from this novel are hereafter given in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.

4. See also Sadeek's story, 'The Sugar Strike' (1948) which gives a picture of sympathetic estate management in the same year that five Indians were killed in industrial conflict on the Enmore Estate. However, in 'Tomorrow's Sunrise' and 'Notice To Quit' the estate is portrayed as a repressive institution.

5. Song of the Sugarcanes, Georgetown, 1975, p.166.

6. ibid. p. 179.

7. ibid. p.100.

8. Published under the pseudonym of Lauchmonen.; Sussex, New Literature, 1960.


10. Forthcoming publication, Leeds 1985. Because proofs are as yet unpagedinated, no page references are given.

11. For other stories which deal with the estate see: Rajkumari Singh, 'Hooofbeats at Midnight' and 'Sardar Birbal Singh'; and Sheik Sadeek, 'Across the Green Fields', and 'Windswept'. For locations see Bibliography.


The episode and this passage were originally part of the story, 'Ramdas and the Cow,' Caribbean Voices Programme, Script no. 849, broadcast 14 July 1953.


22. ibid. p.42.


ibid. p. 74. By way of contrast see Kusha Haraksingh's story, 'Descent in the Village', Writing Anniversary Five, Trinidad, 1971, which portrays a similar oppression of the weak by the strong within a village, but shows poor people discovering that the powerful can be made vulnerable.

With the exception of Ladoo's novel, surprisingly few Indo-Caribbean writers have dwelt on the physical discomforts or hazards of rural life. Ramcharan Sawh's 'He Will Soon Come' in The Hidden Treasure and Other Stories (1980), is one of the few exceptions.

No Pain Like This Body, Toronto, 1972, p. 43.

ibid. p. 45.

ibid. p. 72.


ibid. p. 35.


See Peter Such, 'The Short Life and Sudden Death of Harold Ladoo,' Bim, no. 63, June 1968, pp 205-213.

For locations see Bibliography.


ibid. p. 65.

But see also Bramdeo Persaud's 'George's Dilemma', Dawn, April-June 1973, pp 18-21, which deals with emigration as a decision reluctantly taken. Bramdeo Persaud himself emigrated.


See also Sadeek's 'Black Bush' in Windswept and Other Stories, 1968, which explores a similar conflict within a family.

'A Cry For The Land,' Corlit, no. 2, April 1974, p. 53.

Goodbye Corentyne, Georgetown, 1974, p. 5.


See also 'Goatsong', 'Absences' and 'Nephew', in Goatsong, Ottawa, 1977.


'Morning', in Quest, Trinidad, 1975, p. 20.

ibid. p. 80.

ibid. p. 72.

ibid. p. 70.


ibid. p. 69.

ibid. p. 75.
56 ibid. p.73.
57 A Brighter Sun, London, 1952, p.84.
59 Turn Again Tiger, p.135.
60 The world of Indian city derelicts is explored in Sheik Sadeek's 'No More Pavement', No Greater Day and Four More Adult Stories, Georgetown, 1974; in Ismith Khan's The Jumbie Bird, 1961; and in Dennis Mahabir's The Cutlass Is Not For Killing (1971)
63 ibid. p.183.
64 A House For Mr. Biswas, p.268.
65 Finding The Centre: Two Narratives, p.79.
66 Miguel Street, London, 1959, Four Square ed. p.27.
68 ibid. p.55.
Footnotes: Chapter Twelve

1 Exceptions include Rhoda Reddock, 'Indian Women and Indentureship in Trinidad and Tobago, 1845-1917: Freedom Denied,' Paper presented to the Third Conference on East Indians in the Caribbean, U.W.I. St. Augustine, 1984; and the work of Judith Johnson cited in the text.
4 Nath, op cit pp 245, 247.
5 See Peter Ruhomon, History of the East Indian in British Guiana, Georgetown, 1947, pp 244-245.
11 See Barewood, op cit pp 120-121.
14 This is consistent with the findings of Y. Rubin and M. Zavelloni's We Wish To Be Looked Upon, New York, 1969, pp 88-95, that East Indian girls were more likely than girls of any other ethnic group to see career and marriage as irreconcilable. See also F. S. Brathwaite and W. R. Aho, 'Race, Occupational Mobility and Career Aspirations Among Secondary School Teachers in Trinidad and Tobago,' Paper presented to East Indians in the Caribbean: A Symposium, U.W.I. St Augustine, 1975.
17 I make these comments on the basis of conversations with Guyanese both in and out of the country.
21 Dawning Days, Wales, W.B.D. 1976, p15-16
24 Seepeersad Naipaul's original publication (Trinidad Publications, 1943) has a unity which has been disturbed by V.S. Naipaul's later collection of his father's stories, The Adventures of Gurudeva and Other Stories, London, Deutsch, 1976. I have treated them as two distinct works.
26 Gurudeva and Other Indian Tales, p54.
27 Caribbean Voices Programme, Broadcast 14 July 1951, Script no 574. Reprinted in The Adventures of Gurudeva, from which page references are taken.
28 Twelve Short Stories, Maraval, 1976, pp 31-40
29 Subtitled, A Guyanese Stage Play in One Act, Georgetown, 1974.
30 The Indian Review, vol 2 no 1, pp 13-16.
34 Grass-Root People: Thirteen Stories on One Theme, Cuba, Casa de las Americas, 1981, pp 83-92
39 See A Bend in the River, Deutsch ed, pp 200-238.
40 Trinidad, Scope Publications, 1975, p.3.
41 Toronto, Anansi Press, 1974, p. 110
44 The Indian Review, vol 1 no 2, 1982, pp 9-12; ibid, pp 13-16; and vol 1 no 3, pp 11-13.
45 Writing Anniversary Five, Trinidad, 1968, pp 32-34.
5. Trinidad and Tobago Review, vol 7 no 7, 1984, p.18.
7. Twelve Short Stories, pp 10-17.
19. Guyana, Sheik Sadeek, 1968, p.8
31. The Dramag (Georgetown) Special Christmas Number, Dec. 1945.
The group included, amongst others, Mahadai Das, Rooplall Monar, Guska Kissoon, Gora Singh and Henry Muttoo.


ibid, pp 23-28.

ibid, no 5, 1968, pp 31-34.

A Garland of Stories, pp 47-55.

Heritage Two, 1973, pp 6-10

Unpublished typescript, performed 1974.

Unpublished typescript, read at Messenger's Coolie Art Forms Show 1973


Kaie no 12, pp 114-116.


'Call Me The Need of Rain,' ibid, pp 168-169.


2. I believe that this process to have gone much further in Guyana than in Trinidad.


6. See H. V. P. Bronkhurst, Among the Hindus and Creoles of British Guiana, 1888, p. 49.


8. Ibid. p 53.

9. The Middle Passage, p 228.


11. Nearly all Kissoon's plays have been published in roneographed form. Mamaguay has also been published in the U.W.I. Extra-Mural Department Caribbean Plays Series. Calabash Alley was published by the author in printed form. See bibliography for further details.

12. Doo-Doo, p 2.


15. Ibid, p 12.


18. As Time Goes By and Black Pieces, Calder and Boyars, 1972, p 83.

19. For much of this information I am indebted to Sam Selvon in personal letters.

20. See D. W. D. Comins, Note on Emigration from India to Trinidad, Calcutta, 1893.

21. 'Three Into One Won't Go, East Indian, Trinidadian; West Indian,' Second Conference on East Indians in the Caribbean, Trinidad, U.W.I. St. Augustine, 1979, p. 3.

22. Ibid.
23. ibid. p. 4.
27. 'Three Into One', p. 10.
28. ibid. p. 20.
29. See Bibliography, pp. for details of these stories.
33. New Statesman, 6 Dec. 1958, p 826
34. Writers and Artists Year Book.
36. A Brighter Sun, Alan Wingate, London, 1952, p 7. All subsequent quotations from this novel are documented with page numbers in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.
37. See Chapter Twelve for a discussion of the elements of sexism in Selvon's treatment of the character of Urmilla. However, it should be noted that the portrayal aims at social realism: Urmilla's behaviour fulfils a strongly sanctioned social and cultural stereotype. The portrayal of Rita, forceful, sympathetic and eminently rational, the dominant partner in the Creole Martin household, shows that Selvon sees no inherent incapacity in women.
40. See pp. 413-415
41. Selvon writes, of course, about a period of Trinidadian politics which was indeed characterised by chaos, graft and unfettered individualism.
42. I do not imply by this that An Island Is A World is an autobiographical novel, though there are a number of obvious autobiographical elements. Foster's career is in part Selvon's, both served in a 'local branch of the Royal Navy' and an earlier apparently autobiographical piece of writing 'We Also Served' Caribbean Voices, Script 274, 29 Aug 1948 is used almost unchanged to provide Foster's naval
experiences (pp 65 ff) Less significantly Selvon's own brother, Dennis, like the fictional Rufus, left Trinidad to study dentistry, though unlike Rufus, Dennis Selvon became a dentist. Selvon also includes in An Island Is a World many of the short pieces he had written earlier in his writing career. For instance:

'Talk' (Bim vol 4 no 15, Dec 1951) appears as pp 78-81
'As Time Goes By' (Bim, vol 3 no 12, June 1950) as pp 86ff
'Two Minutes Silence' (Caribbean Voices Script no 555, 12 Nov 1950) appears as p 100 ff
'The Leaf in the Wind' (Bim vol 4 no 16, June 1952) appears as pp 160-162.

There is also a close, and I think self-mocking, similarity between some of Selvon's own early sentimentally romantic poetry and Foster's flair for the melodramatic: 'Oh kiss me the universal kiss ... and there's an end to the world's wrangle'... is a fairly typical example of Foster's poeticising.

There are also the debates about the relationship between Art and life, which are inserted in ways which cannot be said to spring organically from Foster's situation in the novel, which are similar in sentiment to the theme of an early story 'Rhapsody in Red' (Trinidad Guardian, 9 March 1947).

43 See 'Samuel Selvon and The West Indian Renaissance,' Ariel, University of Calgary, vol 8 no 3, July 1977, p18

44 Turn Again Tiger, MacGibbon and Kee, 1957, p12. Subsequent quotations from this novel are documented with page numbers in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.

45 A Brighter Sun, p 112.

46 I Hear Thunder, London; MacGibbon and Kee, 1963. Subsequent quotations from this novel are documented with page numbers in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.

47 The Plains of Caroni, p.155. Subsequent quotations from this novel are documented with page numbers in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.

See for example the review of the novel originally published in the Sugar Workers' Union newspaper, Battlefront, Issue no 6, and republished in T. Sudama, Of Society and Politics, Sookhai's Printery, Siparia, Trinidad, 1979, pp 124-125, which criticises The Plains of Caroni as a thoroughly worthless mercenary effort.

49 Selvon has said jokingly, but with evident point since he has subsequently re-emigrated to Canada, that in the 1970's his status as a long standing West Indian fixture in British society became less secure. On the one hand the young Blacks of the 1970's lived a culture as foreign to Selvon as to most of the rest of the population. As an Indian in appearance Selvon came to be mistaken for one of the new migrants from Indian or Pakistan. Since 'Paki-bashing' was one of the barbarous sports of the white lumpen-proletariat in their battle to uphold the values of Western civilisation, this was a dangerous change of identification to go through. Moses Ascending (1975) makes rich but pointed humour out of this changed situation.

50 Script no 451, 2 April 1950.

51 The play was broadcast on 17 July 1971.

52 Ways of Sunlight, p 21
Selvon's portrayal of Manko, who lives in a circular African hut in a deliberate state of self-deprivation, is a further indication of his cultural openness. Few Indian writers have shown much inclination to treat the African cultural heritage of the Creole with either sympathy or respect. Manko is portrayed by Selvon as no charlatan but a man who is conscientious with his gift and unwilling to exploit the gullible. By contrast the local Indian pundit in Those Who Eat the Cascadura is portrayed as a fraud who fashions bogus 'Indian' customs out of 'borrowed bits and pieces' and '...by such intrigue, and employing any means to mystify or make esoteric these observations, the pundit sought to keep the villagers' interest from waning...\textsuperscript{\textsection} (p 107)
Footnotes; Chapter Fourteen.

4 The Middle Passage, Penguin ed. p 87.
5 Among The Hindus and Creoles of British Guina, p 186.
8 Quoted in D. Wood, Trinidad in Transition, p. 138.
14 The Middle Passage, p. 11.
17 The Observer (London) 27 June and 4 July 1982.
20 The introduction of a limitation on transport expenses was seen by Indians as hitting their rural-based electorate disproportionately.
21 Quoted in Ryan, op cit, p 273; For the tensions of the 1961 elections see Ryan, pp 247-291; Bahadoorsingh, pp 15-25; Oxaal, pp 170-173 and Malik, pp 114-127.
22 See H.P. Singh, That Unitary State, Trinidad, 1962.
23 Another Congo?, Trinidad, 1962, p.8. See also Hour of Decision, 1962.
24 The Observer (Trinidad) vol 23 no 7, 1964, p.11.
25 See Y. Malik, East Indians in Trinidad, pp.47-48, whose survey showed that 11/14 of the D.L.P.'s Indian political elite were Brahmins.
26 The Indian Enigma; A Review of Mr. C.L.R. James's 'West Indians of "East Indian" Descent,' or a Study in Coolietude, Trinidad, 1965, p.13.
27 See Ryan, pp 314-336; Malik, pp 128-159; and see The Indian Association of Trinidad and Tobago, Memorandum on the Draft Trinidad and Tobago (Constitution) Order in Council 1962.
28 The West Indies and The Spanish Main, London, 1859, p.56.
29 Miguel Street, pp.66-75.
32 A House For Mr. Biswas, p. 221.
33 ibid. p.72.
35 The West Indies and The Spanish Main, pp. 70-71.
36 The Middle Passage, pp 72-73.
37 ibid. pp.238-240.
38 ibid. p. 201.
39 Naipaul may well have had Robert Donaldson's novel, Heart's Triumph, Trinidad, 1944, 1963, in mind; it fits the description very well.
41 It is possible that Naipaul is satirising Lamming's character, Chiki, the painter in Season Of Adventure (1960), with his concern with the 'backward glance'.
42 A Flag On The Island , p.174.
43 The Mimic Men, (Penguin Ed.) 1967, p.92. Hereafter page references are given in parenthesis at the end of quotations. Note that in The Middle Passage, Naipaul had written of the West Indian pretence that they were heirs to the 'Christian-Hellenic tradition.'
44 One wonders whether Naipaul had the fact-laden historical works on slavery by Dr Eric Williams in mind.
45 There is perhaps an echo of an episode in Andrew Salkey's novel, Escape To An Autumn Pavement (1960) when the black main character has to listen to extracts from a racialist tract on the small size of the negro skull read to him by the white woman who is trying to seduce him. (pp 184-186) One suspects that Naipaul would read the incident as an example of Black self-laceration and sexual wish-fulfilment.
48 His commitment to the P.N.M. can be read in his Selected Essays, Trinidad, Vedic Enterprises, 1958.

See for instance the work of the Trinidadian scholar and linguist, J. J. Thomas, in Froudacity (1889); C. L. R. James's The Black Jacobins, (1938); and, of course, the work of Dr. Eric Williams, The Negro in The Caribbean (1942 and Capitalism and Slavery (1944).

Seminal work in this respect includes: Elsa Goveia's Slave Society in The British Leeward Islands At The End Of The Eighteenth Century, (1965); Orlando Patterson's The Sociology Of Slavery (1967); Walter Rodney's West Africa and The Slave Trade (1970); and Edward Brathwaite's Creole Society in Jamaica 1770-1820 (1971).

For instance, the Pinetoppers mask. See Tapia, no 9, Sept. 28, 1970, p. 4,10; and see papers such as East Dry River Speaks and Liberation for the use of motifs drawn from slavery.

Port of Spain Gazette, 6 May 1913.

D. Nath, A History of Indians in Guyana, London, 1970, p. 1. H. P. Singh's historiography was more blatantly racist. For instance, reviewing the Black Creole opposition to indenture at the Sanderson Commission hearings, he refers to Alfred Richards of the Trinidad Workingmen's Association as 'this grandson of a slave whose ancestors roamed the African jungle naked.' The Observer, 23 March 1964.

The Loss of Eldorado, London, Deutch, p. 286. Hereafter page references will be given in parenthesis at the end of quotations.


L. M. Fraser, History of Trinidad, Trinidad, 1891, vol 1, pp 268-272.


Fraser, op cit., p. 270.

The Overcrowded Barracoon, London, 1972, pp 244-245.


See A. Gomes, Through A Maze of Colour, Trinidad, 1974, for an account of middle-class Trinidadian attitudes to Afro-Trinidadian culture, pp 78-82; See K. Norris, Jamaica: The Search For An Identity, London, 1962, for an account of middle-class Jamaican attitudes to Rastafarianism, pp 54-55; In the arts Derek Walcott has been a vituperative critic of the 'literature of return'. See 'The Muse of History,' in Is Massa Dead?, ed. C. Coombs, New York, 1974, pp 1-27; and see Another Life, London, 1973,' Chapter 19', pp 127-128.


4. Naipaul's honesty reads better than some of the Afro-Caribbean apologists for Amin. Although Afro-Caribbean comment in Trinidad was almost wholly highly critical, there were articles like those of Marina Maxwell (see 'Profile of Change - a tale of a trip to Jinja, Uganda,' published in the *Jamaican Daily Gleaner* or her 'African Note book No 1,' broadcast by the Jamaican Broadcasting Company - both pieces reprinted in *About Our Business*, Trinidad, 1981, pp 6-14 & 76-80) which though expressing some qualms about Amin's methods, fully justify his policy of expelling the Asians on the grounds of their racism and commercial monopoly. The Asian expulsions had their shock waves in Trinidad and Guyana where Indians expressed their fears that the African resentments which lay behind the expulsions also existed in the Caribbean.


9. Ibid. p. 199.


11. Naipaul's portrayal of the nihilism of the revolt is clearly based on the actual rebellion of Pierre Mulele in the Congo in 1964, when some of the threats described by Meti were actually carried out. The reality of the dreadful temptation to final solutions has all too many twentieth century instances to be in any doubt: Stalin's purges, Hitler's pogroms and Pol Pot's destruction of the Cambodian cities. However, few would seek the reasons for such holocausts in a specifically 'Russian' 'German' or 'Cambodian' personality.


89. 'The Shouters Visit China,' Trinidad Guardian, 19 Feb. 1950.


91. This is by no means an uniquely Naipaulian view. It is found, for instance in Orlando Patterson's The Sociology of Slavery, London, 1967.

92. 'Guerrillas,' Penguin Ed.) 1975, p. 121. Hereafter page references will be given in parenthesis at the end of quotations.

93. See Of Age and Innocence, London, 1958, pp 63-66


95. See I. Oxaal, Race and Revolutionary Consciousness, Massachusetts, 1971; Susan Craig, 'Background To the 1970 Confrontation in Trinidad and Tobago,' Contemporary Caribbean: A Sociological Reader, Trinidad, 1982, pp 385-424. See also contemporary issues of Tapia, Moko, Liberation, New Beginning, East Dry River Speaks, Embryo and Pivot.


98. See Crisis, ed. O. Baptiste, Trinidad, 1976, pp 161-212.


103. Interview with leading members of the S.Y.O. 29 July 1976.

104. Sunday Morning Coming Down, Trinidad, 1975, p. 13. Hereafter page references will be given in parenthesis at the end of quotations.


107. R. Jagessar, 'Indians in Trinidad,' p. 51

17. 'Black People of The World Unite: A Simple Manifesto For My People,' Embryo vol 2 no 12 Feb. 1970. The satire was not so broad, however, for it fooled an academic commentator, Dr. John La Guerre, an Indian lecturer on the same campus, who quoted it as an article in support of black power in his chapter, 'The East Indian Middle Class Tody,' in Calcutta to Caroni, p.104.
18. My own impression. This is confirmed in surveys reported in Ryan et al. The Confused Electorate, Trinidad, I.S.E.R. 1979, in which 34% of Indian against 12% of Black respondents indicated that they would prefer to work for a white employer, whilst only 12% of Indians against 25% of Africans believed that Africans and Indians were oppressed by whites in Trinidad. (pp 46-47)
20. Quest, Trinidad, 1975, p.87.
27. On the one occasion when Naipaul is likely to have come into contact with members of the Mukdar group, the 1975 Symposium on East Indians in the Caribbean held at St. Augustine, Trinidad, he spoke of the need for rationality in the coming together of Trinidadians in a genuine community. His speech was, according to several reports, not well received by an audience which was 75% Indian. See P.D. Fraser, 'A Report On A Conference on East Indians in The Caribbean,' Caribbean Contact, vol 3 no 5, Sept. 1975.
28. See for instance Krishna Ganessingh's Undergrad (1975), a collection of articles presented with a touch of self-dramatisation as a 'samizdat' underground publication which no Caribbean publisher would dare to touch. That claim is probably true: Undergrad is frequently incoherent and on occasions personally abusive and cruelly racist. This is a pity since Ganessingh displays a talent for acute observation and sharp humour when it surfaces from underneath the obsessive word-play and old-fashioned transatlantic 'hipster' style. Ganessingh echoes Naipaul's focus on the alleged elements of messianism and carnival protest in black politics, arguing that it can never be more than the politics of desire and discontented craving, that the black masses are always in bondage to any 'Massa-Messiah' who comes along and that the black power revolt was just another piece of Trinididian bacchanal, marked by a conspicuous lack of courage as soon as the repression came. Ganessingh repeats Naipaul's themes of mimicry and self-contempt, though expressing them vituperatively and without sympathy: 'Their identity is the vomit of 400 years of aspiring to European styled living... The Afro-colonial is born in the excreta of a retreating Europe and wriggles his way to
survival in his hookworm life... whitewashed in the degrading masochism of self-contempt'. (p. 60). He also recycles the familiar Indian-held stereotypes of the Trinidadian black. Where else, he asks do you find half a country 'working, saving, stealing, cheating and going to robbery with violence in order to find the realisation of their personalities in a spree devoted to fete and fuck'. (p. 18).

124 The Overcrowded Barracoons, p. 247.
125 ibid. p. 254.
127 Guerrillas (Penguin Ed.) p. 13. Hereafter page references are given in parenthesis.
Footnotes Chapter Fifteen.

1 See Chapter Two, pp. 33-34.

2 See Chapter Seven, pp. 33f ff.


6 For the 1953 elections and their background, see: Depres, op cit, pp 189-202; Premdas, op cit, pp 14-18; Hubbard, op cit, pp 61-66 and Jagan, op cit, pp 127-144.


8 Chronicles Christmas Annual 1953, pp 45-47.


11 Ibid p. 59.

12 Ibid p. 186.


14 Georgetown, cyclostyled, c. 1964.

15 Georgetown, cyclostyled, c. 1963, p. 17.

16 Kitty, Sheik Sadeek, 1965, p. 11. Hereafter page references are given in parenthesis.

17 See for instance Rajkumari Singh's Heritage (1971), discussed in Chapter Twelve, pp.

18 Caribbean Voices Programme, broadcast 8 June 1958, script no. 1346.


20 The Masses Create, Guyana, 1978, p. 35 & 43.
9L

See also Yusuf Mohammed's 'Magdalenburg' from his collection Wildflowers and Waterlilies, Guyana, 1980, p. 7; who also uses the past to criticise the present:

Perhaps it was a time like now
Conditions were gruesome
The agonies unbearable
And hopes for the future grim.

He too writes the obligatory poem on 'Cuffy'.

Poems of Recession, Guyana, Sheik Sadeek, 1972, p. 5.


In New Writing in the Caribbean, ed A.J.Seymour, Guyana, 1972, p. 84; and in Patterns, Georgetown, 1983, pp 15-16.

From Utopia To Paradise, Guyana, 1976, p. 4.


The Masses Create, Guyana, 1978, p. 15.


The Masses Create, pp. 69-74.

Conversations with the late Guska Kissoon, September 1976.

Quest, Trinidad, 1975, pp. 72-73.


Footnotes Chapter Sixteen


2. See Chapter Six, pp. 244.

3. Ibid. pp. 235-40

4. Ibid. pp. 252-58

5. One of the most detailed discussions of Harris's concern with perception and epistemology is R.M. Lacovia's Landscape, Maps and Parangles, Toronto, 1975.


7. Ibid. p. 45.

8. 'Reflection and Vision' in Explorations, p. 83.

9. Ibid. p. 84.

10. Ibid. p. 43.

11. Ibid. p. 47.


15. 'The Phenomenal Legacy', Ibid. p. 45.


19. See the more detailed discussion of this point in Chapter Nineteen, pp.

20. For example, questions of actor-environment relationships, explanations of causes and the relationship between ideas and material practices.


22. For instance see L. C. Knight's 'How Many Children Had Lady Macbeth?' in Explorations, London, 1964, a critique of approaches to character in Shakespeare.


25. Story and Discourse, pp. 119-133.


31 For instance, ideas about imitation and modelling behaviour.

32 See Kelly, op. cit., pp. 105-118.


37 See Pervin, op. cit., pp. 278-351.

38 Huckleberry Finn (1884), Penguin English Library Ed., pp. 72-73.

39 See Chapter Four, pp.

40 B. F. Skinner has, however, written a novel Walden Two (1948) in support of his behaviourist theories.

41 See Chapter Six, pp.

42 See Chapter Twelve.

43 In A Hot Country (1983), for instance, Shiva Naipaul makes use of vulgarised Freudian ideas to describe the level of barbarism to which the fictitious Caribbean society of Geyama has sunk. In the absence of the colonial super-ego, the nihilistic id of the ex-colonised people is given free reign.

44 See Pervin, op. cit., pp. 48-49.

45 See Chapter Thirteen, pp. 577-588.

46 See Pervin, op. cit., pp. 57-58.

47 A House For Mr. Biswas, Fontana ed., p. 119.

48 ibid., p. 199.

49 ibid., p. 96.

50 ibid., p. 510.

51 ibid., p. 51.

52 ibid., p. 96.


54 See Chapter Nineteen, pp.

55 This is the defect I find in the work of the social psychologists Philip Singer and Enrique Araneta in their paper, 'Hinduisation and Creolisation in Guyana: The Plural Society and Basic Personality', Social and Economic Studies, vol. 16, pp. 221-236. They construct the idea of a basic 'ethic' personality which is the result of individuals internalising the cultural values of their ethnic group. They work within an extreme version of the cultural pluralist thesis ('separate, closed, cultural systems') and see a closed circuit between individual and culture. There is no recognition of a conscious cognitive dimension in the individual's orientation to cultural practices.

Biswas's vulnerability and the possibilities he seizes on in his life are both shown to be related to his unwillingness to accept any role thrust on him which he feels is not part of his essential self. He says at one point: 'I don't look like anything at all. Shopkeeper, lawyer, doctor, overseer... ' (p. 139)

My discussion at this point is indebted to V. L. Allen, Social Analysis: A Marxist Critique and Alternative, Shipley, 1982.


See for instance, W. Dookeran, 'East Indians and The Economy of Trinidad and Tobago', in From Calcutta to Caroni, London 1974, pp. 69-83.


2 See Chapter Seven, pp. 332

3 See Edward Brathwaite, Contradictory Omens, Jamaica, 1974, pp. 16-21.


6 'The Cultural Continuum', p. 368.

7 Ibid. p. 369.


9 Ibid. p. 7.

10 Ibid. p. 12.

11 African Society for Cultural Relations With Independent Africa.


13 Ibid. p. 18.


15 Ibid. p. 45.

16 He refers wittily to the recurrence of rumours which circulated Guyana that 'some prominent citizen ... was said to be dying, or to have died from an erection that would not, in all conscience, subside' and the 'curious fascination' such rumours had for every ethnic group. He wonders: 'Was it an archetypal extension, phallic agent, African folk memory? Was it an Amerindian shaman, flight into the wilderness? Was it some sort of Catholic fetish, Portuguese god? Or was it Hindu Mahommedan, Indo-European esoteric limb of fantasy.' (p. 45.).

17 The Carifesta Festival Guyana 1970.

18 In Explorations, p. 57.


21 British Guyana, p. 137.

22 See in particular Chapter Seven, pp.


24 Contradictory Omens, pp 17-21.


For more recent developments in Marxist analysis see: P. Harvey, The Rise and Fall of Party Politics in Trinidad and Tobago, Toronto, 1974; and Bukka Rennie, The History of the Working Class in the Twentieth Century, Trinidad and Tobago, 1974.

27 Of Age And Innocence, p. 383.

28 Discussed in Chapter Nineteen, pp. 833-834.


30 The Middle Passage, Penguin ed. p. 29.

31 See Chapter Seventeen, pp. 776-777.
12 The Middle Passage, p. 27
15 ibid. p. 12.
16 Tradition, The Writer and Society, p. 36.
17 See Chapter Six, pp. 214-217
18 See Chapter Thirteen.
19 See Chapter Six, pp. 277-283
20 ibid. pp. 252-253
21 See Gerald Graff, Literature Against Itself, pp. 31-62.
22 'The Novel As Sociology As Bure', Caribbean Quarterly, vol 18, no. 4, 1972, pp. 78-81.
26 'Speaking of Writing', The Times, 2 Jan. 1964.
27 'Some Aspects of The Creative Imagination', Explorations, p. 100.
28 ibid. p. 103.
30 Of Age And Innocence, p. 393.
Chapter Seventeen

The best account of Naipaul's background is to be found in Landeg White's *V. S. Naipaul: A Critical Introduction*, London 1975.


2. ibid. p. 20.

3. ibid. p. 209.


5. ibid. p. 48.


8. *The Middle Passage*, Penguin ed. p. 45. Subsequent quotations from this source are given with a page reference in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.


12. *The Middle Passage*, p. 6

13. *An Area of Darkness*, pp. 32-33. Subsequent quotations from this source are given with a page reference in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.


16. See Chapter Nineteen, pp 321 &

17. ibid. pp 326-341

18. See Chapter Ten, pp. 431-432.

Footnotes: Chapter Eighteen

7. ibid. p. 49.
9. ibid.
10. Note in response to an earlier draft of this chapter.
13. This aspect of Harris's work has been under-appreciated. There is one nice joke in The Far Journey Of Oudin (amongst several) when Ram, trying to cover up the fact that he has employed Oudin to steal Mohammed's straying cattle, tells Mohammed, 'Oudin would got to be a god to do all that...' (p. 93).
15. See pp. 702-704
22. History, Fable and Myth, p. 29.
34. See especially pp.
35. See History, Fable and Myth, p. 17.
36. For another portrayal of the porkknocker as an archetypal figure of Creole profligate abandon see Jan Carew's Black Midas, London, 1958; and see also Ovid S. Abrams, Guyana Mete'gee, Georgetown, 1970, pp 69-77.
37. The Sleepers Of Roraima, p. 28.
38. ibid. pp. 33-34.
40. ibid. pp 118-119.
42. See Wilson Harris, 'Some Aspects of Myth and the Intuitive Imagination', in Explorations, Denmark, 1981, pp. 97-106; and see also Chapter Sixteen, pp.
44. History, Fable and Myth, p. 22.
46. Ascent To Omai, p. 17.
47. ibid. p. 18.
Footnotes: Chapter Nineteen.

2. ibid. p. 37.
4. Of Age And Innocence, London, Michael Joseph, 1960, p. 58. Hereafter quotations from this text are identified by page references in parenthesis in the body of the text.
7. See Chapter One, pp. 15ff.
8. The Pleasures of Exile, p. 56.
10. 'A strong sense of identity makes a man feel he can do no wrong; too little accomplishes the same'.
13. During the Turkish-Greek Cyprus war of 1974, one newspaper report carried the detail that the clocks in the different sectors showed different times.
14. The Pleasures of Exile, p. 35.
17. The Pleasures of Exile, p. 11.
18. 'The West Indian People', N.W.Q. 2:2, pp. 69-70.
20. The events of the hospital fire and the subsequent arrest of Singh for his alleged responsibility is an example of the creative use Lamming makes of actual events. In Jamaica in February 1946, during a period of armed clashes between supporters of Manley's P.N.P. and those of Bustamente's B.I.T.U., the Kingston mental hospital was set on fire during an assault led on it by Bustamente at the head of his supporters. Inmates of the hospital had allegedly assaulted Bustamente. In the fire fifteen patients perished and Bustamente was charged with manslaughter but was subsequently acquitted. See Trinidad Guardian, Feb. - April, 1946.
POETRY


Ajodia, Michael K. 'I'll Soon Be Gone,' Expression 1, 1966, p 26


_________ 'Education,' Voices vol 1 no 2, 1964, p 6.

_________ 'Unreasonable,' Voices vol 1 no 3, 1965, p 22.


Armoorgam, V. 'Party,' Trinidad Guardian, 10 Nov. 1946


Assee, Charles Secundyne, Sonnets (After Shakespeare) Trinidad, pre 1914?

_________ 'Laus Reginae,' Trinidad, pre 1901?


Baldeo, Isodore, 'An Addict's Remorse,' *Corlit*, vol 1 no 1, 1973, p. 22


Balckarransingh, Lal, 'Carnival Tempo,' *Embryo*, vol 2 no 11, Jan. 1970

Bann, Indra Prakesh, 'Oh Happy Am I,' *Trinidad Guardian*, 11 April 1948

Bann, Varunganin, P. R. 'Sweet Memories,' *Trinidad Guardian*, 18 May 1947


Bassant, Reynold, 'Nuptial,' 'Deadstone,' 'Carnegie Free Library: "As They Would Want the" or ("To be' or Not to Be..."), *Corlit*, vol 4 Dec 1974, p 20 & 36.


Bassant, Reynold, 'Death of Boboy's Cafe,' *Gayap*, 1971-72, p 105.


Bassant, Reynold, 'The Other,' 'Dedicated to You,' *Gayap*, 1977-78, p 93.


Bhagwandai, 'To a Water Lily,' in *Sun Is a Shapely Fire*, ed Elma Seymour, Georgetown, 1973, p 68.

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*Season of Songs*, Ilfracombe, A.H. Stockwell, 1975, pp 16. Includes: 'Meditation,' 'Minstrels,' 'Morning Company,' 'Girl in the Garden,' 'Moments,' 'A Flower Amongst Flowers,' 'Disciple,' 'Living Art,' 'Man,' 'A Season of Songs,' 'Wavelets,' 'Rest.'

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