

LITERATURE AND CULTURAL PLURALISM:

EAST INDIANS IN THE CARIBBEAN.

VOLUME THREE.

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Introduction : Footnotes

1 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.

2 'Timehri', Savacou, No 2, Kingston 1970, p38

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

4 The Middle Passage, London, 1962, Penguin ed. p87

5 Image and Idea in the Arts of Guyana, Georgetown, 1969, p 10 & pp18-19

6 'Nationalism and the Writer in Sri Lanka and the West Indies,' Savacou, vol 11/12, Sept. 1975, p17.

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, 'Military and Development: An Experiment in Nation Building,' Transition vol 1 no 1 pp 23-44.

10 Studies which focus on the Creole dimension of Caribbean literature include: G. Moore, The Chosen Tongue, London 1969; and, with the exception of one chapter on A House for Mr. Biswas, K. Ramchand, The West Indian Novel and its Background, London, 1970.

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.

12 Social and Economic Studies, vol 22 no 4, 1973, pp 427-439

13 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.

17 See V.N. Volosinov, Marxism and the Philosophy of Language, New York, 1973, pp 99-106.

18 Hirsch, *op.cit.* p. 87.

19 My argument is greatly indebted to the following: T. Lovell, Pictures of Reality: Aesthetics, Politics and Pleasure, London, 1980;

R. Keat and J. Urry, Social Theory as Science, London, 1975; T. Benton,

Philosophical Foundations of the Three Sociologies, London 1977;

and R. Harre, Social Being, London, 1979.

20 The Middle Passage, p 73 (Penguin Ed.)

21 Quoted in S. Pouchet-Paquet, The Novels of George Lamming, London, 1982, p. 4

22 Tradition, The Writer and Society, London, 1967, p46.

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.*, pp110-123.

25 Two such studies are W. Walsh, V.S. Naipaul, Edinburgh 1973; and P. Theroux, V.S. Naipaul: An Introduction To His Work, London, 1972.

26 Theory of Literature, Penguin Ed., 1973, p.212.

27 Terry Lovell, Pictures of Reality, London, 1980, p. 91.

28 See S.S. Alisharan, V.S. Naipaul; A Study of Four Books, Master's Thesis, Mount Allison University, 1965.

29 Lovell, op. cit. p.93.

30 See Hirsch, op.cit. pp 130-135.

31 See for instance, R.Hoggart,Speaking To Each Other, London, 1973, vol.2, p.249.

32 Terry Eagleton, Criticism and Ideology, London, 1976, p.56.

33 A view most notably expressed in The Meaning of Contemporary Realism, London, 1963.

34 'On The Formalist Character of The Theory Of Realism.' and 'Popularity and Realism', in Aesthetics and Politics: Debates Between Bloch, Lukacs, Brecht, Benjamin and Adorno, London, 1977, pp 81-82.

35. ibid. pp. 81-82.

36 See Language As A Social Semiotic, London, 1978, pp. 133-139.

37 See for instance, Janet Wolff, The Social Production of Art, London, 1981, pp 117-136.

38. See George A. Kelly, The Psychology of Personal Constructs, New York, 1955.

39. In a conversation in Port of Spain, July, 1976.

## Footnotes: Chapter Two.

1 'The Waste Land', The Complete Poems and Plays of T.S.Eliot, 1969, p.74.

2 The concept of broker institutions comes from Leo A. Depres, Cultural Pluralism and Nationalist Politics in British Guiana, Chicago, 1967, p 23, 121-122.

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

5 See I.D.Sukdeo, Racial Integration with Special Reference to Guyana, Ph.D. University of Sussex, 1969, p221

6 See C.G.Clarke, 'Residential Segregation and Intermarriage in San Fernando, Trinidad', in Geographical Review, vol LXI, no 2, 1971.

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

8 See Sukdeo, op cit. pp184-191.

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, pp267-293, 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.

<sup>11</sup> The Middle Passage, p 85 (Penguin ed.) In 1976 the observation still held good.

<sup>12</sup> See W. Dookeran, 'East Indians and the Economy of Trinidad and Tobago', in Calcutta to Caroni, ed. La Guerre, London, 1974, p 69.

<sup>13</sup> 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.

<sup>14</sup> 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.

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

<sup>16</sup> See Caribbean Contact, vol 5 no 7, Nov 1977, p13 and vol 5 no 8, Feb. 1978, p 8.

<sup>17</sup> For the above figures see D. Nath, A History of Indians in Guyana, London, 1970, pp 266-68. The ratios are likely to have changed given the large scale emigration of Indian professionals over the last decade.

<sup>18</sup> See M. St. Pierre, 'Race, the Political Factor and the Nationalisation of the Demerara Bauxite Co., Guyana,' S.E.S. vol 24, no 4, 1975, pp 481-500.

<sup>19</sup> See M. J. Boodhoo & A. Baksh, The Impact of the Brain Drain on Development: A Case Study of Guyana, Kuala Lumpur, 1981, pp 60-62.

<sup>20</sup> Committee on General Education, Education Reprint, Port Of Spain, 1960.

<sup>21</sup> See S. Vuorinem, Sociological Implications of the Work of the Missionaries in Trinidad, Dept. of Psychology, University of Waterloo, 1969.

- <sup>22</sup> See Depres, *op cit.*, pp122-131 and 234-238. See also M.K.Bacchus, Education and Socio-cultural Integration in a Plural Society, Montreal, 1970.
- <sup>23</sup> See Caribbean Contact, vol 4, no 7, October 1976, pp 8-9.
- <sup>24</sup> See R.T.Smith, 'Aspects of Family Organisation in a Coastal Negro Community', S.E.S. vol1 no 1, pp 87-111; M.Klass, East Indians in Trinidad, Columbia, 1967, pp93-136; and M.Freilich, Cultural Diversity Among Trinidadian Peasants, Ann Arbor Microfilms, 1972, (Ph.D. Columbia University, 1960) pp147-149.
- <sup>25</sup> G.W.Roberts and L.Braithwaite, 'Mating among East Indian and Non-Indian Women in Trinidad', S.E.S. vol11 no 3, 1962.
- <sup>26</sup> 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.
- <sup>27</sup> See R.T.Smith and C.Jayawardena, 'Hindu Marriage Customs', S..E.S., vol 7 no 2, 1958.
- <sup>28</sup> See Chapter Seventeen, pp.786ff.
- <sup>29</sup> See Chapter Six, pp. 220-211
- <sup>30</sup> See Sukdeo, *op cit.* p 336; and A & J. Niehoff, East Indians in the West Indies, Milwaukee, 1960, pp66-67;  
See also A.S.Ehrlich, East Indian Cane Workers in Jamaica, Ph.D. The University of Michigan, 1969. Ehrlich reports that although the Indian community in Jamaica has lost most aspects of its ancestral culture, it remains bitterly against intermarriage with negroes. pp126-130.
- <sup>31</sup> See Sukdeo pp 336-339.
- <sup>32</sup> See for instance H.Hoetink, Caribbean Race Relations: A Study of Two Variants, London, 1967.
- <sup>33</sup> 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.



- 34 See R.Lannoy, The Sneaking Tree, London, 1971, p 178.
- 35 See Battlefront, Issue 7, 1976, p 8. (paper of the Sugar workers Union.)
- 36 A Creole Trichotomy: The Case of Hindi in Trinidad Creole with Reference to Standardisation, U.W.I. St Augustine, mimeographed, 1974.
- 37 'Formal Changes in Trinidad Hindi as a Result of Language Adaptation,' American Anthropologist, vol 75, 1973, pp 1290-1304.
- 38 See for instance, D.Bickerton, Dynamics of a Creole System, London, 1975, p8.
- 39 e.g. W.Labov, Sociolinguistic Patterns, Pennsylvania, 1972. and Language in the Inner City, Pennsylvania, 1972.
- 40 See Mukdar, Arima, Trinidad, 1974-1976, particularly the 'Expletives Deleted' column.
- 41 See for instance, I Minuut Stilte, Paramaribo, 1970; Dilakar, Paramaribo, 1970; Anjali, P'bo, 1971; and Om de Zom, P'bo, 1972.
- 42 Journal of Commonwealth Literature, no 7, July 1969, pp 1-7.
- 43 See J.Harewood, The population of Trinidad and Tobago, Trinidad, 1975, pp 107-111.
- 44 See A. & J. Niehoff, East Indians in the West Indies, pp 70-71.
- 45 See J.Melville; 'Obeah and the Devils', New Society, 10 Feb. 1977, pp 227-228.
- 46 See Chapter 7, pp 330-31 for a further discussion of the significance of the Kali-Mai puja.
- 47 Guyana Journal of Sociology, Turkeyen, vol 1 no 2, 1976, pp 93-102.
- 48 P.Singer and E.Araneta, 'Hinduisation and Creolisation in Guyana: the Plural Society and Basic Personality', S.E.S. vol 16, p230.
- 49 O.Copeland, Zeism, Guyana, 1973, pp 62-63. Articles first published in the Evening Post and the Weekend Post, dedicated to 'sizzle-up the old, the hindering' in the cause of a Guyanese revolution. Ironically many of the articles are devoted to praising local bands working in North American idioms.
- 50 Hugh Sam, 'Music: National Compositions', New World Fortnightly, vol 1 no 6, pp 32-35.

51 See Chapter 7, pp 338-339

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.

54 Drinking Problems and Alcoholism Among East Indians and Negroes in Trinidad, M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1965.

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.
2. See Rickey Singh, 'Beating of Guyana's National Poet, Carter,' Caribbean Contact, v.6. no. 2. June 1978, p.1.
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, Jarr-olds, Hutchinson, MacGibbon & Kee, Secker & Warburg and Alan Wingate.
5. A History of The Indians Of Guyana, London, 1970, p.182.
6. For instance: Brinsley Samaroo, Gerad 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.
8. See for instance La Guerre, J., Samaroo, B., and Sammy, G., East Indians in the Present Crisis, Trinidad, 1973.
9. See J.G. La Guerre's reference to Ramdath Jagessar's satirical piece in Embryo (vol. 2. no. 2. 1970.) in his 'The East Indian Middle Class Today,' Calcutta To Caroni, London, 1974, p.106.
10. See Sylvia Wynter, 'Reflections on West Indian Writing and Criticism,' Jamaica Journal, vol. 2, no. 4, 1968 & vol. 3, no. 1, 1969; and 'Creole Criticism - A Critique,' New World Quarterly, vol. 5, no. 4, 1971; and see Kenneth Ramchand, The West Indian Novel and Its Background, London, 1970; and 'Concern For Criticism,' Caribbean Quarterly, vol. 16, no. 2, June 1970.
11. 'Concern For Criticism,' p.56.
12. The West Indian Novel and Its Background, p.5.
13. 'Concern For Criticism,' p.53.
14. 'Creole Criticism - A Critique,' p. 13.
15. *ibid.* p.14.
16. Caribbean Voices Programme, 16 September 1956.
17. The Pleasures of Exile, London, 1960, pp 224-225.
18. The Middle Passage, 1962, Penguin Ed. p. 75.
19. A Flag On The Island, 1967, Penguin Ed. p. 129. See my discussion in Chapter Fifteen.
20. Water With Berries, London, 1971, p.70.
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.
23. See B. Archer's Poison of My Hate, Zambia, 1978; Roy Heath's One Generation, London 1981; and James Bradner's Danny Boy, London, 1981.

24. See Chapter Ten, pp. 504-505
25. Mona, Savacou Publications, 1974.
26. Contradictory Omens, p. 33.
27. Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 1983, See pp. 20-21 & 84-86 especially.
28. Contradictory Omens, p. 34.
29. *ibid.* p. 34.
30. *ibid.* p. 61.
31. *ibid.* p. 34.
32. *ibid.* p. 38.

Footnotes. Chapter Four

<sup>1</sup> Wilson Harris, "Tradition and the West Indian Novel," Tradition The Writer and Society, (London :New Beacon Publications, 1967) pp 29-24 passim.

<sup>2</sup> Savacou, vol 1 no 1, (Kingston 1970) pp 46-73

<sup>3</sup> J. Beaumont, The New Slavery; An account of Indian and Chinese Immigrants in British Guiana, (London, 1871) p.

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

<sup>5</sup> 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

<sup>6</sup> In addition to those sources quoted , I am much indebted to the following general studies for the following outline of the operation of the indenture system: H. Tinker, A New System of Slavery , (London, 1974); A.H. Adamson, Sugar Without Slaves, (New Haven, 1972) P. Ruhomon, A Centenary History of the East Indians in British Guiana, (Georgetown, 1939); D. Nath, A History of Indians in Guyana , (London, second ed. 1970) ; K.O. Lawrence, Immigration into the West Indies, (Barbados, 1971) ; J.A. Weller, The East Indian Indenture in Trinidad, (Puerto Rico , 1968.) ; Calcutta to Caroni , ed. J.G. La Guerre, (London, 1974)

<sup>7</sup> See I.M. Cumston, Indians Overseas in British Territories, 1834-1854, (London , 1953) pp 40-41.

<sup>8</sup> see G. Carmichael, The History of the West Indian Islands of Trinidad & Tobago, (London 1961) pp 215-216.

<sup>9</sup> see Adamson, op cit, pp 177-178 on question of metayage; pp 50-51 on free labour and wage bargaining.

<sup>10</sup> see the proposals of H.R. Sandbach in, A Letter on the Present State of British Guiana, (London, 1839)

<sup>11</sup> 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.

<sup>12</sup> Quoted in L.M. Fraser, History of Trinidad 1814-1839 , vol 2, (Port-of-Spain, 1896) p16

<sup>13</sup> P.P. 1837-1838, L11(232) pp 2-3 and quoted in J. Scoble, Hill Coolies; a brief exposure of the deplorable conditions of the Hill Coolies in British Guiana and Mauritius, (London, 1840) p 5.

<sup>14</sup> J. Scoble, Friend of India, Calcutta 1839.

<sup>15</sup> See Adamson, pp 160-162 and 199-213.

<sup>16</sup> Between 1871 -1912 there were at least 27 Indians slain by the riot police in four major labour disturbances in Guyana.

<sup>17</sup> see B.Brereton, Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad 1870-1900, (London, 1979) pp25-33; K.O.Lawrence, op cit., p.53 argues a contrary view.

<sup>18</sup> Adamson, op cit. pp 150-152

<sup>19</sup> S.Bellairs, Essay No. 5, Immigration as Carried on in British Guiana, (Georgetown, 1878) p 67

<sup>20</sup> see below pp 79-84.

<sup>21</sup> See for instance ,H.Kirke, "On the System of Immigration as Carried out in British Guiana," (Georgetown, 1878) p 39.

<sup>22</sup> ibid, p 42

<sup>23</sup> Guyanese Sugar Plantations in the Late 19th Century: A Contemporary Description from the "Argosy", ed.W.Rodney(Georgetown, 1979)

<sup>24</sup> Adamson, pp 180-183

<sup>25</sup> J.E.Jenkins, The Coolie ,His Rights and Wrongs, (London ,1871) pp 67-68.

<sup>26</sup> Tinker, pp 182-183.

<sup>27</sup> British Guiana: Circulars & Instructions to Immigration Agents from 1884-1899 (Demerara, 1899)

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

<sup>29</sup> See J,McNeill and C.Lall, Report on the Condition of Indian Immigrants in the Four British Colonies, (Simla 1914 ) pp

<sup>30</sup> J.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.

<sup>31</sup> H.V.P.Bronkhurst, Among the Hindus & Creoles of British Guiana, (London, 1888) p 193.

<sup>32</sup> 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, p372.

<sup>33</sup> See Tinker, pp 200-201

<sup>34</sup> Adamson, p 194-5, Tinker pp 183-186.

<sup>35</sup> C.M.D. 39. Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Treatment of Immigrants in British Guiana, ( 1871) ¶1523.

<sup>36</sup> PP. XV1 Committee Appointed to Inquire the Exportation of Hill Coolies ,(1839) p

<sup>37</sup> Beaumont, A New Slavery, pp 39-40

<sup>38</sup> Sanderson Report (CMD 5192) pp 294-299

<sup>39</sup> Adamson, p113.

<sup>40</sup> Sanderson, p

<sup>41</sup> For an account of the campaign waged by the Indian Nationalists to end indentured emigration see Tinker, op. cit. p283-366.

<sup>42</sup> 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."

<sup>43</sup> H.V.P. Bronkhurst, The Colony of British Guyana and its Labouring Population, (London, 1883) p 49

<sup>44</sup> 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.

<sup>45</sup> Argosy (Georgetown) 4 Aug 1888,; quoted in Bronkhurst, Among the Hindus and Creoles, p192.

<sup>46</sup> S. Bellairs, Essay no 5, Immigration as Carried on in British Guiana, pp 53, 54.

<sup>47</sup> J.S. Blake, "A Plea for Encouragement", Timehri vol 1, 1882 ,p

<sup>48</sup> See E. Goveia, Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands at the End of the Eighteenth Century, (Newhaven, 1965) pp 134-135, 322-323; and Goveia, A Study on the Historiography of the British West Indies to the End of the Nineteenth Century, (Mexico, 1956) pp 60-61, 86-87, 104-105, 173-174; and P. Curtin, The Image of Africa, (London, 1965) p 36, 251.

<sup>49</sup> R.G. Duncan, Essay No vii , On Immigration as Carried On in British Guiana, p 94.

<sup>50</sup> Bellairs, Essay No 5, p55.

<sup>51</sup> H. Kirke, Twenty-five Years in British Guiana, (London, 1898) p253

<sup>52</sup> 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.

<sup>53</sup> 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.

<sup>54</sup> Kirke, 'Our Criminal Classes', Timehri, vol.2, 1888, p.5 .Kirke does not recognise that the Indians undoubtedly saw the courts as instruments of oppression rather than temples of justice.

<sup>55</sup> See for instance, L.AA.De Vertuil, Trinidad: Its Geography, Natural Resources, Administration, Present Condition and Prospects, (London 1884) p 161 : "A distinctive trait in the character of the Coolie is insincerity."

<sup>56</sup> G.W. Des Voeux, Experiences of a Demerara Magistrate, 1863-1869, ed. V.Roth (Georgetown 1949) p 90.

<sup>57</sup> De Verteuil, Trinidad, p 160

<sup>58</sup> Kirke, Twenty-five Years, p 167

<sup>59</sup> See J.C.Jha, The Indian Mutiny-cum-Revolt of 1857 and Trinidad, Unpublished paper, 197? (U.W.I. St Augustine)

<sup>60</sup> See the evidence of O.W.Warner, Assistant Inspector of Immigrants in Trinidad, to the Sanderson Commission, vol 2 p 28.

<sup>61</sup> 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."

<sup>62</sup> See the evidence of P.Abel, manager of the Usine St Madelaine, Trinidad, to the W.I.R.C. (1897) §1685 p272.

<sup>63</sup> Bellairs, Immigration as Carried out in B.G., p 79

<sup>64</sup> Duncan, *ibid.*, p 96

<sup>65</sup> D.W.D.Comins, A Note on Emigration from the East Indies to British Guiana (Calcutta, 1893) p

<sup>66</sup> Duncan, *op.cit.* pp95-96

<sup>67</sup> 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

<sup>68</sup> Kirke, Twenty-five Years, p 252

<sup>69</sup> Bronkhurst, B.G.L.P. p 140

<sup>70</sup> 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

<sup>71</sup> See D.Wood, Trinidad in Transition, The Years After Slavery, (London, 1968) p 142.

<sup>72</sup> Tinker, *op cit*, p 108.

<sup>73</sup> Bellairs, System of Immigration, p 64



74 Bronkurst, B.G. L. P. p 279

75 Benson Maxwell, System of Immigration, p 84.

76 Port-of-Spain Gazette, 8 April 1913.

77 ibid. 11 July 1890

78 ibid. 5 Dec 1890

79 Kirke, Immigration, p.39.

80 The Overseer's Manual, 'Argosy', Demerara, 1887, pp75-76. Hereafter quotations from this source will be documented with page numbers in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.

81 The Overseer's Manual, p 78.

82 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.

83 See V.T. Daly, A Short History of the Guyanese People, (London, 1975) p 272.

84 The individualistic, anti-trade union hero of Charles Dickens' Hard Times. ( 1854)

85 See for instance, Im Thurn, 'The Life History of An Amerindian', Timehri, vol. p.

86 Timehri, Vol 11 (New Series) 1898, pp 136-146.

87 ibid p 145

88 ibid p 138

89 ibid p 145

90 Kirke, Twenty-five Years, pp 247-251

91 "The Life History", pp 143-145

92 Twenty-five Years, pp 164-165

93 West Indian Yarns, Georgetown, 1884.

94 Comins, op cit. , p 9

95 M. McTurk, Essays and Fables in Prose and Verse, Written in the Vernacular of the Creoles of British Guiana, (Georgetown, 1881: quotations from the 4 th ed. , reprinted Daily Chronicle , Georgetown, 1949).

96 ibid. pp1-2

97 ibid. pp 2-3

98 'Boviander': of mixed Amerindian and Negro parentage.

99 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 Presbyterian

Mission As an Agent of Immigration in Trinidad during the 19th and early 20th Century," (Paper given to the Fourth Conference of Caribbean Historians, U.W.I. 1972; Rev J.T.Harricharan, The Work of the Christian Churches Among the East Indians in Trinidad, 1845-1917, (Trinidad, 1976); in particular I am indebted to the discovery and publication of the Rev.J.D.Mackay's missionary tract novel, Under the Southern Cross, by Geoffrey Johnson who presented the novel with introductory notes as a paper to The Fourth Conference of Caribbean Historians, Mona, 1972.

<sup>100</sup> See for instance K.G.Grant, My Missionary Memoirs, (Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1923) pp 62-65.

<sup>101</sup> Bellairs, Immigration, p 81.

<sup>102</sup> See B.Samaroo, "Missionary Methods and Local Responses: The Canadian Presbyterians and the East Indians in the Caribbean," (Paper presented to the symposium, East Indians in the Caribbean, St. Augustine 1975) pp 29-30.

<sup>103</sup> *ibid*, pp 8-9

<sup>104</sup> John Morton of Trinidad, Journals, Letters and Papers, Ed. Sarah E.Morton, (Toronto, 1916) p 458.

<sup>105</sup> See Sitahel, *op.cit.* p.58

<sup>106</sup> See for instance V.S.Naipaul's short story, 'A Christmas Story', in A Flag on the Island, London, Penguin Ed., 1969, in which the cultural mimicry of the Presbyterian Indian convert is satirised.

<sup>106</sup> Sitahel, *op cit*, p 68.

<sup>107</sup> Quoted in Grant, *op cit.*, p 102.

<sup>108</sup> Quoted in Johnson, *op cit.*

<sup>109</sup> Morton, *op cit* , p 41

<sup>110</sup> Grant, pp 73-74

<sup>111</sup> P.Ruhomon, A Centenary History, p

<sup>112</sup> A.H.C.of B.G., p 18

<sup>113</sup> B.G.L.P. , p 193

<sup>114</sup> *ibid*, pp 48-49

<sup>115</sup> A.H.C. of B.G., p 30

<sup>116</sup> B.G.L.P. , 357-364

<sup>117</sup> *ibid*, 395-399

<sup>118</sup> A.H.C.of B.G. p 11

<sup>119</sup> '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, p286

<sup>120</sup> *ibid.* p 46

<sup>121</sup> A.H.C.B.G., p 52.

<sup>122</sup> Ancestry or Origin, p 41

<sup>123</sup> B.G.L.P., pp 238-247

<sup>124</sup> ibid p 272.

<sup>125</sup> A.H.C. of B.G. p 33.

<sup>126</sup> Ancestry, p67.

<sup>127</sup> Under the Southern Cross : A Story of East Indian Indenture 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.

<sup>128</sup> op cit. p 8

<sup>129</sup> West Indies and the Spanish Main, p 106.

<sup>130</sup> ibid p 63

<sup>131</sup> ibid p. 164

<sup>132</sup> ibid., p 178

<sup>133</sup> Kingsley, At Last, pp 384-385

<sup>134</sup> ibid p 241

<sup>135</sup> I am indebted to the following for their discussion of Kingsley's role in the Governor Eyre affair: E. Williams, British Historians and the West Indies, (London 1966) pp 132-137 ; and B. Semmel, The Governor Eyre Controversy, (London 1962) pp 92-101.

<sup>136</sup> At Last, p 21. Hereafter, quotations from this source will be documented with page numbers in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.

<sup>137</sup> Dictionary of National Biography

<sup>138</sup> Des Voeux, Experiences of a Demerara Magistrate, pp 106-107.

<sup>139</sup> Lutchmee and Dilloo: A Study of West Indian Life, London, 1877, 3 vols.

<sup>140</sup> 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.

<sup>141</sup> The Coolie, His Rights and Wrongs, p 104.

<sup>142</sup> The Coolie, His Rights and Wrongs, p. 168

<sup>143</sup> 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.

<sup>144</sup> For further details of A.R.F. Webber's life see Stoby, E.S. ed. British Guiana Centenary Yearbook, (Georgetown, 1931) p 139 ; and P.H. Daly, Story of the Heroes, Book 3, (Georgetown, 1943) pp 309-330.

<sup>145</sup> Daly, op cit. p 311.

<sup>146</sup> 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.

<sup>147</sup> 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).

<sup>148</sup> Corentyne Thunder, pp 186-187..

Footnotes. Chapter Five.

<sup>1</sup> See E.K.Brathwaite, Contradictory Omens, Savacou Publications Mona, 1974, p 29, 33-38.

<sup>2</sup> Lady Nugent's Journal of her Residence in Jamaica, Revised Ed. Institute of Jamaica, 1966, p 98.

<sup>3</sup> Lady Young quoted by B.Samaroo in his forward to A.M.Gomes, Through a Maze of Colour, Trinidad, 1974, p*x*<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> See D.Wood, Trinidad in Transition, The Years After Slavery. and B.Brereton, Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad, 1870-1900.

<sup>5</sup> 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 Verteuil's) 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.

<sup>6</sup> See K.O.Laurence, Immigration into the West Indies in the Nineteenth Century, Barbados, 1971, pp 17-18.

<sup>7</sup> See A.Gomes, Through a Maze of Colour, p 9 and p 153.

<sup>8</sup> Census Reports collated in D.Nath, A History of Indians in Guyana, London, 2nd Ed. 1970, pp 235-238.

<sup>9</sup> New World Quarterly, vol 2 no 2, 1966, p69.

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.

<sup>13</sup> C.Clementi, Colonial Secretary, quoted in H.Lutchman, The Crown

Colony System of Government: With Special Reference to Guyana, Georgetown, 1970, p 13.

<sup>14</sup>For the above see Lutchman, The Crown Colony System; The 1891 Constitutional Change and Representation in the Former British Guiana, Georgetown, n.d. and, Patronage in Colonial Society, Georgetown 1970. See also Hubbard, Race and Guyana, pp 39-45.

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

<sup>16</sup> See W.M. McMillan, Warning From the West Indies, London, 1938

<sup>17</sup>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, p212.

<sup>18</sup> Quoted in Lutchman, The Crown Colony System, p 40

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

<sup>20</sup> See A. Calder-Marshall, Glory Dead, London, 1939, pp 243- 244

<sup>21</sup> For the discussion of Cipriani's role see Ryan, op cit, pp 35-43; E. Williams, History of the People of T'dad, pp 220-225; B. Rennie, History of the Working Class in 20th Century Trinidad and Tobago, Toronto, 1974, pp31-54; and W. Charles, Early Labour Organisation in Trinidad and the Colonial Context of the Butler Riots, Working Papers in Caribbean Society, Dept. Of Sociology, U.W.I. St. Augustine, pp 11-15.

<sup>22</sup>Capt. Hon. A.A. Cipriani, His Best Orations, Surprise Printshop, P-0-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.

<sup>23</sup>For this later phase of Cipriani's career see B. Samaroo, The Making of the 1946 Constitution in Trinidad, Paper delivered to Fifth Conference of Caribbean Historians, UWI St Augustine, 1973, reprinted in, Political Protest and Political Organisation in the Caribbean, Trinidad, 1973, pp 121-164.

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

28 ibid., p 109.

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.

30 See K. Ramchand, "The Alfred Mendes Story", Tapia, vol 7 no 22, May 29, 1977, pp 6-7.

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.

33 C.L.R. James, "Discovering Literature in Trinidad: Two Experiences. 1. The Nineteen -Thirties," Journal of Commonwealth Literature, No 7, July 1969, pp 74-75.

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.

39 See, Editorial, The Beacon, vol I no 12, April 1932.

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, p153. 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.

of Commonwealth Literature, no 9, July 1970, p10. See also, R.de Boissiere, "A Thumbnail Autobiography", in The New Voices, vol 9 nos 17/18, Aug. 1981, p 103.

44 Reviews of the reprint, Picador 1981, by contemporaries of de Boissiere testify to the documentary accuracy of the novel. See R.Hart, "Crown Jewel", in Caribbean Contact vol 9 no 4, Aug 1981, p 3; and C.L.R. James' review in New Society. For an earlier assessment of the novel's importance see C.Sealy, "Crown Jewel: A note on Ralph de Boissiere, Voices, vol 2 no 3, March 1973, pp 1-3.

45 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.

46 See chapter five pp369-70.

47 See Sahadeo Basdeo, 'The 1934 Indian Labour Disturbances in Trinidad: A Case Study In Colonial Labour Relations,' Paper presented to East Indians in The Caribbean: A Symposium, U.W.I. St. Augustine, 1975.

48 For the above details of De Lisser's life see W.Adolphe Roberts, Six Great Jamaicans: Biographical Sketches, Kingston, 1951. Roberts quotes from The Gleaner, June 20th 1938.

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

50 *ibid*, p 198

51 *ibid*, p 206

52 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.

53 The Cup and the Lip, p 123.

54 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,

Georgetown, 1948, pp 39-40.

66 Compare for instance the treatment of the memories of the old man Kale Khan in Ismith Khan's novel, The Jumbie Bird (1961). For a discussion of this novel see Chapters Nine and Eleven

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.

69. I am thinking particularly of the character of Beti in The Far Journey of Oudin (1961).

70. For this information see, A.J. Seymour, E. Mittelholzer, The Man and his Work, Guyana, 1967.

71. A later Mittelholzer short story, "We Know Not Whom We Mourn", Bim, vol 3 no10, 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.

73. See J.G. La Guerre, The Politics of Communalism, Trinidad, 1980, pp 41-49; and Gomes, Through a Maze of Colour, pp 163-168

74. Gomes, op cit, pp 113-137 and Ryan, pp 86-101.

75. Ryan, pp 128-132 & 161-169

76. Gomes, p 182.

77 F.E. Brassington, The Politics of Opposition, Trinidad, West Indian Publishing Co. 1976 circa, p. 83.

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.

For general surveys of the changes of the 1940's see: I.Oxaal, Black Intellectuals Come to Power, Massachusetts, 1968, pp 83-97; S.Ryan, Race and Nationalism, pp 70-85; A.&J.Niehoff, East Indians in the West Indies, Milwaukee, 1960, pp 38-52; H.J.M.Hubbard, Race and Guyana, pp 57-63 and H.Lutchman, The Crown Colony System, pp23-26.

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 1974, pp 28-33;

Sunday Times, Nov 5, 1968

84 Seymour, E.Mittelholzer: The Man & His Work, pp13-14

85 A Morning At the Office, Penguin Books Ed., 1964, pp30-31. 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 1033) 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."

91. 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

97 Cf. Ratoon (1962) Blood Amyot (1964) Amyot's Cay (1964) The Amyot Crime (1965) The Self Lovers (1968) The Face of Evil (1971) et al.

98. See C. Jagan, The West on Trial, London, 1966.

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.

101. See for instance, 'Temple Bullock', Bim, vol 10 no 37, 1963, p22; 'The Stick Fighters', Bim 24, 1957, p 223; 'The Seine Pullers', Bim vol VIII no 30, p 77 and 'The Four Knives of Freeman, the Cane Cutter', Bim, vol IX no 36, pp238-239.

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 novel's 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.

104. See, New Writing in the Caribbean, Ed. A.J. Seymour, Guyana, 1972, p78.

105 See E.K. Brathwaite, Contradictory Omens, pp36-38; and F.G. Rohlehr, '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.

166 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 Apollonian principles in society is one which has attracted the involvement of several white creole authors.

107 See Jack Harewood, 'Racial Discrimination in Employment in Trinidad & Tobago (Based on Data from the 1960 Census); Social and Economic Studies, vol 20 no 3, Sept 1971, pp 267-293; and, Acton Camejo, 'Racial Discrimination in Employment in the Private Sector in Trinidad and Tobago', Social and Economic Studies, vol 20 no. 3 pp 294-318.

.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

109. Ed.O.Baptiste, Trinidad, monthly. Issues surveyed from Feb 1979-May 1980.

110. See for instance C.R.De Lima, Countdown to Carnival, Ilfracombe, 1978; and Not Bad, Just a Little Mad, Ilfracombe, 1975.

111. Trinityism, (Revolution of Peace) and Trinidad and Tobago, Vedic Enterprises, Trinidad, 1964.

112. See Crisis, ed.O.Baptiste, Trinidad, 1976, pp 181-193.

113. See for instance, 'Hiding Behind Language Bar', Kairi 3/74; 'The Novel of Tomorrow, Today: (Review of Yesterdays by Sonny Ladoo)', Kairi, 1/75 Re L3.

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.
- 2 Son of Guyana, London, Oxford U.P. 1973, pp 10-14 .
- 3 'The Indian-African Question,' New Beginning, Vol 3 no 6, 1974, pp 3-4
- 4 'Editorial Notes,' Kyk-over-Al, vol 1 no 1, Georgetown, 1945, p. 7.
- 5 H.V.P.Bronkhurst, The Colony of British Guiana and Its Labouring Population, p.22.
- 6 Charles W.Day, Five Years Residence in the West Indies, London, Colbourn & Co., 1852, vol 1 p. 181.
- 7 *ibid.* vol 2, p.72.
- 8 See Alan H.Adamson, Sugar Without Slaves: The Political Economy of British Guiana 1838-1904, Yale, 1972, pp 57-67.
- 9 See Donald Wood, Trinidad in Transition, 1968, pp 49-52 and pp 96-97.
- 10 'The Rise of The Peasantry in British Guiana,' Social and Economic Studies, vol 2 no 4, p.102.
- 11 See Cmd. 8651 (1897) Evidence of Archdeacon Groyther, §2537 (109), p. 93.
- 12 See Jenkins, The Coolie His Rights and Wrongs, p. 170ff; and Adamson, *op.cit.* pp 107-109.
- 13 Demerara Daily Chronicle, 10 Sept. 1881, quoted in Bronkhurst, The Colony of British Guiana and Its Labouring Population, p. 169.
- 14 Cmd. 8657 (1910) § 1802, p. 301.
- 15 P.P. (1898) 50 (C. 8655) p. 47; evidence of J.E.Thinne.
- 16 See Iris Sukdeo, Racial Integration With Special Reference To Guyana, 1969, p. 104 ff.
- 17 C.O. 295, vol. 267. (1873), quoted in Wood, *op. cit.* p. 136.
- 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.
- 21 See L.Kay, 'East Indian Immigrants and The Afro-Guyanese 1871-1921', Paper presented to the Fourth Conference of Caribbean Historians., p. 25. See also G.W.Roberts and M.A.Johnson, 'Factors Involved in Immigration and Movement in the Working Force of British Guiana in the 19th Century', Social and Economic Studies, vol 23, no. 1, 1974, p. 6. Roberts and Johnson note that between 1871 and 1891, Indians grew from 3.4% of the free village population to 24%. See also Rev. J.B.Cropper, 'Our Villages and Country Parts', Timehri, vol.II, 1912, p. 255.
- 22 See Wood , *op.cit.* p. 137.
- 23 H.V.P.Bronkhurst, Amongst the Hindus and Creoles of British Guiana, 1888, p. 139.
- 24 Bronkhurst, The Colony of British Guiana and Its Labouring Population, p. 362.
- 25 Correspondence Respecting The Recent Coolie Disturbances in Trinidad at The Mohurrum Festival. With the Report thereon by Sir H.W.Norman, London, 1885, pp 41-46.

26 C.F. Andrews, Impressions of British Guiana, unpublished typescript, Georgetown, 1929, p. 50.

27 See H.J.M. Hubbard, Race and Guyana: The Anatomy of a Colonial Enterprise, Georgetown, 1969, pp 39-41.

28 Guianese Poetry: Covering the Hundred Year's Period 1831-1931, Georgetown, 1931, p.19.

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

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

31 See in particular Bukka Rennie, History of The Working Class in the Twentieth Century, Trinidad and Tobago, Toronto, 1974, pp 15-29.

32 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 18-19.

33 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.

34 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.

35 See Samaroo, op. cit. p. 96; Gomes, op. cit. pp 166-168. For a more detailed discussion of the Indian 'revival' see Chapter Eight.

36 See Harvey, op. cit. pp 25-26; Ryan, op. cit. p. 135-136.

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

38 See Hubbard, Race and Guyana, p. 25; and see Ann Spackman, 'Official Attitudes and Official Violence: The Ruimvelt Massacre, Guiana 1924', Social and Economic Studies, vol 23 no. 3, 1973, pp 315-334.

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

40 For the above see: Walter Rodney, 'Masses in Action', New World Quarterly, Guyana Independence Issue, 1966, pp 30-37; Ram Karran, 'Race, Class, Politics', Tapia, vol. 4 no. 28, 1974; and Ashton Chase, A History of Trade Unionism in Guyana, Ruimvelt, 1964, p. 21, 66-72

41 See C. Jagan, The West On Trial, London, 1966, pp 89-144; Depres, Cultural Pluralism, pp 4-6, 181-189; and R. Glasgow, Race and Politics, Hague, 1970, pp 98-107.

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

43 See Martin Carter, The Hill of Fire Glows Red, Georgetown, 1951; To A Dead Slave, Georgetown, 1954; The Kind Eagle, Georgetown, 1952; and Poems of Resistance, London 1954.

44 See below pp. 244-45.

45 'The Folk in Caribbean Literature', Tapia, vol. II nos 11-12, 1972.

46 See Hyman Rodman, Lower Class Families, Oxford, 1971, p. 209.

47 First published by Secker and Warburg, London, 1936. Page references, given in parenthesis following the quotation, are from the new edition published by New Beacon Books, London, 1971. Minty Alley was written before James's political radicalisation and adoption of Marxism. It precedes those works which established his reputation as the foremost intellectual of the English-speaking Caribbean: The Black Jacobins (1938); Mariners, Renegades and Castaways (1953); Party Politics in The West Indies, (1961); Beyond A Boundary (1963)

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

49 *ibid.* p.42.

50 See Wayne Booth, The Rhetoric of Fiction, Chicago, 1961, p.42.

51 See R.A.Bone, The Negro Novel in America, Yale, 1958, pp21-28 ; and T.F.Gossett, Race: The History of an Idea in America, Texas, 1965, p. 261.

52 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.

53 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)

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

55 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.

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

57 Caribbean Voices Programme, Script no. 764, broadcast 2 November, 1952. For a similar treatment see Cecile Nobrega's 'The Bargain', Argosy Christmas Tide, 1950, pp 56-58.

58 'Guianese Wedding', p.3.

59 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)

60 Wey-Wey, Caribbean Plays: One Act Plays II, U.W.I. Extra-Mural Dept. Trinidad c 1956.

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

62 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.

63 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.

64 Trinidad Guardian, 23 March 1947.

65 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.

66 Trinidad Guardian, 17 April 1949.

67 Trinidad Guardian, 20 March 1948.

68 Barbadian wife of the writer Neville Giuseppe and author of a number of short stories and editor of Writing Is Fun, Trinidad, 1972 and Backfire, Trinidad, 1973.

69 Trinidad Guardian, 28 March 1948.

70 Trinidad Guardian, 18 July 1948.

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

72 Trinidad Guardian, 1 April 1948.

73 *ibid.* 30 November 1947.

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

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

76 *ibid.* p. 6.

77 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.

78 Caribbean Voices Programme, script no. 1196, broadcast 20 Jan. 1957.

79 Trinidad Guardian, 21 November 1948.

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

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

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

83 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).

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

85 Ryan, Race and Nationalism in Trinidad & Tobago, pp 373-374; for the background of the P.N.M. see Ryan *op.cit.* pp.105-127; and Ivar Oxaal, Black Intellectuals Come To Power, Massachusetts, 1968, pp 96-116.

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

87 'The Political Leader', in Presence Africaine, Second Congress of Writers and Artists, Paris, 1959, p. 107.

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

89 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.
- 90 See Ramrekeringh, op. cit. and C.V.Gocking, Democracy Or Oligarchy? Tapia Booklet No. 1, Trinidad, 1973, p. 35.
- 91 Quoted in Hyman Rodman, Lower Class Families, pp 210-211.
- x 91b Quoted in K.V.Parmasad, 'Seeds of India on Caribbean Shores,' Tapia vol. 2 no. 8, 1972.
- 92 Notebook by Macaw, Trinidad Publishing Co. 1960, p. 81.
- 93 Voices Of Earth, Trinidad, 1972, p94.
- 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.
- 96 New York, Harcourt Brace, 1961, p. 161.
- 97 Bim, vol 8, no. 29, July 1959; reprinted in Cricket In The Road, London: Deutch, 1973, pp 19-21.
- 98 The Games Were Coming, London, 1963, p.118.
- 99 Green Days By The River, London, 1967, p. 117. Hereafter citations from this text are given in parenthesis following the quotation.
- 99b Interview in Trinidad and Tobago Literature: On Air, ed. A.Gonzalez, Gasparillo, 1974, pp 88-89.
- 100 'Growing Up Writing', in The Journal of Commonwealth Literature, No. 7, July 1969, p.86.
- 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.
- 102 See Burrowes, op.cit. pp 133-201; Jagan, pp 248-269; Depres, pp. pp 262-267.
- 103 Reprinted in Guyana Independence Issue: New World Quarterly, 1966, p.66.
- 104 See in addition to the citations listed in footnote 102 Philip Reno, The Ordeal of British Guiana, New York, 1964, pp.23-44.
- 105 Reprinted in Caribbean Voices: An Anthology of West Indian Poetry, ed. J.J.Figueroa, London 1970, p.74.
- 106 'A Conversation With Forbes Burnham', The Black Scholar, vol 4 no. 5, 1973, p.28.
- 107 See 'House Slave Politics', Ratoon, vol 1 no 1, 1969.
- 108 See for instance, C.Achebe, Girls At War, 1972; Beware Soul Brother, 1971; J.P.Clark, Casualties, 1970; W.Soyinka, A Shuttle in the Crypt, 1972; Madman and Specialists, 1971.
- 109 This issue is discussed at greater length in Chapter Fifteen.
- 110 See 'Guyana Bans Bim', Caribbean Contact, vol 2 no 2, May, 1975.
- 111 Chronicle Christmas Annual, 1957, pp. 43-45.
- 112 Black Midas, London, Secker & Warburg, 1958, p. 61.
- 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.

- 117 Chronicle Christmas Annual, 1966, pp.23-24. Johnson-Fenty has for a long time been involved with the P.N.C's propoganda effort.
- 118 'Power To The People', Ratoon, vol 1 no 5, April 1970.
- 119 See R.Hoolasie, 'Burnham's Black Power Hoax', Moko, no.50, Dec. 1970. and B.Ince, 'The Racial Factor in the Foriegn Policy of Guyana', in East Indians in The Caribbean: A Symposium, U.W.I. St.Augustine,1975.
- 120 See Guyana: The Fraudulent Revolution, London, 1984, pp.96-100.
- 121 See Caribbean Contact, 'Fears over House of Israel', vol 6 no.9, 1979, p.11.
- 122 See Paul N. Tennassee, Guyana: A Nation in Ruins, Toronto, 1982, pp. 12-14; and M.Fitzpatrick, 'Guyana, the Corrup-rative Republic', Tapia, no 20, August 1971.
- 123 See Eusi Kwayana, The Bauxite Strike and the Old Politics, Georgetown, 1972, for the ASCRIA view, but also a valuably frank documentat-ion of the criticisms of ASCRIA by the workers' strike committee. See pp. 59-65.
- 124 See New World Fortnightly, no 3, 1964.
- 125 See for instance: 'Towards a New Political Order', Ratoon, vol. 2 no. 6, Oct. 1971; 'ASCRIA attacks Burnham and the Wolf of Bookers', Tapia, vol 3, no. 4, Jan. 1973; 'Young Indian Militants Enter The Ring in Guyana', Tapia, vol 3 no. 50, Dec. 1973; 'Burnham Seizes Opposition Papers', Tapia, vol 4 no. 41, Oct. 1974.
- 126 See Burrowes, op. cit. pp239- 310; Guyana: Fraudulent Revolution, pp. 48-90.; R.Singh, 'And Now We Are All Comrades' Caribbean Contact, vol 3 no 2, May 1975; on the militarization of Guyana see G.K. Danns, Domination and Power in Guyana, New Brunswick, 1982.
- 127 My own observations from visits in 1976 and 1984.
- 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.
- 130 Kaie, no. 8, 1971, pp 44-50.
- 131 Chronicle Christmas Annual, 1981, Georgetown, pp 17-20.
- 132 Smoke and Fire, Georgetown, 1982, pp 11-12 & p. 23.
- 133 Poems of Separation, Georgetown, 1981, pp 20-21.
- 134 Havana, Ediciones Casa de las Americas, 1978.
- 135 London, Allison & Busby, 1979.
- 136 One Generation, London, Allison & Busby, 1981, p.104. Hereafter page references for quotations from this text are given in parenthesis following the quotation.
- 137 Published, Zambia, Neczam Ltd, 1978. Beatrice Archer grew up in Leguan where the novel is set.
- 138 Information given to me by a member of the tribunal set up to invest-igate these events. Its findings were never published.
- 139 London, Longman Drumbeat, 1978. James Bradner is a pseudonym.
- 140 See for instance, I.Oxaal, Race and Revolutionary Consciousness, Massachusetts, 1971; and Susan Craig, 'Background To The 1970 Confront-ation in Trinidad and Tobago', in Contemporary Caribbean: A Sociolog-ical Reader, Trinidad, 1982, vol. 2, pp 385-423.
- 141 New World Quarterly, vol 2 no. 1, 1965, pp. 43-71.
- 142 See for instance: Richard Jacob, 'The Struggling East Indian', Moko

- no. 143, March 1973; Syl Lowhar, 'Blowing Hot and Cold', Tapia, vol. 1 no. 4, Oct. 1969.
- 143 See for instance, R. Jagessar, 'East Indians and Integration', Moko, no. 6, Jan. 1969; and 'Indian Iceberg', Tapia vol 1 no. 31, 1971; K.V. Parmasad, 'Seeds of India on Caribbean Shores', Tapia vol 2 no. 8, Nov. 1972; B. Samaroo, 'Politics and Indians', Tapia, vol 1 no 12, Dec. 1970.
- 144 'What East Indians Have Given to West Indian Society,' Tapia vol 2 no. 6, 1972.
- 145 'Ten Years of Mockery', Liberation no. 9, Sept. 1972.
- 146 See for instance, K.V. Parmasad, 'By The Light of a Deya', Tapia vol. 1 no. 22, 1973.
- 147 Moko , no. 130, Dec. 1972.
- 148 'Politics and Indians', Tapia vol. 1 no 12, Dec. 1970.
- 149 The Groundings With My Brothers, p. 28.
- 150 'Cultural Slavery', East Dry River Speaks , mimeographed, unnumbered, circa 1969.
- 151 See in particular, Mahmadou Lamine (Keith Jackson) 'The Place of The Indian Community in N.J.A.C's Philosophy of Black Power,' in East Indians in the Caribbean: A Symposium, 1975.
- 152 See Owen Baptiste, Crisis, Trinidad, 1976, pp. 9-38.
- 153 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.
- 154 See Crisis, pp. 65-93; on the U.L.F. collapse see 'U.L.F. Split', Trinidad and Tobago Review, Aug. 28, 1977, p. 23; October 1977, p. 8-9, 17; Nov. 1977, p. 7, 9, 15.
- 155 See 'New National Party?' Trinidad and Tobago Review, vol. 7 no. 7, Aug. 1984; p. 1.
- 156 Pivot, vol. 2 no. 1. 1969.
- 157 Trinidad, author, 1974.
- 158 That Man Might Live, Trinidad, Scope Publishing, 1976, pp 30-35.
- 159 'Time To Unite', Liberation, no. 10, Dec. 1972.
- 160 London, Deutch, 1970, pp 124-125.
- 161 *ibid.* p. 153.
- 162 Trinidad and Tobago Review, vol. 6 no. 4, 1982, p. 7, 19.
- 163 Score, Trinidad, 1972, pp 74-75.
- 164 'Discussion on Bim', Tapia, vol. 5 no. 15, April 1975.
- 165 Uphill Downhill, Trinidad, village Publications, 1981, pp 37-39.
- 166 Corlit, vol. 2 nos. 1-2, 1975, pp. 36-39.
- 167 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.
- 168 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.

- 169 'Africindia', Black Up, Trinidad, The Free Press, 1972, pp 36-39.
- 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.
- 175 The Star-Apple Kingdom, London, 1980, pp 33-35. See also 'Exile', The Gulf, London 1969, pp.21-23; and 'At Last' Sea Grapes, London, 1976, pp. 88-90.
- 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."
2. P.P. 1837-1838 LII, p 2-3.
3. C. Day, Five Years Residence in the West Indies, 1852, vol 2, pp90-91.
4. It is estimated that no more than 60 remained in British Guiana out of the original 412(3).
5. Day, op cit. vol 1, p257
6. See H. Sampath, An Outline of the Social History of the Indians in Trinidad , Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Univ. Columbia , 1951, p 14
7. For more detailed accounts of the first experiment see, I .Dookha 'The Gladstone Experiment', 1838-1843', East Indians in the Caribbean Conference Papers etc.; and H. Tinker, A New System of Slavery, 1974, pp 63-70; and I. Cumpston, Indians Overseas in British Territories, 1834-54, 1953, pp 27-31.
8. See P.P. 1874, XLVII, 314, 'Report on Coolie Emigration', p 67.
9. S.R. Ahsan, East Indian Agricultural Settlements in Trinidad: A Study in Cultural Geography, Unpublished Ph.D.; Univ. of Florida, 1963, pp 10-11.
10. See Tinker, op cit., p55.
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
12. See J. Weller, East Indian Indenture in Trinidad, 1968, p125.
13. Quoted Tinker, op. cit., p56
14. See D. Wood, Trinidad in Transition, The Years After Slavery, 1968, p. 144

15. See V.S. Naipaul, An Area of Darkness, Penguin Ed. 1964, pp252-263; and V.S. Naipaul's foreward to S. Naipaul, The Adventures of Gurudeva and other Stories, 1976, pp 11-12.

16. See Tinker, op cit, pp58-59

17. Discussed in chapter Nine pp 412-414

18. These figures extracted from, British Guiana, Report of the Immigration Agent -General, 1894-1907, Georgetown.

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

20 See Tinker, op cit. p 119

21. See Evidence of O.W. Warner to the Sanderson Commission: CMD5192 vol 2 p 29

22. Ahsan, op cit. pp3-8

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 p97.

25 See Weller, op cit; p5-6

26. J.D. Speckman, Marriage and Kinship Among the Indians in Surinam, 1965, pp 19-25.

27 Quoted Tinker, p123.

28 ibid, pp129-130

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

- 31 See John Morton of Trinidad, Journals, Letters & Papers, ed S.E. Morton, 1916, pp
- 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.
- 36 See J.A. Luckhoo, 'East Indians in British Guiana', Timehri, vol 6, 1919, pp53 ff.
37. See D.Nath, A History of Indians in Guyana, 1970, pp 132-142.
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.
39. Figures compiled from British Guiana, Report of the Immigration Agent-General, 1894-1907; additional data from Tinker, pp228-229 and Nath, op cit, pp 132-142.
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.

50. Colonial Office Minute, quoted A. Adamson, Sugar Without Slaves, 1972, pp156-7.

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 879]

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.

57. British Guiana, Report of the Immigration Agent-General, 1902-3, & 1906-7.

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.

61. Morton, op cit., p273.

62 See Bronkhurst, Among the Hindus and Creoles of British Guiana, London, 1888, p 147 . (henceforth A.H.C.B.G.); and see also H. Kirke, Twenty-Five Years in British Guiana, London, 1898, p181.

63. The Colony of British Guiana and Its Labouring Population, p18 (henceforth C.B.G.&L.P.).

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 .

65. L. Crookall, British Guiana or Work and Wanderings Among the Creoles and Coolies and Indians of the Wild Country, London 1898, pp 113-115.

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  $\frac{1}{3}$  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.

72. For more detailed discussions of Indian settlement in Trinidad see Ahsan, op cit, and M. Ramesar, The Impact of Important Racial Minorities in Colonial Caribbean Society: The East Indians of Trinidad, 1891-1921, I.S.E.R. , UWI, 1974.

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.

77 J.B. Cropper, 'Report of the Superintendent of East Indian Settlements , for the Year ended 31 March 1902', in B.G. Report of the Immigration Agent -General, 1902-3.

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

79. See Hon W. Russell, 'Rice', Timehri vol 5, 1886. and A.R. Gilzean, 'Rice Cultivation in British Guiana', Timehri, vol. 1 (new series) 1887.

80 See Sanderson Report, Part 2, p106.

81 See C.F. Andrews, Impressions of British Guiana, unpublished typescript, 1929, pp25-26. (In library of University of Guyana)

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 scrabbling 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.

89 See R.T. Smith, British Guiana, London, 1962.

90 See M. Klass, East Indians in Trinidad: A Study of Cultural Persistence, New York, 1961.

91 See the monographs of Ahsan (1963) Jayawardena (1963) Klass (1961) Niehoff (1960) Freilich (1960) and Rauf (1974)

92 See C. Jayawardena, Conflict and Solidarity in a Guianese Plantation, who writes <sup>the following</sup> 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,

Caribbean Integration, P.Úerto-Riçó, 1967, p 230.

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

94 C. Benson Maxwell, The System of Immigration as Carried on in British Guiana, Georgetown, 1878, pp86-87.

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.

97 See Wood, op cit., p154.

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.

101 See H. Kirke, The System of Immigration in British Guiana, Demerara, 1878, p 42; and see Bronkhurst, C.B.G.&L.P. p136.

102 See Jayawardena, op cit. p48.

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

104 Morton, op cit., p

105 A.H.C.B.G. p 145.

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.

109 See J.C. Jha, 'The Background of the Legislation of Non-Christian Marriages in Trinidad and Tobago', in collected conference papers, East Indians in the Caribbean, 1975.

110 See Jayawardena , op cit., pp18-20.

110. Bronkhurst, C.B.G.L.P., pp285-286

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

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

113. See Klass, op cit pp55-64

114. 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

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

116. Klass, op cit pp 199-205

117. See Jayawardena, op cit pp 17-18

118. 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 maintainance, 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.

119. 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.

120. 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.

121. Klass, op cit., pp206-215

122 Andrews, op cit., p9

123 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.

124 A.H.C.B.G.p 19.

125 See Patricia Dukhedin-Lalla, A Creole Trichotomy: The Case of Hindi in Trinidad Creole with Reference to Standardisation, UWI St Augustine, mimeographed, 1974. See also Klass, p XXIII; A.&J Niehoff, op cit., p 84 and Jayawardena, pp24-25.

126. 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-

dad 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. Muttou, 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.

132. See A.H.C.B.G. pp 370-372; V.S. Naipaul, A House For Mr Biswas, 1961, Fontana ed. pp13-17, which is based on his father's story, Seepersad Naipaul's 'They Named Him Mohun', Papa Bois, P-O-S 1947. and Klass, op cit pp 118-120.

133. See A.H.C.B.G. p 144; C.B.G.&L.P. pp338-342; Klass, pp121-127; and A.&J. Niehoff, pp101-106.

134. See C.B.G.&L.P. pp367-370 and Klass pp129-131.

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

136. Singh, op.cit. pp. 54-55.

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.

138 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).

139 See Singh, op.cit. pp.59-61.

140 See Mrs B.Mir Hassan Ali, Observations of the Mussulmauns of India, London 1832.

141 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.

142 The Bhakti cults first emerged in the tenth century in South India and thereafter spread as a permanent element in Hinduism. See Richard Lannoy, The Speaking Tree , London, 1971, pp 205-209.

143 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.

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

145 See D.Bassier, 'Kali Mai in Guyana'. Also based on my personal observations at Cane Grove in 1976. A description of a healing church can be found in J.Melville, 'Obeah and the Devils', New Society, 10 Feb. 1977, pp.277-78.

146 See Jha, 'The Hindu Festival of Phagwa (Holi) in Trinidad and Tobago', UWI St Augustine, Occasional Paper, 1973.; and see Klass, pp165-168.

147, Klass, pp 170-172; and A.&J. Niehoff, pp121-126.

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

149 K.G.Grant, My Missionary Memoirs, Halifax, 1923, p.74

150 See A & J. Niehoff, pp. 158-180; and Harry Ramnath, The Hidden Laws of Hinduism, Trinidad, 1982.

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, Bordeaux, 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.B.G. & L.P. 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.
163. See Morton, op cit p55; Andrews op cit, p7, Tinker, p212-14 and A.&J Niehoff, pp53-59
164. See Comins, Note on Emigration to B.G. p ; 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.
168. N.Ramaya, 'Songs of Tears and Laughter', Trinidad Guardian, 25 July 1973.
169. Thieves in My House: Four Studies of Indian Folklore of Protest and Change, Bhairavanath, 1969, pp 35-62.
- ibid. p 43. Hereafter quotations from this source are made in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.
170. Trinidad, Sankh Publications, 1984.
- 171 A.H.C.B.G., p.42.
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.

175. *ibid.*, pp 57-62.

176. In unpublished manuscript.

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

178. Not included in Salt and Roti, but see 'Sakchulee and the Rich Gentleman', pp 107-126.

179. I am grateful to Rooplall Monar for this detail.

## Footnotes: Chapter Eight.

<sup>1</sup> The question of the position of Indian women within the general experience of Indians in the Caribbean is taken up in Chapter Suffice to say that in this period, women, with very few exceptions remained tied either to agricultural labour or the domestic sphere.

<sup>2</sup> One Hundred Years of Progress, Ed. Kirpalani, M.J., Sinanan, M.G., Rameshwar, S.M. and Sekeran, L.F., Port of Spain, 1945, pp 131-169.

<sup>3</sup> See D. Nath, A History of Indians in Guyana, pp 201-203

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> Governor Keate to Secretary of State, 6 July, 1857. Quoted in A Century of West Indian Education: A Source Book, compiled Shirley C. Gordon, London, 1963, p70.

<sup>6</sup> S.E. Morton, John Morton of Trinidad, p 42.

<sup>7</sup> For the above see B. Samaroo, 'The Canadian Presbyterian Mission as An Agent of Integration in Trinidad During the 19th and Early 20th Centuries,' Fourth Conference of Caribbean Historians, U.W.I, St Augustine, 1972, passim; J.T. Harricharan, The Work of the Christian Churches Among the East Indians in Trinidad During the Period of Indentureship. 1845-1917, Trinidad 1976. and Grant Memorial Presbyterian School, 1871-1971, Centenary Commemoration, Ed. M. Tikarsingh, San Fernando, 1971.

<sup>8</sup> 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 carat hut. Now you send us a teacher.'

<sup>9</sup> See A Contribution to the History of Coolie Missions in British Guiana, Demerara, undated (circa 1890); H.V.P. Bronkhurst, British Guiana and Its Labouring Population, pp 452-472; and P. Ruhomon, History of the East Indians in British Guiana, Demerara, 1947, pp

<sup>10</sup> 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.

<sup>11</sup> J. Ruhomon, 'The Creole East Indian' Timehri, vol VII, Third Series, p. 102.

<sup>12</sup> See Nath, A History of Indians in Guyana, pp 187-188

<sup>13</sup> 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.

<sup>14</sup> L.A. De Verteuil, Trinidad: Its Geography, Natural Resources, Admin-

istration, Present Condition and Prospects, London, 1884, p162.

<sup>15</sup> See A&J. Niehoff, East Indians in the West Indies, pp 150-151

<sup>16</sup> See H. Stahel, The Mission of the Church in Trinidad, Montreal, 1967, pp 58-60. J.E. Hewick, 'Our People', Timehri, vol 1, 1911, gives some examples of anglicisation: Phuljam becomes Paul John, Bakkar -Barker, and Makkdoon - McDoom.

<sup>17</sup> 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.

<sup>18</sup> Quoted in Tikasingh, op cit, p268.

<sup>19</sup> Tikasingh, p295.

<sup>20</sup> Tikasingh, p 291-292.

<sup>21</sup> Jha, 'East Indian Pressure Groups' pp 91-95.

<sup>22</sup> Jha, op cit, pp86-89 and 97-99; Tikasingh, pp288-290

<sup>23</sup> H.J.M. Hubbard, Race in Guyana, Georgetown, 1969, p41.

<sup>24</sup> P. Ruhomon, History of the East Indians, p 227.

<sup>25</sup> Being a Lecture Delivered at St Leonard's School Room, Georgetown; C.K. Jardine, 1894, pp29

<sup>26</sup> J. Rohomon, op cit, p6

<sup>27</sup> ibid, p17

<sup>28</sup> ibid, p13

<sup>29</sup> ibid, p22

<sup>30</sup> ibid, p25

<sup>31</sup> 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.

<sup>32</sup> See A.A. Burkett, Trinidad: A Jewel of the West or One Hundred Years of British Rule, London: 1914, pp52-91. Burkett gives interesting biographical data on leading members of both Indian organisations.

<sup>33</sup> Printed as an appendix to Burkett, op cit, p97 ff

<sup>34</sup> See Jha, 'East Indian Pressure Groups', pp 105, 110-112.

<sup>35</sup> Jha, op cit, p101.

36 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

40 See S.Basdeo, 'The 1934 Indian Labour Disturbances in Trinidad,' East Indians in the Caribbean: A Symposium, 1975, p9

41 See Elma Reyes, 'The Legend of F.E.M.Hosein,' Evening News(Trinidad) 7 Dec 1970, p16.

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', p113.

48 See A.A.Burkett, Trinidad :A Jewel of the West, p 56.

49 Quotations from the 2nd Edition, revised and illustrated, Barataria: 1964, n.p.

50 P.Ruhomon, History of the East Indians, pp 227-230

51 'The East Indian in British Guiana', Timehri, vol II, (Third Series) 1912, p 309.

52 'The Creole East Indian', p 102.

53 Demerara: The Daily Chronicle Ltd, 1916, 117pp

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, p12

58 ibid, p 27

59 ibid, p 39.

60 See Indian Centenary Review, ed. Kirpalani et al, pp 103-107

61 See S.R.Ahsan, East Indian Agricultural Settlements in Trinidad: A Study in Cultural Geography, Unpublished Ph D., University of Florida, 1963, p 67 ff ; see also A.& J.Niehoff, op cit, pp 46-50.

62 See W.Dookeran, 'East Indians and The Economy of Trinidad and Tobago, Calcutta to Caroni, passim; K.Singh, 'East Indians and the Larger Society,' Calcutta to Caroni, pp 56-58 and M.Ramesar, 'The Integration of Indian Settlers in Trinidad After Indenture: 1921-1946,' Caribbean Issues, vol III no 3, Dec 1976, pp 53-62.

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

64 Indian Centenary Review, pp 55- 6

65 See for the above, M.K.Bacchus, Education and Socio-Cultural Integration in a 'Plural' Society, Montreal, McGill University, 1970, pp 12-18.

66 See I.R.Sukdeo, Racial Integration With Special Reference to Guyana, pp 210-218 and see M.Rauf, Indian Village in Guyana: A Study in Cultural Change and Ethnic Identity, 1974, pp 47-48

67 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

68 See J.G.La Guerre, The Politics of Communalism: The Ordeal of the Left in Trinidad and Tobago, 1930-1955, Trinidad: Pan Caribbean Publications, 1976, footnotes, p3. See also La Guerre, The General Elections of 1946 in Trinidad and Tobago, Trinidad, U.W.I. St Augustine, 1971.

69 See Ryan, Race and Nationalism, p 31

70 See A.Calder-Marshall, Glory Dead, London: Michael Joseph, 1939, pp 229-235. See also Butler Versus The King, Riots and Sedition in 1937, ed.W.R.Jacobs, Trinidad: Key Caribbean Publications, 1976, pp 22-25, 180. Ryan, Race and Nationalism, pp 58-61 and B.Samaroo, 'Politics and Afro-Indian Relations in Trinidad,' Calcutta to Caroni, pp 87-88, 91-93.

71 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.

72 For a discussion of the role of Indian missionaries see, J.C.Jha, 'How a Hindu Scholar, Missionary Fared,' Trinidad Guardian, 7 April 1974.

73 See Indian Centenary Review, pp 65-67.

74 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.

75. See Indian Centenary Review, pp 109-111 ; B.Smaroo, 'The Making of the 1946 Constitution in Trinidad,' Political Protest and Political Organisation, pp 121-164 and La Guerre, The Politics of Communalism, pp 35-41.

76 P.Ruhomon, History of the East Indians in British Guiana, pp230-242

77 See P.Ruhomon, op cit. pp 91-92; and D.Nath, A History of Indians in Guyana, pp 162-181; See also J.W.Vining, Schemes for Foreign Colonisation in Guyana: A Survey of their Origin, Provisions and Abandonment, Caribbean Quarterly, vol 24 nos 1& 2, March-june 1978, pp76-78. For Luckhoo's presentation of the scheme see British Guiana Imperial Colonisation Scheme: East Indian Section, Compiled W.H.Wharton and J.A.Luckhoo, Georgetown, 1919.

78 See W.Rodney, A History of the Guyanese Working Class, London, 1981 p 177.

79 See A.Chase, A History of Trade Unionism, pp 54-55; and see W.Rodney, 'The Masses in Action,' New World Quarterly, vol 2 no 3, 1966, pp 30-37.

80 See H.A.Lutchman, The Crown Colony System of Government: With Special Reference to Guyana, Georgetown: Critchlow Labour College, 1970; and H.A.Lutchman, Middle Class Colonial Politics: A Study of Guyana with Special Reference to the Period 1920-1931, Georgetown, cyclostyled, 1967.

81 Ayube M.Edun, London's Heart Probe and Britain's Destiny, London, A.H.Stockwell, n.d (c.1938) See especially pp VII-VIII and pp 199ff. See also L.A.Jackman, 'East Indian Representation through Trade Unions' Guyana Journal of Sociology, vol 1 no 1, pp 21-23.

82 See for instance, Parsan Tarachand, 'Let Us Remind You', Indian Opinion, vol II no 12, 1938, pp 413-417

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.

85 See Mrs. S Devi, 'Arya-Samraj Movement in Guiana', The Indian Opinion, vol II no 12, pp 430-431; and see P.Ruhomon, History, pp 245-248, pp 250-260.

86 See M.M.Beramsingh, 'Indians in Sport', Indian Opinion, vol II, no 12, pp 421-422.

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

88 Indian Centenary Review, p63

89. *ibid*, p 77.

90 P. Ruhomon, History, pp 242- 244

91 See V.S. Naipaul, 'Foreward', to Seepersad Naipaul, The Adventures of Gurudeva and Other Stories, London, 1976, p 9

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, p410-412

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 1 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.

102 Guianese Poetry (Covering the Hundred Years Period 1831-1931) Selected and edited by N.E. Cameron, Printed by 'The Argosy' Co. Ltd, Georgetown, B.G. 1931, p 19.

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.

106 A Tagore Reader, ed. Amiya Chakravarty, New York: McMillan, 1961, pp 20-21.

107 P. Verghese, Problems of the Indian Creative Writer in English, Bombay, 1971, p 53.

108 Quoted in K.R. Srinivasi Iyengar, Indian Writing in English, London, Asia Publishing House, 1962, 1973, p 104.

109 J.C. Ghosh, Bengali Literature, 1948, quoted in P. Lal, The Concept of Indian Literature, Calcutta, Writers' Workshop, 1968, p 27.

110 Quoted in Verghese, *op cit.*, p 40

111 Anthology of Local Indian Verse, p 43

112 C.D. Narasimhaiah, The Swan and The Eagle, Simla, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1969, p 19



113 The Broken Wing, Songs of Love, Death and Destiny, 1915-16, London, Heineman, 1917, p 34.

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

135 The Broken Wing, p 22

124 'Interview', Sunday Mirror, 23 June 1968

125 'Education and Indians', unpublished typescript.

126 Albion Wilds, pp 40-42

127 New Amsterdam, British Guiana, 1933, pp 29

128 Scraps of Verse and Prose, p 3

129 ibid, p 4.

130 ibid, p 7

131 ibid, p26.

132 Hyarima and the Saints: A Miracle Play and Pageant of Santa Rosa, Port of Spain: Sporting Chronicle, 1931.

133 Quotations from reprint with introduction by J.S.Mowlah-Baksh, Trinidad: Unique Services, 1976, pp 36.

134 Hyarima, p 19

135 ibid. p.26.

136 East Indian Weekly, 15 June 1929. Quoted in Jha, 'The Background of Legalisation of Non Christian Marriages', p.38.

137 Hyarima, p.30.

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

139. ibid. p.30.

140 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.

141 Rules (Revised 1942) Dramag, 1942

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

143 The programme for Asra gives the following synopsis of the plays 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 houseparty 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

144 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.

145 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.

146 The Dramag, April-June 1944,

147 Special Play Number, 1944, p 3

148 The Dramag Special Play Number, May 1945, p 11

149 The Dramag, Special Christmas Number, Dec. 1945.; See also Rajkumari Singh, 'The British Guiana Dramatic Society', Kyk-over-Al, vol 2 no.6, pp.39-40.

150 See New World Fortnightly, no. 38, 1966, pp.20-21.

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

152 A House For Mr Biswas, Fontana Ed. p 511 and Trinidad Guardian 4 Oct. 1953.

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

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

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

156 A House For Mr. Biswas, p.276 and The Adventures of Gurudeva,p.101.

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.

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

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

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

164 In The Adventures of Gurudeva and Other Stories, ed. V.S.Naipaul, London, 1976, pp. 51-123.

Footnotes : Chapter Nine

1. An Area of Darkness, Penguin ed. p.29.
  2. ibid. p.35
  - 3 'A Language Implodes: The Death of Trinidad Bhojpuri', Paper presented at the Third Conference on East Indians in The Caribbean, U.W.I. St. Augustine, 1984.
  4. An Area of Darkness, p.32.
  5. History, Fable and Myth in the Caribbean and the Guianas, Georgetown, 1970, p.9.
  6. See V.S.Naipaul, 'Foreward' in The Adventures of Gurudeva and Other Stories, London, 1976; and 'Prologue To An Autobiography', in Finding The Centre, London, 1984, pp.33-47.
  7. 'Prologue To An Autobiography', pp 67-85; and see J.C.Jha, 'The Background of Legalisation of Non-Christian Marriages,' East Indians in The Caribbean: A Symposium, U.W.I., St. Augustine, 1975.
  8. Gurudeva And Other Indian Tales, Trinidad, 1943, p.33.
  9. ibid. p.37.
  10. ibid. p.13.
  11. An Area of Darkness, p.35.
  12. The Adventures of Gurudeva and Other Stories, London, 1976, p. 92. Although V.S.Naipaul's valuable new edition of his father's work prints pieces not published in the Trinidad publication of 1943, it does not really replace that collection which has a special coherence of its own.
  13. A House For Mr. Biswas, Fontana ed. p.339. Hereafter page references are given in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.
  14. See Seepersad Naipaul, 'They Want To Go Home,' Trinidad Guardian, April 16, 1950; and C.C. Belgrave, 'Should Indians Return To India,' The Guiana Indian, vol. 1 no. 1, 1938, p. 16.
  15. The theme of longing for India, real or imagined, is also found in B.Bhattacharya's 'The Two Shores', Kyk-Over-Al, vol. 9 no. 28, p. 187; S.Bhajan's 'The River Pundit's Yearn', A Season Of Songs, 1973, p.40; and Rajkumari Singh, 'Karma and the Kaietur', A Garland of Stories, 1966, pp 31-39; and, of course, in V.S.Naipaul's The Mimic Men (1967) which is discussed in Chapter Eighteen.
  16. The Jumbie Bird, London, 1961, p.10. Hereafter page references are given in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.
  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.
- A House For Mr. Biswas, p. 168.
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 Mohurram Festival, London, 1885.

19. An Island Is A World, London, 1955, p. 196. Hereafter page references are given in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.

20. Fireflies, London, Deutch, 1970, p.152.

21. *ibid.* p.236.

22. *ibid.* p.387.

23. The Chip-Chip Gatherers, London, Deutch, 1973, p.10

24. *ibid.* pp. 319-320.

25. See R. Lannoy, The Speaking Tree, London, 1971, p. XXV.

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

27. Beyond The Dragon's Mouth, London, 1984, p.42.

28. The Flaming Circle, Toronto, 1966, p.15.

29. *ibid.* p.19.

30. *ibid.* p.22.

31. *ibid.* p.13

32. *ibid.* p.11.

33. Chronicle Christmas Annual, 1966, p.76.

34. Kaie, no. 5, Sept. 1968, pp. 14-15.

35. Poems in Recession, Georgetown, 1972, p.16.

36. Caribbean Voices Programme, Script no. 1346, broadcast, 2 Feb. 1958.

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

38. Voyage, Trinidad, 1981, p.36.

39. *ibid.* p.38.

40. *ibid.* p.45.

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

42. Heritage Two, Georgetown, 1973, p.28.

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

44. Meanings, Georgetown, 1972, no pagination.

45. *ibid.* See bibliography for other locations.

46. *ibid.*

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

48. Poems From Annandale, Georgetown, 1973, no pagination.

49. Heritage Two, p.29.

50. Meanings.

51. Darling of The Rising Sun, 1974, no pagination.

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.
2. The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, 1790. (Oxford University Press, 1975, pxvi.)
3. Personal letter, 13 May 1980
4. Trinidad Guardian, 25 May 1947.
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.
10. First broadcast on the B.B.C. Caribbean Voices Programme, 8 Jan. 1950, script no. 411; first published in BIM, vol 4 no 13, Dec. 1950; collected in Ways of Sunlight, London, MacGibbon & Kee, 1957, pp 59-73. Quotations are from the last source.
11. B.B.C. Caribbean Voices Programme, broadcast 27 April 1952, script no. 703.
12. BIM, vol 6, no 23, Dec. 1955, pp 165-171; rewritten as 'Wartime Activities,' in Ways of Sunlight.
13. See for instance, 'Sonya's Luck,' and 'The Wedding Came, But -,' in Gurudeva and Other Indian Tales, Trinidad, 1943, pp 37-43 and 61-65.
14. Twelve Short Stories, Maraval, 1976, pp 41-44.
15. *ibid.* pp 45-48.
16. Miguel Street, pp 76-82.
17. *ibid.* pp 127-140.
18. For the sources of this account see: J.G. La Guerre, 'The General Elections of 1946 in Trinidad and Tobago,' Social and Economic Studies, vol 21, no 2, 1971; and his The Politics of Communalism, Trinidad, 1979, pp 41-45; S. Ryan, Race and Nationalism in Trinidad and Tobago, Toronto 1972, pp 73-85.
19. The Spectator, vol 1 no 1, September 1948, p.3.
- 20 The Spectator, vol 7. no. 1, 1953.
- 21 See Chapter Thirteen for a discussion of these novels.
- 22 Fireflies, London. Deutch, 1970, p.27.
- 23 The Chip-Chip Gatherers, London, Deutch 1973, p.201.

- 24 The Obeah Man, London, Hutchinson, 1964, p.11.
- 25 The Cutlass Is Not For Killing, New York, Vantage Press, 1971, p.166.
- 26 Anthony Trollope, The West Indies and The Spanish Main, London, 1859, p.60.
- 27 A Hot Country, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1983, p.160.
- 28 Black and White, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1979, p.13.
- 29 A Hot Country, p.159.
- 30 New York, Columbia University Press, 1961.
- 31 Massachusetts, Schenkman. 1983.

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.

9. Old Thom's Harvest, London, 1965, pp 134-135

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

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

12. Ways of Sunlight, London, 1956, pp 68-69.

13. Turn Again Tiger, London, 1958, p.206.

14. The Plains of Caroni, London, 1970, p.93.

15. See for instance: Anon, 'Bent Backs in the Everlasting Crook of Toil', Laiquat Ali, 'Cane Cutter,'; Elaine Ali, 'Birthright Robbed,'; Nadeer Bacchus, 'Enmore Martyrs,'; David Dabydeen, 'The Cane Cutter's Song,'; Cyril Kanhai, 'The Cane Cutter's Song,'; Yusuf Mohamed, 'The Cane Cutters,'; Bramdeo Persaud, 'The Cane Cutter,'; Krishna Prasad, 'The Cane Cutter,'; Moonilal Pagee, 'East Indian Immigrant Cane Cutters at Dawn,'. For locations see Bibliography.

16. But see also Reynold Bassant's story, 'The Cutlass', Corlit, no 2, April 1974.

17. Kaie, no. 5, Sept. 1968, p.78.

18. The Flaming Circle, Toronto, 1966, p.9.

19. The Adventures of Gurudeva and Other Stories, London, 1976, p.81.

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.

20. *ibid.* p.173.

21. Finding The Centre: Two Narratives, London, 1984, p.35

22. *ibid.* p.42.

23. The Mystic Masseur, London, 1957, Penguin ed. p.32

24. *ibid.* pp.68-69.



25. Fireflies, London, 1970; see pp.93-111.
26. The Chip-Chip Gatherers, London, 1973, p.11.
27. ibid. pp 25-26.
28. 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 .
29. 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.
30. No Pain Like This Body, Toronto, 1972, p.43.
31. ibid. p.45.
32. ibid. p.72.
33. Yesterdays, Toronto, 1974, p.24.
34. ibid. p.35.
35. ibid. p.13.
36. See Peter Such, 'The Short Life and Sudden Death of Harold Ladoo,' Bim, no. 63, June 1968, pp 205-213.
37. For locations see Bibliography.
38. See M.V. Agrosino, 'Outside Is Death: Alcoholism, Ideology and Community Organisation Among The East Indians of Trinidad,' Ph.D. Dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1972; and Carol Yawney, 'Drinking Problems and Alcoholism Among East Indians and Negroes in Trinidad,' M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1965.
39. Grass-Root People, Havana, 1981, p.10.
40. ibid. p.65.
41. 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.
42. The Killing of Nelson John and Other Stories , London, 1980, p.36.
43. Corlit, vol 4, Dec. 1974, p.26.
44. See also Sadeek's 'Black Bush' in Windswept and Other Stories, 1968, which explores a similar conflict within a family.
45. 'A Cry For The Land,' Corlit, no. 2, April 1974, p.53.
46. Goodbye Corentyne, Georgetown, 1974, p.5.
47. Broadcast by Guyana Broadcasting Company, 1974.
48. See also 'Goatsong', 'Absences' and 'Nephew', in Goatsong, Ottawa, 1977.
49. Distances, Vancouver, 1977, pp. 12-13.
50. 'Meditation' in Season of Songs, Trinidad, 1973, p. 1.
51. 'Morning', in Quest, Trinidad, 1975, p.20.
52. Quest, p. 80.      52 a) Season of Songs, p 18.      52 b) ibid. p 20
53. First published Colorado Quarterly, Autumn, 1962, pp 121-135; reprinted in From The Green Antilles, ed. B. Howe, 1966, pp. 61-76.
54. ibid. p.69.
55. ibid. p.75.

56 *ibid.* p.73.

57 A Brighter Sun, London, 1952, p.84.

58 An Island Is A World , London, 1955, p.85.

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)

61 First broadcast by the Canadian Broadcasting Company, 1964 and re-published in New Writing in The Caribbean, ed.Seymour, Georgetown, 1972.

62 The Jumbie Bird, London, 1961, p.159

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.

67 The Mimic Men, London, 1967, Penguin ed. p.155

68 *ibid.* p.55.

69 The Cutlass Is Not For Killing, New York, 1971, p.56.

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.
- 2 See Angela Hamel-Smith, 'Primary Education and East Indian Women in Trinidad 1900-1956,' Paper presented to the Third Conference on East Indians in the Caribbean.
- 3 The Indian Centenary Review, Ed. Kirpalini et al. Trinidad, 1945, pp 53-55.
- 4 Nath, op cit pp 245, 247.
- 5 See Peter Ruhomon, History of the East Indian in British Guiana, Georgetown, 1947, pp 244-245.
- 6 See M. Klass, East Indians in Trinidad: A Study of Cultural Persistence, New York, 1961, pp 93-136; and A. & J. Niehoff, East Indians in the West Indies, Milwaukee, 1960, pp 101-110.
- 7 Niehoff, op cit. pp 80-85. And see M. Cross and A. Schwartzbaum, 'Social Mobility in Secondary School Selections in Trinidad and Tobago,' Social and Economic Studies, 1969, pp 189-207.
- 8 See J. Nevadomsky, 'Abandoning the Retentionist Model: Family and Marriage Change Among the East Indians in Rural Trinidad,' International Journal of Sociology of the Family, vol 10, 1980, pp 181-198; and 'Wedding Rituals and Changing Women's Rights Among The East Indians in Rural Trinidad,' International Journal of Women's Studies, vol 4, no 5, pp 484-496.
- 9 See J. Nevadomsky, 'Changing Conceptions of Family Regulation Among The Hindu East Indians in Rural Trinidad,' Anthropological Quarterly, vol 55, no 4, 1982, pp 189-198.
- 10 See S. Sieunarine, 'The Social and Cultural Change in the East Indian Community of Eldorado in 1960-1980,' Caribbean Studies Project, U.W.I.
11. See Harewood, op cit pp 120-121.
- 12 See Judith Johnson, 'The Changing Cultural Context of the Neo-Natal Period in an East Indian Rural Community in South Trinidad,' Paper presented to the Second Conference on East Indians in the Caribbean, U.W.I. St. Augustine, 1979.
- 13 See Kunti K. Ramdat, 'Some Aspects of Indic Pejorative Usage Among Hindus in Guyana,' Paper presented to the Third Conference on East Indians in the Caribbean.
- 14 Personal observation at Cane Grove Kali-Mai temple.
- 15 This is consistent with the findings of V. 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.
- 16 See Report of the British Guiana Commission of Inquiry, Racial Problems in the Public Service, 1965, pp 49, 84, 87-93.
- 17 I make these comments on the basis of conversations with Guyanese both in and out of the country.
- 18 See Janet Jagan, An Examination of National Service, Georgetown, 1976

- 19 See Richard Lannoy, The Speaking Tree, London, 1971. pp 102-112.
- 20 Trinidad, author, 1972, n.p.
- 21 Dawning Days, Wales, W.B.D. 1976, p15-16
- 22 Glossary of The Soul, Georgetown, c.1968, n.p.
- 23 Glorianna, Guyana, Enmore, 1976, p. 14.
- 24 Seepersad 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, Deutch, 1976. I have treated them as two distinct works.
- 25 See Prof. J.C. Jha, 'The Background of the Legalisation of non-Christian Marriages in Trinidad,' Paper presented East Indians in the Caribbean: A Symposium, 1975, p.39. For a more general discussion of the reforming role of the Arya Samaj in Trinidad see R.H. Forbes, 'The Arya Samaj as Catalyst,' Paper presented to the Second Conference on East Indians in the Caribbean, 1979.
- 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.
- 31 London, MacGibbon & Kee, 1970.
- 32 Discoveries, Georgetown, N.H.A.C. 1976, pp 53-55.
- 33 Chronicle Christmas Annual, Georgetown, 1967, pp 9-12.
- 34 Grass-Root People: Thirteen Stories on One Theme, Cuba, Casa de las Americas, 1981, pp 83-92
- 35 A House For Mr. Biswas, London, Fontana Edition, pp 139 -140. Hereafter page references are given in parenthesis after the quotation.
- 36 The sources for the myth can be found in Hindu Myths, trans. W. O'Flaherty, London, Penguin Books, 1975, pp 238-249.
- 37 Saraswattee: A Novel of India, Seattle, Madrona Publishers, 1982, p7. Hereafter page references are given in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.
- 38 See Guerrillas, Penguin ed. pp 78-81.
- 39 See A Bend in the River, Deutch ed. pp 200-238.
- 40 Trinidad, Scope Publications, 1975, p.3.
- 41 Toronto, Anansi Press, 1974, p. 110
- 42 See C. Laird, 'Yesterdays,' Kairi, 1975, Re L.3.1 - Re L.3.12.
- 43 Mundelstrup, Dangeroo Press, 1984, pp 17-18.
- 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.
- 46 London, Eyre & Spottiswood, 1965.
- 47 Mukdar, vol 1 no 1, Oct. 1974, pp 13-19.
- 48 New York, Vantage Press, 1982.
- 49 Still Close To The Island, Ottawa, Commoners Publishing, 1980, pp9-14.
- 50 Toronto, House of Anansi Press Ltd., 1972.

- 51 Trinidad and Tobago Review, vol 7 no 7, 1984, p.18.
- 52 Still Close To The Island, pp 15-19.
- 53 Twelve Short Stories, pp 10-17.
- 54 The Killing of Nelson John and Other Stories, London, London Magazine Editions, 1980, pp 7-10.
- 55 Wild Flowers and Water Lilies, Guyana, 1979, p.12.
- 56 Season of Songs, Siparia, 1973, p.19; and Quest, Port of Spain, Scope Publishing, 1975, pp 58-59.
- 57 London, MacGibbon & Kee, 1961, p. 224.
- 58 Sussex, New Literature, 1960.
- 59 San Fernando, Unique Services, c. 1975 .
- 60 A Hot Country, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1983, p.63.
- 61 See Wilson Harris, 'The Writer and Society,' in Tradition, The Writer and Society, London, 1967, pp 48-64.
- 62 Author, Georgetown, 1979, p.167.
- 63 Enid Kirton-Lewis, in Trinidad & Tobago on Air, Ed. A. Gonzalez, Port of Spain, 1974, p.48.
- 64 See for instance: Zorina B. Ishmael, 'The Dead Past,' Chronicle Christmas Annual 1958, (Georgetown) p.18.; 'Back From The Dead,' Chronicle Christmas Annual 1959, p.13 ; 'No Better Gift,' ibid, p.19; Zorinah Shah, 'The Wind My Lover,' Corlit vol 4, Dec. 1974, p.27; B.S. Elaine Ali, 'Dreams,' 'Hero of The Morning Glory,' 'Heart,' in The New Wave, Annandale, Guyana, 1974; Nirmala Shewcharan, Beauty Lies Within and Other Poems, Georgetown, 1978; and Lallita Narine, The Illustration of Feelings, Chaguanas, Trinidad, 1984.
- 65 Guyana, Sheik Sadeek, 1968, p.8
- 66 Georgetown, N.H.A.C. 1976. Yordan's other work can be found in Guyana Drums (with S. Douglas et al. ) Georgetown, 1972; And Talking of Love Let Us ( with V. Facey and L. Cromwell) Linden, 1979; and in Independence Ten, ed. Seymour, Guyana, 1976; and in A Treasury of Guyanese Poetry, ed. Seymour, 1980.
- 67 Antilia (Trinidad) vol 1 no 1, 1983, pp 41-42.
68. The Indian Review, vol 1 no 4, 1983, p.10.
- 69 Corlit, no 2 , April 1974, pp 21,39.
- 70 Corlit, vol 3, July 1974, p.33.
- 71 Trinidad Guardian, 23 May 1948.
- 72 Mukdar, vol 1 no 2, 1975, pp 36-38.
- 73 See for instance, Zorina Ishmael, 'And So Goodbye,' Chronicle Christmas Annual, 1958, p.37; and Darendra Persaud's play, Daughter's Dilemma, Georgetown, typescript, 1963.
- 74 The Indian Review, vol 1 no 4, 1983, pp 19-23.
- 75 See B.S. Elaine Ali, 'Portrait of Life,' and Janet Jhondorie, 'Cane Cutter,' in The New Wave; Celia Dharanpaul, 'Bushrum,' Kaie, no 8, 1971, pp 51-55; and Patricia Persaud, 'Dog,' Chronicle Christmas Annual, 1981, pp 32-34.
- 76 New Writing in The Caribbean, ed. A.J. Seymour, Georgetown, 1972, pp 113-114.
- 77 The Dramag (Georgetown) Special Christmas Number , Dec. 1945.

78 The group included, amongst others, Mahadai Das, Rooplall Monar, Guska Kisson, Gora Singh and Henry Muttoo.

79 Typescript, Georgetown, 1973. Rajkumari Singh's other plays include: Roraima: A Radio Play, Hoofbeats At Midnight, The Sound of Her Bells, A White Camellia and a Blue Star, and Bohemian Interlude.

80 Days of the Sahib Are Over, Georgetown, 1971, pp 3-4.

81 A Garland of Stories, Ilfracombe, A.H. Stockwell, 1960, pp 31-39.

82 *ibid*, pp 23-28.

83 Kaie, no 5, 1968, pp 31-34.

84 A Garland of Stories, pp 47-55.

85 Heritage Two, 1973, pp 6-10

86 Unpublished typescript, performed 1974.

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

88. See for instance, 'There You Lie,' Heritage One, Georgetown, 1973; 'Mystery of the Night,' Heritage Two, Sept. 1973; 'Haunted,' 'A Long Wait,' 'Change,' Kaie, no 12, Oct 1975, pp 107-109.

89 Kaie no 12, pp 114-116.

90 Guyana, National History and Arts Council, 1976; second enlarged edition, G.N.S. Publishing, 1977.

91 'My Bread of Stone,' A Treasury of Guyanese Poetry, Ed. Seymour, 1980, pp 130-131.

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

93 Vermont, Samisdat, vol 31, no 2, 1982.

Footnotes Chapter Thirteen

1. See for instance K. Ramchand, The West Indian Novel and Its Background, pp 39-50 ; and G.R. Coulthard, Race and Colour in Caribbean Literature, London 1962, pp 100-104.

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

3. See A. & J. Niehoff, East Indians in the West Indies, pp 66-67; and I.D. Sukdeo, Racial Integration with Special Reference to Guyana, Ph.D. University of Sussex, 1969, pp 333-339.

4. See A.S. Ehrlich, East Indian Cane Workers in Jamaica, Ph D. University of Michigan, 1969 pp 125-135; and V.S. Naipaul, The Middle Passage, pp 225-230

5. See A. & J. Niehoff, op cit. , pp 66-67.

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

7 The Chip-Chip Gatherers, London, 1973, p.48

8. ibid. p 53

9 The Middle Passage, p 228.

10 Personal letter, 18 Oct 1971.

11 Nearly all Kisson's plays have been published in mimeographed 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

13 ibid., p 5

14 ibid., p 5

15 ibid., p12

16 See M. White, 'Decolonising Consciousness,' The Guardian, 6 Oct 1971.

17 Nice, Rum An' Coca Cola and Welcome Home Jacko, Methuen New Theatre Scripts, 1980.

18 As Time Goes By and Black Pieces, Calder and Boyars, 1972, p83

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.

24. Peter Nazareth, 'Interview With Samuel Selvon', World Literature Written in English, vol 18 no. 2, 1979, p.426.

25. *ibid.* p.426.

26. *ibid.* p.436.

27. 'Three Into One', p.10.

28 *ibid.* p.20.

29 See Bibliography , pp for details of these stories.

30. Caribbean Voices Broadcast, Script no 693, March 1952.

31. Caribbean Voices Broadcast, Script no 1180, 11 Nov 1956.

32. Caribbean Voices Broadcast, Script no 1058, 22 Jan 1955.

33. New Statesman, 6 Dec. 1958, p 826

34 Writers and Artists Year Book.

35 The ideas in this paragraph come originally from C. Levi-Strauss, 'Structural Analysis in Linguistics and Anthropology', Structural Anthropology, Penguin Ed. 1972, pp 31-54; other clues came from J. Culler, Structuralist Poetics, 1975, pp 189-238 and D. Lodge, The Modes of Modern Writing, 1977, pp 73 - 124, which develops Roman Jakobson's distinction between the metonymic and the metaphoric poles of language.

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.

38 Caribbean Voices Broadcast, Script no 506, July 1950.

39 An Island Is A World, Alan Wingate, London, 1955, p219. All subsequent quotations from this novel are documented with page numbers in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.

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, McGibbon 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. <sup>p. 8.</sup> 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.

48 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 124-126, 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 India 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

53 Those Who Eat the Cascadura, London: Davis-Poynter, 1975, p. 29. Subsequent quotations from this novel are documented with page references in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.

54 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...' (p 107)

Footnotes; Chapter Fourteen.

1 Mukdar, vol 2 no 4, June 1975; reprinted in The New Voices, vol 7/8, 1976, pp19-24.

2 Elaine Fido, 'Reviews: Intellectual and Popular: Aspects of New Writing,' Bim, vol 16, no 61, June 1977. pp 73-78.

3 'A.C.L.A.L.S. Conference on Commonwealth Literature,' Journal of Commonwealth Literature, vol VI no 2, 1971, pp 120-122.

4 The Middle Passage, Penguin ed. p 87.

5 Among The Hindus and Creoles of British Guiana, p 186.

6 Ramdath Jagessar, 'The Present State of Indian Society in Trinidad,' Talk Delivered to Brazil Hindu Youth Organisation 4 April 1975, cyclo-styled.

7 British Guiana and Its Labouring Population, p. 286.

8 Quoted in D.Wood, Trinidad in Transition, p. 138.

9 See C.F.Andrews, An Interim Statement Concerning East Indian Conditions in British Guiana, Guyana, 1929, p. 50.

10 See A.S.Ehrlich, East Indian Cane Workers in Jamaica, 1969, pp 126-135.

11 'Racial Attitudes of Africans and Indians in Guyana,' S.E.S. 22, 1973, pp 427-439.

12 Racial Integration With Special Reference to Guyana, Ph.D. Univ. Sussex, 1969, pp 336 ff.

13 S.Ryan et al. The Confused Electorate, Trinidad, I.S.E.R. 1979, p.63.

14 The Middle Passage , p. 11

15 The Mimic Men ,Penguin ed. 1967, p. 195.

16 Guerrillas, Penguin ed. 1975, p. 35. Lest these descriptions of Afro-Caribbean physiognomy be thought a purely Naipaulian phenomenon, see also: Nasir M.Kissoon's 'Samuel and The Key to Knowledge,' Kaie No 10, July 1973, pp 40-44, an unpleasant story of black stupidity with a steppenfetchit character with flaring nostrils and bug eyes described as an 'ape man'. See also the descriptions of Clarissa in Shiva Naipaul's 'The Political Education of Clarissa Forbes,' Penguin Modern Stories, 4, 1971, pp 87-119; of Polo in Lauchmonen's Old Thom's Harvest, London, 1965, p.59; and of Gladstone in Sheik Sadeek's Song of the Sugarcanes, Georgetown, 1975, p.68.

17 The Observer (London) 27 June and 4 July 1982.

18 See S.Ryan, Race and Nationalism in Trinidad and Tobago, pp 128-169 ; K.Bahadoorsingh, Trinidad Electoral Politics, London, 1968, pp 13-14; I.Oxaal, Black Intellectuals Come To Power, 1968, pp 96-116; W.Mahabir, In and Out of Politics, pp 23-40; and Y.Malik, East Indians in Trinidad, pp 78-96.

19 See Ryan, op cit ,pp 183-195; Mahabir, op cit, pp 76-82; Malik, op cit , pp 98-104 and F.E.Brassington, The Politics of Opposition, Trinidad, 1977 c. pp 17-32.

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.
30. ibid. pp33-39.
31. The Suffrage Of Elvira, Penguin Edition, pp. 154-155.
32. A House For Mr. Biswas, p. 221.
33. ibid. p.72.
34. 'The Little More', The Times, July 13, 1961, p.13.
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.
40. A Flag On The Island, Penguin edition, p. 147.
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, (PenguinEd.) 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 racist 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.
46. 'The Political Education of Clarissa Forbes', Penguin Modern Stories 4, 1970, p.99. Hereafter page references are given in parenthesis at the end of quotations.
47. The Cutlass Is Not For Killing, New York, 1971, p.93. Hereafter page references are given in parenthesis at the end of quotations.
48. His commitment to the P.N.M. can be read in his Selected Essays, Trinidad, Vedic Enterprises, 1958.

49. In and Out Of Politics, p.210.

50. 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)).

51. 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).

52. 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.

53 Port of Spain Gazette, 6 May 1913.

54. 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.

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

56. See C.L.R.James, 'The Making of the Caribbean People,' Paper presented to the 2nd Montreal Conference on West Indian Affairs, reprinted in Spheres of Existence, London, 1980, pp 178-179. James himself credits the work of Richard Pares, Merchants and Planters, 1960, for this insight.

57. See E.K.Brathwaite, Creole Society in Jamaica, Oxford, 1971, especially Chapter 15, 'The "Folk" Culture of the Slaves,' pp 212-239.

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

59 C.R.Ottley, Slavery Days in Trinidad, Trinidad, 1974, pp 53-55.

60. Fraser, op cit., p.270.

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

62. See Hollis R.Lynch, Edward Wilmot Blyden 1832-1912: Pan-Negro Patriot, Oxford, 1967.

63. See J.R.Hooker, Henry Sylvester Williams: Imperial Pan-Africanist, London, 1975.

64 See C.L.R.James, A History of Pan-African Revolt, Washington, 1938, 1969; and C.Legum, Pan -Africanism: A Short Political Guide, London, 1962, pp 27-31.

65 See O.R.Dathorne, 'Africa in The Literature of The West Indies,' Journal of Commonwealth Literature, No 1, 1965, pp 95-117.

66 'The African Presence in Caribbean Literature,' Bim, no 65, 1979, p.33.

67 ibid, part two, Bim, nos. 66-67, June, 1983, p.165.

68 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. O.Coombs, New York, 1974, pp 1-27; and see Another Life, London, 1973; 'Chapter 19', pp 127-128.

69 See, in particular, E.K.Brathwaite's Masks, Oxford, 1968.

70. See for instance Trinidadian Marina Omowale Maxwell, 'African Impressions No. 3: Tanzania Getting On With Business,' About Our Own Business, Trinidad, 1981, pp 80-91.

For a committed discussion of the significance of Brathwaite's African oriented work for the arts and culture of the Caribbean see: Gordon Rohlehr, Pathfinder: Black Awakening in the Arrivants of Edward Kamau Brathwaite, Trinidad, 1981.

71. Port of Spain Gazette, 6 May 1913.

72. See: 'Negro Mobs Rape Indians and Loot Their Shops in East Africa,' The Observer, vol 23, no 9, 1964.

73. See P. Theroux, 'The Unassailable Man,' The Guardian, Sept. 1983.

74. Naipaul's honesty reads better than some of the Afro-Caribbean apologetics 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.

75. In A Free State, London, Deutch, p.111. Hereafter page references are given in parenthesis at the end of quotations.

76. See Jan Vansina, Kingdoms of the Savannah, London, 1966; and Isaria Kimambo, 'The Rise of The Congolese State Systems,' in Aspects of Central African History, London, 1968.

77. G.A. Henty, By Sheer Pluck, 1884, p.118. Quoted in G.D. Killam, Africa in English Fiction 1874-1939, Ibadan, 1968, p.21.

78. New York Review of Books, no 22, 26 June 1975, pp 19-25. Reprinted in The Return of Eva Peron, London, 1980, pp 173-204.

79. *ibid.* p. 199.

80. A Bend In The River, London, Deutch, 1979, p. 88. Hereafter page references are given in parenthesis at the end of quotations.

81. 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.

82. Finding The Centre, London, Deutch, 1984, p. 162. Hereafter page references are given in parenthesis at the end of quotations.

83. North of South, London, Deutch, 1978, p.238. Hereafter page references are given in parenthesis at the end of quotations.

84. See G.E. Simpson, Black Religions in The New World, New York, 1978; L.E. Barrett, The Sun and The Drum, Jamaica, 1976; J.D. Elder, The Yoruba Ancestor Cult in Gasparillo, Trinidad, 1969; and Stephen D. Glazier, Marchin' The Pilgrims Home, Connecticut, 1983.

85. See Brathwaite, 'The African Presence in Caribbean Literature,' Bim, no 65, p. 37.

86. See Caribbean Quarterly vol 13 no 3, Sept. 1967 for the reprint of The Rastafarian Movement in Kingston Jamaica, I.S.E.R. Kingston, 1960; and see Caribbean Quarterly vol 26 no 4 :Rastafari, Dec. 1980. For balanced accounts of the rastafarian movement see J.Owen, Dread, Jamaica, 1976 and L.E.Barrett, The Rastafarians: A Study in Messianic Cultism in Jamaica, Puerto Rico, 1968. For an extremely tendentious and bilious view see Shiva Naipaul, 'The Rise of The Rastaman,' The Observer (London) 27 June and 4 July 1982.

87. See Liberation, N.J.A.C.'s paper circa 1969-1974.

88. See W.McAndrew, 'Guyana: A Cultural Look,' Co-Operative Republic of Guyana 1970, Guyana, 1970, pp 117-126; and see Jane Kramer, 'Letter From Guyana,' The New Yorker, Sept. 16, 1974.

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

90. Black and White, Hamish Hamilton, 1978, p.58.

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

94. A Hot Country, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1983, pp. 85 .. Hereafter page references will be given in parenthesis at the end of quotations.

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.

96 L.Balkarransingh, 'The Indian in the Black Power Movement,' Embryo vol 2 no 18, 1970.

97. D.Ali, 'Demonstration or Integration,' Pelican (U.W.I. St. Augustine) 1970, p.13. His views are confirmed in C.de Coteau's 'The Glorious March,' Embryo vol 2 no 18, 1970.

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

99. See 'The Political Chronicle of the U.L.F. Split,' in Trinidad and Tobago Review vol 2 no 1, 28 Aug. 1977, p. 23 and vol 2 no 2, Oct. 1977, p. 8,9, 17 and vol 2 no 3, November, 1977, p. 7,9, 15.

100. See W.Dookeran, 'East Indians in The Economy of Trinidad and Tobago,' in Calcutta to Caroni, London 1974, pp 69-83; and R.Jagessar, 'Indians in Trinidad,' Mukdar vol 1 no 2, pp 14-15, 28, 50-52.

101. 'The Crumbs From The Table,' Moko no. 42, 16 Oct. 1970.

102 See A,R.Maharaj, 'Education and Culture Before Power,' Embryo, vol 2 no 19, 1970, pp 10-11; L.Harradan, 'The Bankruptcy of Afro-Saxon Colonialism,' Embryo vol 3 no 14, Feb. 1971.

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.

105 See Rajnie Ramlakhan, 'The Mixed Marriage Crisis,' Mukdar vol 2 no 2.

106. K.Ganessingh, 'Afro-Christians Lead The Attack on Indian Culture,' Mukdar, vol 1 no 2, Nov. 1974, pp 45-49.

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

108. Liberation, no 11, 1973, p.6. See also Bro. Ravindra Doman, 'Central Suffering Too Long,' Liberation, 13, June 1973, p.3

109. Grace Maharaj, 'To The Black People of Trinidad,' Embryo, vol 2 no 19 1970.
110. Lloyd Harradan, 'Crossroad,' Arts Annual I, U.W.I. St. Augustine, 1971.
111. Harradan, 'The Smouldering,' Embryo vol 3 no 10, 1970, pp 7-8.
112. '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 Today,' in Calcutta to Caroni, p.104.
113. 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)
114. The Killing of Nelson John and Other Stories, London, 1980, p.67. Hereafter page references are given in parenthesis.
115. Quest, Trinidad, 1975, p.87.
116. See Rohan Mungra, 'The Contradictions and Charisma of a Man Called Granger,' Embryo, vol 2 no 12, Feb. 1970.
117. See East Dry River Speaks (circa 1969) and Liberation, 1969-1974 c.
118. Moko no 5, 27 Dec. 1968, p.3.
119. The Confused Electorate, pp 50-51.
120. See J.G. La Guerre, B. Samaroo and G. Sammy, East Indians in The Present Crisis, Trinidad, 1972.
121. See J.G. La Guerre, 'The Tyranny of Concepts,' Moko, 73, 29 Oct. 1971.
122. 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.
123. 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 crudely 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 Trinidadian 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 Barracoon, p.247.

125, *ibid.* p.254.

126 The Return of Eva Peron with The Killings in Trinidad, London, Deutch, 1980, p.42. Hereafter page references are given in parenthesis.

127 Guerrillas (Penguin Ed.) p.13. Hereafter page references are given in parenthesis.

128 See for instance, K.I.M.Rao, 'V.S.Naipaul's Guerrillas : A Fable of Political Innocence,' Journal of Commonwealth Literature, XIV no 1, 1979, pp 90-99; and J.Riis, 'Naipaul's Woodlanders,' *ibid*, pp 109-115.

Footnotes Chapter Fifteen.

- 1 See Chapter Two, pp. 33-34
- 2 See Chapter Seven, pp. 331 ff.
- 3 See Cheddi Jagan, The West On Trial, London, M. Joseph, 1966, pp 13-25.
- 4 For the events leading to the formation of the P.P.P. see: R.R. Premdas, 'The Rise of the First Mass-Based Multi-Racial Party in Guyana,' Caribbean Quarterly, vol 20 nos 3&4, 1974, pp 5-20; Leo Depres, Cultural Pluralism and Nationalist Politics in British Guiana, pp 183-190;  
See H.J.M. Hubbard, Race and Guyana, pp 50-66; C. Jagan, The West On Trial, pp 90-117 and Ashton Chase, A History of Trade Unionism in Guyana, pp 140-160.
- 5 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.
- 6 Sunday Argosy, 1953, entitled 'Wipe The Tears Away,' ; collected in Windswept and Other Stories, Guyana, 1969, pp 42-48.
- 7 Chronicle Christmas Annual 1953, pp 45-47.
- 8 For the period of the interim Government see: R. Burrowes, The Wild Coast, Massachusetts, 1984, pp 67-100; Depres, op cit, pp 202-210; Jagan, op cit, pp 145-198; and P. Reno, The Ordeal of British Guiana, New York, 1964, pp 16-23.
- 9 London, 1965, p.8.
- 10 ibid p. 59.
- 11 ibid p. 186.
- 12 See Leo Depres, Cultural Pluralism, pp 222-250; R. Burrowes, The Wild Coast, pp 101-131; R.A. Glasgow, Guyana: Race and Politics Among Africans and East Indians, The Hague, 1970, pp 114-130; and D. Nath, Guyana of the Guyanese, Part One, London, 1982, pp 78-91.
- 13 See New World Fortnightly, no 12, 1964, pp 20-25; and New World Fortnightly, no 39, 1965, p.15.
- 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.
- 19 Shackles of Colonialism: A Narrative Poem, Guyana, East Bank Dem. 1977.
- 20 The Masses Create, Guyana, 1978, p.35 & 43.

<sup>21</sup> 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'.

<sup>23</sup> Poems of Recession, Guyana, Sheik Sadeek, 1972, p.5.

<sup>24</sup> See Meanings, Georgetown, 1972, n.p.

<sup>25</sup> In New Writing in the Caribbean, ed A.J.Seymour, Guyana, 1972, p.84; and in Patterns, Georgetown, 1983, pp 15-16.

<sup>26</sup> From Utopia To Paradise, Guyana, 1976, p.4

<sup>27</sup> No Greater Day and Four More Adult Stories, Georgetown, 1974, pp.13-15

<sup>28</sup> Plexus: A New Magazine of Young Writing, Georgetown, 1968, p.12.

<sup>29</sup> The Masses Create, Guyana, 1978, p.15.

<sup>30</sup> See R.Moore, 'Nationalism and Identity in a New World Multi-Racial Society: The Case Study of Guyana,' Twentieth Century Studies, University of Kent, 1973; See also R.Hoolarie, 'Burnham's Black Power Hoax,' Moko, no 50, 11 Dec. 1970, p. 4,9. See also E.F.S.Burnham, Birth of the Co-operative Republic, Georgetown, 1970.

<sup>31</sup> The Masses Create, pp.69-74.

<sup>32</sup> Conversations with the late Guska Kissoon, September 1976.

<sup>33</sup> Quest, Trinidad, 1975, pp.72-73.

<sup>34</sup> Kaie, no. 6, Dec. 1970, pp.20-23.

<sup>35</sup> See J.E.Greene, Race vs Politics in Guyana, Jamaica, I.S.E.R. 1974. R.Burrowes, The Wild Coast, pp 233-237; Nath, Guyana of the Guyanese, vol 1, pp 158-179; Civil Liberties Action Council, Rape of Democracy in Guyana, Georgetown, 1972., for the period before 1968. For the 1970s see D.Bartels, 'Ethnicity, Ideology and Class Struggle in Guyanese Society,' Anthropoligica, XXII: I (1980) pp 45-60; Janet Jagan, Army Intervention in the 1973 Elections, P.P.P. Education Ctee, 1973; Nath, Guyana of the Guyanese, vol 2 pp 215-240; and Burrowes, op cit., p.273-275.

<sup>36</sup> Committed Concerned Citizens, A Report on the Referendum Held in Guyana in July 1978, Georgetown, 1978; P.P.P. Propaganda Ctee, Rigged Elections in Guyana, Georgetown, 1978; Nath, Guyana of the Guyanese, vol 2, pp 313-329. For the continuing state of oppression in the 1980s see R.R.Premdas, 'Violence and Democracy in a Communal State,' Plural Societies, 12: 3-4, 1981, pp 41-66; British Parliamentary Human Rights Group, Something To Remember: The Report of the International Team of Observers at the Election in Guyana, Dec. 1980, London, 1980.

<sup>37</sup> See G.K.Danns, Domination and Power in Guyana, New Brunswick, 1982.

<sup>38</sup> Janet Jagan, An Examination of National Service, P.P.P. 1973

<sup>39</sup> See S.Debiprashad and D.R.Budram, 'Participation of East Indians in the Transformation of Guyanese Society,' Paper presented to the Second Conference on East Indians in the Caribbean, 1979.

40 See H.A. Lutchman, 'Factors in the Functioning of Parliament in Guyana,' in Selected Issues in Guyanese Politics, Georgetown, 1976, pp 38-50; and Lutchman, From Colonialism to Co-operative Republic, Puerto Rico, 1974, pp 245-261.

41 See T. Ramnarine, 'Over A Hundred Years of East Indian Disturbances on the Sugar Estates of Guyana, 1869-1978: An Historical Overview,' Paper presented to the Second Conference on East Indians in The Caribbean, 1979. See Caribbean Contact, September 1977.

42 See R. Burrowes, The Wild Coast, pp 309-310.

43 See 'Indian Immigration Day Message 1976,' (reprinted in Mukdar vol 3 no 5, 1976; and D. Nath, Guyana of the Guyanese, Part 2, p 298-299.

44 'My Bread Of Sone', in Treasury of Guyanese Poetry, ed. A.J. Seymour, 1980, pp. 131-132.

45 Grass-Root People, Cuba; Casa de las Americas, 1981, pp 13-26.

46 ibid., pp 53-59.

223 A Treasury of Guyanese Poetry, ed. A.J. Seymour, 1980, pp 168-169

47 'Post-Independence Man,' The New Caribbean Man: Poems 1972-1976, California, Carib House, 1981, p. 12. Hereafter page references are given in parenthesis.

48 I think in particular of Brecht's 'The Solution,':  
 Would it not be easier  
 In that case for the government  
 To dissolve the people  
 And elect another.

Bertold Brecht's Poems, ed. Willett and Manheim, Part III, London, 1976, p. 440.

49 See for instance Dennis Mahabir's The Cutlass Is Not For Killing New York, 1971.

50 See for instance Mohan Sirju's naively written novel, So Let It Be, (Toronto, 1972). We are never told the ethnic background of the journalist hero, Paul Dimple, though it emerges from several clues that he is a light-skinned Indian. He comes from Trinidad and is recognised as an immigrant in Canada, though the lightness of his skin is commented on. The real clue is that when Dimple proposes to marry a light-skinned girl, his family object because she is part negro.

51 See also Ismith Khan, The Jumbie Bird, London, 1961; Ramsaran Sawh, The Hidden Treasure and Other Stories, Guyana, c.1980; and the stories by Hamaludin, Tiwari and Singh referred to in the text.

52 A House For Mr. Biswas, p. 335. Rakshas were black demons.

53 Fireflies, p. 63.

54 Chronicle Christmas Annual, 1967, pp 9-12

55 Discoveries, Georgetown, 1976, pp 53-55

56 A Garland Of Stories, Ilfracombe, 1960, pp 47-55

57 The Cutlass Is Not For Killing, p. 66. Hereafter page references are given in parenthesis.

58 The Middle Passage, Penguin ed. p. 227.

59 'One Out Of Many', In A Free State, 1971, London, Deutch, p. 30. Hereafter page references are given in parenthesis in the text.

60 Heritage Two, Georgetown, Sept. 1973, pp. 9-13.

61 See Chapter Seventeen, pp.

62 The Killing Of Nelson John and Other Stories, London, 1980, p. 115. Hereafter page references are given in parenthesis in the text.

63 Trinidad, Inprint Caribbean, 1982.

Footnotes Chapter Sixteen

<sup>1</sup> My position here is indebted to the work of Russell Keat and John Urry's Social Theory As Science, London, 1975; and Ted Benton's Philosophical Foundations Of The Three Sociologies, London, 1977.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter Six, pp. 244.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid* pp. 235-40

<sup>4</sup> *ibid*. pp. 252-58

<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> 'The Phenomenal Legacy', in Explorations, ed. Hena Maes-Jelinek, Denmark, 1981, p.42.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid*. p.45.

<sup>8</sup> 'Reflection and Vision' in Explorations, p.83.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid*. p.84.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid*. p.43.

<sup>11</sup> *ibid*. p.47.

<sup>12</sup> See Z. Bauman, Hermeneutics and Social Science, London, 1978, pp. 111-130; and Terry Eagleton, Literary Theory, Oxford, 1983, pp. 54-61.

<sup>13</sup> 'Some Aspects of Myth and the Intuitive Imagination', in Explorations, p.99.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid*. p.102.

<sup>15</sup> 'The Phenomenal Legacy', *ibid*. p.45.

<sup>16</sup> See Chapter Eighteen, pp.            and Chapter Sixteen, pp.

<sup>17</sup> The Pleasures of Exile, London, 1960, p.13.

<sup>18</sup> 'The Negro Writer and His World', Presence Africaine, vol XVIII-XIX, nos 8-9-10, June-Nov. 1956, pp.330-331.

<sup>19</sup> See the more detailed discussion of this point in Chapter Nineteen, pp.

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

<sup>21</sup> See R. Barthes, S/Z, London, 1975, pp 94-95; and see S. Chatman, Story and Discourse, Ithaca, 1978, pp.111-115.

<sup>22</sup> 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.

<sup>23</sup> See Aspects Of The Novel, London, 1927, Penguin ed. 1962, pp.51-89.

<sup>24</sup> 'The Art Of Fiction', in Henry James, Selected Literary Criticism, Penguin, 1963, p.86.

<sup>25</sup> Story and Discourse, pp. 119-133.

<sup>26</sup> See Lawrence A. Pervin, Personality: Theory, Assessment and Research, New York, 1980, p.4.

<sup>27</sup> See Markley and Harmon, Changing Images Of Man, Oxford, 1982, pp.17-42.

<sup>28</sup> See W. Mischel, Introduction To Personality, New York, 1976; and A. Bandura, Social Learning Theory, New Jersey, 1977.

29 See H.S.Sullivan, The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry, New York, 1953.

30 The Psychology of Personal Constructs, New York, 1955.

31 For instance, ideas about imitation and modelling behaviour.

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

34 See R.Cattell, The Scientific Analysis of Personality, London, 1965, pp. 96-98.

35 Of Age And Innocence, London, 1958, p.358.

36. For an approach committed to trait theories see H.J.Eysenk, The Structure of Human Personality, London, 1970; for discussions of the inadequacy of the concept of traits see: W.P.Alston, 'Traits, Consistency and Conceptual Alternatives for Personality Theory', in Personality, ed. R.Harre, Oxford, 1976, pp.63-97; and M.Argyle, 'Personality And Social Behaviour', *ibid.*, pp 145-188.

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 pp.

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 Cuyama 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.

53 See Kelly, A Theory of Personality: The Psychology of Personal Constructs, New York, 1955; and see D.Bannister and F.Fransella, Inquiring Man: The Psychology of Personal Constructs, London, 1980.

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 'ethnic' 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.

- 56 See Chapter Nineteen, pp. 839 ff.
- 57 See Chapter Seventeen, pp. 781 ff.
- 58 Tradition, The Writer and Society, London, 1967, p. 40.
- 59 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)
- 60 Tradition, The Writer and Society, pp. 39-40.
- 61 See A.L. Basham, The Wonder That Was India, New York, 1954, pp 270 ff.
- 62 'The Phenomenal Legacy' Explorations, p. 47.
- 63 My discussion at this point is indebted to V.L. Allen, Social Analysis: A Marxist Critique and Alternative, Shipley, 1982.
- 64 See Z. Bauman, Hermeneutics and Social Science, pp 23-47.
- 65 See P.L. Berger and T. Luckman, The Social Construction of Reality, London, 1967.
- 66 See the discussion of 'post-realism' in Gerald Graff, Literature Against Itself, Chicago, 1979, pp 63-101.
- 67 The pluralist thesis within British and American sociology, in for instance Ralph Dahrendorf's Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society, London, 1959, should not be confused with the cultural pluralist thesis of Furnivall and M.G. Smith, discussed below.
- 68 See Claude Levi-Strauss, Structural Anthropology, London, Penguin Ed. 1968. For the clearest and most persuasive exposition of structuralist ideas about culture see Edmund Leach, Culture and Communication: The Logic By Which Symbols Are Connected, Cambridge, 1976.
- 69 For the best overview of Caribbean social models see: Susan Craig, 'Sociological Theorising in the English-speaking Caribbean: A Review', in Contemporary Caribbean: A Sociological Reader, ed. S. Craig, Trinidad, 1982, --. 143-180.
- 70 See Social Stratification in Trinidad: A Preliminary Analysis, Trinidad, 1953, 1970.
- 71 R.T. Smith, 'Social Stratification, Cultural Pluralism and Integration in West Indian Societies', in S. Lewis and T. Mathews, eds. Caribbean Integration: Papers on Social, Political and Economic Integration, Puerto Rico, 1967. and R.T. Smith, British Guiana, London, 1962.
- 72 See M.G. Smith, The Plural Society in the British West Indies, Los Angeles, 1965, 1974,
- 73 See Chapter Five, pp. 168-176
- 74 *ibid.* pp. 180-189
- 75 The Plural Society in The British West Indies, 1974, p. 14.
- 76 See J.E. Greene, Race vs Politics in Guyana, Jamaica, 1974, pp 4-9.
- 77 British Guiana, pp 120-124, 132-133 and 136-143.
- 78 See M.K. Bacchus, Education and Socio-Cultural Integration in a 'Plural' Society, Montreal, 1970, pp. 31-40.
- 79 See for instance, W. Dookeran, 'East Indians and The Economy of Trinidad and Tobago', in From Calcutta to Caroni, London 1974, pp. 69-83.
- 80 Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1960.

- 81 See D.J.Crowley, 'Plural and Differential Acculturation in Trinidad,' American Anthropologist, no.59, 1957, pp 817-824.
- 82 See Chapter Seven, pp. 332
- 83 See Edward Brathwaite, Contradictory Omens, Jamaica, 1974, pp.16-21.
- 84 'The Cultural Continuum: A Theory of Intersystems', Man, 15, no. 2, 1980, pp 352-374.
- 85 The basis for instance of Levi-Strauss's concept of structuralism. See 'Linguistics and Anthropology' in Structural Anthropology, pp. 67-80.
- 86 'The Cultural Continuum', p.368.
- 87 *ibid.* p.369.
- 88 Image and Idea in the Arts in Guyana, Georgetown, 1969, p.13.
- 89 *ibid.* p.7.
- 90 *ibid.* p.12.
- 91 African Society for Cultural Relations With Independent Africa.
- 92 Image and Idea, p.12.
- 93 *ibid.* p.18
- 94 Caribbean Quarterly, vol 14, nos. 1&2, 1968, pp.43-47.
- 95 *ibid.* p.45.
- 96 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 Mahomedan, Indo-European esoteric limb of fantasy'. (p.45.)
- 97 The Carifesta Festival Guyana 1970.
- 98 In Explorations, p.57.
- 99 See George Beckford, Persistent Poverty, London, 1972.
- 101 'The Social Framework', Savacou, 2, 1970, p.13.
- 102 British Guiana, p.137.
- 103 See in particular Chapter Seven, pp.
- 104 See Elsa Goveia, 'New Shibboleths For Old', New Beacon Reviews, Collection One, 1967, pp 33ff.
- 105 Contradictory Omens, pp 17-21,
- 106 See for instance, Party Politics in The West Indies, Trinidad, 1961. For more recent developments in Marxist analysis see: F.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.
- 107 Of Age And Innocence, p.383.
- 108 Discussed in Chapter Nineteen, pp. 833-834
- 109 The Loss of Eldorado, London, 1969, p.319.
- 110 The Middle Passage, Penguin ed. p.29.
- 111 See Chapter Seventeen, pp. 776-777



- 112 The Middle Passage, p.27
- 113 Georgetown, 1970.
- 114 *ibid.* p.14.
- 115 *ibid.* p.12.
- 116 Tradition, The Writer and Society, p.36.
- 117 See Chapter Six, pp. 214-217
- 118 See Chapter Thirteen.
- 119 See Chapter Six, pp. 277-283
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- 121 See Gerald Graff, Literature Against Itself, pp.31-62.
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- 123 'History and The Novel: A Literary Critics Approach', Savacou, No. 5, June 1971, pp.103-114.
- 124 Crown Jewel, Picador Ed. p.25.
- 125 A House For Mr. Biswas, Fontana ed. pp417-418.
- 126 'Speaking of Writing', The Times, 2 Jan. 1964.
- 127 'Some Aspects of The Creative Imagination', Explorations, p.100.
- 128 *ibid.* p.103.
- 129 Graduation Address, U.W.I. Cave Hill (Barbados). 6 Feb. 1980; quoted in S.Pouchet-Paquet, The Novels of George Lamming, London, 1982, p.4.
- 130 Of Age And Innocence, p.393.

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1. The best account of Naipaul's background is to be found in Landeg White's V.S. Naipaul: A Critical Introduction, London 1975.
2. The Mystic Masseur, Penguin ed. p.26.
3. *ibid.* p.20.
4. *ibid.* p. 209.
5. The Suffrage of Elvira, Penguin ed. p.17.
6. *ibid.* p.48.
7. *ibid.* p.24.
8. A House For Mr. Biswas, Fontana ed. p.163.
9. 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.
10. See for instance Errol Hill, The Trinidad Carnival, Texas, 1972 , pp. 48-49 , p. 65; and A.Gomes , Through A Maze Of Colour, Port of Spain 1974, pp 78-83.
11. 'A Trinidad Experience', Time and Tide, Oct. 5, 1961, p. 1657
12. An Area of Darkness, Penguin ed. p. 35.
13. The Middle Passage, p. 6
14. 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.
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16. See pp. 730-733
17. The Mimic Men, London, 1967. Quotations from the Penguin Edition, 1969, p.25. All subsequent quotations from this source are given with a page reference in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.
18. See Chapter Nineteen, pp 832ff
19. *ibid.* pp.836-841
20. See Chapter Ten, pp. 431-432.
21. See The Middle Passage, Penguin Ed. pp. 239-241 and see also Chapter Thirteen pp.

## Footnotes: Chapter Eighteen.

1. Tradition, The Writer and Society, London, 1967, p.28.
2. The Secret Ladder, London, 1965; Faber Paperback Edition (combined with The Whole Armour) p. 183.
3. Tradition, The Writer and Society, pp. 30-32, 46-47.
4. R.Gool, 'To Harris With Love', New World Quarterly, vol. 3 no. 4 1967, pp. 73-75.
5. S.Wynter, 'Reflections on West Indian Writing', Jamaica Journal, vol. 3 no. 1, 1969, pp 39-41.
6. See Wilson Harris and The Caribbean Novel, London, Longmans, 1975.
7. *ibid.* p. 49.
8. Hena Maes-Jelinek, Wilson Harris, Boston, 1982, p.17.
9. *ibid.*
10. Note in response to an earlier draft of this chapter.
11. Wilson Harris, p.18.
12. The Far Journey of Oudin, London, Faber, 1961, p.13. Hereafter quotations from this source will be given with a page reference in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.
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).
14. Wilson Harris, p.18.
15. See pp. 702-704
16. This is pointed out in Joyce Hayes Forbes, 'Harris's Attitude to the East Indian Community as Transformed by the West Indian Experience in The Far Journey of Oudin, ' Paper Presented to the Second Conference on East Indians in The Caribbean, Trinidad, U.W.I., St. Augustine, 1979.
17. See Edward Brathwaite, The Development Of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1971, p. 305; and see Chapter Sixteen, pp.
18. History, Fable and Myth in the Caribbean and Guianas, Georgetown, 1970, p. 13.
19. The Secret Ladder, p. 168.
20. History, Fable and Myth, p. 19.
21. Tradition, The Writer and Society, p. 37.
22. History, Fable and Myth, p.29.
23. Tradition, The Writer and Society, p.31.
24. Introduction to the Faber paperback edition of 1968, p.7.
25. 'The Myth of Eldorado in the Caribbean Novel', Journal of Commonwealth Literature, vol VI no 1, 1971, p. 124.
26. Palace of The Peacock, London, 1960; quotations from paperback edition 1968, pp. 71-72.
27. The Sleepers of Roraima, London, 1970, p.75.
28. The Age of The Rainmakers, London, 1971, p.42.
29. The Secret Ladder, p. 167.

30. *ibid.* pp. 170-171.
31. Tumatumari, London, Faber 1968, pp. 137-138.
32. 'The Phenomenal Legacy', The Literary Half-Yearly, XI, 2, 1970, p.2.
33. Ascent To Omai, London, Faber, 1970, p.68.
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.
39. Palace of The Peacock, p.97.
40. *ibid.* pp 118-119.
41. 'The Fugitive in the Forest', in The Islands Inbetween, ed. L. James, London, 1968, p.149.
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.
43. Man and Making, Victim and Vehicle, The Edgar Mittelholzer Memorial Lecture, Fourth Series, Georgetown, 1971, p.8.
44. History, Fable and Myth, p.22.
45. On the one hand, see for instance the role of the Kimbanguist and Kitwalist churches in the Congo, the Nyabingi in Uganda, the Mumbo sect in Kenya and the Watchtower movement in Southern Rhodesia as examples of 'inspired' movements which had revitalising effects on the development of resistance to colonialism. See T.O.Ranger, 'African Politics in Twentieth Century Southern Rhodesia', in Aspects of Central African History, London, 1968, pp 231-232; and Rebellion in Black Africa, ed. R.I.Rotberg, Harvard, 1970. On the other hand see for instance I.M.Lewis, Ecstatic Religion, London, 1971, who notes the frequently conservative role of the shaman: 'The possessed person manipulates his superior without questioning his authority...without questioning the differences enshrined in the established hierarchical order'. (p.33). The relationship of Oudin to Ram ambivalently partakes of both these tendencies.
46. Ascent To Omai, p. 17.
47. *ibid.* p.18.
48. Tradition, The Writer and Society, p.33.

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1. Tradition, The Writer and Society, p.28.
2. ibid. p.37.
3. Editorial Commentary, Caribbean Voices, Script no. 1257, May 1957.
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.
5. The Pleasures of Exile, London, 1960, p.36.
6. 'The West Indian People', New World Quarterly, Vol.2, No.2, Kingston, Jamaica, 1966, p.69.
7. See Chapter One, pp.15ff.
8. The Pleasures of Exile, p.56.
9. See Chapter Fourteen, pp. 650-662
10. 'A strong sense of identity makes a man feel he can do no wrong; too little accomplishes the same'.
11. The Pleasures of Exile, p. 116.
12. See Chapter Eighteen, pp.
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.
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15. The Wretched Of The Earth, Penguin Ed. 1967, p. 74.
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17. The Pleasures of Exile, p. 11.
18. 'The West Indian People,' N.W.Q.2:2, pp. 69-70.
19. Mervyn Morris, 'The Poet As Novelist,' in The Islands In Between, Oxford, 1968, p.78. And See Sandra Pouchet-Paquet, The Novels of George Lamming, London, 1982, p.50, p.65, who makes the same assumption.
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.

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