



UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES

CAVE HILL CAMPUS

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

# THE HISTORY FORUM

**Barbadian Migration to British Guiana, 1840-1960:**

**The Search for 'El Dorado'**

**Mr. Frederick Alleyne**

**Friday, March 2<sup>nd</sup> 2012 @4:30pm**

IN THE BRUCE ST. JOHN ROOM (BSJ)

(LOCATED IN THE HUMANITIES QUADRANGLE)

For a full schedule of History Forum events and related links, please visit

<http://www.cavehill.uwi.edu/fhe/histphil/HistoryForum>

This paper is not to be quoted or cited without the written permission of the author.

## Barbadian Migration to British Guiana: 1840-1960

### Introduction

Guyanese migration to Barbados and other Caribbean territories in the 20th century is now the subject of much debate but the reverse was the case in colonial times when British Guiana was the destination of thousands of Barbadian and West Indian workers. The debate on migration during the 19<sup>th</sup> century on the issues of national economic development of the countries that sent the migrant and those that received them are not that different from the present discussion. In a recent speech to the local Chamber of Commerce Hon Mia Amor Mottley, M.P former Leader of the Opposition, Barbados Labour Party, stressed the potential of Central And South America to the economic development of Barbados and the Caribbean. She stated that *"You must see Guyana, Suriname, and Belize in the context of the CSME as legitimate destinations for investment, especially in manufacturing and agriculture. Barbadian-based companies must lead the opening up of Western Guyana, (the Pomeroon known as the bread basket of Guyana and the vast Rupununi prairies) and through investment to the greater opportunities of the phenomenal growth rates in northern Brazil - it will change the economics of the southern and eastern Caribbean for the next thirty to forty years! If we do not do it, others will".*<sup>1</sup> All four countries mentioned in the above extract were outlets for Barbadian labourers during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In fact Barbadian economic involvement in South America dates back to 17th century English/European settlement of the northern coast of that continent. Therefore; today in the first decades of the 21st century as was the case from the 17<sup>th</sup> -20<sup>th</sup> centuries, these countries see each other as partners in the economic development of each other's societies. The sometimes emotional debate on migration has tended to cloud the real economic objectives that migration is a part of. It is therefore hoped that this research will

assist in better understanding the motivation for migration then and now within the context of economic and social development in the Caribbean and beyond.

This study will also attempt to compare the Barbadian migration to British Guiana with the migration of Barbadians to Brazil, their status “the assimilation or isolation” that both sets of migrants and their descendants achieved in Brazil and Guyana and their impact on the respective host societies. Guyana shared similarities with Brazil such as their location on the South American continent, the attraction of better wages, and the availability of land. However; Brazilian society was also uniquely different to that of the Guianese society. Brazil was in some ways foreign to these West Indian migrants. The language was Portuguese its religion was Catholic and culture Iberian as compared to Guiana which had a dominant English and Protestant culture with some remnant Dutch influences. Barbadian migrants were therefore more at home and familiar with Guyana than Brazil. These factors will be explored later in this paper as to the effect on both sets of migrants.

During the Post Emancipation period British Guiana had an expanding sugar industry and planters there were offering in most cases, better wages and conditions of work than in other parts of the British West Indies. Additionally, for those migrants who wanted to avoid plantation work altogether, acres of unoccupied Crown lands were available for independent farming. Barbadian workers could also find employment in mining and in the collection of forest products such as balata or lumber. Those conditions in British Guiana were therefore attractive to new free Black workers from Barbados and the other Eastern Caribbean islands.

Barbadian migration to British Guiana and Brazil is not unique in terms of the movement of regional people between the various territories and the South American continent, the Panama Canal migration being the most famous during the 1904-1914 period. However, sizeable numbers of Barbadians and Caribbean peoples have also migrated to Brazil and to the then British Guiana, Surinam and French Guiana in the late 19th century and early 20th century, to Brazil during the "Rubber Boom" years for the construction of the Madeira-Mamore Railway (1907-1912) and to British Guiana from as early as 1838, to work, especially in the sugar industry and later in the civil service and public sector.

Large scale Barbadian migration to British Guiana began in the post emancipation period and continued until the 1920's. Some Barbadian migration to British Guyana continued into the 1960's but this was largely of skilled individuals for the agricultural and mining sectors and the civil service. Barbadian migrants were also found in significant numbers especially in the British Guiana police and teaching services and in the commercial sector.

As previously mentioned, mass migration by Barbadians and other West Indians to British Guyana, ended during the 1920's mainly because of the massive Asian migration into British Guyana, and the attraction to West Indians of other destinations such as the U.S.A. and the U.K. The factors affecting these migrations will be explored later in this paper.

## Migration

Philip P. Curtin in looking at the effect of migration on human history states that *“Trade and exchange across cultural lines have played a crucial role in human history, being perhaps the most important stimuli to change, leaving aside the immeasurable and less benign influence of military conquest”*.<sup>2</sup> This statement is especially relevant to the Caribbean and the wider Americas because this region has become the crossroads and melting pot of the world's peoples and cultures. Because of European colonial expansion and the early implementation of agro industrial capitalism to the Americas beginning in the 16th century, millions of European migrants and eventually African slaves and Asian indentured servants entered this region bringing with them cultures and customs that changed and fused with the already rich culture of the indigenous peoples of the New World. Therefore this study will attempt to look at the reasons for migration from Barbados and where possible the views of migrants and migrant families both in the country of origin and in the host countries. As Abdelmalek Sayad points out in his thesis on Algerian migration to France *“Any study of the migratory phenomena that overlooks the emigrants conditions of origin is bound only to give a view that is once partial and ethnocentric. On the one hand, it is only the immigrant and not the emigrant who is taken into consideration, rather as though his life began the moment he came to France”*.<sup>3</sup>

Barbadians and other West Indians; descendants of those earlier migrants to the New World would themselves during the 19th and 20th centuries migrate to other parts of the region and the wider world bringing social and economic change. This was especially true for the lower income masses of the region in the period after emancipation. These West Indian migrants sent home to their various countries remittances that stimulated economic growth in the individual countries that maybe, could not have been realized had these persons stayed at home in

overcrowded islands like Barbados, where small entrenched, economic and political elites were all powerful.

Remittances have always been an important part of the process of the post emancipation economic development of Barbados and the Caribbean in general. It has been shown that money remitted from Panama changed the lives of many Barbadians and West Indians in a positive way. Those Barbadian families who benefited from money brought or sent from Panama opened small businesses, bought land; even plantations, built or improved their housing, and educated their children.

There is no doubt that the Barbadian economy would also have benefited from migration to British Guiana as the period of migration was perilous time for the Barbadian society. No major analysis has not been done on the effects remittances from British Guiana as have been attempted for the Panama migration. However, the large number of Barbadians who moved back and forth between Barbados and British Guiana is an obvious indication that these Barbadians were deriving economic benefit for their efforts. Some indication of the remittances by Barbadians in British Guiana will be looked at later in this paper.

In addition to the positive effect of remittances on West Indian society, migrants who returned to their countries especially those who lived and worked in North America and Europe and served in the First World war sought change through labour and political movements. These

migrants saw societies where social organisations and education were in the forefront of social change and brought these ideas back to the West Indies. In Barbados, Charles Duncan O'Neale was one such person. O'Neale; though a physician by training he was heavily influenced by the British Fabian Socialist Movement and on his return to Barbados in 1924 he used this knowledge to organise the early Barbadian labour movement.<sup>4</sup>

Clennell Wilsden Wickham, a fearless journalist and ally of O'Neale was also a product of migration having left the island to serve in the British West Indies Regiment during the First World War. As Hoyos points out, "*His experience abroad, his wide reading and the eagerness with which he absorbed the ideas released by the war --- all this prepared him for the work that awaited him when he returned to Barbados*".<sup>5</sup>

The second important contribution that migrants make is to social and economic development in the host country.

West Indian migrants like all migrants are attracted to positive social and economic conditions in the host countries or the pull factors and West Indian migrants made important contributions to the Panama Canal project, railway construction in Central America and Brazil and especially in agriculture throughout the region. Dr Lara Putnam in highlighting the contribution of Jamaican and other West Indians to the Costa Rican banana industry points out that "*Over 20,000 Jamaicans came to Limon during the first banana boom, accompanied by smaller numbers of migrants from Barbados, St Lucia, St Kitts, and beyond*".<sup>6</sup> The contribution of this West Indian diaspora cannot be understated because today the banana industry of Central America has become the major export industry of most countries of that region; hence the name "Banana Republics".

In British Guiana the impact on Guianese society came in many forms. Barbadians contributed to the plantation sector, particularly the sugar industry as skilled workers especially at harvest time. From very early on in the post emancipation period some found their way into vending, teaching, policing, ministers of religion, and low level civil service jobs. Late in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries Barbadian lawyers and businesspersons found British Guyana attractive. The Barbadian and their descendents involvement in Friendly societies and the early labour and political movements are also important episodes in British Guianese society. The Barbadian diaspora in Guyana is indeed a greatly underrated community.

Robin Cohen in acknowledging the diverse meaning of diaspora proposes that "*The idea of a diaspora thus varies greatly. However, all diasporic communities settled outside their natal (or imagined natal) territories, acknowledge that "the old country" a notion often buried deep in language, religion, custom or folklore always has some claim on their loyalty and emotions. That claim may be strong or weak, or boldly or meekly articulated in a given circumstance or historical period, but member's adherence to a diasporic community is demonstrated by an acceptance of an inescapable link with past migration history and a sense of co ethnicity with others of a similar background*".<sup>7</sup> Therefore, in looking at the question of migrants from Barbados it has to be admitted that these migrants to British Guiana constitute a Barbadian Diaspora in itself as they have continued to maintain linkages with Barbados well into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

As suggested earlier, the New World and the Caribbean people are a melting pot of the world's peoples and customs and over time they have developed a culture and identity that is their own. Therefore, in seeking to study the movement of any group in the New World whether that



group has moved regionally or internationally the considerations of New World groups being already a diaspora have to be acknowledged. In the main it has to be acknowledged that the peoples of the Americas and in particular the Caribbean continue to share and claim linkages to Europe, Asia and Africa and a modern unique Caribbean heritage, that connects them to the Caribbean. In essence the people of the Caribbean are a true diaspora. Barbadians or least the descendents of Barbadians in South America are the diaspora of Barbados. Barbadian descendents in present day Guyana still maintain strong connections to Barbados through familial and economic ties.

### **Why Did Barbadians Migrate?**

The attraction to migrate was predicated by social and economic conditions and other push and pull factors that were constant for the first hundred years after the emancipation of slavery in the British West Indies. Barbadians and other Black West Indians in particular, continued to suffer levels of poverty and social exclusion after Emancipation that were in many ways reminiscent of the conditions that they endured during slavery. Michael Craton in his assessment of the post Emancipation politics of the British West Indies and how it was used against the ex slaves points out that "*At the colonial level, plantocracies continued to dominate. No colony with its own Assembly lost its power of self-legislation before 1866, and all colonies - including Crown Colonies directly ruled from London - the ex slaves were cleverly kept in their place.*"<sup>8</sup> Bonham C. Richardson in outlining the features of this oligarchic consolidation of power after Emancipation, observes that "*Among them were the local political economy, the entangled web helped explain an anachronistic resistance to change, and even the tragic health conditions*

*of many black estate workers*".<sup>9</sup> The tragedy of health was not only confined to estate workers but to the Black masses as a whole especially in Bridgetown where slum conditions was the norm but conveniently never caught the notice of the ruling elites, at least not until the cholera outbreak of 1854. Therefore the planter, merchant elite controlled every aspect of the political, economic and social life of the Black masses. In Barbados, this control was best exemplified in the Tenantry system that was designed to control plantation labour after emancipation. The tenantry system in Barbados was not unique in the British West Indies its existence as with the free villages of British Guiana were starved of state funds so as to compel the inhabitants to remain cheap estate labourers in perpetuity.

Political, social and economic control of the masses was therefore a major feature of post Emancipation West Indian society and migration was one of the few or indeed the major response of the masses in their attempts to break free of the power of the oligarchs of colonial society.

The policies of the Post emancipation colonial authorities in British Guiana were therefore no different from those in other West Indian colonies, except that immigrants from the West Indies, Europe, Africa, Asia and mostly India were used to entrench control and impoverish of the local working classes. Brian L. Moore in supporting this view stated that "*Immigration played a major part not merely in keeping the plantation sector alive, but in expanding it tremendously during the later nineteenth century. It enabled the planters to overcome the initial challenges posed by the ex slaves demands for higher wages and their attempts to lessen their dependence on the plantations by setting up independent peasant village settlements*".<sup>10</sup> Therefore the Barbadian migrants were not going to any paradise but would encounter their ex slave kinfolk who would see them as traitors to their cause. However wages were better.

## **Social And Economic Conditions In Barbados And The English Speaking Caribbean 1850-1960.**

### **The Challenge To The Sugar Economy.**

The English colonies of the Caribbean during the period 1850-1960 were going through a period of social and economic transformation brought on by Emancipation, a rapidly changing world sugar market, (production and prices) the two World Wars, and the emergence of labour and political movements in the region.

Sugar was for the preceding two hundred years, the mainstay of the British West Indian economy but by the early eighteenth century was facing stiff competition from sugar production in Cuba and other parts of the world including other British colonies and from European beet sugar. Eric Williams in describing the situation facing the sugar industry in the British West Indies stated that *“While the British West Indies continued to place half their eggs in one basket, and Cuba was providing what seemed to be so impressive a demonstration of the economic advantages of monoculture, that is to say, sugar culture, the world market for sugar was becoming increasingly chaotic. The Caribbean sugar industry was engaged in a struggle for survival with two enemies, the spread of cane cultivation in other tropical areas, and beet sugar”*.<sup>11</sup> Cuba and other sugar producers had, in many ways, a major advantage on British Caribbean producers in that they had better economies of scale and were employing improved methods of production. These countries and their allies in European parliaments were also beginning to challenge the protective duties given to British Caribbean sugar in the British market. This challenge occurred at a time when cheaper sugar could be obtained from other

British colonies like India and South Africa and countries such as Brazil that had now developed strong commercial and political ties with Europe and Britain in particular.

British Caribbean sugar producers especially the older sugar territories like Barbados, had long grown accustomed to heavy dependence on slave and cheap labour and a protected market and therefore never sought to invest in the modernisation of the industry. As a consequence, undercapitalisation was a major hindrance to the proper development of the British Caribbean sugar industry. However, it should also be noted that the labour situation in British West Indian sugar competitors were not unlike the pre-emancipation British West Indies. Cuba, Brazil and the United States only abolished slavery in the late 19th century and slave like labour conditions were the norm in India and other Far Eastern sugar producing states. What was important to British capitalist was the cheaper sugar in areas outside the British West Indies and the promotion of British economic interest in the emerging economies of Brazil and the Far East.

In Europe the development of the sugar beet industry was now a major rival to Caribbean sugar and by 1894-1895 beet sugar production was two and a quarter times the cane sugar exports of the British West Indies.

Beet sugar production was unlike West Indian sugar production in that beet sugar factories were more mechanised and much research was done to produce sugar beets high in sugar content. What was important was that beet sugar was cheaper at least than British West Indian sugar. In 1896 the sugar produced in Barbados with 440 factories was done with eleven in Germany that produced six times Barbados's production. This was the challenge that faced the British Caribbean sugar colonies.<sup>12</sup>

*The Aftermath Of Emancipation And The New Society.*

The slaves had achieved their Emancipation in 1838 but this event in itself did little to improve the lives of these now free persons. In the larger territories like Jamaica and Guyana and to a lesser extent Trinidad the availability of Crown lands and abandoned estates allowed some of the freed persons to pursue independent lives, either in new village or urban settlements, as owners of estates or as peasants on subsistence lots. This exodus from the estates in the larger territories meant that some labour shortages occurred in these territories and led to calls for migrant labour to fulfil the labour needs of the plantations. Jay R. Mandle in a view of the British Guyana situation stated that *"The massive exodus from Guyana's sugar plantations and the "rise of the peasantry" in the country, which took place between 1838 and 1850, occurred despite official discouragement. The fundamental condition facilitating the escape of the "inmates" from the "total institution" was the abundance of land in Guyana and the colony's low man/land ratio. With freedom, the availability of uncultivated land exerted a nearly irresistible attraction to the ex-slaves"*.<sup>13</sup> By comparison, in the smaller islands like Barbados, the Windwards and Leewards these freed persons were forced by the circumstance of island size to remain on the plantations. The exception was Dominica, a rather large island with little flat land, therefore extensive plantation systems as known in the other islands were not developed. An abundance of Crown lands were available for the newly free to utilise. Lennox Honychurch in looking at the post emancipation land use situation in Dominica supports the above held view and stated that *"Hence, there was land in abundance, and the free citizens preferred to set up their own small holdings; the beginning of Dominica's independent peasant society"*.<sup>14</sup> There were no Crown lands to squat on or buy in Barbados and the plantation owners were mostly

unwilling to sell to the now free Blacks. Land prices were extremely high especially in Barbados and therefore mostly out of the reach of the Black masses. O. N. Bolland makes the point that in Barbados in 1844 about 30,000 persons or 25% of the population were still employed by the plantations and land prices per acre ranged in cost from 60-200 Pounds Sterling; well beyond the financial ability of the labourers.<sup>15</sup>

However; though land/population ratios were important in the exodus from the plantations, the suffocating level of control exhibited by the planters in the immediate post emancipation period has been theorized as a factor in the partial abandonment of estate labour in parts of the British West Indies. Some research on this theory has been conducted mainly in Belize and Jamaica by Nigel Bolland and Douglas Hall. Hall argues that "*movement of residence from the estates came as a consequence, not of burning recollections of brutalities suffered during slavery, but rather of the terms of the emancipation itself and the behaviour of estate owners*".<sup>16</sup> The evidence from Barbados is not dissimilar in that though the plantation sector dominated the entire arable acreage of the island legislative provisions in the form of restrictive labour and vending laws, the teantry system and migration limits were also put in place to maintain the labour status quo. According to H. Beckles "*The plantation sector in Barbados was clearly victorious in confining peasant activity and formation to levels tolerable to sugar production and the white community's conception of the role of blacks within the economy*".<sup>17</sup>

The presence of independent Blacks would have meant that a large pool of black labour would be lost and what black labour was left would according to the planters, be unreliable or expensive for the plantation owner to acquire. Indeed, in Barbados there was some minimal movement by former slaves away from plantation work. William Sharpe a Barbadian planter in his evidence before the House of Commons, Select Committee on West India Colonies in 1842

made the point that the labour situation had become very unreliable as the number of labourers on his estate had declined and that many of the free Blacks had now become self employed.<sup>18</sup> Even though Sharpe's comments had some truth to them, this was not the general case as the vast majority of free blacks in Barbados were unable to secure an independent existence and were confined to a quasi peasantry system as plantation tenants. Tenantries were located on plantation lands but on such lands that had little agricultural value thus providing a mere subsistence livelihood. The tenants were therefore mainly dependent on employment from the plantation and were legally bound to give their labour. These tenants could be evicted from the plantation lands on the whims and fancies of the plantation owner necessitating the development of the Barbadian Chattle House, an easily removable structure. Tenants in most cases had to supplement their seasonal plantation income with activities such as fishing or as artisans.

W. Marshall makes the point that *“Under the system, the ex-slaves were permitted to occupy a house on the estate and a small allotment of land in return for regular, exclusive labour at stipulated wages on the particular estate to which they had been attached as slaves and apprentices”*.<sup>19</sup> So effective was the planter control of Barbadian labour that while its neighbour's sugar economies floundered, Barbados's sugar economy grew under a system that kept wages and labour levels the lowest in the English speaking Caribbean.

Cost of producing one hundredweight of sugar in 1848			
Jamaica	27s. 7d.	St. Kitts	16s. 2d.
British Guiana	25s.	Grenada	16s. 2d.
Trinidad	25s.	Antigua	15s. 4½d.
St. Vincent	19s. 2d.	Barbados	15s. 4½d.

(H... 187)

20

Beckles stated *“The evidence from Barbados shows that it was the only Caribbean colony to substantially increase production in the decade after Emancipation, and it did so with 25 per cent less labour than during the last decade of slavery”*.<sup>21</sup>

However; despite the restrictions of land space and legislative control Barbadian workers in some cases moved away from the plantation sector as was the case in Jamaica but the movement was to other countries and British Guyana was the main destination initially.

### **Bridgetown**

The situation for Blacks in urban Barbados before Emancipation was not much different from their rural cousins in terms of the living standards of this marginalised group as they inhabited the most deplorable areas of the Capital city Bridgetown. P. Welch states that *“Most of the districts where such housing was located were in the north-eastern quadrant of the town in such areas as Greenfields, Racoon Quarters, Upper Roebuck Street, and Canary Lane”*.<sup>22</sup> What was unique were the job profiles of the free and enslaved Blacks who were employed as dock workers, as huskers, domestics, and artisans; jobs that reflected the urban environment and the ability of these persons to have greater control of their lives in a more liberal setting with the



slave and free operating on a more equal basis. P. Welch describes the urban Black slave society as affording greater mobility for the enslaved. Welch states that *“It was a mobility which offered the enslaved, particularly those who lived in the town, access to a wider world of values, ideas and experiences”*.<sup>23</sup> Urban Blacks earned higher wages than their rural counterparts and even the enslaved person could opt to negotiate a better wage or do extra work on their own to enhance their income. Along with greater freedom and higher wages urban Blacks had access to the world because of the comings and goings of a busy seaport town that Bridgetown was during this period. They were able to learn of possibilities of achieving a higher living standard in countries beyond the shores of Barbados where they were limited by space and legislation. Emigration would therefore become the natural outlet for the frustrated free Black and even White labouring classes. W. Marshall on the question of emigration, stated, *“Consequently it was difficult for a peasantry to emerge in these islands; those ex-slaves who wanted to better themselves away from the estates had to think of emigration”*.<sup>24</sup> Black mobility in the urban environment occurred because many Blacks were not supervised in the strict sense that it happened in the plantation setting. It also meant that like the rural free Blacks, the white authorities had to find ways to control this labour force as a reliable pool of cheap labour after Emancipation.

The establishment of a temporary police force in 1834 on the eve of Emancipation and the enactment of the Masters and Servants Act of 1838 amended in 1840 were some of the legislative tools used by the Barbadian authorities to control the slave and the soon free black population. The police forces were used in the urban areas to control Blacks who were in most cases less likely to be under the direct supervision of their masters but were still required to take their place in white society. The police would use the legislative cover provided by various

Acts in the post- emancipation period that were supposed to control vagrancy, huskery and poverty. These Acts included 'An Act for the Better Ordering of the Poor of this Island, and the Prevention of Bastardy' (June 6, 1838), 'An Act to punish and Suppress Vagrancy, and to Determine who are Vagrants, Rogues, and Vagabonds and Incorrigible Rogues and Vagabonds' (June 6, 1838) and An Act to regulate the Hiring of Servants and for the More Expeditious Recovery of Wages by Them' (June 21, 1838).

The above Acts were regularly updated by the Barbados legislature during the immediate post emancipation period of the 1840's with actual Emigration Acts that sought to make it difficult for ex slaves to leave the island.

Such was the outcry by the masses for opportunities to better themselves outside Barbados that very early on, coloured journalist Samuel Jackman Prescod took up their cause in the Liberal newspaper. Prescod who was also a migration agent for British Guiana, in commenting on the Vagrancy Act of 1837 stated that *"The first is an Act which prohibits labourers from quitting the island, unless they have neither father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, wife or child, or having them, having sufficient to have to support them during the balance of their lives. As we are not of the opinion that this will be the case with the majority, it is to be concluded that this Act will have its effect, until the policy or justice of keeping a pauper to support his family becomes questionable"*.<sup>25</sup> Indeed Prescod clearly understood that most of those persons seeking to emigrate were heads of households and therefore had dependents; and with no opportunities to gain a decent income these families would be at the mercy of the planter elite and remain in abject poverty. This would occur within the context of a Barbadian society of the time that placed more resources behind the preservation of the security and social position of the elite than on the welfare of the masses. As an example, the Legislature's emphasis was the

building of a mental asylum, police posts, and prisons to confine the free Blacks than taking care of those persons whose health had now become the responsibility of the state. H. Beckles in analysing the state of health in the 1840's stated that *"Minor epidemics of dysentery, yellow fever, whooping cough, smallpox and measles during the 1840's did not jerk the legislature into action, even though the morality rate was recorded as high-especially among black youths"*.<sup>26</sup> This view by Beckles can easily be supported by the events that occurred sixteen years later in 1854 when cholera swept through Barbados leaving 20,000 people dead.

### **Prospects in British Guiana.**

Barbadian migration to British Guiana was not confined to the Black working class only as all Barbadians during this period were attracted by the better economic prospects that British Guiana offered. Definitely; for the Barbadian wage labourer the financial prospects were much better in British Guiana as the wages in that colony were only bettered by those offered in Trinidad. In fact Lord Glenelg had warned of this situation in 1836 when he stated that *"during slavery labour could be compelled to go wherever it promised most profits to the employer, under the new system of freedom it will find its way wherever it promises most profit to the labourer,"*<sup>27</sup>

*. Wages in the West Indies, 1846-1850*

Colony	Average wage per day (pence)
Trinidad	24
British Guiana	20
St Lúcia	16
Jamaica	15
St Vincent	10
Grenada	9
Antigua	8
Barbados	6

28

During the 19th century the movement from Barbados was predominately towards British Guiana but Dutch and French Guiana were also seen as attractive destinations for Barbadian migrants. *The Agricultural Reporter of April 5<sup>th</sup> 1905* reports that the Barbados government of the day through the Attorney General were debating an amendment to the Immigration Act so as to prevent ship's captains from landing in Barbados, Barbadian paupers from the Caribbean and South America. The case was mentioned of a 60 year old Barbadian woman who had been deported from Suriname after apparently spending her youthful days in that country.<sup>29</sup> This reaction by the Barbadian authorities illustrates the long standing and substantial migration of Barbadians to the Guianas.

Further evidence of the movement of Barbadians to the Guianas is reported in the *"Who's Who in British Guiana, 1935-37"*. which documents the case of **Samuel Griffith**, born in Barbados in

1855, came to British Guiana in 1873, after spending 10 years in Dutch Guiana, (Surinam). Griffith; a voter to the Legislative Council, was a Blacksmith by profession but was also a farmer in Surinam and in British Guiana.<sup>30</sup> Griffith would have left Barbados at the tender age of 08 in 1863 with his relatives for greener pastures in the Guianas.

Another example of a Barbadian moving to British Guiana at an early age was **Howard Wellington Clarke**, a carpenter, born 1868 in Barbados and attended La Belle Alliance school in British Guiana. It is possible that Clarke moved there with his parents as a group or joined them at a later stage.<sup>31</sup>

When the British Guiana sugar industry began to develop some white Barbadian families moved with their slaves or servants to that region because of the greater land space and economic opportunities that British Guiana offered. However; Black Barbadians began the trek to British Guiana directly after their emancipation from slavery in 1838. According to Walter Rodney, "*At the onset of Apprenticeship, planters in British Guiana made serious efforts to secure labour from the older sugar territories of the British Caribbean. The result was a modest inflow between 1835 and 1846, averaging approximately 1,075 persons per annum. Barbados was then the principal West Indian island from which labour was transferred, and the pattern remained the same when substantial West Indian immigration into British Guiana was resumed between 1863 and 1886.*"<sup>32</sup>

Though the exact numbers of Barbadian immigrants to British Guiana are difficult to locate it is generally accepted that many thousands of Barbadians migrated to British Guiana between 1835 and the early decades of the 20th century. Estimates suggest that some 40,656 Barbadians

or creoles migrated to British Guiana either as independent migrants or through organised recruitment by agents of the planters and colonial authorities.<sup>33</sup>

A clear example of this migration was the case of Josephine Eastman an ancestor of Guyanese journalist Hubert Williams. Williams; writing of his Barbadian roots, he stated that, "*During the Nineteenth Century, as was normal in those days, a Black child made the sea journey southwards - to what was then the English colony of British Guiana (now the Cooperative Republic of Guyana) - aged about 13 and accompanying white Christians to whose request ("may we have this child?") her parents acquiesced, because impoverished peoples in all historical periods need little persuasion to be convinced that prospects are better beyond the horizon. Little Josephine Eastman, along with her sister Malvina, born in the south-eastern parish of Christ Church in Barbados, thus went to South America as a fit and strong domestic worker in white households; carrying painful memories of her parents' poverty, but sent off with oodles of their blessings*".<sup>34</sup>

The trend continued as the Report of the Auditor general on the Barbados Emigration Agency in 1882 suggest. The report, which surveys seven (7) years of Barbadian immigration 1876-1882 noted that 4,577 person were recruited by the agency in Barbados at a cost of \$36,636, 22.<sup>35</sup> These numbers however do not reflect those migrants who paid their own passage on the ships that regularly plied the route between Barbados and British Guiana.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the trek continued as was the case of the Hinkson family. Ismay Spooner nee Hinkson the only surviving member of this Barbadian migrant family and at age 110 the oldest person in present day Guyana. Hinkson related in the Kaieteur News that she accompanied her mother and uncles to British Guiana at age 10, in 1900 "*during the*

*indentureship period". She further stated that "They were carrying people all about to (build) Panama (Canal); to different places".<sup>36</sup>*

Another Barbadian migrant family were the Crookendale's of St George. The matriarch of the family migrated to British Guiana sometime in the mid to late 19<sup>th</sup> century and gained employment as a milk vendor in Georgetown. She later married Joseph Saul and had a daughter Gertude who's daughter Viola born in 1913 was returned to Barbados in 1922 by her grandmother at age 9 years because of the death of her mother Gertrude. The family settled at Harmony Hall, St George and Viola's son K.D.Saul born in Barbados eventually migrated to Guyana to work in the bauxite industry during the period 1953-1980. This family also had a migrant connection to Panama because the land at Harmony Hall was purchased with monies earned during the Panama canal construction. This detail also points to the migration patterns of Barbadians during this period, as many migrants moved from Panama unto other areas where there was work.

K.D. Saul recalls that during his years in Guyana, mostly spent in the Linden (Wismar-Christianburg) area that there were many Barbadian families established there. These included;

**Brewster...** had a road named after him.

**Maxwell...**also had a road named after him, was mechanic by profession and had a son born in Barbados who was carpenter and millwright.

**Alleyn.....**and his son Ashton were mechanics.

**Oxley...** a mechanic and entrepreneur owned a river boat named the "Shamrock".

**Mayers...** were Adventist.

Burnett...was a mechanic and boat builder. His wife and children lived in Georgetown so as to have access to better educational facilities. One of the Burnett sons returned to work at the power plant in Linden in the 60's and 70's.

**Mrs Moe...** owned a cloth store popular for ladies hats and shoes.

Other Barbadian family names mentioned by Mr Saul include the **Eversely's, Burrowes, Adams, Lashley's and Watson's.**

Mr Saul relates that the Linden community also included many St Lucians and Grenadians who along with the Barbadians were referred to as "*Islanders*" by the Guyanese. The *Islanders* came together and built a meeting place called the '*Islander Hall*'. According to Mr Saul the "*Islander*" grouping was not liked by Guyanese and were called "*Pollowallows*" and the Barbadians were called '*Bajaks*'. It is therefore clear that even though Barbadians and other West Indians had a long history of migration to Guyana and had in most ways been assimilated there was still some tension possibly because of the perceived success that some of them achieved in their new home. <sup>37</sup>

During my own visit to Linden I met the **Drakes** family (brothers, Colin and Orin) who's grandmother was a Barbadian. The Drake's recall that their grandmother Estelle Branker while still a teenager, came to British Guiana on an excursion, sometime in the late 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> century. She never returned to Barbados. Again; Barbadian migrants seem to be confident of their financial prospects in British Guiana and opted to stay. It should be noted that both Orin and Colin Drakes were also migrants to Barbados where I first met them in 2009 themselves seeking a better life here.<sup>38</sup>



As pointed out before, as part of the post emancipation, colonial, social control mechanism to keep the ex slaves in their “place’ a police force was established in British Guiana in 1840, as in most of the British West Indian territories. It was in the British Guiana Police Force that there was a clear indication of the Barbadian presence in British Guiana. In 1883 some forty years after its establishment in 1840 the Barbadians enjoyed numerical superiority. Colonel W A Orrett CBE recording the nationalities that comprised the Police Force after the passing of the 1883 Ordinance to amend the law establishing the Police Force points out that *“The new Ordinance came into operation on the 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1884, when the establishment of the Police Force was 624 Non Commissioned Officers and Privates distributed as follows: Georgetown 310, East and West Coast Demerara 112, Essequibo 66 and Berbice 136. Of this number only 15 Non Commissioned Officers and 161 Privates were British Guianese born: 49 Non Commissioned Officers and 246 Privates were Barbadians”*.<sup>39</sup> Barbadian migrants thus comprised nearly half the compliment of the Force during this period. Another important point made by Colonel Orrett was that *“Out of this total, 1 Non Commissioned Officer and 106 Privates could not read or write”*.<sup>40</sup> John Campbell in his analysis of some of the illiterate policemen in the British Guiana Police Force in the 1885-86 period listed 26 policemen as being illiterate. Only 2 Barbadians are on this list of illiterate policemen<sup>41</sup>. An 1880 analysis on the Guiana police Force reported the Force *“as suffering more from the want of zealous, intelligent, Non-Commissioned Officers than from any other cause”*.<sup>42</sup> It is therefore possible that during this period many of the Barbadians were recruited into the Force because of their literacy skills and comparatively high level of education received in Barbados.

Barbadian born policemen were therefore essential in preserving the peace in British Guiana especially at a time when racial and other social tensions were on the rise mainly because of

labour unrest between the various immigrant groups, the local creoles, and plantation authorities.

Indeed, the Barbadian migrant workers were seen by both the local creoles and the East Indian migrants as a negative component of the local labour market and this was one of the factors that led to unrest. Evidence provided by John Campbell suggest that Barbadian policemen were recruited into the Force by 1871, as one of the illiterate Barbadians, P.C 118 John William Sobers a Black Barbadian, Boatman, joined during that year.<sup>43</sup> As a consequence Black and White Barbadian policemen would have been called upon to deal with unrest involving their countrymen in British Guiana who had now gotten the reputation as “scabs”. In fact both groups would have been seen as collaborators with the authorities.

Colonel Orrett the police biographer reporting on the Uitvlugt disturbances during 1873 points out that the Barbadian presence was seen as part of the cause. Orrett stated that *“There had been frequent disturbances during the year in West Demerara, mainly due to reduction of wages caused partly by the low price paid for sugar, compared to previous years and partly by the influx of Barbadian labourers, who were willing to work on the estates for lower pay than the East Indians had been receiving”*.<sup>44</sup> However; Colonel Orrett did not address the broader issue that caused the riots at the time and subsequent disturbances, which was the oversupply of labour in the British Guiana labour sector. A labour supply that was intentionally created to keep wage rates low and profits high for the estate owners. For the Barbadian migrants, the wages, low as there were, were better than in Barbados and they knew that they had some advantages on the Indian indentured servants in that they had skills that the planters wanted and many of them were really seasonal workers. Some of them would return to Barbados at the end of the British Guiana reaping season. Rodney in his assessment of the effects of the Barbadian migrant

labourer on the British Guiana labour market in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century points out that “*Without Barbadian labour, the planters at crop time would have had to rely on Creole Afro Guyanese labourers and on ex indentured Indians. These were the most independent of the labouring groups within the colony and the ones which most frequently challenged the planter class over the shape which the society should assume. Therefore, Barbadian immigration was of greater importance than the numbers suggest.*”<sup>45</sup> In other words the skills of the Barbadians were essential to the planters especially at harvest time but equally important was the presence of the Barbadians as a tool to control the power of the local labouring groups.

**Profile of Barbadian migrants in British Guiana in early 20<sup>th</sup> century.**

Listed in the Who Is Who in British Guiana, 1935-37.

**William Eyre Arthur**, born 1865 Barbados, educated at St Michael Barbados and St Stephen’s primary Georgetown, sanitary inspector. *Child migrant*. P. 12.

**Hon Malcolm Burnett Gardiner Austin**, born 1880 in UK, son of Gardiner Austin of Barbados, educated at Harrison College, worked at Bookers Bros, 1896-1906, and Curtis Campbell Co Ltd, director of Hand in Hand Insurance, and Demerara Mutual. Nominated member of the Executive and legislative Councils. P . 13.

**Hilary Alberic Maughn Beckles**, born 1898 in Barbados, educated at Combermere, Harrison College, Codrington College, UK, and France. Assistant master Queen's College Guiana, formerly assistant master at Harrison College Barbados. Barrister at Law. P .23.

**Adam Nathaniel Bourne**, born in Barbados, educated in Barbados, retired corporal British Guiana Police Force, 28 years service. P. 35.

**Benjamin Augustine Bourne**, born Barbados 1873, educated at Dalkieth primary school, Methodist lay preacher, compositor at Daily Chronicle and formerly at the Barbados Advocate. P. 35.

**Charles Lancelot Cleveland Bourne**, born Barbados 1891, educated at Harrison College, father John Bourne, merchant in Barbados. 1908 Analytical Assistant Government Laboratory Barbados, 1918 Scientific Assistant Department of Science and Agriculture British Guiana, 1928 to 1937 Assistant Chemist Department Agriculture British Guiana. Father of six sons and eleven daughters. P. 35.

**John Bernard Bourne**, born Sep Barbados 1912, educated at Charlestown Convent and Trinity High School in British Guiana, statistical clerk at Sugar Department Experiment Station. P. 36.

**Muriel Enid Bourne**, born Dec 1912 Barbados, educated at Covent of Mercy Georgetown, clerk at Post Office Savings Bank. P. 36.

**Benjamin Gordon Boyce**, born St Lucy Barbados 1869, primary education in Barbados, ex police officer in British Guiana, p. 37.

**Rupert Audleigh Branker**, born 1905 in Barbados, educated at Lynch's High School, Barbados, manager of Booker's Pharmacy, Georgetown, formerly Overseer at Vaucluse Factory St Thomas Barbados. P. 39.

**William Adolphus Wright**, born 1875 in Barbados, educated at Mahica Wesleyan School, was foreman at Guiana Gold Co, Barima Mine and at Plantation Wales. *Child migrant*. P. 349.

**Alfred Athiel Thorne**, born 1871 Barbados, educated at Lodge School and Codrington College, Headmaster of Middle School Georgetown, 1894-1920, Deputy mayor of Georgetown, 1921,22, 25, and a founder member of the British Guiana Workers League. P. 321.

**Neville Newsam**, born 1898 Barbados, 1<sup>st</sup> Ass Govt Analyst, educated at Harrison College, analyst at Dept of Agriculture and Curtist Campbell Co Ltd. P. 240.

**Charles Benjamin Morris**, born 1872 Barbados, educated at St Augustine's School, Blacksmith. P. 232.

**Simon Moore**, born 1863 Barbados, educated St Thomas's Scots School and Leaks marine Academy certified Marine Engineer, founder member of Unity Royal Arch Chapter, Organised the Afro American Association and League of Coloured Races and League of universal Fellowship and Love. Secretary of the Guianese Chartered Centre of Rosicrucian Philosophy. *Child migrant*. P. 230.

**Arnold Philip McConney**, born 1875, educated Graham's Hall Moravian School, Sanitary Inspector Panama, 1905-20, grocery store owner. *Child migrant*. P. 217.

**Estelle Lillian Mayers**, born Barbados, dressmaker, shopkeeper. P. 216.

**Hon Arthur George King**, born Barbados 1890, educated at Ursuline Convent, Canada and Ireland. Elected Member of Legislative Council. P. 189.

**Albert Mitchinson Ince**, born 1884 Barbados, educated at St Pauls, clerk at Fogarty's.

P. 172.

**Rupert Leon Hoyte**, born Barbados 1909, lives in Barbados, educated at Christ Church Anglican school Guiana, was pupil teacher and long standing journalist at Daily Chronicle. P. 167.

**Rev Leon fitzgerald Hoyte**, born Barbados 1881, educated (primary) and theology in Barbados, Minister of religion in Trinidad and British Guiana. Father of seven sons.

P. 167.

**Wilber Gustavus Holder**, born Barbados 1897, Wesleyan School, Agricola, lumber dealer and commission agent. *Child migrant*. P. 164.

**Elliot DaCosta Haynes**, born 1875 Barbados, educated St Elizabeth Anglican school, former police corporal, Guiana, and cooper. P. 156.<sup>46</sup>

#### **Remittances and mail from British Guiana. 1902-1908.**

1902.....No 4,227.....value 5,620,2 7. Sterling

1903.....No 3,982.....value 4,960, 17, 2.

Mail 1903....80,996 <sup>47</sup>

1906.....No 2,171.....value 3,184, 9, 6. Sterling

1907.....No 1,909.....value 2,977, 16, 2

Mail 1907.....49,608. <sup>48</sup>

1908.....No 2,040.....value 3,198, 15, 8. Sterling

Mail 1908.....65,623. <sup>49</sup>

From the five years presented it can be seen that nearly 20,000 Pounds Sterling was remitted to Barbados at a time when economic conditions were severe. These monies would have made a tremendous difference to the families who benefited. Data for the years 1904 and 1905 are missing.

Mail for the three years shown which included letters (registered and unregistered), cards and parcels totalling some 151, 579 pieces.



Mail and remittances from British Guiana is generally surpassed, only by those from Panama and the United States.

Mail quantity indicators from the late 19th century (1883) also indicate the strong Barbadian presence in British Guiana. The 1883 British Guiana Official Gazette under the heading Postal Notices reveal that of the ninety two (92) foreign letters left unclaimed at the General Post Office in Georgetown, sixty three (63) originated in Barbados.<sup>50</sup>

Further research will be conducted for this period as to remittances and mail quantities where data is available.

## **Conclusion**

Many older Barbadians would speak of those who went to "B.G" and of those Guyanese who came here as "pan boilers" for the sugar industry, but nothing substantial was written about this migration. However; Barbadians have had a long connection with Guyana and British Guiana was in many ways an "El Dorado" for Barbadians during a time of great hardship in the immediate post emancipation period. Many families would have been able to change their lives positively because of this migration. It is hoped that this research will expose the contribution of these migrants to the public and help to further research and understanding on matters of migration, an essential component of Caribbean society.

---

<sup>1</sup> M. Mottley, Q.C, M. P, Leader of the Opposition of Barbados, "*Dare to Dream. Determined to do*". Address to the Barbados Chamber of Commerce, (Bridgetown, Barbados), October 29th 2010, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Philip P. Curtin, *Cross Cultural Trade in World History*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984), P. 1

<sup>3</sup> Abdelmalek Sayad, *The Suffering of the Immigrant*, (Cambridge, Polity Press, 65 Bridge Street, CB2 1UR, UK, 2004), 29.

<sup>4</sup> Hilary McD Beckles, *A History of Barbados. From Amerindian Settlement to Caribbean Single Market*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 225.

<sup>5</sup> F.A.Hoyos, *Builders of Barbados*, Macmillan Education Limited, London, (Hong Kong, The Continental Printing Co Ltd 1972), 118.

<sup>6</sup> Dr Lara Putnam, in *The Social Economic And Cultural Impact Of West Indian Migration To Costa Rica (1870-1940)*, Publication Of The Proceedings Of Seminar Held At (Mona, Jamaica, University Of The West Indies, July 4-5, 2002), (HD 8138-5-A2 563, 2003, WIC, Cave Hill, UWI), 13.

<sup>7</sup> Robert Cohen, *Global Diasporas, An Introduction*. (London, University College London Press Ltd, 1997), vii.

---

<sup>8</sup> Michael Craton, *Caribbean Freedom, Economy and Society from Emancipation to the Present*, ed Hilary Beckles and Verene Shepherd, (Kingston, Ian Randle Publishers, 1996), 192.

<sup>9</sup> Bonham C. Richardson, *Panama Money In Barbados, 1900-1920*, (Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1985), 13.

<sup>10</sup> Brian L. Moore, *Cultural Power, Resistance And Pluralism. Colonial Guyana, 1838-1900*, (Kingston, U. W. I, Press, 1995), 8-9.

<sup>11</sup> Eric Williams, *From Columbus To Castro: The History Of The West Indies, 1492-1969*. (London: Andre Deutsch, 1983) 374.

<sup>12</sup> Williams, 380-381.

<sup>13</sup> Jay R. Mandle, *The Plantation Economy: Population And Economic Change In Guyana 1838-1960* (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1973), 22.

<sup>14</sup> Lennox Honychurch, *The Dominica Story: A History Of The Island*, (Roseau, P. O. Box 89, The Dominica Institute, 1984), 96.

<sup>15</sup> O. N. Bolland, *Caribbean Freedom: Economy and Society from Emancipation to the Present*, Ed by H. Beckles and Verene Sheperd, (Kingston, Ian Randle Publishers, 1996), 110-111

---

<sup>16</sup> D. G. Hall, , Flight from The Estates Reconsidered: The British West Indies 1838-1842, (*Journal of Caribbean History*), 1978, 11.

<sup>17</sup> Hilary McD Beckles, 153.

<sup>18</sup> Report From The Select Committee On West India Colonies, (London, House of Commons, 25th July 1842), 1516-1520, p 120.

<sup>19</sup> W. K. Marshall, *The Establishment Of A Peasantry In Barbados 1840-1920*, West Indies Collection Pamphlet, # HD1513-B5M3.

<sup>20</sup> F. A. Hoyos, *Barbados: A History From The Amerindians To Independence*. (London: Macmillian Publishers, 1978), 137.

<sup>21</sup> Beckles, 157.

<sup>22</sup> P. Welch in, *In The Shadow Of The Plantation. Caribbean History and Legacy*,\_edited by A. Thompson. (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2002), 267.

<sup>23</sup> Welch, 267.

<sup>24</sup> Sidney W. Mintz, in *Roots and Branches: Current Directions in Slave Societies*,\_by Michael Craton. (Canada: University of Waterloo, 1979) 229.

<sup>25</sup> Samuel Jackman Prescod, *Liberal Newspaper, July 19<sup>th</sup> 1837*.

---

<sup>26</sup> H. Beckles, 142.

<sup>27</sup> Circular Despatch to the Governors of the Plantation Colonies 1836, Quoted in W. E. Riviere, *Journal of Caribbean History*, 4, 1972, p. 4. Quoted in *Transients To Settlers; The Experience of Indians in Jamaica 1815-1950*, by Verene Sheperd,, University of Warwick, 1993, 22.

<sup>28</sup> Beckles, 195.

<sup>29</sup> Barbados Agricultural Reporter, (Barbados Public Library), April 5<sup>th</sup> 1905.

<sup>30</sup> "Who's Who in British Guiana , 1935-37", Barbados Archives, published by the Daily Chronicle Ltd, 23, Main Street, Georgetown, British Guiana, 1937, 147.

<sup>31</sup> "Who's Who in British Guiana , 1935-37", 64.

<sup>32</sup> Walter Rodney, *Barbadian Immigration Into British Guiana 1863-1924*, (Barbados, Ninth Annual Conference Of Caribbean Historians, University Of The West Indies, Cave Hill, 1977), 1.

---

<sup>33</sup> Report of the Committee on Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates (1910), Cd. 5192, p. 52. (Hereafter cited as Sanderson Report.)

<sup>34</sup> Hubert Williams, *The Bajan*, U.W.I Cave Hill, West Indies Collection, (Barbados, August-September 1986), 26.

<sup>35</sup> British Guiana Report of the Auditor General on the Barbados Emigration Agency, Royal Gazette, 1882, University of Guyana Library, P, 229.

<sup>36</sup> Johnson, Melissa, Kaieteur News, *Corentyne centenarian reaches an amazing 110 years*, December 31st 2009,(Georgetown, Cooperative Republic of Guyana), August 16th 2011. [www.kaieteurnewsonline.com](http://www.kaieteurnewsonline.com)

<sup>37</sup> Interview by Frederick E Alleyne with K.D.Saul, St Elmo, Maxwell, Main Rd, Christ Church. Barbados, January 2<sup>nd</sup> 2008.

<sup>38</sup> Interview by Frederick E Alleyne, Wismar-Christianburg, Linden, Guyana, May 22<sup>nd</sup> 2010.

<sup>39</sup> Colonel W. A. Orrett. CBE, *The History Of The British Guiana Police* , University of Guyana Library, published by (Georgetown, The Daily Chronicle LTD, 1951), 18.

<sup>40</sup> Orrett, 18.

---

<sup>41</sup> John Campbell, *A History Of Policing In Guyana*, Guyana Public Library, (Georgetown, Guyana 1987), 71-72.

<sup>42</sup> John Campbell, 61.

<sup>43</sup> Campbell, 72.

<sup>44</sup> Orrett, 14.

<sup>46</sup> *Who is Who in British Guiana*.

<sup>47</sup> Barbados Official Gazette, Barbados Archives, June 1904, Mail P, 1098, Postal Orders, P, 1097.

<sup>48</sup> Barbados Official Gazette, Barbados Archives, October 8<sup>th</sup> 1908, Mail, P, 1563, Postal Orders, P, 1538.

<sup>49</sup> Barbados Official Gazette, Barbados Archives, , June 31<sup>st</sup> 1909, Mail, P, unclear, Postal Orders, P, 1174.

<sup>50</sup> British Guiana Official Gazette, University of Guyana, December 1883, P. 2927.





---

Agricultural Reporter, Barbados Public Library, May 1910.

Badley, Geoffrey, *Barbados: The Sugar Story*, Victoria, British Columbia, Trafford Publishing, 2006.

Barbados Agricultural Reporter, Barbados Public Library, April 5<sup>th</sup> 1905.

*Barbados Directory*, 1887..

*Barbados Globe and Advocate Newspaper*, Barbados Public Library, 1911.

*Barbados Archives*, Bridgetown, Barbados, RI2/167B/189.

Bolland, O. N, *Caribbean Freedom: Economy and Society from Emancipation to the Present*, Ed by H. Beckles and Verene Sheperd, Kingston, Ian Randle Publishers, 1996.

Beckles, Hilary McD, *A History of Barbados. From Amerindian Settlement to Caribbean Single Market*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

British Guiana Report of the Auditor General on the Barbados Emigration Agency, 1882, Demerara, Royal Gazette Office, Main Street.

Campbell, John, *A History of Policing in Guyana, Georgetown, Guyana*, 1987.

Casement, Sir Roger, in *Heart of Darkness, The 1911 Documents*, by Angus Mitchell, Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission, Government of Ireland, 2003. NLI MS 13,087 (34).

Cartographic Services, Milwaukee, University of Wisconsin, 1978.

---

Cohen, Robert, *Global Diasporas, An Introduction*, London, University College London Press Ltd, 1997.

Curtin, Philip P, *Cross Cultural Trade in World History*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Craton, Michael, *Caribbean Freedom, Economy and Society from Emancipation to the Present*, ed Hilary Beckles and Verene Shepherd, Kingston, Ian Randle Publishers, 1996.

Daly, Vere T, *A Short History Of The Guyanese People*, London: Macmillian Education, 1975.

Ferreira, Manoel Rodrigues, *A Ferrovia do Diabo, Historia de uma estrada de ferro na Amazonia, 4 edicao*, Sao Paulo, Melhoramentos, 1987.

Fonseca, Dante Ribeiro da and Teixeira, Marco Antonio Domingues, *Historia Regional (Rondonia), 3 Edicao*, Porto Velho, Rondoniana, 2002.

Greenidge, Morris, *Holetown Barbados; Settlement Revisited*, Barbados, MG Events, 30 Rock Dundo Park, Cave Hill, St Michael, 2004.

Greenfield, Sydney, *The Journal of the Barbados Museum And Historical Society*, Bridgetown, Barbados, Published by the Barbados Museum and Historical Society, St Ann's, Garrison, Vol, XXXVI, NO 3, 1981.

Greenfield, Sidney M., *Freedom, Work and Migration: Barbados in the Organization of the Modern World Economy*, Bridgetown, Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society Vol. LIV, 2008.

---

D. G. Hall, , Flight from The Estates Reconsidered: The British West Indies 1838-1842, *Journal of Caribbean History*, 1978.

Hoyos,F. A, *The Quiet Revolutionary*, London, Macmillan Caribbean & Carib Publicity Co Ltd, 1984.

Hoyos, F.A, *Builders of Barbados*, Macmillan Education Limited, London, (Hong Kong, The Continental Printing Co Ltd 1972.

Hoyos, F. A. *Barbados: A History From The Amerindians To Independence*. London: Macmillian Publishers, 1978

Honychurch, Lennox, *The Dominica Story: A History Of The Island*, Roseau, P. O. Box 89, The Dominica Institute, 1984.

Mandle, Jay R, *The Plantation Economy: Population And Economic Change In Guyana 1838-1960* (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1973.

Marshall,W. K, *The Establishment Of A Peasantry In Barbados 1840-1920*, West Indies Collection Pamplet, # HD1513-B5M3.

Marshall, T, McGeary, P, Thompson, G, *Folk Songs Of Barbados*, Kingston, Ian Randle Publishers, 1996.

Mottley, M, Q.C, M. P, Leader of the Opposition of Barbados, "*Dare to Dream. Determined to do*". Address to the Barbados Chamber of Commerce, Bridgetown, Barbados, October 29th 2010.

Orrett, Colonel W. A. (CBE), *The History of The British Guiana Police*, Georgetown, The Daily Chronicle, Nov, 1951.

---

Post Office Department Annual Reports, OG, 1904 - 1917, Published by The Advocate Co Ltd 1937 / Government Printing Office 1965. SRL 49. Barbados Department of Archives.

Pratt, Mary Louise, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, London, Routledge, 1992.

Prescod, Samuel Jackman, *Liberal Newspaper, July 19<sup>th</sup> 1837*. *Liberal Newspaper, July 19<sup>th</sup> 1837*.

Public Record Office, Kew, London, FO371/1452.

Putnam, Dr Lara, in *The Social Economic And Cultural Impact Of West Indian Migration To Costa Rica (1870-1940)*, Publication Of The Proceedings Of Seminar Held At (Mona, Jamaica, University Of The West Indies, July 4-5, 2002), (HD 8138-5-A2 563, 2003, WIC, Cave Hill, UWI)..

Rodney, Walter, *Barbadian Immigration Into British Guiana, 1863-1924*, Barbados, U.W.I. Cave Hill, Ninth Annual Conference of Caribbean Historians, April, 1977.

Rodney, Walter , *History of the Guyanese Working People, 1881-1905*, Baltimore, The John Hopkins University Press, 1981

Report of the Committee on Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates (1910), (Hereafter cited as Sanderson Report.)

Report From The Select Committee On West India Colonies, London, House of Commons, 25th July 1842.

Richardson, Bonham C, *Panama Money In Barbados, 1900-1920*, Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1985.

Ruiz, Jean L, *Civilized People in Uncivilized Places: Rubber, Race, and Civilization during the Amazonian Rubber Boom*, Thesis Submitted to the College of Graduate Studies and Research, Saskatoon, University of Saskatchewan, 2006.

---

Sayad, Abdelmalek , *The Suffering of the Immigrant*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 65 Bridge Street,CB2 1UR, UK, 2004.

Shepherd, Verene, *Transients To Settlers: The Experience of Indians in Jamaica, 1815-1950*, Leeds, University of Warwick and Peepal Tree Books, 1994.

*The Handbook of British Guiana, 1913*, ed, Alleyne Leechman, issued by The Permanent Exhibitions Committee, under the direction of His Excellency Sir Walter Egerton, KCMG, Published by The Argosy Co Ltd, Georgetown, British Guiana.

Thompson, A, *A brief History Of The Moravian Church In Barbados With Special Reference To The Roebuck Street Church*, West Indies Collection, Pamphlet #BX8569.B3T5, Cave Hill, University Of The West Indies.

Weinstein, B, *The Amazon Rubber Boom, 1850-1920*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, California, 1983.

Welch, P, in, *In The Shadow Of The Plantation. Caribbean History and Legacy*,\_edited by A. Thompson. Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2002.

Welch, Pedro, *Beyond the Bridge, Lectures Commerating Bridgetown's 375th Anniversary*\_ed Woodville Marshall and Pedro Welch, Barbados Museum and Historical Society and the Department of History and Philosophy , UWI Cave Hill, 2005.

Welch, Pedro, *The Forgotten Dimension: Barbadian Migration to Suriname in the Nineteenth Century*, UWI Cave Hill.

Williamson, James, A, *English Colonies in Guiana and on The Amazon, 1604-1668*\_Oxford, Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press, 1923.

---

Williams, Eric, *From Columbus To Castro: The History Of The West Indies, 1492-1969*. London: Andre Deutsch, 1983.

Williams, Hubert *The Bajan*, (Barbados, August-September 1986).

Who Is Who In British Guiana, 1935-1937, Georgetown: The Daily Chronicle, 23 Main Street.

### **Some Primary Sources**

Johnson, Melissa, Kaieteur News, *Corentyne centenarian reaches an amazing 110 years*, Georgetown, Cooperative Republic of Guyana, December 31st 2009.  
[www.kaieteurnews.com](http://www.kaieteurnews.com) (August 16th 2011)

K.D.Saul Interview by Frederick E Alleyne, St Elmo, Maxwell, Main Rd, Christ Church. Barbados, January 2<sup>nd</sup> 2008.

Colin and Orin Drakes, Interviewed by Frederick E Alleyne, Wismar-Christianburg, Linden, Guyana, May 22<sup>nd</sup> 2010.

Malcolm Williams, Interviewed by Frederick E Alleyne, University of Guyana. May 20th 2010.

Terrence Alleyne, Interviewed by Frederick E Alleyne, Georgetown, May 22<sup>nd</sup> 2010.

Bovell, Ken, Interviewed by Frederick E Alleyne, Georgetown, May 23<sup>rd</sup> 2010.

Bishop, Juneanne, Interviewed by Frederick E Alleyne, Bourda, Georgetown, May 23<sup>rd</sup> 2010.



