

## **DAVID NICHOLS PRIZE WINNING PAPER FOR 2001/2002**

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### **'Cultural transfer and transformation: Revisiting Indo-Afro sexual relationships in Trinidad and British Guiana in the late Nineteenth century'**

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#### **Introduction**

With the increased interest by academics in gender relations in relatively recent years, a fair amount of scholarship dedicated to the migration of Indian indentured labourers to the Caribbean during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has focused on the reconstruction of the experience of Indian women. That so much attention should be given to Indian women is particularly interesting in light of the fact that under the indentured labour system, they migrated in relatively small numbers compared to men. In particular, one issue that has received significant attention and that has come under analysis is the, seemingly characteristic, high occurrence of violent crimes committed by Indian men against these women in regions of high Indian immigration.<sup>1</sup>

Invariably, contemporary observers and present-day scholars alike have relied on cultural explanations to understand the high incidence of this crime. It has been generally accepted that the sexist and racist cultural beliefs of Indian men, who were neither willing to accept the new found "freedom" of Indian women nor to develop long-term relationships with women from the Afro-creole community, were only aggravated by the acute shortage of Indian

women.<sup>2</sup> In traditional Indian culture, there were harsh repercussions for women who fell from moral grace. Social penalties such as alienation and marginalization that would typically occur in India, served to reinforce patriarchal traditions, but could not effectively be transplanted to the colonies. Thus, it was the supposed rigidity of this male-biased cultural system in a new environment that made the end result, a disturbing number of violent attacks against Indian women, seem almost inevitable.

The nature of the plantation society coupled with the surplus of men provided Indian women with an opportunity to partake of certain freedoms that were culturally prohibited. Yet, to date, one critical question has remained unasked by scholars. If the circumstances of the new environment “emancipated” Indian women from traditional gender restrictions, “why weren’t Indian men also “freed” from the cultural traditions that opposed racial exogamy?” Generally scholars have looked to the hierarchical Hindu caste system to explain the lack of social and sexual intercourse between the Indian and Afro-creole<sup>3</sup> communities. Undoubtedly, this has some legitimacy. But in the same way that traditional notions of caste could not practically be maintained in the new society,<sup>4</sup> it must be asked why the pressures of a female deficient Indian community failed to prevail over, culturally inscribed, prejudicial notions of race.

This paper offers a reassessment of our understanding of interracial sexual relationships between Indian men and women of African descent in Trinidad and British Guiana during the late nineteenth century. It challenges the notion that it was the rigidity of the Hindu caste system that limited the social and sexual intercourse between these two groups. Instead it will demonstrate that there were a number of structural factors, such as residential separation, for example, which limited their social interaction. Moreover, it will demonstrate that scholars have overlooked the perspective of Afro-creole women and have presented them as sexual objects to be had at the whims of Indian men when, in fact, these women had a decisive role in negotiating sexual relationships – interracial or not – and this was influenced by the earning power of potential spouses, existing stereotypes and cultural differences.

### **Historical Context**

Between 1838 and approximately 1920 over 543, 045 Asians from the subcontinent of India entered the Caribbean<sup>5</sup> - a region that was populated predominantly by Africans and the descendents of Africans as well as a minority of Europeans. In many islands Indian indentured labourers played an important role, as their labour virtually replaced that of the former slave population on sugar plantations. On other islands, however, their contribution as labourers was not nearly so significant, as they remained numerically small and did little to change the existing biracial dialectic that existed between former slaves and the members of the European colonial elite. This was not the case in British Guiana and Trinidad. At the end of the indentureship period approximately 238, 861 Indians were recorded to have migrated to British Guiana and approximately 149,623 went to Trinidad.<sup>6</sup>

The labour demands of plantation owners in the post-emancipation period resulted in the migration of Indian labourers that were primarily young and male. In British Guiana for the period 1895-1896, out of the 71,777 Indians resident on estates there were only 26,515 women. In 1891 in Trinidad, the total Indian population was slightly over 70,000 and only 27,311 of these were women.<sup>7</sup> Such a high proportion of men relative to women resulted in

the manifestation of a certain phenomenon perceived as peculiar to Indian cultural traditions. Despite the moralistic tone of most contemporary accounts, even the most critical review of relevant primary sources, leads to only one conclusion; during the nineteenth century, male - female unions in the Indian community were often unstable. Indian women were reputed for their sexual indiscretions. The sources are riddled with examples of women who left their husbands and/or had multiple sexual partners. Henry Kirke, a former sheriff of the Demerara in British Guiana during the nineteenth century, observed that “polyandry is often practiced, three or four men living with one woman in apparent contentment.”<sup>8</sup> According to an article published in a Trinidadian newspaper during the 1880s, because Indian men had “a very small proportion of their country women with them and betraying a natural aversion to forming connectors with strange women, cause for jealousy became but too frequent, and that once aroused, the first thirst for revenge for the incontinency of their women was only quenched by making them [the women] sacrifices of their infidelity.”<sup>9</sup> It is in this context then, that many of the murders committed against women by men occurred. Most of these murders could quite easily be labeled “crimes of passion.”

In Trinidad alone, between 1872 and 1880 out of the twenty-two reported murders among Indians all the victims were not only women but also wives. Between 1881 and 1889, of the forty-five reported murders in the Indian community, twenty-seven of the victims were women and twenty-four of these were wives.<sup>10</sup> The situation was similar in British Guiana where between 1872 and 1890 seventy-nine women died at the hands of men.<sup>11</sup>

If the unwavering cultural traditions of Indian men acted as a contributing factor to the high incidence of these crimes, then the unanswered question is “why didn’t Indian women also maintain cultural traditions, such as monogamy and chastity, specific to their sex?” As Mohapatra points out, contemporary observers reconciled this contradiction by concluding that those Indian women who did migrate were from a low and immoral class.<sup>12</sup> Bronkhurst, for example, wrote that “they [Indian women] were bad in Calcutta, and so they will continue to remain in Demerara; and hence [there are] so many glaring instances of infidelity and misconduct on the part of married and unmarried females.”<sup>13</sup> Present day scholars such as Reddock and others, however, have resolved the issue by describing these women as innately independent individuals who in this new environment could not only “exercise a degree of freedom over their social and sexual lives” but were “hardly the type of women who would fall back into the oppressive life patterns from which they had fled.”<sup>14</sup>

As other scholars have argued, however, it is necessary to contextualize these issues within the nineteenth century plantation society. According to Mohapatra, by placing the emphasis on the inherently jealous, possessive Indian man and the immoral Indian woman presents the situation “as if the script of the murders was written before hand in India and the plantations were a mere stage.” Thus, the cultural persistence argument creates a radical rupture “between the crime and the scene of the crime.”<sup>15</sup> Trotman’s study, which reinforces this line of thinking, argues that nineteenth century crime reflected the “conflicts and tensions inherent in the [plantation] system.”<sup>16</sup>

The nineteenth century plantation system required a tightly controlled labour force. Furthermore, an efficiently run plantation system worked counter to the forces of family formation.<sup>17</sup> In the case of Indian indentured labourers, the conditions of labour in the sugar plantations of the Caribbean were not conducive to the reconstruction of the patriarchal Indian

household. Thus it was a combination of the demographic pressures, sexual imbalance, social and cultural changes brought about by emigration, and an all-pervasive system of labour that influenced the patterns of violence in the Indian community.<sup>18</sup>

Similarly, social interaction between Indian men and Afro-creole women (or lack of) must also be contextualized. As will be elaborated on in the following pages, neither Indian men nor their traditions existed in a vacuum. Geographic disparities between both groups, the plantation complex and prejudices within the Afro-creole community among other things were all factors that served to restrict the development of interracial relationships.

### **Reconsidering Indian Prejudice**

As mentioned earlier, scholars have generally looked to the gender imbalance which existed within the Indian community and the sexist cultural traditions of Indian men to explain the high rate of violence against Indian women. Limited participation in interracial relationships has also been a contributing factor to these acts of violence. This was apparent even to one contemporary observer who, with reference to violence against women in the Indian community, noted “it is a pity that a closer intermixture between them [Indians] and the negroes seems so hopeless, for it would solve many difficulties.”<sup>19</sup> Most present-day scholars seem to agree with this assessment. It is unlikely then, that if Indian men established long-term relationships with women from outside the Indian community that such violence would have been one of the manifestations of a female-deficient Indian community.

Yet, it would appear as though scholars have accepted, uncritically, the accounts of contemporary observers. Kirke and Froude have both remarked on the limited number of interracial relationships between Indian men and Afro-creole women. Moreover, they have both, attributed this to the prejudices of the Indian community.<sup>20</sup> As a result, the general opinion formulated by scholars is that racist attitudes, grounded in a caste and religious belief system, have been the prohibitive influence in the development of relationships between Indian men and Afro-creole women. Consider the following quotations:

. . . the position of Indian women was further strengthened by the fact that the men felt inhibited from mating with non-Indian women on account of both racial and caste prejudices.<sup>21</sup>

. . . the virtual absence of any visible form of social contact could be explained largely in terms of religion. Although caste distinctions and religious prejudices were weakened somewhat, the continuous influx of batches of immigrants with their language and traditions tended to strengthen Hinduism as well as Islam.<sup>22</sup>

In effect, the Indians tended to regard blacks as the equivalent of untouchables, and this attitude prevailed especially in the question of intermarriage.<sup>23</sup>

Wood is one of the few scholars to question whether Indian prejudice based on religious beliefs was the only prohibitive influence in interracial relationships. Yet, even he looks to discrimination of another sort :

. . . social barriers [grounded in religion and caste] are often broken by individuals; and it is probable that another and more basic inhibition was at work among the Indians. They encountered negroid peoples for the first time in their lives when they landed in Port-of-Spain, and they found them unattractive.<sup>24</sup>

To date, there has been little scholarly interrogation of these assumptions. Furthermore, outside of the comments made by contemporary observers, there is little evidence to suggest that race and religious prejudices were the most influential factor (or as presented by scholars, the only factor) in restricting the development of interracial relationships.

As Moore's study demonstrates, the "authenticity and rigidity" of the caste system could not be maintained in the environment of the nineteenth century plantation society.<sup>25</sup> There was no recognition of caste and thus, no attempts by colonial authorities to accommodate the caste belief system. Needless to say then, the labouring and living conditions of indentured labourers forced interaction across caste lines. According to Moore, Indians lived in barracks, irrespective of caste. Des Voeux noted that Indians sometimes had to share a living space that was common not only to "others differing in caste but sometimes also in race"<sup>26</sup> Similarly, the organized labour gangs which were typical on plantations prevented the occupational segregation of castes that traditionally occurred in India.<sup>27</sup> This line of thinking is reinforced by the observations of Bronkhurst who noted that "Caste is not observed to the same degree as it is in India. The people eat and drink together and intermarry the highest with the lowest."<sup>28</sup> Moreover, caste had even less legitimacy among those Indians born in the colony. While this may be somewhat of an exaggeration, Bronkhurst noted that caste was ignored, ridiculed and laughed at by the children of Indian immigrants who were born in the colony.<sup>29</sup>

Despite this, of all immigrant groups that came to the Caribbean, Indians have been the most successful in retaining cultural traditions. It is without question, that Indian cultural traditions played an influential role in nineteenth century race-relations – particularly in those colonies of high Indian migration. Undoubtedly, these traditions were the basis for prejudicial sentiments. In fact, as Moore argues, while for practical reasons the rules and regulations associated with the caste system could not be maintained, caste remained the basis for social organization among Hindus, and it continued to be centred around notions of prestige and status.<sup>30</sup>

Regarding inter-racial relationships, however, the monocausal explanation of Indian prejudice against the Afro-creole community is far too simplistic when one considers the complexities surrounding the nineteenth century plantation society. Such an explanation presents prejudice within the Indian community as a seemingly innate quality and implies that it is static and unaffected by circumstance. Consider the following quotation by Brereton for example:

It is a remarkable fact that in the nineteenth century, when Indian men outnumbered women by at least three to one, they did not take African wives or mistresses. It is true that they were isolated by language,

customs, caste, and religious sanctions on exogamy. Yet, individuals have broken through such sanctions and in the Caribbean miscegenation had been the rule.<sup>31</sup>

Furthermore, while scholars have tended to emphasize the documented comments of contemporary observers who stress that interaction between Indian men and Afro-creole women was conspicuous by its relative absence, Bronkhurst directly contradicts their observations when he stated that “In some rare instances, Hindus of good caste have even married black and coloured females and are living happily.”<sup>32</sup> Kirke also provides us with evidence of miscegenation with the indigenous Indian population when he made reference to the progeny of a “madras coolie and a Accavoio Indian.”<sup>33</sup>

It would seem, then, that not all would agree that Indian men were completely opposed to establishing relationships with women outside their “race.” While Bronkhurst notes that relationships with Afro-creole women occurred only “in some rare instances,” implicit in his statement is the assumption that it did occur under *certain circumstances*. The appropriate question then becomes “why didn’t this occur more often?” As stated earlier, neither Indian men nor their cultural traditions existed in a vacuum. Both the traditional value system of Indian women, as pointed out in the introduction, and the caste system were undermined by the pressures of plantation life. Hence, it is worth repeating, “why did the pressures of a female deficient Indian community fail to prevail over, culturally inscribed, prejudicial notions of race for the vast majority of Indian men?”

Scholars have rightly underscored the cultural retention of Indian immigrants during the nineteenth century. The accounts of contemporary observers are filled with examples of reconstructed Indian cultural traditions. In 1862, Underhill wrote about a crudely built Hindu temple which was decorated with the paintings of a number of gods in an Indian village which he visited while in Trinidad.<sup>34</sup> Froude similarly noted the establishment of a Hindu temple on a sugar estate. He also commented that the Muslim celebration *Muhurram* (also known as *Hosein* or *Hosay*) continued to be celebrated by Indians.<sup>35</sup>

Yet despite evidence of cultural retention among Indians, there is also evidence of cultural change and moreover, social and cultural interaction between the Indian and Afro-creole communities. It is well known that *Hosein*, though originally a Muslim celebration, involved individuals from both the Hindu and Afro-creole community.<sup>36</sup> This religious procession caused colonial authorities much anxiety as, for its duration, large numbers of individuals from the labouring classes were no longer in an environment that could be easily controlled. Afro-creoles not only took part in the procession itself, but were often drummers in the ceremony.<sup>37</sup> In fact, Afro-creole participation was so prevalent that colonial authorities were wary that their participation in the ceremony would eventually foster the development of an alliance between these two racial groups. In British Guiana, the *Royal Gazette* reported that “. . . the Coolies are becoming more and more riotous during the celebration of their annual festival, but matters will be worse if, through any motive, they can get blacks or any other class of labourers to act with them.”<sup>38</sup> Colonial authorities were well aware that the formation of a class identity among labourers was a potential threat to a social hierarchy grounded in racial division.

In addition, it is worth considering that many individuals from Africa had been exposed to and practiced Islam prior to their arrival in the Caribbean.<sup>39</sup> Yet, few scholars have thoroughly explored the role of religion as a unifying influence across the established racial boundaries of the nineteenth century Caribbean, and thus, a contributive factor to black participation in this event. African followers of Islam came both as slaves and as indentured labourers after the end of slavery.<sup>40</sup> Cultural retention and continued religious traditions among this group and their descendants in the post-emancipation period should not be underestimated. Underhill, for example, refers to three Mandingo priests in Trinidad. At least one of these priests was literate and provided religious tutelage through prayers copied from the Koran on scraps of paper to some North American blacks resident on the island.<sup>41</sup> It is not unreasonable to suggest, then, that the festival *Hosay* also had religious significance to segments of the black population and may have served to bridge social gaps based on racial identification.

In addition, according to Bronkhurst, Indians adopted funerary traditions that were typical to Afro-creoles. Furthermore, gambling, an act prohibited by Hinduism, had also gained popularity in the Indian community. Bronkhurst attributes this, as well as the increased habitual consumption of alcohol by both Indian men and women, to a direct result of their exposure to Afro-creole traditions.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, both Indians and Afro-creoles responded in a similar manner to some aspects of the dominant culture such as in the sports of cricket and horse racing.<sup>43</sup>

Verene Shepherd, in her analysis of race-relations in Jamaica, has added a gendered dimension to the argument of Indian prejudice. She argues that despite the limited occurrence of interracial sexual unions, they were more usual between Indian women and Afro-creole men. She seems to base this conclusion solely from the following statement made in a report by Comins in 1893:

. . . in very rare cases coolie women cohabit with negroes, but I have never seen any case of a man being married or living in concubinage with a negro woman.<sup>44</sup>

Shepherd appears, however, to have read more into Comins observation than is actually stated. Comins comment was made with reference to cohabitation habits. Based on this observation then, it should *not* be concluded that sexual relationships occurred less between Afro-creole women and Indian men but instead that they cohabited less than Indian women and Afro-creole men.

Furthermore, taking Comins comment at “face-value,” it should be noted that, generally speaking, the incentives for women (in this case Indian women) to establish long-term relationships are greater than those for men. Pregnancy and the responsibilities of child rearing place women in an especially precarious situation without the support of a husband. This becomes even more apparent when one considers that the wage levels for women during the period under analysis were generally far less than those of men during the nineteenth century. During the early 1890s, it was reported that in British Guiana cane cutters (a job designated to men) earned 80 cents to \$1.20 daily. Women, however, averaged between 32 cents to 40 cents per day.<sup>45</sup>

The argument supporting Indian prejudice as the primary hindrance in the development of interracial relationships is further undermined when one considers, as Trotman argues, that despite the fact that Indian men were “reluctant to either marry or set up illicit long-term relations with non-East Indian women,” they did frequent Afro-creole prostitutes, and furthermore, were known to maintain other forms of sexual liaisons with women from the Afro-creole community.<sup>46</sup> The situation was similar in British Guiana. While commenting on the limited number of interracial relationships between Indians and Afro-creoles, Bronkhurst also acknowledges the occurrence of casual interracial relationships:

A similar feeling [of antipathy] exists among the East Indian coolies also towards the Black race. Of course I do not refer to the isolated cases of such marriages which have taken place in the Colony, nor do I refer to the illicit intercourse between the Chinese, East Indian immigrants and Black women: but I speak of the immigrants as a whole.<sup>47</sup>

Other available evidence leads to similar conclusions. Firstly, in 1874 a list was published that indicated the ages and birthplaces of a select group of prostitutes in Trinidad. Of the 90 that were listed in Port-of-Spain, 60 were born in Trinidad, 29 were from other West Indian islands and only one was from Calcutta. Of the 38 that were listed in San Fernando, 31 were born in Trinidad and one was born in Madras, India. The others were born outside the colony.<sup>48</sup> It is *unlikely* that those women who were listed as Trinidadian were Indo-creoles. As will be discussed later, Indian women remained largely rural. Furthermore, given their small number relative to Indian men, their opportunities for selecting a partner within the Indian community, moreover, one who was financially well off, were quite good. Thus, the chances for Indian women entering prostitution out of economic necessity would have been much less. It seems probable then, that most of the prostitutes listed belonged to the Afro-creole community.

In addition, the statistical data also supports this line of thinking. Although dealing with a later period, the census reports of Trinidad show that in 1911 there were 1514 people of mixed Indian origin of whom 975 had Indian fathers and only 539 had Indian mothers. In addition, in 1921, there were 2,229 persons of mixed Indian origin of whom 1580 were recorded as having an Indian father and only 649 an Indian mother.<sup>49</sup> It is likely, then, that not only is the aversion of Indian men towards women from the Afro-creole community somewhat exaggerated in the existing scholarship, but it is clear that there were far more Indian men participating in interracial relationships than Indian women.

### **Discrimination vs. Limited Interaction**

If scholars are to argue that it was the racist assumptions of Indian men that prevented the development of inter-racial relationships, it must first be established that Indian men had the opportunity to exercise this prejudice. Some elaboration may be necessary. A statistical analysis shows that in 1895, when comparing the resident estate population of British Guiana, the population of adult Indian men was in excess of the population of adult Indian women by 17,222.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, in the following year out of a total of 90,492 estate residents there were 21,018 individuals who could not be categorized as Indian.<sup>51</sup> In the absence of statistics that would provide information on the gender ratio of the non-Indian population and given the

labour preferences of the plantocracy, it is fair to assume that this group was composed primarily of men. For the sake of argument, however, if half of the non-Indian population were women (10,509), and all of them opted to participate in interracial relationships there would still be just under seven thousand adult Indian men in excess of the female population. Based on both these assumptions, this is clearly an extreme underestimation. Thus if Indian men were willing to engage in relationships outside their "imagined community," statistically speaking, the numbers were working against them.

At least as far as the estate populations were concerned, the gender imbalance was *not* restricted to the Indian community. There was a general deficiency of women on the sugar estates among all groups. A planter writing to the *Colonist* in 1881 to complain about the general shortage of women reinforces this line of thinking.<sup>52</sup> From the information provided about the population of his estate, the following can be adduced:

	Men	Women	Surplus of Men	% of Men	% of Women
<b>Indian</b>	405	192	213	67.84	32.16
<b>Black &amp; Coloured</b>	155	91	64	63.01	36.99
<b>Chinese</b>	61	17	44	78.21	21.79
<b>Portuguese</b>	16	16	0	50	50
<b>Total</b>	<b>637</b>	<b>316</b>	<b>321</b>	<b>66.84</b>	<b>33.16</b>

At least on this plantation, then, there was an acute shortage of women in all groups except for the Portuguese. Furthermore, if it is assumed that this estate is a fair representation of others during this period, the inevitable conclusion would be that there was a general shortage of women on estates in British Guiana. Moreover, it is clear that the geographic proximity of these two groups also played an influential role in their level of interaction. In 1891 out of a total Indian population of approximately 100,000 individuals, there were less than 4000 East Indians resident in Georgetown and over 24,000 Afro-creoles.<sup>53</sup>

There is also evidence to suggest that the situation was similar in Trinidad. The 1891 census indicates that approximately one-third of the 45,577 persons who were born in India and resident in Trinidad were women.<sup>54</sup> This situation was further exacerbated as women from other racial groups, according to Trotman, were attracted to urban life and tended to migrate from rural areas.<sup>55</sup> In 1891 when females were 46% of the total population and 39% of the East Indian population, they constituted 52% of the population of Port-of-Spain.<sup>56</sup> Trinidad's rural population, then, was comprised largely of Indian men, while in urban areas the population was largely Afro-creole and female. As Brereton has argued then, "Indians were largely concentrated in the sugar belt, or in new settlements which were often exclusively Indian, and such contact that they had with other races off the estates was usually temporary, such as visits to Port-of-Spain"<sup>57</sup>

Furthermore, Indians were not part of the "imagined community"<sup>58</sup> in Trinidad or British Guiana during the nineteenth century. In 1884, the *Port-of-Spain Gazette* wrote that "they [Indians] are among us but not of us."<sup>59</sup> It is conceivable then, that even when given the opportunity, Indians may have preferred to remain within their own community "rather than interact with an often hostile host society"<sup>60</sup>

## **Family Formation & the Sugar Plantation**

The conditions under which plantation workers laboured were extreme and worked counter to the processes of family formation. The cultivation of sugar cane and the production of sugar required a coordinated and synchronized labour force. The links between cutting, grinding, boiling and crystallization had to be carefully timed for profitable production. A necessary requirement for efficient and profitable sugar production was a tightly controlled labour force.<sup>61</sup> While many laws were implemented in the post-emancipation period to prevent the abuse of labourers, plantation owners and their managers were not above disregarding labour laws in order to reach peak efficiency levels. Consider the following example given in a report regarding the working and living conditions of indentured labourers in British Guiana:

The manager of the largest estate, which, was making annually close upon 2000 hogshead of sugar is second to none in the British possessions, was brought before me on the complaint of a Coolie, for assault. It appeared from the evidence, that the man had been knocked down for leaving the sugar-house at eight o'clock on the Sunday morning (a day on which the immigrants are legally entitled to rest), he having been at work, with the mere intermission of meals from an early hour on the Saturday previous.<sup>62</sup>

In the same report Des Voeux also noted that he was “aware of cases where immigrants indentured contracts were “improperly and carelessly extended.”<sup>63</sup>

Quite apart from such abuses, labourers were also subject to the all pervasive-nature of plantation labour. Moreover, it was through the implementation of formal laws that planters maintained control over labourers. Between 1909 and 1912, there were 7,899 prosecutions of Indian immigrants in Trinidad. Of this number, only nine were threats to murder, seven were for being drunk at work, thirty-four were for harboring an immigrant's wife and six involved an immigrant threatening his wife. The vast majority of prosecutions were for violations of labour contracts. There were 1,466 prosecutions, for example, for the “crime” of being absent from work without a lawful excuse. Refusing to begin or finish work resulted in 1,125 prosecutions and desertion (from the plantation) was the cause of 1,668 prosecutions. Thus it was through the criminalization of certain acts that planters maintained their power over labourers. In the words of one scholar, “it was the system of labor developed under indenture, it was the labor code itself, which produced a population that was always in the magistrates court.”<sup>64</sup> Profitable sugar production meant that in order for the plantation complex to run efficiently there had to be absolute labour control. This had the effect of not only limiting social interaction amongst the labourers resident on plantations, a primarily Indian group, but also with other racial groups that resided off the plantations.

In order to ensure absolute control over indentured labourers, all Indians were subject to the “pass-system.” Under this system, every Indian required permission from the plantation manager to leave the estate. Even Underhill, a Baptist missionary who perceived the indentured labour system in a favourable light, saw the “pass-system” as a hardship. Despite this he was, undoubtedly, well aware of the advantages it lent to the planter class. With a tone of condescension, however, Underhill emphasizes that one of the benefits of the “pass-system” was that it preserved the well-being of Indian labourers:

The only hardship, or regulation having the aspect of a hardship is the passport required to be shown by every coolie to any policeman, on demand, when off the estate; but even this regulation in the working is favourable to his well being. It prevents his squatting in the woods, which from their proximity to the estates, afford a tempting refuge to the idle and dissolute, or his becoming a vagrant, without food or home, as was the case in 1848.<sup>65</sup>

Moreover, there is evidence to suggest that, while it was illegal to do so, employers often prevented labourers from leaving the estate if their intent was to complain about plantation authorities.<sup>66</sup> This was just one of the control mechanisms used on the plantations that hindered the development of an environment which would foster social interaction between the Indian and Afro-creole communities.

Living conditions also hindered family stability and formation. The housing assigned to indentured labourers, for example, was reported to be overcrowded and poorly ventilated. The buildings were generally two stories high, and comprised of small rooms which were divided by “thin and easily scaled partitions.” There was a common passage way and kitchen that was shared by all those residing within the same building. The average accommodation for estate labourers was usually three or four men to a single room. Married couples with children were also provided a single room.<sup>67</sup> There is also evidence that the doors of immigrants’ houses were often forced open by estate managers “for the purpose of what is called turning them out to work, and also for doing the same and searching their rooms without warrant for stolen goods, and even sometimes when there was only a suspicion of theft.”<sup>68</sup> As a result, many labourers with the necessary resources, and of course, provided they were granted permission by estate authorities, opted to build their own mud huts. This they argued provided privacy, reduced theft and prevented advances against their women.<sup>69</sup> At least one official acknowledged that the living conditions on estates undermined family stability and that this problem was not restricted to Indians:

And the evil is not confined to coolies. No decent black labourer can take his wife to live amongst such surroundings. For very long I have watched the spread of immorality among the lower classes consequent on the barrack system.<sup>70</sup>

At no time prior to this period had there been significant family formation among plantation labourers. This was true during the slavery era, and while in the late nineteenth century authorities made more deliberate attempts to foster family cohesion,<sup>71</sup> it remained true in the post-emancipation period. Labouring and living conditions, such as those described above were not conducive to family formation or stability. Moreover, this was true for both *intra*racial relationships as well as *inter*racial relationships. The plantation complex itself then, must also be seen as a hindrance in the development of inter-racial unions.

### **A Woman’s Point of View**

Perhaps most disturbing in the historical treatment of this topic to date is that in focusing on the prejudice of the Indian community and, in particular, the Indian man, scholars have

overlooked the position of the Afro-creole woman. She has been presented, in the scholarship, as a sexual object to be desired or disregarded by Indian men. By relying so heavily and perhaps uncritically on contemporary observations scholars have, inadvertently, grounded their arguments in the sexist assumptions implicit in the contemporary literature. Such an analysis fails to recognize nineteenth century Afro-creole women as individuals capable of exercising agency.

It should be considered that the Afro-creole woman may have had even less incentive to develop relationships outside her own community than the Indian man. While the latter was faced with the reality of an acute shortage of Indian women, the gender disparity in the Afro-creole community was not nearly so significant. In 1891 in British Guiana, for example, there were 56,286 Afro-creole men and 55,869 Afro-creole women. In the Indian community, however, there were 64,703 men and only 40,760 women.<sup>72</sup> Similarly in Trinidad, also in 1891, there were 65,521 men and 64,297 women in the "General Population," while there were 42,899 men and only 27,311 women in the Indian community.<sup>73</sup> It seems then, at least when one considers the gender ratio within her own community, that the Afro-creole woman had little motivation to participate in a relationship with someone whom she likely perceived as external to her community and of an alien culture.

Moreover, while it is without question that Indian culture and religion actively discouraged interracial relationships, it must be acknowledged that the Afro-creole community also shared some prejudices. As Moore argues "to the host society the Indians looked different, dressed and behaved 'oddly' spoke an unintelligible 'gibberish,' ate strange foods, had 'queer' customs, and believed in and worshipped 'weird' gods."<sup>74</sup> Furthermore, planter propaganda not only increased tension between these two groups, but it also contributed to the internalization of white notions of civility among the labouring classes.<sup>75</sup> Thus, Afro-creole impressions of Indian culture were grounded in the same cultural judgements made by the white colonial elite. Referring to Trinidad, Reverend. R. H. Moor commented that "The Creole, as a rule, looks down on the Indian; he is a semi-civilised being. He speaks in barbarous languages and his manners are barbarous."<sup>76</sup> According to Bronkhurst, the Afro-creoles of British Guiana worked with similar assumptions.<sup>77</sup>

The animosity of Afro-creoles towards Indians in British Guiana and Trinidad is clear from the writings of Kirke<sup>78</sup> and is also echoed in the account of at least one contemporary Trinidadian newspaper:

It would seem strange to persons beyond the island were it known that these people were treated very badly by the creole labourers of this town [Port-of-Spain] in many instances. Taken for granted that they are an inferior race, which we flatly and positively deny, they are spoken to as being beneath the rank of human beings, and are maltreated occasionally in such a way as to provoke resentment and lead to broils if not blows.<sup>79</sup>

Moreover, from early on in British Guiana, the Afro-creole community was aware that the Indian presence undermined their earning power as free labourers. In Trinidad, however, it was not until the sugar industry crisis of the late nineteenth century that blacks felt economically threatened by Indians. In 1862, Underhill wrote that there was no ill-feeling between Afro-creoles and Indians because of job competition and in fact increased numbers

of the latter opened up opportunities for skilled employment among the former.<sup>80</sup> Improved technology and falling sugar prices, after 1870s, however, meant there were less factory jobs and Indians undoubtedly caused unemployment for Afro-creoles.<sup>81</sup> Competition for wage labour manifested itself in animosity towards Indian immigrants.<sup>82</sup>

Yet, if Afro-creole prejudice was such a significant factor in limiting the occurrence of interracial relationships between the Indian and Afro-creole communities, it must be asked, as the evidence suggests, why the level of interaction was greater between Chinese men and Afro-creole women. By 1891 in Trinidad, there were 1006 Chinese resident on the island. Of this number 838 were men and 168 women.<sup>83</sup> As early as the 1860s, an Immigration Agent of Trinidad estimated that there were at least thirty cases of Chinese individuals who had married Afro-creoles.<sup>84</sup> In British Guiana, there were 3714 Chinese in 1891.<sup>85</sup> The census categories of British Guiana do not permit an analysis of miscegenation specifically between these two groups. The comments of one observer, however, provides some insight. Hopetown, a settlement located in Demerara county, was originally established as a Chinese agricultural settlement in 1865. Over time, its population had not only declined from 567 persons in 1871 to 76 persons in 1914, but it had also lost its homogenous racial character. Of the group still resident in 1914, there were six females and one male categorized as being the progeny of Chinese and blacks, and a further seven females, who were categorized separately, were recorded as being the progeny of Chinese and mulattos.<sup>86</sup>

It seems then, at least based on the admittedly sparse evidence presented,<sup>87</sup> that sexual interaction between these two groups was not an uncommon occurrence. With reference to British Guiana, Kirke wrote:

Unlike the East Indian the Chinese mingle freely with the black and coloured races. Chinese women are scarce and Chinese men typically have a coloured girl as a concubine; and they generally manage to get the best looking girls in the place.<sup>88</sup>

There are at least two factors that should be taken into account when considering interaction between Chinese men and Afro-creole women. Firstly, as Rodney argues, conflicts among different racial groups within the working class did not always have a racial dimension – though they had the potential to be explosive if “race” identification was involved.<sup>89</sup> Look Lai also stresses the importance of recognizing that some seemingly racial conflicts were part of a “native-immigrant” dialectic.<sup>90</sup> This is supported by the comments of Bronkhurst who observed that “The Black creoles show ill feeling to all immigrants from Barbados, Trinidad and other West Indian islands, though they are all from the same race.”<sup>91</sup>

The Chinese came to the Caribbean in much smaller numbers than Indians. While they left the estates more slowly in British Guiana than in Trinidad, by the 1880s they were actively involved in retail trade in both colonies. This meant that their role in displacing Afro-creoles from the agricultural sector, an issue in both British Guiana and Trinidad in the late nineteenth century was minimal and may, in fact, have reduced tensions between these two groups.<sup>92</sup> Furthermore, in the words of Look Lai, “partly because of their smaller numbers, partly because of their own group attitudes, and partly because of the presence of another larger ‘non-Creole’ immigrant group (the Indians), race relations between the Chinese newcomers

and the larger society developed in a less frictional atmosphere than that existing between blacks and Indians.”<sup>93</sup>

Secondly, it should be noted that the Chinese community became increasingly urbanized by the late 1900s. According to Look Lai, by 1891, 61.3% of the Chinese community in Trinidad was located in Port of Spain and the county of St. George.<sup>94</sup> In British Guiana, their presence was felt in urban areas such as Georgetown and New Amsterdam and was commented on in at least one newspaper as early as 1877.<sup>95</sup> This would have increased their interaction level with the Afro-creole community, and in particular, Afro-creole women who, as already pointed out, tended to reside in urban areas. This has particular significance when one considers that the gender disparity in the Chinese community was even more severe than that of the Indian community. Moreover, in both British Guiana and Trinidad, movement into the retail trades meant that the Chinese community was, generally speaking, an economically mobile group.<sup>96</sup> This undoubtedly increased their eligibility among unattached females.

Similarly, according to Bronkhurst, it was Indian men with relative wealth that had the best chance of getting a wife from the limited number of available Indian women:

The Indian coolie, unless he has brought a wife with him or has persuaded a female wife on board ship to live with him when he arrives, has very small chance of getting a wife until he has worked for some years and amassed sufficient money to enable him to purchase the daughter of a fellow-country man who is blessed with a family.<sup>97</sup>

Needless to say, there were many Indian men who lacked the economic means to attract a wife from within the Indian community. This would have also influenced their success in establishing relationships with women from the Afro-creole community. It should be considered that economic affluence may have been an even more important influence in the development of interracial relationships, particularly since Afro-creole women, as pointed out earlier, did not face an acute shortage of men in their own community, and may have needed additional incentives to establish long term interracial (and cross-cultural) relationships.

## **Conclusion**

As it has been stated repeatedly throughout this paper, it is without question that Indian prejudices grounded in religious traditions and the caste system hindered the development of interracial relationships. Yet on its own, this is an inadequate explanation for the limited interaction between Indian men and Afro-creole women. As has been demonstrated, the plantation system undermined two areas that were central to Indian culture, namely male patriarchy and the caste system. It is well known that in the New World, Indians established sexual relationships across caste lines – an act that was inconceivable in traditional nineteenth century Indian culture. Yet, based largely on the comments of contemporary observers, the caste system continues to be used by scholars to explain the lack of interracial relationships formed between Indians and Afro-creoles.

Indian men had little opportunity to interact with women outside the Indian community. Despite preconceived notions about caste and race, they did not necessarily make a deliberate decision to avoid Afro-creole women at all costs. The conditions of plantation labour

restricted their movements and reduced their opportunity to interact with women from the Afro-creole community both on and off the plantation. The evidence suggests that their physical reality, quite simply, did not provide circumstances conducive to such unions. Thus in the same way that plantation life undermined male authority and the caste system, it actually served to reinforce already existing beliefs about racial exogamy - despite the acute shortage of Indian women.

Moreover, a historiographical analysis of the scholarship shows that, the tendency among historians has been to overlook the perspective of the Afro-creole community. In so doing, they have, inadvertently, presented the Afro-creole woman as a sexual object to be had at the whims of Indian men - if the latter so desired. Yet, the Afro-creole woman also played a decisive role in negotiating sexual relationships – interracial or not – and this was, undoubtedly, influenced by the earning power of potential spouses, existing stereotypes, and cultural differences.

### Endnotes:

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<sup>1</sup> Ravindra K. Jain, "Freedom Denied? Indian Women and Indentureship," *Economic and Political Weekly*, XXI (7) February 15, 1986; Brij V. Lal, "Kunti's cry: Indentured women on Fiji Plantations," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 22 (1) 1985: 55-71; "Veil of Dishonour: Sexual Jealousy and Suicide on Fiji Plantations," *Journal of Pacific History*, 22 (1): 135-155; Prabhu P. Mohapatra, "'Restoring the Family': Wife Murders and the Making of a Sexual contract for Indian Immigrant Labour in the British Caribbean Colonies, 1860-1920," *Studies in History*, 11 (2) 1995: 229-260; Rhoda Reddock, "Indian Women and Indentureship in Trinidad and Tobago, 1845-1917: Freedom Denied," *Caribbean Quarterly*, 32 (3&4), 1986: 27-49.

<sup>2</sup> Brian Moore, *Cultural Power, Resistance and Pluralism: Colonial Guyana 1838-1900*, (McGill-Queen's University Press & The Press of the University of the West Indies: 1995): 169; Basdeo Mangru, "The Sex Ratio Disparity and its Consequences under the Indenture in British Guiana," *India in the Caribbean*, ed. David Dabydeen and Brisnley Samaroo, (Hansib Publishing Limited: 1987): 216.

<sup>3</sup> For the purposes of this paper, the term Afro-creole refers to all persons of African descent who were born in either Trinidad or British Guiana. The term African refers to those persons born in Africa. The term black is used when it is unclear if those persons being referred to were born in either of the colonies under analysis [Afro-creoles], migrants from other islands (such as Barbados), or persons born in the continent of Africa. The term Indian is used to refer to the entire Indian population regardless of birthplace. If referring only to those persons of Indian descent who were born on either colony, the term Indo-creole will be used.

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion on this see Brian Moore, "The Retention of Caste Notions Among the Indian Immigrants in British Guiana During the Nineteenth Century," *Comparative Studies in Society and History: An International Quarterly*, 19 (1977): 97-107.

<sup>5</sup> Calculated from Table A2; David Northrup, *Indentured Labour in the Age of Imperialism, 1834-1922*, (Cambridge University Press, 1995): 159.

<sup>6</sup> Calculated from Table A1 and A2; Northrup, *Indentured Labour in the Age of Imperialism*: 156-159.

<sup>7</sup> *Annual Colonial Report for 1895-1896*, British Guiana, BPP, LIX, 1897; *Annual Colonial Report for 1891*, Trinidad, BPP, LX, 1893-1894. Hereafter referred to as the ACR.

<sup>8</sup> Henry Kirke, *Twenty-five Years in British Guiana*, (Sampson Low, Marston & Company, 1898): 218.

<sup>9</sup> *San Fernando Gazette*, June 16, 1883.

<sup>10</sup> See Table A.31; David Trotman, *Crime in Trinidad: Conflict and Control in a Plantation Society: 1838-1900*, (University of Tennessee Press, 1986): 294.

<sup>11</sup> Moore, *Cultural Power, Resistance and Pluralism*: 172.

<sup>12</sup> Mohapatra, "Restoring the Family": 235.

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- <sup>13</sup> H.V.P. Bronkhurst, *The Colony of British Guyana and its Inhabitants*, (T. Woolmer, 1883 ): 244.
- <sup>14</sup> Rhoda Reddock, "Indian Women and Indentureship," *Caribbean Quarterly*, 32 (3&4) 1986: 41; See also, Pieter Emmer, "The Great Escape: The Migration of Female Indentured Servants from British India to Suriname, 1873-1916," *Abolition and its Aftermath: The Historical Context, 1790-1916*, ed. David Richardson, (Frank Cass and Company Limited, 1985): 244-266.
- <sup>15</sup> Mohapatra, "Restoring the Family": 239.
- <sup>16</sup> Trotman, *Crime in Trinidad*: 3.
- <sup>17</sup> Edgar Thompson, "The Plantation as a Social System," *Plantation Systems of the New World: Papers and Discussion Summaries of the Seminar Held in San Juan, Puerto Rico*, (Pan American Union, 1959): 33.
- <sup>18</sup> Trotman, *Crime in Trinidad*: 169.
- <sup>19</sup> James Anthony Froude, *The English in the West Indies*, (Longmans, Green, and Company: 1888): 76.
- <sup>20</sup> "Despite the scarcity of women among the East Indian population it is the rarest thing in the world for an Indian to take up with a black woman.;" Henry Kirke, *Twenty-Five Years in British Guiana*: 263; Consider also, "They [Indians] are proud, however, and will not intermarry with the Africans.;" Froude, *The English in the West Indies*: 73.
- <sup>21</sup> Moore, *Cultural Power, Resistance and Pluralism*: 169.
- <sup>22</sup> Basdeo Mangru, "The Sex Ratio Disparity and Its Consequences Under Indenture in British Guiana," *India in the Caribbean*: 216-217.
- <sup>23</sup> Brereton, *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad*, (Cambridge University Press, 1979): 188.
- <sup>24</sup> Donald Wood, *Trinidad in Transition: The Years After Slavery*, (Oxford University Press, 1968): 138.
- <sup>25</sup> Moore, "The Retention of Caste Notions Among the Indian Immigrants in British Guiana During the Nineteenth Century," *Comparative Studies in Society and History: An International Quarterly*, 19 (1977): 98.
- <sup>26</sup> *British Parliamentary Papers*, XX, 1871: 8. Hereafter refereed to as *BPP*.
- <sup>27</sup> Brian L. Moore, "The Retention of Caste Notions": 99.
- <sup>28</sup> HVP Bronkhurst, *Among the Hindus and Creoles of British Guyana*, (T. Woolmer, 1888): 27.
- <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*: 47.
- <sup>30</sup> Brian L. Moore, "The Retention of Caste Notions": 106.
- <sup>31</sup> Bridget Brereton, "The Foundations of Prejudice: Indians and Africans in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Trinidad," *Caribbean Issues*, 1 (1), April 1974: 24.
- <sup>32</sup> Bronkhurst, *Among the Hindus and Creoles*: 27.
- <sup>33</sup> Henry Kirke, *Twenty-five Years in British Guiana*: 171.
- <sup>34</sup> Edward Bean Underhill, *The West Indies: Their Social and Religious Condition*, (Jackson, Walford, and Hodder: 1962): 52.
- <sup>35</sup> Froude, *The English in the West Indies*: 76.
- <sup>36</sup> Moore makes an interesting argument regarding the pan-Indian involvement in this particularly Muslim festival. According to Moore, both the Hindu religious festivals *Dasserah* and *Holi* fell sometime between the last quarter of the year and the first quarter of the next respectively. The Muslim festival *Hosay* also fell during this time period. He argues that since Indians were given the same time frame to celebrate these festivals, regardless of religion, Hindu and Muslim festivals were staged simultaneously. He also argues that contemporary observers who were ignorant of Indian culture could have easily mistaken one festival for the other, thereby explaining why there is virtually no mention of Hindu processions in the primary sources; Moore, *Cultural Power, Resistance and Pluralism*: 218-219.
- <sup>37</sup> *Trinidad Sentinel*, August 6, 1857; For other evidence of Afro-creole participation see also, *San Fernando Gazette*, Jan 27, 1877.

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<sup>38</sup> *Royal Gazette*, August 11, 1860.

<sup>39</sup> Sylvaine A. Diouf, *Servants of Allah: African Muslims Enslaved in The Americas*, (New York University Press, 1998): 118, 174.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*: 119.

<sup>41</sup> Underhill, *The West Indies*: 46; See also, Carl Campbell, "John Mohammed Bath and the Free Mandingos in Trinidad: The Question of Their Repatriation to Africa, 1831-1838," *Journal of African Studies*, 2 (4) 1975-1976: 467-95.

<sup>42</sup> Bronkhurst, *Among the Hindus and Creoles*: 158-162.

<sup>43</sup> Kirke, *Twenty-five Years in British Guiana*: 63; Bronkhurst, *The Colony of British Guyana*: 359-365.

<sup>44</sup> *Comins Note on Emigration from India*, 1893, Sec. 49: 26, cited in Verene Shepherd, "The Dynamics of Afro-Jamaican-East Indian Relations in Jamaica: A Preliminary analysis," *Caribbean Quarterly*, 32, (3&4): 18.

<sup>45</sup> *BPP*, XXXVI, Part V: 100.

<sup>46</sup> David Trotman, "Women and Crime in Late 19<sup>th</sup> Century Trinidad," *Caribbean Freedom: Economy and Society From Emancipation to the Present*, eds, Hilary Beckles and Verene Shepherd, (Ian Randle Publishers and James Currey Publishers, 1993): 252.

<sup>47</sup> Bronkhurst, *The Colony of British Guyana*: 124.

<sup>48</sup> *Trinidad Council Papers*, 17 of 1875, cited in Trotman, *Crime in Trinidad*: 249-250.

<sup>49</sup> Please note that these number do not necessarily represent the progeny of Indian - Afro-creole unions, though this is quite likely the case. They merely indicate those persons of mixed racial heritage who have one Indian parent; *Census of Trinidad*, 1911: 38; *Census of Trinidad*, 1921: 31. Also note that a similar comparison is not possible for British Guiana as, for relevant years, the census category "Mixed" included all non-white persons of mixed heritage and was not restricted to the progeny of Indian and Afro-creole unions; R. R. Kuczynski, *Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire*, Vol. III, (Oxford University Press: 1953): 153.

<sup>50</sup> Calculated from the *ACR of British Guiana, 1895-1896*, *BPP*, LIX, 1897: 10.

<sup>51</sup> Calculated from the *ACR of British Guiana, 1896-97*, *BPP*, LIX, 1898: 14, 20.

<sup>52</sup> Cited in H.V.P. Bronkhurst, *Colony of British Guyana*, (T. Woolmer, 1883): 137.

<sup>53</sup> E. D. Rowland, "The Census of British Guiana," *Timehri*, 6 (1892): 47.

<sup>54</sup> Note that these numbers do NOT include those persons who were of Indian parentage but born in Trinidad. The gender statistics for the Indo-Creole population was included with those of individuals of other racial groups born in Trinidad. In any case, the Indo-Creole population was approximately 1/3 of the total Indian population and also remained largely rural. *Census of Trinidad*, 1891: 21.

<sup>55</sup> Trotman, *Crime in Trinidad*: 156.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*: 153.

<sup>57</sup> Brereton, *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad*: 189.

<sup>58</sup> See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (Verso, 1991).

<sup>59</sup> *Port of Spain Gazette*, October 18, 1889.

<sup>60</sup> Brereton, *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad*: 190.

<sup>61</sup> Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*, (Viking Penguin Inc., 1985): 50-52.

<sup>62</sup> Des Voeux further footnoted "I have strong reason for believing, though the fact is concealed from the authorities, that it is no uncommon practice to enforce from immigrants (in spite of the law) from sixteen to twenty hours work in the sugar house. In proof I may mention that a proprietor of several very large estates, Mr. Quintin Hogg, expressed to me, during his visit to Demerara last year, his horror at finding that the immigrants

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on one of his estates had been for some days worked for twenty-two hours per day, and added that the manager was aggrieved at his interference in ordering the employment of relays"; BPP, XX, 1871: 492.

<sup>63</sup> BPP, XX, 1871: 9.

<sup>64</sup> Eric Williams, *History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago*, (Negro Folk Education, 1942): 107-108.

<sup>65</sup> Underhill, *The West Indies*: 81.

<sup>66</sup> BPP, XLVII, 1915: 32.

<sup>67</sup> BPP, XX, 1871: 8.

<sup>68</sup> BPP, XX, 1871: 5.

<sup>69</sup> BPP, XX, 1871: 8.

<sup>70</sup> Excerpt from report to Royal Franchise Commission in 1888 by Mr. Lechmere Guppy, Mayor of San Fernando, cited in Eric Williams, *History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago*: 106.

<sup>71</sup> "Care is taken not to separate families or inhabitants of the same village more than is absolutely necessary," BPP, XXXVI, Part V: 99-100.

<sup>72</sup> ACR for 1891, *British Guiana*, BPP, LIX, 1893: 21.

<sup>73</sup> It should be noted that the gender statistics for the Afro-creole community in Trinidad is imprecise as the category "General Population" used in *Annual Colonial Report* the referred to all non-Indian individuals; ACR for 1891, *Trinidad and Tobago*, LX: 11.

<sup>74</sup> Moore, *Cultural Power, Resistance and Pluralism*: 155.

<sup>75</sup> Walter Rodney, *A History of the Guyanese Working People, 1881-1905*, (John Hopkins Press, 1981): 180-181.

<sup>76</sup> Cited in Brereton, *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad, 1870-1900*: 190.

<sup>77</sup> Bronkhurst, *The Colony of British Guyana*: 212.

<sup>78</sup> Kirke, *Twenty-five Years in British Guiana*: 216, 262.

<sup>79</sup> *Palladium*, May 15, 1880.

<sup>80</sup> Underhill, *The West Indies*: 86.

<sup>81</sup> Brereton, *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad*: 190.

<sup>82</sup> Bronkhurst, *Among the Hindus and Creoles*: 167-170, 210.

<sup>83</sup> *Census of 1891*, Trinidad.

<sup>84</sup> Cited in Underhill, *The West Indies*: 79.

<sup>85</sup> Look Lai, *Indentured Labor, Caribbean Sugar*: 201.

<sup>86</sup> Cecil Clementi, *The Chinese in British Guiana*, (Argosy, 1915): 312 cited in Look Lai, *Indentured Labor, Caribbean Sugar*: 200.

<sup>87</sup> For a more thorough examination of the evidence on this topic see Look Lai, *Indentured Labor, Caribbean Sugar*: 207-210.

<sup>88</sup> Kirke, *Twenty-five Years in British Guiana*: 216.

<sup>89</sup> Rodney, *History of the Guyanese Working People*: 186.

<sup>90</sup> Look Lai, *Indentured Labor, Caribbean Sugar*: 269.

<sup>91</sup> Bronkhurst, *Among the Hindus and Creoles*: 210.

<sup>92</sup> It should be noted that in Jamaica, despite its small Chinese population, Chinese domination and economic success in retail trade led to rioting and violence against the Chinese and their properties in the early twentieth century.

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<sup>93</sup> Look Lai, *Indentured Labor, Caribbean Sugar*: 204.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*: 191.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*: 200.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, See Chapter 7.

<sup>97</sup> Bronkhurst, *Twenty-five Years in British Guiana*: 217-218.