THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN TRINIDAD 1834-1870

by

CARL CLYTON CAMPBELL

(Ph.d. thesis U.W.I., 1973)

ABSTRACT

In the post-emancipation period, the policies in education attempted by the British government, and moreso by the Trinidad government, formed an integral part of a deliberate effort to strengthen English civilisation in the colony. Over the same period Spanish law was substantially replaced by English civil and criminal law. The Trinidad government in its grants to denominational schools before 1849 discriminated against Roman Catholic schools because their development, under the aegis of French or Spanish speaking priests, was thought to be incompatible with the policy of anglicising. Between 1849 and 1870 the government aided only secular ward schools which were expected to be agents in the spread of English culture. In 1859 the government started a secular College; it was seen by the government and Charles Warner, the Attorney General and leading Anglophile, as an important instrument of spreading English culture among the upper middle class and the upper class.

The schools, moreso the elementary schools, had only a very limited success as academic institutions. Socially they did not escape very far from the class and race divisions of the society. The ward schools were meant to anglicise the lower classes, the Model schools and Borough Council schools the lower middle class, and the College the upper middle class and the upper class.

By placing the financial burden of elementary education upon local ward rates, the government between 1849 and 1869 put the expansion of elementary education into a restrictive straight

jacket. After twenty years there were only 31 ward schools. The non-emergence of a vibrant and expensive elementary school system facilitated the success of the Roman Catholic attack upon these schools. Also the fact that the government, and the English party, did not make the case that secular education was pedagogically the best, deprived the ward schools and the College of any sound moral footing, and laid them open to the winds of denominationalism.

The most important service that Patrick Keenan, a metropolitan expert on education, rendered in 1869 was to introduce pedagogical arguments into the struggle to shape an education system for the colony. He did not adopt the political and social need to anglicise as the starting point of his analysis. Nor did Governor Arthur Gordon. The latter initiated policies which put a brake on the deliberate efforts to anglicise. In this process a new education policy was made: denominational schools were admitted within the ambit of the public school system. It was the beginning of the so-called dual system.

CONTENTS

		PAGE
CHAPTER I	THE DIVIDED SOCIETY	1
CHAPTER II	THE SEARCH FOR A PRO-ENGLISH EDUCATION POLICY 1834-1838. The British Government	62
CHAPTER III	THE SEARCH FOR A PRO-ENGLISH EDUCATION POLICY 1838-1846 The Trinidad Government	122
CHAPTER IV	THE MAKING OF AN EDUCATION POLICY 1846-1854	165
CHAPTER V	THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS 1852-1867	211
CHAPTER VI	THE ESTABLISHMENT OF QUEENS COLLEGIATE SCHOOL 1854-1867	311
CHAPTER VII	THE ATTACK ON THE SCHOOLS 1857-1867	362
CHAPTER VIII	THE INVESTIGATORS 1868-1869	416
CHAPTER IX	THE NEW EDUCATION POLICY 1869-1870	472
CHAPTER X	CONCLUSION	518
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	526
	APPENDIX I	535
	APPENDIX II	537
	APPENDIX III	545

LIST OF TABLES AND MAPS

		PAGE
Location of Public Day Elementary Schools 1834 - 1838 (Map)		97A
TABLE I:	San Fernando Borough Council - Revenues and Expenditure 1853-1870	236A
TABLE II:	Port of Spain Borough Council - Revenues and Expenditure 1853-1870	239A
TABLE III:	The Teacher Training School 1858-1867	268
TABLE IV:	The Female Model School 1858-1867	269
TABLE V:	Revenues of Ward Unions 1850-1869	271A
TABLE VI:	Revenues and Expenditure on Education of Ward Unions 1860-1869	271B
TABLE VII:	The Ward Schools 1858 - 1870	276A
TABLE VIII:	Savonetta Ward School 1860-1864	290

ABBREVIATIONS

B.M.S.	Baptist Missionary Society
C.O.	Colonial Office
C.M.S.	Church Missionary Society
L.M.S.	London Missionary Society
P.P	Parliamentary Papers
P.O.S.G.	Port of Spain Gazette
S.P.G.	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
S.M.S.	Scottish Missionary Society
W.M.S.	Wesleyan Missionary Society

CHAPTER ONE

THE DIVIDED SOCIETY 1834-1870

"Society in Trinidad is divided into castes as strongly marked as those of Hindostan".

Goderich to Grant 30 Jan., 1832.[1]

Lord Harris after two years as governor of Trinidad made the classic statement that "a race has been freed but a society has not been formed".[2] No other colonial official said it so beautifully; but many others before and after Harris recognised the absence of a homogenous society in Trinidad. The complexity of Trinidad society in the 1830s and 1840s needs to be stressed; for it is sometimes easy to believe that this quality was only imparted to the society with the coming of the Indians on a large scale in the second half of the 19th century.

In the last days of slavery and the dawn of freedom Trinidad society was so divided socially, and so dispersed that the population either could not, or would not -- sometimes both -- be numbered accurately. In the crisis of emancipation government officials forgot to keep the records up to date,

---

1. Goderich to Grant, 30 Jan.; 1832, P.P. House of Lords 1831 - 1832, (212) XXXI. Papers relative to the Legislative Council in Trinidad.

2. C.O. 295/162, Harris to Earl Grey, 19 June, 1848, no. 71.

and in 1836 the latest demographic figures which Lieutenant Governor Hill could furnish[3] were for 1831. These showed

Slaves	21210
Coloureds	17148
Whites	3212
	41560

Seven years later another inaccurate survey put the numbers as follows:[4]

Ex-slaves (apprentices)	20656
Coloureds	12006
Whites	3393
	36055

The next set of figures comes from the 1844 census.[5] Probably to gloss over colour and racial distinctions, the Trinidad government divided the population according to country of origin. This makes it impossible to compare the 1831 and the 1838 figures with the 1844 figures, except in their totals. For 1844 the total population was 60319; a figure which Governor McLeod arbitrarily decided was at least 3 per cent below the true total.[6]

---

3. C.O. 295/110, Hill to Glenelg, 13 March, 1836, no. 34., Enclosure: Population Statistics from the Commissary of Population 5 Mar., 1836.

4. Latrobe: Report on Negro Education in British Guiana and Trinidad. Recapitulation and Appendix to Schedule B., pp. 42-43.

5. C.O. 295/142, McLeod to Stanley, 13 July, 1844, no. 56., Census for 1844.

6. ibid.

With good will it would have been relatively easy to count the slaves accurately; good will was lacking from those who illegally imported slaves down to 1832; or who sent in false returns from distant estates to the government in Port of Spain. Statistics were a part of the weapons of those who argued for and against the continuation of slavery. The scattered nature of the population provided a good excuse for the collection of incomplete data. The flux and reflux of the coloured people, as some moved back and forth between Trinidad and the Spanish Main, made it extremely difficult to get an accurate estimate of them.[7] Free blacks and Amerindians were not numbered separately in either 1831 or 1838. We are left to assume that they are included in the ranks of the coloureds, although a census of the population from 1825-1829 had numbered the Amerindians with the whites, and the free blacks with the free coloureds.[8]

To add to the frustration of the statisticians the figures for immigration over the period are grossly difficient. Those which Governor McLeod provided for 1839-1845 only included government sponsored immigrants.[9] Even so we might conclude that a fair proportion of the overall increase in the population between 1831 and 1844 was the result of immigration. The social

---

7. P.P. House of Commons 1826 - 1827, (479) XXIII Trinidad Negroes Evidence of Edward Hodgkinson, p. 53.

8. C.O. 295/81, Grant to Murray, 3 Oct., 1829, no. 37., Return of Free Population 1825-1829.

9. C.O. 295/139, McLeod to Stanley, 14 April, 1843, no. 4, Return of Immigration 1839-1842. Also C.O. 295/150, McLeod to Gladstone, 11 Feb., 1846, no.5., Return of Immigration 1844-1845.

significance of this was immense; more than any other British West Indian colony Trinidad was in the 1840s a society of new immigrants.

Another conclusion which we can draw from the inaccurate population figures was the strength of the coloured population. The coloured people not only outnumbered the whites, which was a usual feature of West Indian societies at this time, but they were not far behind the Negro slaves (or ex-slaves after 1838) in point of numbers. This latter situation was a rare phenomenon in the West Indies. The Negro slaves or ex-slaves were not in an over-whelming majority as in Jamaica or Barbados or Antigua.

Even more remarkable than the numerical strength of the free population in the last days of slavery; more outstanding that the strength of the coloureds vis-a-vis the blacks and the whites were differences of nationality, religion and culture among the three main colour class segments of the population. Apart from the Amerindians who in the 1830s and 1840s were a dying race of a few hundreds[10], Trinidad society at this time was composed of four major national strains: Spanish, African, French and English. From the mid 1840s the Asiatic

---

10. D. Wood: Trinidad in Transition, The Years after Slavery (Oxford University Press,1968) p. 43. E.L. Joseph in his book maintains that the cause of dimunition of the Amerindians was that when forced to live "in society" the Amerindian male chose non-Amerindian women as mates; and the Amerindian women did the same. Hence were produced Samboes (Negro/Amerindian); Mustees (European/Amerindian), and other racial mixtures. These types migrated out of the Amerindian community as soon as they grew up. See E.L. Joseph: History of Trinidad pp. 102-103.

strain which in the 1830s and early 1840s was represented by three or four Chinese and their mix-breed descendants, was renewed with the coming of the Indians. Before 1846 Indian culture only added to the variety of the cultural spectrum; it did not yet influence the nature of the culture of non Indians. The culture, the national strain, which had spread furthest outside the bounds of its nationals, was French.

Only a small number of African slaves was utilised by the Spaniards; as in every other West Indian island when the Africans arrived en masse Trinidad was capable of achieving a new stage of economic growth. This was in the last twenty years of the 18th century; and the Africans came as slaves in the service of the white and coloured immigrants from the French West Indies, the Spanish Main and Ireland, but particularly from the French West Indies.[11] Although the black slaves in the 1780s and 1790s formed the largest single sector of the population, slavery here as elsewhere in the Caribbean destroyed or disorganised most of their African institutions, and left them open to the cultural influences of their masters. This influence was predominantly that of Frenchmen, since the new sugar economy of the 1780s and 1790s was pioneered by

---

11. J. Millette: The Genesis of Crown Colony Government Trinidad 1783-1810 (MOKO 1970) pp. 8-18.

French slave owning settlers. The popular victory of French culture was the product of the numerical superiority of French oriented slaves, and of Frenchmen in an island which the latter had never conquered by force of arms. The new French immigrants were more numerous than the Spanish creoles[12] although the colony belonged to Spain; and the slaves of the French immigrants, white and coloured, down to the start of the second decade of the 19th century, outnumbered those of any other sector of the slave owning inhabitants.

The quality of the French settlers also helped to explain the strength of French culture in the 1830s and the 1840s. French settlers of noble ancestry, men of considerable property, fled from the furies of revolutionary Haiti, Martinique and Guadeloupe to one of the few Caribbean islands where there was an abundance of fertile land and sufficient political flexibility to accommodate new settlers of a different, and sometimes hostile, nationality. These wealthy French refugees became the core of a rural aristocracy which remained proud of its nationality in its adopted island.[13] If Trinidad remained Spanish in its laws and political institutions this was because the new French settlers did not have political power; this

---

12. D. Wood, op. cit., p. 33., Table 1. Population 1803.

13. P.G. Borde: Histoire de L'Ile de La Trinidad sous le Gouvernement Espagnol. (Paris, 1882) Vol. 11. pp. 263-267.

passed directly from the hands of the last Spanish governor-- Chacon -- into those of the English.

British capture of the island naturally brought in its train English planters and merchants eager to exploit the resources of the new acquisition. Many of the old Spanish and French settlers deeply resented the intrusion of the English, who differed from them in nationality, religion and culture. The English penetrated first the merchant business of Port of Spain,[14] leaving the old colonists as masters of the rural estates of sugar and cocoa. There was really only one model of West Indian economic development in which the English had any confidence or experience: that was to develop sugar estates producing sugar for export to the metropolis. Inevitably this meant the purchase of sugar estates sometimes from the old colonists; it meant inevitably the importation of more African slaves. After 1807 these were brought in from older plantations on nearby islands.[15] The English, however, did not close the colony to new immigrants of non-English nationality; and further revolutionary and counter-revolutionary struggles

---

14. This was so even before England captured the island. One of the major contentions of Jesse Noel is that between 1783-1789 English merchants had acquired the major part of the trade of the island. See Jesse Noel: Spanish Colonial Administration and the Socio-Economic Foundations of Trinidad. 1777-1797 (Unpublished Phd. thesis. Cambridge University, 1966.) pp. 186-187; p. 203.

15. Eric Williams: The British West Indian Slave Trade After its Abolition in 1807. Journal of Negro History Vol. XXVII. April 1942 no. 11., pp. 178-183.

in the Caribbean and Latin America released more waves of French and Spanish speaking refugees, white and coloured, from the French West Indies and the Spanish Main.[16] As it was impossible to develop the plantation system without labour and capital, the English governors -- Picton, Hislop and Woodford -- allowed into the colony all who came except those deemed political subversives. In Trinidad as in every other West Indian colony people mostly slaves, but also free men of property were needed. What was unique about the peopling of Trinidad at the turn of the 18th century into the early 19th century was that it took place in the context of the French and Latin American revolutions, and the weakening of Spanish and English mercantilist philosophy which in previous eras had closed ports and economic opportunities to all except nationals. In these circumstances, Trinidad became a cosmopolitan society with a medley of peoples.

In the last days of slavery and the early years of freedom differences of nationality, religion and culture put tremendous strain upon the fabric of a society which was already deeply divided in terms of colour and class. Each of the three colour-class category i.e. black, coloured and white was torn by internal divisions arising out of the diverse national origins, religion and culture of its members. Negro creole

---

16. D. Wood, op. cit., pp. 32-33.

labourers speaking French patois, a distinct language, rioted frequently against English patois speaking Negro immigrants from the other islands.[17] When battle commenced with sticks and cutlasses Negro groups derisively called each other "the English" and "the French".[18] Newly arrived Africans, saved from the holds of slave ships, or induced to come as immigrants from Sierra Leone, spoke their own African languages and lived in groups in Port of Spain, on the estates or as squatters on Crown lands. Many Negroes might well have despised the Amerindian remnant,[19] and they probably found amusing the first few hundreds of Indians.[20]

The coloureds were the descendants of all possible genetic permutations of Spaniards, French and English with the non-white peoples. The complexional range was extremely wide; but creoles, particularly the ladies, were experts at the business of distinguishing Sambo from Mulatto, and Fustie from Mustie.[21] More obvious to the visitor were differences

---

17. Trinidad Standard, 9 Oct., 1845. Sept., Criminal Sessions. Regina vs. Jose Almondez and others. Also P.O.S.G., 22 Mar., 1844, March Criminal Sessions. Regina vs. Job Richards and others.

18. ibid.

19. Coleridge noted this in 1825. See Henry Coleridge: Six Months in the West Indies (London 1862) p. 76.

20 Charles Day: Five Years Residence in the West Indies Vol. 1 (London, 1852) pp 181-182.

21. Studholm Hodgson: Truths from the West Indies (London 1838) pp 60-62. No definition of these terms is given by Hodgson. For a definition applicable to Jamaica See Edward Brathwaite: The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica 1770-1820. (Clarendon Press, 1971) p. 167.

of nationality, religion and culture between those coloureds who were English oriented, and those who were oriented towards the "old settlers", that is, the French and the Spaniards. These differences were similar to those which set up tension among the blacks and among the whites, but in the case of the coloureds there was a strong political reason in the 1830s and early 1840s to show a united front. The predominant objective of the public political activities of the coloureds was to secure social and political privileges equal to those of the whites.[22] By placing this before the question of the cultural direction in which the island should develop, the coloureds in the 1830s and early 1840s displayed -- at least in their public utterances -- more unity in their ranks than was possessed by any other colour sector of the society. There is another reason for the greater show of unity among the ranks of the coloureds: we get the impression, which cannot be substantiated by figures, that in the 1830s and early 1840s the greater part of the coloureds were culturally oriented towards the "old settlers". The blacks, through immigration from the eastern Caribbean, and the whites, through the coming of English merchants and planters, may have been more evenly divided than the coloureds.

---

22. C.O. 295/126, McGregor to Normanby, 8 June, 1839, no. 3, Enclosure: Address to McGregor.

Among the whites differences of nationality, religion and culture -- the English were Protestants, mostly adherents of the Church of England, and the French, Spanish and their creole descendants were Roman Catholics-- assumed the greatest import for the development of the island. It was the aristocracy of the white skin whose opinions carried the greatest weight, particularly those who as large landed proprietors qualified for the prestigious description of "respectable". The three major national groups among the whites were the French, the Spaniards and the English, the latter taken to include the Irish and the Scots.[23] From this point of view the cultural confrontation among the whites appears to be three dimensional, but the sharpest conflict was really between English and French culture. The latter was predominant among the masses; the English controlled political power. Spanish creole culture though in many ways distinct from French culture, had to a large extent been accommodated within French culture.

The truth is that in the 1830s and 1840s the white Spanish creoles were the least prosperous of the white groups in the island. Their numbers had apparently dwindled to a few scores;[24]

---

23. Charles Day, op.cit., p.p. 174-208. There appears to have been a large number of Scotsmen but few Irishmen among the "Englishmen".

24. It is not known how many Spanish creoles were in the island. Governor McLeod in 1844 felt that the cocoa growing Spanish creoles formed the only large middle class in the West Indies See C.O. 295/134, McLeod to Stanley, 31 Dec., 1841, no. 29.

by and large they were cocoa planters living in cut-off pockets of land up in the valleys of Maracas, Maraval, Caura and Santa Cruz, or on the table land around Siparia.[25] Unfortunately, for them the cocoa business was in a depression throughout the 1830s and 1840s.[26] Not having either the strength of numbers or an economic base in the sugar industry, they were a negligible political force when considered on their own. Their main concern was to grow and sell cocoa profitably.[27] Even the defense of Spanish laws and institutions, the strongest bastions of Spanish Trinidad, was not led by the Spanish creoles;[28] their voices were unimportant, if heard, in the important debates of the 1830s and 1840s about the cultural direction in which the formal institutions of the immigrant and divided society should develop. Had it not been for the coloured Spanish peons, who in bands of varying strength freely crossed and recrossed the Gulf of Paria, in small launches and canoes, the cultural and social habits of Spain might have been sooner driven into tiny mountain pockets. These coloured peons who

---

25. L.A.A. DeVerteuil: Trinidad: its Geography, Natural Resources Administration, Present Condition and Prospect (Ward and Lock 1st ed. London, 1858) p. 323.

26. P.O.S.G., 30 Jan., 1838, Meeting of cocoa planters at St. Joseph.

27. C.O. 295/134, McLeod to Stanley, 31 Dec., 1841, no. 29.

28. The main local objectors were Frenchmen or French creoles. See P.O.S.G., 18 Aug., 1843, Letter from "Many". Also P.O.S.G., 29 Oct., 1843, Letter from "Many".

made the western face of Trinidad an eastern extension of the Spanish Main did not add to the political influence of the Spanish creoles; for the peons were coloured inarticulate frontiersmen, more at home in bush country, hunting game and cutting timber, growing cocoa or occasionally cutting sugar cane where they were more settled, but usually on the move between the cocoa estates and the bush, between the Spanish Main and its offshore island of Trinidad.[29]

The real struggle for cultural hegemony in the 1830s and the 1840s, and long afterwards, was one between English and French culture. This assertion only makes sense if we regard the existing Spanish laws of the colony as coming within the ambit of French creole culture. The informal institutions of French creole culture were rather French than Spanish, and the popular language was French patois. This linguistic half triumph for French culture carried with it a hundred minor victories for French social habits. The social ebulliance of the Trinidad Negro creole character was moulded largely from the gaiety and spontaneous bon vivant existence of white upper class Frenchmen and French creoles.

French culture had a vital headstart over English culture, and this helped it to retain its strength even after Englishmen

---

29. C.O. 295/97, Grant to Goderich, 4 April, 1833, no. 41., Enclosure: Letter of J. Hamilton to Hill. Also Wood, op.cit., pp. 33-34.

UWI LIBRARY ST. AUG

had come to outnumber the white French creoles. Perhaps as important as the headstart was the conscious efforts of the white French creoles to retain the distinguishing features of their culture as a mechanism of group solidarity against the English.[30] As in Martinique and Guadeloupe the feudal habit of white French landowners of remaining on their estates rather than returning to France as absentee owners of West Indian property, told heavily in their favour in the battle for cultural hegemony in the island. They wore French clothes, decorated their estates with orchards and pasturages near their houses;[31] imported their wines and adopted French cuisine to the varieties of fish, fruits and vegetables available in the colony. It was impossible to be completely French outside of France, but the leading French creole families did not fail from want of trying. They preserved a high level of group feeling[32] and group marriages. Cordial inter-group relations were in addition, expressed in hunting parties, concerts, dinners and balls,[33] particularly in the Carnival season from Christmas to Ash Wednesday. Those who were wealthy enough sent their children to France for education. Governor McLeod was too

---

30. A.P. Maingot: The Nineteenth Century: A Discussion of the relative position of the French creole group. (Unpublished Phd. thesis. University of Puerto Rico, 1962) p. 25

31. Andrew Pearse: Carnival in 19th century Trinidad. Caribbean Quarterly Vol. IV. nos. III & IV., March, 1956 and June, 1956.

32. Maingot, op.cit., pp. 61-62

33. A. Pearse, op.cit.

optimistic in his statement to the British government that only San Fernando and Port of Spain were French[34] and not the rural areas. These two towns were certainly in the 1830s and 1840s more French than the countryside. Too many Negro immigrants from the eastern Caribbean had come to the rural estates for the countryside to be as French as it has been in the first two decades of the 19th century. But the weakening of French culture in the countryside, its original stronghold, had not gone so far in the 1840s for the countryside to be described as English.

Rev. John Trew, an Anglican clergyman and the leader of the Mico school team, on his first visit to the island in 1837 observed that the older section of Port of Spain was heavily French.[35] This was the eastern sector. But the newer and as yet less inhabited parts of the town, the western additions, were English. The visits and in some cases settlement, of relatives and friends from Martinique and Guadeloupe brought fresh French influence into Port of Spain. Visiting professional and semi-professional actors and entertainers from the French islands helped[36] to keep alive French culture in the town. The importance of the French speaking peoples of Port of Spain reflected in the fact that vital government notices in the

---

34. C.O. 295/142, McLeod to Stanley, 8 Jan., 1844, Separate.

35. Rev. J. Trew to Trustees, 24 Apr., 1837, Anti-Slavery Papers E 1/13.

36. P.O.S.G., 23 May, 1843, Editorial comment on performance of visiting French actors in "Napoleon at St. Helena". Also P.O.S.G., 4 Jul., 1843, Editorial.

Port of Spain Gazette, the chief newspaper in the island, were carried in French and English. Also important editorial items down to the 1840s were written in both languages. The advertisements of stores in Port of Spain also indicated the importance of French social habits; book shops offered impressive looking lists of French books; stores did a good trade in wines from France. Businessmen, storekeepers, lawyers, doctors, private school teachers took the trouble to advertise their goods and services in at least French and English. In San Fernando which developed fairly rapidly in the 1830s and early 1840s the influence of the French creoles was also strong. One of the fears surrounding the coming of municipal government to San Fernando in 1845 was the prospect that only a few persons could qualify as councillors since all proceedings of the Town Council were to be in English which most of the townsmen could not speak. They spoke French.[37]

The English in Trinidad had at least three important advantages over the French and Spanish creoles. In the first place they came as conquerors; political power was in the hands of an English governor, and from 1832 an English governor and a Council of Government composed almost entirely of Englishmen.[38]

---

37. P.O.S.G., 10 Oct., 1845, Debate in Council of Government 8 Oct., 1845.

38. G. Carmichael: The History of the West Indian Islands of Trinidad and Tobago (Alvin Redman Limited, 1961) pp. 169-171.

Ultimately, power rested with the British government. Secondly, England had emerged victorious from its late 18th century and early 19th century struggles with Europe, particularly France. With the independence of Haiti and Latin America, Britain was left as the strongest imperial nation in the Caribbean and indeed in the world. And she was developing her manufacturing capacity. The military and economic strength of England, the conviction that she had pioneered a matchless constitution -- all these were achievements which made the Englishmen in the colonies assured of the values of their civilisation.[39] It seemed ridiculous for Trinidad, with her archaic Spanish laws and frivolous French popular culture, to reject the values and institutions of so successful and progressive a nation as England.

The English in Trinidad also concentrated their economic activities on sugar production and the import - export business allied to the sugar trade. On the eve of emancipation the large sugar estates were in the hands of English planters;[40] and the future of the sugar industry was heavily dependent on them, not only because of their hold upon the larger estates but because England possessed the capital and the political power to make the economic and social decisions which would determine the future of the industry.

---

39. P.O.S.G., 18 Aug., 1843, Letter from "Many" dated 17 Aug., 1843

40. Trinidad Almanac 1832. List of Proprietors and Properties. In almost every case in which an estate had over 100 slaves the owner was an Englishman.

The English merchants and planters thus became the most dynamic new element in the colony. Their major economic objective was to make the colony the greatest sugar producer in the Caribbean. Their major political and social aim was to anglicise the colony; to make the colony English in laws, institutions and social habits. Throughout the period 1834 to 1870, though less so between 1866 to 1870, there was a positive policy on the part of governors and influential English officials the chief of whom was Charles Warner, the Attorney General between 1845 - 1870, to give the colony an English identity.[41] If they had to confront a civilisation of Caribs and Arawaks their task would have been easy. But the elimination of an interlocked Franco-Spanish culture was not a simple matter, particularly when it was bolstered by a predominantly French speaking Roman Catholic church with a French oriented priesthood. The strategy of the English was to keep the non-English from gaining positions of importance in the civil service or any seats in the Council of Government; to use their near monopoly of local political power to support sugar at the expense of all other crops, to replace Spanish laws with English laws, to foster the Church of England at the expense of the Roman Catholic church,[42]

---

41. C.O. 295/111, Hill to Glenelg, 4 June, 1836, no. 71. Also C.O. 295/134, McLeod to Stanley, 3 Dec., 1841, no. 16. For some of the new civil and criminal laws See. C.O. 295/143-148.

42. C.O. 295/144, McLeod to Stanley, 17 Dec., 1844, no. 89., Enclosure: Ordinance 16 of 1844. P.O.S.G., 6 Aug., 1844, Council of Government 3 Aug., 1844. P.O.S.G., 9 Aug., 1844, Council of Government 3 Aug., 1844.

to encourage the spread of the English language to the detriment of all other languages and dialects.[43] This strategy was basically correct; it sought to change the cultural orientation of the colony by changing the formal institutions of the society. It had most success, however, in those areas where the co-operation of the people at large was not essential; it proved easier to give Trinidad a code of English law, criminal and civil, than to contain Roman Catholicism, suppress French patois or kill the Negro Carnival.

Another strategy of the English colonists was to apply the label of "foreigners" or "aliens" loosely and pejoritively to all who were not natural born Englishmen. The question who were English subjects and who were foreigners embittered relationships in all three sectors of the colour class stratification. When Nancy Bob, a Negro creole female, in a fight on the Barataria estate in 1845 declared "These English people had come here to take the island; but the Trinidad creoles would show them that they should not take it"[44] she was asserting that the Negro immigrants from Nevis and Antigua were foreigners in the eyes of the Trinidad Negro creoles. But these immigrants were certainly British subjects.

While the Blacks fought their own battles for identity in their own style, the whites and the coloureds were engaged

---

43. P.O.S.G., 10 Oct., 1845, Council of Governemnt 8 Oct., 1845, Speech of Charles Warner.

44. Trinidad Standard, 9 Oct., 1845, Sept., Criminal Sessions Regina vs Jose Manuel Almondez, Jose Capella, St. Rose Ferdinand and others.

in a similar tussle, but with the curious twist that the English, who were really the newcomers among the whites, were the ones crying "foreigners" against the non English people,[45] white and coloured. The coloured people were -- apart from the Amerindians -- the most genuine natives of the land; for they could call neither England, Africa, Europe or Asia their home. They felt it and they said it, but they were not in a political or social position to hurt their rivals by attaching the emotional or legal badge of foreigners to them. It is probably that the coloureds made less political use of the term "foreigners" than the whites. The question as a political issue mattered most to those who were big landowners and candidates for seats in the Council of Government and jobs in the civil service. The whites, even the English, did not bother themselves whether the labouring classes were foreigners or British subjects. They did not see the coloured Spanish peon, or the African, as a threat to their own position. Labourers from any quarter were welcomed.

There were genuine difficulties in deciding who was, and who was not, a British subject in the 1830s and the 1840s. From the point of view of the laws of England in England the position seemed relatively straightforward; those who were not British born, that is, born of British parents were foreigners, unless they were naturalised by the grace of the Sovereign or

---

45. C.O. 295/119, Henry Murray to Glenelg, 27 Sept., 1837.

by an Act of Parliament.[46] James Stephen and Henry Taylor, the two leading civil servants in the Colonial Office, particularly the former, tended to see the matter from this point of view.[47] But should the question not be judged from the point of view of the laws in force in Trinidad? Once this view was accepted the question became more complicated; for the Spanish laws on naturalisation, if they were in force in Trinidad, were the very opposite of the narrow English laws on this same subject.

In 1832 Chief Justice George Scotland ruled that Mr. Antonio Gomez, a native of Caracas, Venezuela, was a naturalised British subject in virtue of the fact that he had resided in Trinidad for ten years.[48] After checking this application of Spanish law with the law officers in England, the British government abided by the decision of Scotland. The success of Gomez in getting a judgeship, after his claim to British citizenship had been confirmed, was a personal triumph rather than a pathway to office and patronage for the non-English white inhabitants. Apart from Mr. P.A. Ganteaume and

---

46. C.O. 295/95, James Stephen to H. Taylor, 30 July, 1832

47. ibid. See also James Stephen to Howick C.O. 295/95, pp. 245-247.

48. C.O. 295/94, Grant to Goderich, 4 Nov., 1832, Separate, Enclosure: Scotland to Grant, 31 Oct., 1832.

Mr. F. Peschier, two French creoles[49], nobody but Englishmen was appointed to the Council between 1832 and 1846. The civil service was in the hands of Englishmen. The impression is that outside of the Courts most of the Englishmen doubted the validity of the Scotland ruling that a ten year residence could give a Spaniard or a Frenchman the status of a naturalised British subject.[50] What would have given the greatest satisfaction to those who were foreigners, or labelled foreigners, was an Order in Council from the British government clarifying the issue.[51] But this never came, although the British government did not encourage any action which threatened the landed property of the foreigners already resident in the island. The insecurity of the foreigners continued, and if anything the law revolution which was sweeping away Spanish laws in the early 1840s might have increased their fears, since the Spanish laws were the only way around the narrow laws of England on the question of naturalisation. In November 1843, the Editor of the Trinidad

---

49. Henry Murray said that Ganteaume's parents were French, meaning that they were born in France. See C.O. 295/119, Murray to Glenelg, 27 Sept., 1837. Lt. Governor Hill described Ganteaume as "Creole British born" the son of a capitulant. See C.O. 295/115, Hill to Glenelg, 27 Sept., 1837, no. 62. Governor Woodford said in 1824 that F. Peschier's father came from Geneva. See C.O. 295/63, Woodford to Bathurst, 14 Aug., 1824, no. 569.

50. For instance in June 1840, before any laws had been passed to nullify the Spanish laws on which Scotland based his ruling Governor McLeod reported that there were no naturalisation laws in force. See. C.O. 295/130, McLeod to Russell, 8 June, 1840, no.26

51. C.O. 295/94, Grant to Goderich, 3 Nov., 1832, no. 91., Enclosure: Petition of the Aliens.

Standard, a moderate liberal, complained that the word foreigner was being used too indiscriminately;[52] and that where it could not be applied in a legal sense, it was applied in the looser social meaning to a large number of people who were undoubtedly loyal subjects of Her Britanic Majesty.

Like the masses of all countries the Negroes of Trinidad as slaves and ex-slaves, have left but few written records[53] of their lives. If they had the ability, the time or the motive to write, we can be sure that theirs would not be a tale of merely oppression and frustration, but of fetes, stickfighting heroes, and of grand kalinda and belair singers. We have unfortunately to see them almost entirely through the tinted spectacles of those who distrusted or disliked them, or those who could not sympathise with them. The evidence suggests that a large number of Negroes after 1838 left the estates to create new kinds of opportunities for themsleves, or simply to get away from the scene of their cruel enslavement.[54] Because there were only a few non-conformist missionaries following the ex-slaves off the estates, and reporting their activities to missionary

---

52. Trinidad Standard, 13 Nov., 1843, Editorial

53. The chief written records are the petitions of the Mandingoes. See C.O. 295/106, Hill to Aberdeen, 2 Mar., 1835, no. 4. Enclosure: Affidavit of Jonas Bath. Also C.O. 295/120, Hill to Glenelg, 12 Jan., 1838, no. 4., Petition of Mandingoes. Also C.O. 295/119, Phillip Finlay and Jackson Harvey to Glenelg, 19 July, 1837.

54. Deverteuil, op.cit., p. 296; 310; 320.

colleagues in the metropolis, we know very little about the organisation of Negro settlement off the estates. The prejudice of upper class residents against Negroes who abandoned the estates was so strong that the settlements were largely ignored. The government gave no help whatever to the small scale farming of the ex-slaves. It governed in the interest of the sugar producers, neglecting the hills, the frontiers and the bush country for the sugar plains facing the Gulf of Paria. The policy of the British government and the English minority who controlled the Trinidad government, was to prevent the vast tracts of Crown lands from getting into the hands of the ex-slaves.[55] Squatting and the withdrawal of labour from the estates were the only aspects of Negro or coloured small scale farming which received any official attention; the government fulminated against the squatters[56] and threatened them with legal action.

In the last days of slavery with a major slave revolt in Jamaica[57] and more minor distnrbances in other islands, the slave owners in Trinidad feared a servile revolt. In January and February of 1832 there was a general panic in the Naparimas as the slaves of Felicity, Palmiste and Cascade estates refused to

---

55. Glenelg to West Indian Governors 30 Jan., 1836. Quoted in William Burnley: Observations on the Present Condition of the Island of Trinidad and the Actual State of the Experiment of Negro Emancipation. (Longman. London,1842) Appendix B.

56. D. Wood, op.cit., p. 51. Also Trinidad Standard, 5 Dec., 1842, Speech of William Burnley in Council 4 Dec., 1842.

57. Clinton Black: History of Jamaica (Collins, 2nd Edition 1961) pp. 154-155.

work. Many whites took refuge on the ships anchored off San Fernando[58], and Governor Grant took down a party of soldiers to the Naparimas. But the affair petered out. In the memorable first week of August 1834, it was the turn of the slave owners and residents of Port of Spain to experience fear, though in other parts of the island the possibility of a slave revolt was also felt. Hundreds of slaves demonstrated in Port of Spain between the 1st and the 3rd August;[59] they demanded freedom and voiced their inability to understand how the King could declare them free while asking them to work as apprentices for a further period for the same masters.[60] Thanks to the coolness of Colonel Hardy who commanded the troops, Lieutenant Governor Hill was saved from the folly of declaring martial law[61] and precipitating a slaughter of unarmed Negroes. The leaders and chief spokesmen were arrested by the police, tried by the special magistrates sent to protect them, and flogged in public. The crowd dispersed without any resistance.[62] The slaves went back to the estates and served out the Apprenticeship peacefully. The Negro revolution--again-- had not materialised.

---

58. C.O. 295/92, Grant to Howick, 4 Feb., 1832.

59. C.O. 295/103, Hill to Spring Rice, 7 Aug., 1833.

60. ibid. Also Capadose: Sixteen Years in the West Indies Vol. 1 1845 p. 158 where the slave demonstrators reportedly chanted vociferously "pas de six ans, point de six ans", (not six years no six years). On page 160 the same author gives a more extended refrain of the crowd "pas de six ans, nous ne voulons pas de six ans, nous sommes libres, le Roi nous a donne la liberte".

61. Capadose, op.cit., pp. 161-162; Also Hodgson, op.cit. Both Lt. Colonel Capadose and Capt. Hodgson who were eye witnesses to these events praised Col. Hardy for advising Hill against the declaration of martial law.

62. C.O. 295/103, Hill to Spring Rice, 7 Aug., 1833, no. 7.

The absence of a servile revolt in 19th century Trinidad was remarkable. When a revolt did occur it broke in the ranks of African soldiers of the 3rd West India Regiment. Tribal feeling was strong among these African soldiers, many of whom had been duped into entering the regiment. Under the leadership of Dagaa, reportedly the son of an African chief, they staged a mutiny at the St. Joseph barracks on the 17th and 18th June, 1837; and conceived the impossible plan of escaping to Africa.[63] Perhaps, a part of the plan was to call the Negro apprentices to the banner of revolt;[64] but the rebels never got beyond Arima.

The St. Joseph mutiny revealed the danger which freshly arrived Africans could pose to a slave society. Fortunately, for the peace of the slave owners, the only African tribal group of slaves or ex-slaves who had survived the disorganising effects of slavery was the Mandingoes; and they the merchant princes of West Africa,[65] had turned their energies to the peaceful task of trading and making money, buying the freedom of fellow tribesmen held in slavery,[66] and using the religion of Islam to keep group spirit alive in the hope of a return to Africa.[67] The Mandingoes

---

63. C.O. 295/115, Hill to Glenelg, 10 Nov., 1837, no. 75

64. ibid.

65. R. Oliver and J. Fage: A Short History of Africa (Penguin, 1962) p. 107.

66. C.O. 295/120, Hill to Glenelg, 12 Jan., 1838, no. 4., Enclosure: Petition of Mandingoes. Also C.O. 295/118, J. Washington to Glenelg, 26 Sept., 1837.

67. C.O. 295/106, Hill to Aberdeen, 2 March 1835, no. 4., Enclosure: Fuller to Hill 20 Feb., 1835.

under the leadership of their chief priest, Jonas Bath, more than once petitioned the British government --unsuccessfully -- to send them home to Africa.[68] They were sometimes ready to pay their own passages if a ship could be provided. At least two families made their way to London where, with the assistance of the Royal Geographical Society, they apparently reached Africa.[69] The other Mandingoes had to settle in Trinidad.

Fortunately for the slave owners the back of slavery was clearly broken or the dawn of freedom arrived, when hundreds of liberated Africans and African immigrants from Sierra Leone began to enter the island in 1833 and the early 1840s.[70] They were dispersed in small groups on the estates and in Port of Spain. They were surrounded by thousands of Negro creoles and eventually --though perhaps not before 1870 -- they were creolised. Anyway, in the late 1830s there was sufficient evidence of African tribal feeling for Lieutenant Governor Hill, with the Dagaa revolt in mind, to contrast Trinidad with Barbados where the language, manners and customs of the Negroes were said to be British, and where there was "no trace of fixed race or attraction towards any particular African clanship, district or principality. No recorded recollection of African descent or attatchment."[71]

---

68. C.O. 295/100, James McQueen to Stanley, 28 June, 1833., Enclosure: Petition of the Free Mandingo Blacks. Also C.O. 295/120, Hill to Glenelg, 12 Jan., 1838, no. 4., Enclosure: Petition of Mandingoes.

69. C.O. 295/118, John Washington to Glenelg, 26 Sept., 1837. Also C.O. 295/123, Washington to Glenelg, 23 Jul., 1838. Also C.O. 295/119, Phillip Finlay and Jackson Harvey to Glenelg, 19 July, 1837.

70. D. Wood, op.cit., pp. 70-76

71. C.O. 295/115, Hill to Glenelg, 10 Nov., 1837.

Part of the process of creolisation was an indiscriminate borrowing by the Negroes from the cultures of Spain, France and England. Negro domestics and tradesmen fought duels[72] bloodier than those of the whites, because the Negroes, unlike the white gentleman, shot to kill. The style of dress of the typical creole Negro in his Sunday best was perhaps more French and English, than Spanish or African but certainly a mixture of all of these. English as a language made some progress among the rising generation of Port of Spain and San Fernando in the 1830s and 1840s. But, in the realm of music, in the art of entertainment, the Englishman in Trinidad had nothing to offer the Negroes. As Joseph wrote in 1837 the English passed the night -- after business in the day -- "gravenly, silently and inactively"[73] while the French "promenade and seranade each other";[74] and the Spanish peon in the countryside while away half the night playing his cuatro. Negro music, song and dance was an inextricable mixture of the sounds, rythms and movement of the African labourer, the French planter and the Spanish peon.

Henry Breen, an Englishman who had worked as a colonial civil servant in St. Lucia in the post emancipation period, observed that the Negroes of that island carried their love of dancing to a most extraordinary pitch. He added indulgently "the best that can be said of it is, that it is inherent in, and

---

72. Joseph, op.cit., p. 107

73. ibid., p. 32

74. ibid.

common to all colonial populations of French origins; and that it is not to be put down by either preaching or persecution. The spoiled children of artificial enjoyment, French negroes, like their betters will have their feasts and festivities, their dressing and dancing".[75]

What was true of St. Lucia was equally true of Trinidad; and Breen probably had this latter island, which he knew, in mind when he wrote. The two predominately Negro "societies" in St. Lucia, fancifully called the "Roses" and the "Marguerites" organised dances and singing contests. Such societies also existed in Trinidad[76] though under different names. But there is no evidence that in Trinidad, as in St. Lucia, these Negroes societies had their white votaries. If the whites -- the French-- still held in the 1830s and 1840s any "Negre Jardin"[77] in which they painted themselves black, danced the bele and the kalinda, and portrayed "cannes brules",[78] it was in mimicry of black music and black dance; and it was an activity carried on separately from, and without the participation of, the Negroes.

---

75. Henry Green: St. Lucia; Historical, Statistical and Descriptive (London, 1844) pp. 190 - 191.

76. ibid. He says the Marguerites were sometimes called in Trinidad the "Wadeloes". See also C.O. 295/122, Hill to Glenelg, 20 Sept., 1838, no. 93. Enclosure: Address of Thanks for Emancipation from Felix Pinto and Louis Nicholas on behalf of the "Wadeloes". In another enclosure in this same dispatch an address of thanks for emancipation was also sent by F. Joseph on behalf of the "Damas Society of Port of Spain".

77. These ideas were picked up from a series of lectures on "Trinidad Carnival" given by Errol Hill at the Trinidad Public Library, January, 1969.

78. ibid.

After emancipation in 1838 the whites could not stop the blacks from an open participation in the rites of Carnival.[79] But each group celebrated Carnival separately; the French whites for a whole season; the Negroes for two days. The editor of the Trinidad Standard, Mr. McSwiney, an Englishman and ex-Mico teacher with some sympathy for the blacks, provides us with a sympathetic description of Carnival 1845 as celebrated separately by blacks and whites.[80] But McSwiney was not a planter. In 1845 he was also campainging for tolerance between the English and the non-English white people; and also for representative government.[81] Henry Mills, the editor of the Port of Spain Gazette, though not himself a planter, belonged to the world of English planters, merchants and officials -- most of whom wanted to kill the Negro Carnival; who saw it as a dangerous expression of a dangerous freedom. In particular, the habit of wearing masks was seen as too dangerous to property and lives to be allowed. Attempts to prohibit it brought clashes with the police[82] as early as 1833; and in 1846 Governor McLeod was still trying to

---

79. Andrew Pearse, op.cit., pp. 183-184.

80. Trinidad Standard, 5 Feb., 1845, Editorial

81. Trinidad Standard, 26 Jan., 1843, Editorial. Also Standard, 22 Dec., 1845, Letter of John McSwiney, Editor to the Burgesses of Port of Spain.

82. Minute Book of Cabildo 1832 - 1836. Meeting of Cabildo 5 Feb., 1833, Report of Chief of Police.

stop the wearing of masks.[83]

Not only was the Trinidad population a medley of peoples but it was scattered in pockets over ground difficult to traverse. What was bad for social harmony was that in many cases, these pockets were largely of one racial strain; and the absence of good roads, or of any road at all, made it difficult for people and goods to move with ease, comfort and safety from one point of the island to another. The few miles of cart roads which existed in the colony were so wretchedly made and maintained that more often than not they were a hazard for man, beast and merchandise.

The eastern side of the island was less populated than the western side. If we draw a line from Las Cuevas south-eastwards to Arima and further south to the American villages,[84] and to Moruga on the south coast, the eastern wedge of land so demarcated would constitute the larger portion of the colony. But this eastern sector was really hills, mountains, bush and rain forest and swamp, except for a few places. Along the north coast there was little land between the mountains and the sea to encourage the plantation system. Blanchisseuse was very isolated. Toco, an old Amerindian mission, at the north-eastern extremity of the island, was a world apart from the rest of the colony, although

---

83. Pearse, op.cit., p. 185. In 1858 Governor Keate moved not only against masking, but to stop Carnival altogether. An anonymous letter, probably written by some coloureds, warned the British government not to be "surprised to hear of bloodshed". See C.O. 295/202, A Few Taxed Proprietors and Loyal Subjects to Labrouchere, 23 Feb., 1858.

84. These were settlements of disbanded black American soldiers (and refugees) who had fought for England in the United States of America. Se K.O. Laurence: The Settlement of Free Negroes in Trinidad before Emancipation. Caribbean Quarterly Vol. IX. nos. 1 and 11. 1963, pp. 26-47.

it made some population gains over the 1840s. It was a community of mix-breed Amerindians, Negroes, and coloureds from which the easiest way to Port of Spain was by sea.[85] Only an Amerindian track connected Toco to Arima.

The other settlements in the eastern sector of the island lay along a safari route from Arima to the Bay of Guayaguayare. To contemplate a journey from Arima to Band de'l Est, the popular name for the coast lands from Manzanilla to Point Galeota, was to court danger; to indulge in adventure to the end of the island world. After Arima the road deteriorated into a narrow track running through the cocoa district of Guanapo.[86] In this district intersected by a number of rivers, there were unproductive cocoa estates owned by French and Spanish families who had seen better days. These cocoa planters looked west to Arima and east to Tururе for labour. Tururе was the nearest of the Negro villages of disbanded soldiers; smaller villages were at La Sieva and Quare; but to reach the main body of black disbanded soldiers, the traveller had to make his way through an almost impassable wilderness, across deep ravines and dangerous rivers bridged by slippery tree trunks, to Manzanilla Point.[87] The only cluster of people between Manzanilla Point and Toco was the Negro village of Morne Calabash.[88]

The Negroes in Tururе, La Sieva, Quare and Manzanilla settlements were not ex-slaves from the west coast estates, but disbanded soldiers. Between 1814 and the early 1820s they had

---

85. C.O. 295/139, McLeod to Stanley, 12 May, 1843, no. 10.

86. Capadose, op.cit., pp. 22-24.

87. ibid.

88. ibid., p. 39.

been given land in partial compensation for their military services, and Governor Woodford had strung them out in different settlements in the hope that their villages and their labour would keep open a line of communication between Arima and Manzanilla.[89] None of these settlements had prospered because the government did little or nothing to assist the settlers. The soil at Tururе, La Sieva and Quare was bad; that at Manzanilla was good.[90] But the settlers had no cheap, reliable or convenient means of getting their produce to the population centres of the west coast or to Port of Spain.

The isolation of the settlers not only stranged their economic incentive, but it insulated them largely from what was regarded as the civilising influence of the whites. Had it not been for a white Mico school teacher who was an Englishman[91] and the occasional visit of a Church of England clergyman from Port of Spain, the settlements would have been completely lost for christianity and the English language. Even so these made little headway against a variety of Afro-Baptist religious cults, self-appointed priests of Islam,[92] and a peculiar mixture of languages called at best Manzanillean. The editor of the Port of Spain Gazette, no friend of the settlers, decoded this language and decided that it was a compound of "Negro English, Congo,

---

89. Laurence, op.cit., p. 28.

90. DeVerteuil, op.cit., p. 304

91. Rev. Bilby to Hill, 10 Sept., 1838. Anti-Slavery Papers. E.1/4. 1836-1842. Bilby said that the school at Manzanilla was like a missionary station in the interior of Africa. See Bilby to Trustees, 21 July, 1838, Anti-Slavery Papers E.1/4. 1836-1842.

92. C.O. 295/134, McLeod to Russell, 14 Oct., 1841, no. 93, Enclosure: Report of Rev. J. Hamilton.

Coromandel, and a little Spanish".[93] One Englishman, who had a different conception of white civilisation from the Mico teacher, declared that the only traces of civilisation among the settlers were "Rum and Gunpowder".[94]

From Manzanilla Point to Point Galeota and the beginning of the Bay of Guayaguayare lay 25 to 30 miles of sandy beach; and the beach was the only road.[95] At Nariva Mr. John Carter, Commandant of the Eastern Quarter, stipendiary magistrate, planter, coconut oil manufacturer and cattle breeder, was a rough oasis of English civilisation in a wilderness of sand, coconut trees and bush.[96]. The "cocal" covering miles of self planted coconut trees really belonged to the Cabildo in Port of Spain; but it was leased to Mr. Carter to whom belonged the credit for what must surely be one of the first factories which had nothing to do with sugar. Carter claimed that he could cover the six miles between Nariva and Manzanilla Point in half an hour, the road being "along the finest beach in the world".[97] Carter was an exceptional English businessman in these parts. The English had never bothered to invest their money or their energies in any enterprise in this part of the island. But some French planters had. Their estates fell into ruins in the 1830s and 1840s.[98]

---

93. P.O.S.G., 25 April, 1843.

94. ibid.

95. Capadose, op.cit., p. 30

96. Capadose, pp. 34-36. Also C.O. 295/129, McGregor to Russell, 10 Feb., 1840, no. 2. Enclosure: Petition of John Carter.

97. C.O. 295/129, McGregor to Russell, 10 Feb., 1840, no. 12., Enclosure John Carter to McGregor 1 Dec., 1839.

98. Capadose, op.cit., pp. 26-29

Between Mayaro and the Bay of Guayaguayare, on inland clearings not too far from the sea, were scattered clusters of coloured creoles of French descent, living like Negroes in thatched huts. They carried on mixed farming, growing corn, coffee, ground provisions; rearing cows, pigs, pigeons, mules and "creole ponies";[99] and cultivating just enough canes to make syrup. Like most frontier communities in the island the day to day agricultural work was carried on by the women, while the men fished and hunted. And only hunters could find any land communication from the Bay of Guayaguayare to Moruga.

Most of the people in the colony lived on the western side of the island, from the valleys of the northern range of mountains; from Port of Spain and its satellite communities along the St. Joseph or Eastern Main Road as far as Arima, south-westwards through the Caroni plains, and the sugar bowl of the Naparimas, to the village of Cedros in the toe of the island. The width of this band of cultivated land on the western side was greatest along the two major roads; the Eastern main road which ran from Carenage, through Cocorite, Port of Spain, San Juan and St. Joseph to Tacarigua and Arima. The other major road meandered from the port town of San Fernando eastward through North Naparima, through Savanna Grande to the American villages. Arima and the American villages therefore represented the furthest inroads which organised settlement from the west coast had made into the bush and rain forest of greater Trinidad. Between Arima and the American villages the strip of cultivated land narrowed between Chaguanas and Point

---

99. ibid., p.97

a Pierre, and south and south-west of the Oropouche Lagoon the rain forest hugged the coast closely allowing only a narrow corridor of farming from La Brea to Cedros.

If we take north western Trinidad to mean the area between the north coast and the Eastern Main Road as far as Arima, we would find that even within this area, probably the most densely populated, people were scattered in pockets with only inadequate means of communication between these pockets. Port of Spain was of course the largest cluster of people in this area. With some 14,000 people at emancipation,[100] it was a growing town in which the coloured people outnumbered the blacks two to one and the whites were swamped by the other colours. Many of the coloured heads of families were to be numbered among the 100 dry goods merchants and 360 shopkeepers[101] counted in 1838. The larger merchant houses supplying the sugar estates were run mostly by whites; and other whites staffed the colonial civil service based in Port of Spain. Despite the busy commercial life of the town, the well stocked stores of King Street, it was a town where sugar estates and wild greenry, trees and shrubs still impinged closely upon the houses and stores. The town grew east and west in the 1830s and 1840s; the greater possibility for growth being on the western side. On the east the beginnings of Belmont were laid when the Cabildo in financial desperation began to sell the "Observatory Lands",[102] not to small holders but to a few big landlords.

---

100. C.O. 295/122, Hill to Glenelg, 15 Dec., 1838, no. 123., Enclosure Population of Port of Spain 1838.

101. ibid.

102. Minute Book of the Cabildo 1836-1845. Meeting on 3 June, 1838.

Beyond these lands were the hills, the southern section of which merged into Lavantille, a little Negro hide-away of squatters and lepers. It was the French part of the town, the eastern section between Duncan and Henry streets which had to live cheek by jowl with Negro lepers and squatters from Lavantille.

There was not a cultural wall dividing Port of Spain; only a cultural line crossed and recrossed daily. To move west from Henry Street to Cumberland Street was to walk into the English sector of the town: the western sector sweeping upwards into the upper limits of the town. To accommodate the westward growth of the town, brought on by the movement of emancipated Negroes into the western outskirts, near to the Woodbrook and St. Clair estates, the limits of the town were officially extended[103] in 1844 to include New Town. The Negroes of Port of Spain were in a good position to alternate their activities; sometimes they were domestics, tradesmen, peddlers in the town; in crop time they could turn their attention to the neighbouring sugar estates on the plains[104] or move up into the valleys of Diego Martin and Maraval.

Almost all the way along the northern hills from Chaguaramas to Tacarigua there were valleys from which only bridle paths or narrow tracks made junctions with the Eastern Main Road. The valley of Diego Martin was probably the least self contained of these valleys: there were coloured communities of Spanish and

---

103. C.O. 295/143, McLeod to Stanley, 4 May, 1844, no. 36., Enclosure: Ordinance no. 4 of 1844.

104. Rev. Bilby to Rev. Trew, 12 April, 1838, Anti-Slavery Papers E 1/4 1836-1842.

French descent and ex-Negro slaves.[105] Maraval and St. Anns valleys seemed mostly to be peopled by Negroes and coloureds of French descent;[106] St. Cruz, Maracas and Caura had many Spanish speaking peoples.[107] The impression is that many of the people of these valleys were of an un-English culture. Difficulties of travelling in and out of these valleys help to explain why un-English cultural elements persisted there the longest: French patois,[108] Spanish language; bele dances, French peasant dress and Spanish music.

To travel from Port of Spain to Arima was to court danger because of the poor physical condition of the road. In those days the Eastern Main Road left Port of Spain over the Lavantille hills, and it could be washed away at any point between Lavantille and Arima where it stopped. There were no major estates before St. Joseph, still a seenic healthy Spanish village of no commercial importance. After St. Joseph, however, came a ten mile stretch of English civilisation with sugar estates -- the Curepe estate, St. Augustine, Streathem Lodge, El Dorado, Orange Grove, Paradise,

---

105. Latrobe, op.cit., p. 39

106. Rev. Cowen to Rev. Trew, 6 July, 1841, Anti-Slavery Papers E 1/4 1836 - 1842/

107. DeVerteuil, op.cit., p. 302. Also Antonio Gomez to Rev. Trew 10 Feb., 1838, Anti-Slavery Papers E 1/4 1836-1842.

108. It was said as late as 1968 that village council meetings in Paramin, a small village above Maraval, were usually conducted in French patois to facilitate participation by older people. See G. Busher: Introduction to "The Theory and Practice of Creole Grammar" by J.J. Thomas. (New Beacon Books Ltd., 1969) p. XVI, footnote 23.

Laurel Hill, the Garden -- on either side of the road.[109] They were all owned by Englishmen in the 1830s and 1840s; and they gave their patronage to the Church of England, making the Tacarigua district the rural stronghold of Anglicanism.[110] At the end of this stretch lay Arima, a ruined village of Amerindians and Spanish peons; and in the eyes of most Englishmen Arima was a sleepy village. Not only the Amerindians but the other non-English inhabitants of the village had, if we should believe Joseph, caught the sleepy inactivity of that lost race.[111]

The casual, informal unhurried manaña temperament of the unambitious Amerindian or Spanish peon cocoa grower was a temperament which the capitalist English merchant or sugar planter seemed not to understand. The sugar bustle of the Anglican Tacarigua seemed the very reverse of the sleep of the cocoa growers of Roman Catholic Arima. Somehow, the inhabitiants of Arima managed to grow enough cocoa to want to send it down the same road as the sugar manufacturers of Tacarigua, to the market places of Port of Spain. On many occasions neither the sugar growers of Tacarigua nor the cocoa planters of Arima could use the Eastern Main Road. Where the man-made road failed, nature often brought the Caroni River to the rescue.

---

109. Capadose, op.cit., p. 20

110. C.O. 295/136, McLeod to Stanley, 9 June, 1842, Private.

111. Joseph, op.cit., p. 103.

The Caroni River made the Caroni swamp; and this swamp and the Grand Savannah behind it were the chief barriers between Port of Spain and Chaguanas. And there was no road communication between Chaguanas and Port of Spain. Hardy travellers on foot or horseback could sometimes use a track across the marshy Grand Savannah.[112]

Further inland immediately behind the Grand Savannah a few Amerindians and Spanish peons had cleared fingers of cocoa and corn cultivation into the higher lands of Upper Caroni. These tough frontiersmen wrestled with the bush and the forest; and succeeded in becoming the major landowners of this area without really escaping poverty.

From Chaguanas to the Naparimas it was only sugar which could be found along the coast. These sugar estates of Chaguanas, Carapichima, Couva and Pointe a Pierre were close to the sea. Some of these estates, particularly in Point a Pierre went out of production,[113] just before and after emancipation, partly because of labour shortage. The corollary of these abandoned estates was the growth of Negro settlements[114] on the backlands of estates towards the bush. But as in the Upper Caroni the ex-slave,

---

112. DeVerteuil, op.cit., p. 307

113. P.P. House of Commons, 1842, X111 Report of Select Committee on the WEst Indies., Evidence of R. Bushe.

114. DeVerteuil, op.cit., p. 310.

except when he took to the bush as hunter, was not the most advanced frontiersman; families of "mixed Spanish blood"[115] had already occupied the uplands of Couva, reaching back almost to the headwaters of the Couva River. As usual they planted cocoa, coffee and ground provisions in the day and played their cautros half the night. The Negro ex-slaves -- like the Spanish mixed blood types -- were largely squatters between the coastal sugar estates and the cocoa farms of the mixed blood Spanish creoles and peons. Freed from the physical bonds of estate slavery the Negro captured lands; without capital and security of legal owners he became a small farmer, not a planter. The white planter, English or French on his coastal sugar estate; the Negro on the backlands, and the "mixed blood" Spaniard on the uplands -- these were the major human types of central Trinidad in the 1830s and early 1840s. They lived apart but often worked together.

It was the Naparimas which caused San Fernando to exist. The town grew[116] from a few scattered buildings in the early 1830s into a large cluster of people who claimed and got a Town Council in 1845. Even so San Fernando down to 1846 still retained the features more of a shipping place than a town. A gread deal of the sugar which was made in the island came from the Naparimas;[117] and the shipping place for most of it was San Fernando. Some of

---

115. ibid.

116. Capadose estimated that the population of San Fernando trebled between 1838 and 1843. See Capadose, p. 144.

117. DeVerteuil, op.cit., pp. 312-316.

the important people who defended the claims of the town for equal status with Port of Spain did not live inside the town, but in the Naparimas, as owners of sugar estates.

The importance of the Naparimas as sugar cane country was reflected in the fact that Negro ex-slaves who went off the estates stayed within the area. The estates tended to be more prosperous than elsewhere; and as such could pay better wages and offer better working conditions. Negro villages sprung up within the sugar belt rather than away from it. There was Caanan village at the foot of Alley Creek in South Naparima; St. Jospeh village on the road to Pointe a Pierre; Bourg Rambert or Bourg Malatresse on a track to Savannah Grande; St.Madeleine and St. John in North Naparima.[118] Physically the Naparimas had a unity which no other cultivated area of the colony possessed. Yet even here intercourse of human beings of one village with another was seriously reduced in the rainy season. Famous for its sugar estates, the Naparimas were notorious for bad roads. The soil of the Naparimas, and also that of Savannah Grande, though smooth and firm in the dry season, churned into a vicious kind of mud when the rains fell heavily.[119] If we are to believe the Naparima planters carts could be stuck in this mud for weeks, and animals could be sucked under, if not completely then almost completely. No where else in the colony was there such a keen urgency to gear the operations of field and mill to the pace of the seasons.

---

118. ibid., p. 320.

119. ibid.

Planters cried ruin if the rains began before the last cane was cut. Yet the Naparimas partly because of the richness of the soil and the relative availability of labour seemed to have weathered the crisis of emancipation better than any other sugar growing district of the island.

About seven miles east of San Fernando was the district of Savannah Grande. Bounded on the west by the Naparimas, Savannah Grande, in all other directions, merged into Crown Lands. The district was the tail of the Naparimas, and at the end of the tail were the American Settlements. The major sugar estates of the area were situated in south Savannah Grande, below the main road from San Fernando to the American settlements. Mostly Englishmen owned these sugar estates, and they still had in the years immediately after emancipation, Negro ex-slaves living on them. The main Negro village of ex-slaves was at Monkey Town near the American settlements. Savannah Grande had been the site of a Spanish Roman Catholic mission to the Amerindians;[120] and a few Amerindians and peons still lived around the old mission. But here as elsewhere in the colony, the pure Amerindian was a vanishing race. Many of them had been absorbed into the mix-breed coloured settlers of French and Spanish descent, interspersed over the upland country extending northwards into the Montserrat hills.

---

120. DeVerteuil, op.cit., p. 318.

The American villages were really settlements of American refugees[121] who had fought for England in the United States of America. The villages could be reached from the population centres of the Naparimas; and because of this the government had less justification for neglecting these settlements than those of Tururе, La Sieva, Quare and Manzanilla on the eastern side of the island. The government just did not care about small farmers; only about planters and plantations, and most seriously about sugar planters and sugar plantations. The Negro settlers were earth scratchers cultivating ground provisions for their own use and for sale; occasionally hiring themselves out as "axe men, cane cutters and trenchers"[122] on the estates to the west; but passing a great deal of their time as hunters roaming the large complex of forest from the villages to Moruga, Tamana and Mayaro. It was here and in the Negro villages of Tururе, La Sieva, Qaure and Manzanilla that the Negro, not usually the ex-slave, was the most advanced frontiersman.

The great divide between South Naparima and what Trinidadians would now call the "deep south" was the Oropouche Lagoon. Described in 1858 as "an inexhaustible source of malaria"[123] the Lagoon cut off the Naparimas from La Brea, Cedros and Erin as effectively as the Caroni swamp separated Port of Spain from Chaguanas. The tragedy of the "deep south" was that people were trapped in small groups almost without any roads at all; and at

---

121. K.O. Laurence: The Settlement of Free Negroes in Trinidad before Emancipation. Caribbean Quarterly Vol.1X.no.1 and 11

122. DeVerteuil, op.cit., p. 318.

123. ibid., p. 317.

a distance from the two major markets: Port of Spain and San Fernando. In all the area now comprising the county of St. Patrick there was not a road which was designed to take a cart.[124] The major line of communication was a long bridle path from South Naparima to Cedros. From Oropouche to La Brea this path was impassable in the wet season even for horse riders. The remainder of the track literally ran along the beach, and was submerged at high tides. The easiest way of travelling from San Fernando to Cedros was by sea.

The two main centres of population in the "deep south" were Oropouche and Cedros,[125] both of which grew at the expense of other districts in the area. Immediately before, and after, emancipation, sugar estates went out of production in La Brea and Guapo;[126] and at Erin cocoa estates and cattle ranches were in ruins. Nobody in the 1830s and 1840s knew, of course, that they were standing on oil while struggling to get workers to plant the rich top soil. The planters understandably were looking for an agricultural el dorado.

Oropouche attracted thousands of Negro ex-slaves and African immigrants. A strange medley of communities was developed there. We have the best description of it from DeVerteuil in 1858:

"the population of Oropouche may be characterised as a heterogeneous collection of the inhabitants of different countries in an unsettled and migratory state: Congoes, Yarrabas and Kroomen from Africa; Coolies and Chinese from Asia; Americans from the

---

124. ibid, p. 333

125. ibid

126. DeVerteuil, op.cit., p. 324.

United States; Spaniards from the neighbouring continent; emigrants from British and French colonies, with a limited number of natives of Trinidad...."[127]

Before 1846 we must abstract the Chinese and most of the Indians from this "motley assemblage"[128] and we should notice that DeVerteuil was not saying that all these people lived together in the same community; he was describing the population of the whole area called Oropouche. Within this area the population had grouped together according to "ties of nationality or tribeship".[129] Two of these little settlements were St. Mary's village and Freeman Bay with some squatters in them. These were settlements of ex-slaves, but the names of other villages i.e. the Yarraba village and the Krooman village, suggest that their inhabitants were mostly Africans. DeVerteuil's description of these villages comes in 1858 but there is no reason to believe that they were not in formation in the 1830s and 1840s.

South of Oropouche was the old Spanish Roman Catholic mission of Siparia. It was a beautiful area, elevated and with good soil; but the fate of Siparia was on a smaller scale that of the Negro settlements on the east coast. Only a bridle track through the forest south eastwards to Moruga, and Northwards to Oropouche saved Siparia from complete isolation.[130] Siparia was Spanish, not

---

127. ibid., p. 322

128. ibid.

129. ibid.

130. DeVerteuil, op.cit., p. 323.

African; and it grew cocoa and tobacco, not rice. It was a ghost village in the 1830s and 1840s forgotten by the government in Port of Spain.

Cedros was an important settlement in the "deep south". It was well cultivated in sugar and ground provisions; the latter being the main crop of the ex-slaves who formed villages[131] near the sugar estates. Los Iros prevented rather than facilitated communication between Cedros and La Brea; for it was almost completely Crown Lands in bush and forest, close behind abandoned sugar estates and small clearings of Negro ex-slaves. Erin still grew excellent coffee; but a sea trip from Erin to San Fernando had to face the tricky bend around Point Icacos; and it was an expensive route for farmers. Settlers at Erin who chose to travel on foot had to make their way through bush and forest to the mission at Savannah Grande or to Guapo.

From this view of peoples and places in the 1830s and early 1840s it becomes clear that the inhabitants of the island did not have a sense of common identity. It was a divided society. Peoples of different races and classes often met in the same places to work or to pray; the markets of San Fernando and Port of Spain were points of meeting for peoples from different parts of the island. The society was not kept in being by force, but the theme of division runs stronger through the life of the society than the theme of unity.

---

131. ibid., p. 331.

In the late 1840s, the 1850s and the 1860s, the society on the whole became more deeply divided. Within each of the conventional colour - class group - the blacks, the coloureds, and the whites -- further fissures developed, without any compensation in terms of a closing of the social gaps between the colour class groups. At the top of the society new and more bitter quarrels burst out between the English and the French,[132] although as proprietors and tax-payers they had many common points of interest to defend. In the governorship of Sir Arthur Gordon (1866-1870) there was apparently some reconciliation between some of the English and some of the French.

The coloureds too became more divided. One of the most significant things about the coloureds in the late 1840s, 1850s and 1860s is that they largely ceased to act collectively and publicly as a recognisable political pressure group. This was partly the result of the coloureds getting a few more of the jobs, usually minor jobs, in the civil service; they had less to complain about on that score. But there was wider cleavage between the English oriented coloureds, and the non-English, particularly the French oriented coloureds.[133] Most of the coloureds

---

132. For the controversy over the salary of Archbishop Spaccapietra See C.O. 295/186, Eliot to Sir George Grey, 8 Nov., 1854, Confidential. Also Eliot to Grey, 9 Dec., 1854. For the quarrel over the Marriage Ordinance of 1863 see C.O. 295/223, Keate to Newcastle, 5 Aug., 1863, no. 123. Also C.O. 295/223-228 for several Roman Catholic petitions.

133. This opinion is based on an examination of signatures on petitions. This operation is not always well grounded because in some cases cultural ties cannot be safely assumed from the name of a person. See C.O. 295/151, Harris to Grey, 20 July, 1846, No. 31., Enclosure: Petition. Also C.O. 295/192, Eliot to Labrouchere, 7 Oct., 1856 no. 88 Enclosure: Farewell Address to Eliot.

apparently still belonged to the latter category, and they tended to follow the white French creoles in their religious struggle against the Protestant English. The English oriented coloureds in these struggles backed the white English Protestant group. The same sort of alignment recurred in the struggle for representative or quasi-representative government in the late 1840s and the 1850s. Here the French-white and coloured - set the pace.[134].

It was, however, at the level of the labouring classes that the society clearly broke down even further into alienated racial groups. Basically, this was the result of the government's inauguration of an organised programme of immigration -- of Indians, Chinese, Portuguese and Africans -- into an island where the population was already a seriously divided body. About 8854 Africans were introduced between 1834 and 1867; and about 2,645 Chinese and 39,582 Indians between 1845 and 1870.[135]. Newly arrived Africans quickly escaped from the estates where they were located and went to live with or near their African brothers,[136] in the old and ruined east coast settlements of disbanded African

---

134. C.O. 295/151, Harris to Grey, 18 Aug., 1846, no. 47. Also C.O. 295/208, Keate to Newcastle, 21 Jan., 1860, no. 12., Enclosure: A Petition.

135. K.O. Laurence: Immigration into the West Indies in the 19th century. (Caribbean Universities Press, 1971) p. 14. Also K.O. Laurence: Immigration into Trinidad and British Guiana 1834-1871 (Phd. thesis Cambridge University, 1958) Appendix A.

136. C.O. 295/156, Harris to Grey, 18 March, 1847, no. 26. Also C.O. 295/170, Harris to Grey, 20 April, 1850, no. 31., Enclosure: Report of Henry Pantin.

soldiers at Manzanilla, Tururе, La Sieva and Quare; or they went to squat on Crown Lands in the south western corner of Montserrat[137] or in Oropouche, again with other Africans. Planters and government officials overrated the social integration of the Chinese into the local community. Only a few Chinese males married creole women.[138] The Indians, after 25 years of Indian immigration, had neither been brought, nor had taken any significant steps towards social integration, into the body of the population. The Indians lived mostly on the sugar estates where they retained, to a high degree, many of the cultural elements of India. Although fights sometimes took place between Chinese and Negroes, and between Indians and Negroes,[139] the predominant aspect of the relationship between immigrant groups and Negro creoles was mutual ignorance and mutual alienation, not violent conflict.

Among the white elite the outstanding conflict -- also non vident -- was still between the English and the French creoles. They were separated as usual by religion, national taste and habits; there was even an economic separation with the French creoles being mostly engaged in cocoa production, and the English in sugar production. While it is true that cocoa lived in the shadow of sugar, both were interconnected financially to a greater degree than appears on the surface. But it was the kind of connection

---

137. C.O. 295/243, Gordon to Buckingham, 8 April, 1868, no. 46., Enclosure: Report of Robert Mitchell on Montserrat Ward Union 28 Dec., 1867.

138 C.O. 295/198, Keate to Labrouchere, 11 Feb., 1858, no. 19., Enclosure: Report of Dr. Mitchell for 1857.

139. C.O. 295/158, Harris to Grey, 7 Dec., 1847, no. 102.

which was likely to bring more ill feeling than good will between the French creoles and the English: the cocoa estates were heavily indebted to English merchant houses.[140] While cocoa became more profitable in the late 1850s and the 1860s, not all the profits could accrue to the French creoles; and cocoa never outshone sugar at any time down to 1870. It was still the sugar men who were conspicuously rich in 1870. Mr. Blasini and Mr. Ambard, two French creoles, were counted among the richest residents[141] in the late 1860s, but it was their sugar estates and their merchant activities which gave them their wealth, not the cocoa side of their business. Where the French creoles had the future in their hands was in the fact that while the number of sugar estates, though not the acreage or the production of sugar, was getting smaller and more concentrated in the hands of big absentee companies[142], the cocoa estates and cocoa growers were getting more numerous and more profitable than any time since emancipation. And in the context of British government's political and military strategy in the Caribbean in the 1860s, the rising economic and social fortunes of the French creoles did begin to affect the balance of local political influence,

---

140. C.O. 295/173, Harris to Grey, 27 Jan., 1851, Confidential.

141. C.O. 295/245, Kortright to Buchingham, 3 Sept., 1868, Separate.

142. The Colonial Company, an absentee company, was the largest owner of sugar estates. See C.O. 295/245, Kortright to Buckingham, 8 Sept., 1868, Separate. Perhaps Tennant and Sons of London came second behind the Colonial Company in estate ownership. See. C.O. 295/246, Tennant and Sons to Buckingham, 27 Aug., 1868.

though of course, metropolitan political power remained undiminished. More French creoles got jobs in the civil service in the 1860s; a few of the most respectable and propertied were admitted to seats in the Council of Government.[143] The British government, Governors Manners-Sutton and Gordon seemed more willing to do justice to their Church -- the Roman Catholic Church. Their future seemed more secured in the 1870s than at any time since the coming of the English.

Although in the 1850s and the 1860s the French creoles and the English continued to isolate themselves socially from each other, except on business or formal public occasions,[144] the French creole sector of the society was becoming more flexible in its national complexion. Before the 1840s the whites of Spanish descent tended to gravitate towards the French creole group,[145] and in the 1850s and 1860s some white immigrants did the same thing. The two indispensable prequisites to admission into the French creole group were whiteness and the profession of Roman Catholicism, the other habits and predilections of the group could follow. This meant that some of the German immigrants who were Catholics could become a part of the group,[146] even Irish Catholics might be admitted. But without doubt the core of the French creole

---

143. C.O. 295/228, Manners-Sutton to Cardwell, 22 Oct., 1864, no. 134. C.O. 295/230, Manners-Sutton to Cardwell, 2 March, 1865, no. 28.

144. C.O. 295/171, Harris to Grey, 12 Oct., 1850, Confidential Enclosure: P.N. Aumaitre to Harris, 9 Sept., 1850.

145. Maignot, op.cit., p. 69.

146. Otto Wenkstern, editor of the Chronicle, in the late 1860s was one of them. He tended to side with the French party against anglicising policies of some of the English. See Stanmore Papers. Vol. XXXVII. AD. MSS. 49235. Otto Wenkstern to Gordon, 4 Oct., 1867.

sector were the French creoles -- the descendants of the men who had peopled the island from the French West Indies at the turn of the 18th century into the early 19th century. And in the 1850s and 1860s the French creole group found in Dr. L.A. DeVerteuil a leader who fulfilled all the highest requirements of membership: he was the descendant of one of the oldest and noblest of the French families in the colony; he was the son of a capitulant; he was, of course, white, Roman Catholic to the bone and with interest in the cocoa business. In addition, he was a professional man, a doctor of medicine trained in France.

Prior to 1834, the French and the French creoles in the face of the English conquerors took the position that they were the true Trinidadians, and that their culture was the authentic culture of Trinidad. They were not in a strong economic or political position in the 1830s and 1840s to protest successfully the anglicising of the laws and legal system of the colony. They did not like it, but they could not afford to show any disloyalty to Great Britain while claiming the rights of British subjects.[147] If they were more assertive in the 1850s and 1860s, they were careful to appear not to be asserting any special claims as French creoles, but to be asking for treatment due to them as British subjects. Many of the English planters and merchants, government officials and even Governor Keate and Acting Governor Walker,

---

147. For a statement of French creoles against English civil laws see P.O.S.G., 18 Aug., 1843, Letter of "Many" dated 17 Aug., 1843. Also P.O.S.G., 29 Aug., 1843, Letter of "Many" dated 28 Aug., 1843.

UWI LIBRARY ST. AUG

could not understand, or pretended not to understand, how the French creoles could be French in culture, how they could still send some of their children to be educated in France,[148] while being loyal to Great Britain. The ultimate test of the loyalty or disloyalty of the French creoles would have been a war between England and France; but that never happened between 1834 and 1870. England and France fought on the same side, for instance in the Crimean War, and the news of the fall of Sebastapol set French and English houses[149] in Port of Spain alight with festive decorations. But because the crunch never came the English were still free to cast doubts on the loyalty of the French creoles, and the French creoles, particularly those with large property, were always looking for ways in which they could show that they combined a love of France as a civilisation with political loyalty to Great Britain.[150]

In the 1830s and early 1840s the international political situation in Western Europe and the Caribbean seemed to have given the English in Trinidad greater assurance that the divided society would not explode in their faces. England was master of the seas, and there were companies of English soldiers stationed in the colony to support the English -- a minority people running a minority regime. The revolutions in France in the 1830s seemed

---

148. C.O. 295/209, Walker to Newcastle, 23 Aug., 1860, no. 120.

149. P.O.S.G., 9 Oct., 1855, Extra Issue.

150. C.O. 295/212, Walker to Newcastle, 23 March, 1861, no. 46. Dr. L.A.A. DeVerteuil was said to be very enthusiastic about the public celebrations to welcome Prince Alfred.

far away; the assertive Americans were mainly asserting themselves on the continent. There was no need for the British government to make concessions to the French creoles, or for the English residents to have any fear of the damage they could do.

But the international politics of Western Europe and the Caribbean became more unstable from the late 1840s; and the English in Trinidad became more nervous. If 1848 was the peak of a financial crisis in Trinidad[151] it was also the year of revolution in Europe. In 1849 the revolution came to a part of the Caribbean: the black slaves of the French West Indies were emancipated. Everybody knew that Trinidad was open to ideas from outside; suddenly the island seemed once again to be transported back to the political and social insecurity of the opening years of the French Revolution of 1789. The danger seemed to be coming from France; from the French West Indian colonies; and socialism was the form in which the new claim for Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality was posed. This meant that although the English, as the major property owners were frightened -- and of the French in the island -- the respectable property owning French creoles were also scared of revolution from below,[152] from the French oriented Trinidad Negro creoles and from some of the coloured politicians.

---

151. C.O. 295/161, Harris to Grey, 22 May, 1848, no. 53

152. C.O. 295/171, Harris to Grey, 12 Oct., 1850, Confidential. Enclosure: P.N. Aumaitre to Harris, 9 Sept., 1850.

The nearest thing to a revolutionary threat in Trinidad was the Port of Spain riot[153] of the 1st October, 1849. It involved more than 500 black French patois speaking Trinidad creoles from east Port of Spain. The capital had not seen anything like this since the slave demonstrations of the 1st August, 1834. On the surface the riot was a protest against the new Gaol Regulations which called for petty debtors to have their heads shaved when imprisoned. A coloured delegation including Numa Dessourses, the coloured socialist editor of the Trinidadian, had gone to see the Governor, Lord Harris, about the matter;[154] but the crowd, when provoked by the police, took matters into their own hands. All the grievances of the Trinidad Negro creoles were on the boil that day; and perhaps it is not without significance that the crowd outside government house and in Brunswick Square (Woodford Square) identified Charles Warner, the Attorney General, as public enemy No. 1. On the El Dorado estate in Tacarigua fires were set by people who were said to be in sympathy with the rioters; in Oropouche the house of a policeman was attacked and burnt down.[156] But within four days the revolution evaporated.

Only the international situation can explain the impact which the October riot made upon the white propertied class.

---

153. C.O. 295/170, Harris to Grey, 5 Jan., 1850, Enclosure: Trial of Rioters.

154. ibid., Evidence of William Gittens, a Police Constable.

155. ibid., Evidence of J.A. Guiseppi, Port of Spain magistrate.

156. C.O. 295/168, Harris to Grey, 6 Oct., 1849, no. 79., Enclosure: H.J. Smith to J. Crowe, 5 Oct., 1849.

Lord Harris, the governor, felt that the people were disturbed by "socialist and communist notions borrowed from England, and on Red Republican ideas introduced from France and Martinique..."[157] Eight months later he and the Council of Government passed a law under which all aliens had to be registered and could be expelled from the island.[158] Harris said that he heard that some of the "people recently exiled from Guadeloupe for political disturbance"[159] were planning to come to Trinidad; and that one of them was thinking of starting a newspaper. Harris already had to put up with the Trinidadian newspaper. He did not want any more socialists or republicans in the island. From early 1848 he had felt that the divisions of the society made it vulnerable in the context of the international situation. He called for the undivided loyalty of all civil servants to himself; for as he lamented in May 1848, Trinidad was an island

"in which many of the inhabitants were republicans or French in their predilections -- others republican or American -- the majority I fear indifferent as to what rules they are under, but easily to be induced to believe that any change would be better -- and but very few, who would be willing to make any strenuous exertion to preserve the British connection"[160]

---

157. C.O. 295/168, Harris to Grey, 12 Nov., 1849, Confidential.

158. C.O. 295/170, Harris to Grey, 18 July, 1850, no. 54., Enclosure: Ordinance 12 of 1850.

159. ibid.

160. C.O. 295/161, Harris to Grey, 6 May, 1848, Private.

This was a fear which stuck in the minds of many Englishmen in the 1860s -- whether the society had within it the determination to remain under the British flag, or the capacity to defend itself from outside aggressors. After all, Spanish Trinidad had never defended itself successfully; and Trinidad under the British had never had cause to defend itself. The non-English part of the population had never proved their loyalty by shedding their blood for Great Britain. Hence the old fears surfaced in the early 1860s when the international situation in the Caribbean seemed to threaten Trinidad.

French imperialism in the French WEst Indies showed no signs of wilting in the early 1860s. The French had even invaded Mexico. The Americans sometimes appeared to some people in Trinidad like expansionists who wanted to grab a handful of Caribbean islands. Some of the whites in Trinidad felt either that the colony was the richest of the British Caribbean islands, or that it was the one with the most economic potential. These whites -- particularly the English -- tended to be more aware of a threat to the island's integrity. The island seemed threatened mostly by the French and the Americans, but occasionally even by the Venezuelans.[161] It was in this context that England was withdrawing its troops from the island -- and from other parts of the empire -- and asking the island to organise and pay for its

---

161. C.O. 295/163, Harris to Grey, 18 July, 1848, no. 87. For the activities of Venezuelean rebels in Trinidad against the Venezuelan government. See C.O. 295/204. In both the case of the Venezuelans and the French it was a matter of some people feeling that the actions of Venezuelans or Frenchmen within Trinidad would endanger the security of the island in relation to Venezuela and the French West Indies. See C.O. 295/211, Letter of T. Hinde to Jules Leotaud, 4 June, 1860.

own defense. The corollary of this military and political policy of the British Government in the Caribbean was that it could no longer base Crown Colony government exclusively on the support of a small group of Englishmen in Trinidad; it became expedient to seek new support in the ranks of the respectable and propertied non-English population. But could these elements be trusted? In the early 1860s the Trinidad government refused to trust the defense of the island to black, mostly Barbadian members of the West India Regiment, or to turn to the population in general for a militia. Such a militia, said acting Governor Walker, in August 1860 would

"immediately form itself into rival and even hostile divisions, and give us perhaps early reason for repenting that we had armed and trained them"[162]

When the news of the Morant Bay rebellion in Jamaica reached Trinidad, it put the respectable property class, mostly whites, on the alert against revolution from below. Governor Manners-Sutton and the Council quickly voted money to strengthen the police force -- which was a selected force -- and the British government was requested to send 300 Enfield rifles.[163] But the government was in no mood to put these guns in the hands of a general militia. Governor Manners-Sutton insisted that jealousies of creed and colour would immobilise such a force by splitting it into sections. Such rivalries he predicted would

---

162. C.O. 295/209, Walker to Newcastle, 23 Aug., 1860, no. 120

163. C.O. 295/234, Manners-Sutton to Cardwell, 5 Feb., 1866, no. 13

"cause it to degenerate into a club or clique, either of Protestants or of Roman Catholics, or of Individuals of British origins, or of Individuals of French origins, or of coloured persons, or perhaps of negroes"[164]

In other words the divided society could not defend itself. It was all right for England to ask Jamaica or Barbados to defend itself; they were British, but Trinidad, according to acting Governor Walker, was still a "foreign colony"[165]

The analysis which said that the divided society was incapable of defending itself suggested that the island could be easily wrested from Great Britain. It also suggested that serious internal turmoil was a grave possibility. But there was also another conclusion -- a more subtle conclusion -- which could be reached on the basis of the same facts of a divided society. It might be reasonable to take the line that the society was so divided that it did not have the capacity to generate a serious internal rebellion, or to respond with sufficient unity to encourage invasion from outside forces. This was the way Governor Gordon saw it when he was asked by the British government to assess the reaction of Trinidad to "any attempt to foster a desire for annexation to the United States of America..."[166] Such an attempt would, he confidently asserted, be futile:

"My chief reason for entertaining this opinion is the fact that composed as the population of this island is, of men of many

---

164. C.O. 295/234, Manners-Sutton to Cardwell, 22 Jan. 1866, Confidentia

165. C.O. 295/209, Walker to Newcastle 23 Aug., 1860, no. 120.

166. C.O. 295/247, Gordon to Earl Granville, 24 May, 1869. Secret.

various discordant nationalities and hostile religions, it would be difficult to find, or invent, a pretext which would suffice to unite the different factions into which it is broken up on one political movement, whilst no single section could, without combination with others effect much serious mischief."[167]

But even a cool governor like Gordon felt towards the end of this remarkably penetrative dispatch that he had to buy some insurance against the maverick character of such a divided society. He confessed that his conclusion might be untrue if Great Britain should go to war with any of the great powers.[168]

The rather peaceful expansion of Trinidad society in the 1850s and the 1860s seem to confirm in general the greater acuteness of the Gordon conclusion over that of Keate, or Walker or Manners-Sutton. The racial divisions of Trinidad seemed to have paralysed more than they activated the potential of the society to start a revolution or to sustain it. And this was reinforced by the fact that the physical expansion of the limits of settlement within the island in the 1860s created room for the races[169], particularly the Indians and the Negroes, to live apart in relative peace.

---

167. ibid.

168. ibid.

169. C.O. 295/243, Gordon to Buckingham, 8 April, 1868, no. 46., Enclosure: Report of Robert Mitchell 28 Dec., 1867. Also C.O. 295/247, Gordon to Earl Granville, 10 March, 1869, no. 29, Enclosure: Report of Robert Mitchell Feb., 1869.

CHAPTER II

THE SEARCH FOR A PRO-ENGLISH EDUCATION POLICY

1834 - 1838 -- THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

> ....."it is only by sufferance and by special permission obtained in each case that Aliens can be allowed to engage in Religious Ministrations in the British colonies.....1
>
> Glenelg to Dr. MacDonnell, 8 Aug., 1837.

Between 1834 and 1846 the policies of the British government and the colonial government in respect to the education of the masses, that is the apprentices and the ex-slaves, were attempts to make education a part of the anglicising programme. Despite the status of the island as a Crown colony government, two separate education policies emerged: one by the British government and the other by the colonial government. As we shall see the two policies were separate, but not in conflict. And both -- though the colonial government's policy more so than the policy of the British government -- reflected a desire to discriminate against the Roman Catholic church not merely on the ground of religion, but because that church was the church of the non-English people; the spiritual bulwark of the forces which made Trinidad an un-English colony. The

---

1. C.O. 295/119, Glenelg to Dr. MacDonnell, 8 Aug., 1837.

Roman Catholic church looked to Rome for guidance; to France the traditional enemy of England for the training of priests;[2] to Ireland, a chronically rebellious sector of the Empire, for models of how to order its relationship with the Protestant government. Of the thirteen Roman Catholic priests in 1835, most were French or Spaniards,[3] and though the church down to 1854 was under the leadership of English priests, under the title of the Bishop of Olympus, it was still the church of the non-English community, white, coloured and black. It spoke mainly the French language; and it projected French cultural values. The inevitable conclusion was that the influence of this church must be blocked to facilitate the political and social goal of anglicising the colony.

The British government as part of its emancipation plan in 1833 pledged itself to help with the education of the Negro slaves to be emancipated in the West Indies. A start was made in 1835 when the British parliament voted £25,000 which was raised[4] the following year to £30,000. For the next nine years, this grant voted annually by parliament but gradually reduced[5] from 1842, provided the main financial underpinning for the development of popular day schools for the education

---

2. C.O. 295/119, Dr. MacDonnell to Glenelg, 12 June, 1837. Even recruits from Ireland, hence British subjects were sometimes sent to France for training.
3. C.O. 295/117, pp. 311-312. Abstract of Salaries due to the Ecclesiastical Establishment 1835.
4. The grant was increased as a result of the findings of the Parliamentary Committee investigating the working of the Apprenticeship in the West Indies (1836).
5. C.O. 318/152, Vernon Smith to Missionary Societies, 18 Mar., 1841.

of the children of the newly emancipated people of the West Indies. This imperial subsidy was known in the Colonial Office which administered the funds as the Negro Education Grant.

Each year the British government invited certain Missionary Societies -- the Church Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the London Missionary Society, the Baptist Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, the Moravian Missionary Society, the Scottish Missionary Society -- and a non-denominational education Trust called the Mico Charity, to submit development plans for popular education in the West Indies. The priority was on the erection of new schoolhouses[6] and the training of Negro and coloured teachers was considered an urgent matter. £5,000 of the subsidy was set aside in 1835 for the latter purpose,[7] but only the Mico Charity was allowed to use the imperial subsidy to train teachers.

In the partnership between the British government and the Missionary Societies, the former was to pay half the salaries of some of the teachers, and two thirds the cost of building such new schoolhouses as it approved.[8] These schoolhouses were

---

6. C.O. 318/122, Grey to Missionary Societies, 10 Sept., 1835.
7. Votes of the Jamaica House of Assembly 26 Jan., 1836. Enclosure: Grey to Secretary of the Treasury, 21 July, 1835.
8. C.O. 318/122, Grey to A.M. Campbell, 31 Dec., 1835. The British government offered to pay one third the salaries of some teachers but the Missionary Societies, particularly the C.M.S. wanted the British government to pay a higher proportion. See C.O. 318/139, Coates to Grey, 26 May, 1838.

to be the property of the Missionary Societies[9] which were left in complete control of the schools. The main commitment of the Missionary Societies to the British government was financial; they were to find the rest of the money from whatever sources they could command.[10] Most of the funds which the Missionary Societies did not get from the British government, emanated from religious and philanthropic groups in England, and from religious supporters in the islands. Far less came from the West Indian governments.

The British government did not consult the colonial government in Trinidad about either the whole framework of the plan for Negro education in the West Indies, or about the place of Trinidad in this plan. The money which the British government allocated for the colony was administered from the Colonial Office;[11] the colonial government had almost nothing to do with it; and this is the first sense in which the imperial policy for education was separate from what the colonial government was to do.

In planning its education policy for the West Indies the British government extended to this part of the empire the same broad religious and political distinctions it made between England and Ireland. The vast majority of the people in England were Protestants, either Protestant non-conformists

---

9. C.O. 318/122, Grey to Ellis, 28 Nov., 1835.

10. C.O. 318/122, Grey to Missionary Societies, 10 Sept., 1835.

11. See C.O. 318/122, 318/126, 318/131, 318/139, 318/145, 318/152, 318/156, 318/162-163.

or members of the Church of England.[12] Their political and cultural loyalties to England were not to be questioned. On the other hand, Roman Catholics preponderated in Ireland. The West Indian section of the empire was also seen in the two basic religious categories with their different political and cultural undertones. Jamaica, Antigua, and Barbados were "Protestant islands"; and Trinidad, St. Lucia, Grenada, Dominica and St. Vincent -- the newer parts of the empire acquired since the late 18th century -- constituted the "Roman Catholic islands".[13]

The most difficult problem confronting the making of education policies in England and Ireland in the 19th century was religious difficulty. All the religious groups agreed that religion was an essential part of education; most of them thought of it as the indispensable base of any education of the masses. Secularists were at this time a small group[14] outside the mainstream of the philosophy of education. The prevailing view of education for the masses made it the business pre-eminently of clerics and private philanthrophy; and inevitably policies for education became enmeshed in the perennial religious rivalries of the denominations. Each denomination was eager to use its schools to recruit new

---

12. S.J. Curtis: History of Education in Great Britain (University Tutorial Press, 1948) p.237.

13. The Colonial Office did not actually use the terms "Roman Catholic islands" and "Protestant islands". It spoke of islands in which missionaries, meaning Protestant missionaries, were available to assist in education and islands in which they were not available. See C.O. 318/122, Grey to Secretary of the Treasury, 21 July, 1835.

14. S.J. Curtis, op.cit., p. 237

membership; control over schools and access to funds from the state became prime reasons for jealousies and cold war quarrels among the denominations.

The peculiar role of the denominations in popular education was recognised by the British government. It had no plans to build and conduct schools of its own. The main problem was how to distribute to the denominations grants which the government for the first time [15] in the 1830s made for the education of the masses in the United Kingdom.

In constructing an education policy for Ireland and England in the years immediately preceeding the start of the Negro Education Grant, the British government adopted a policy which reflected its traditional favour for the Church of England, its patience with Nonconformists, and its opposition to Roman Catholicism. Its policy was not to use public revenues to support the teaching in schools of particular religious creeds other than those of the Established church. If the Nonconformists in England and the Roman Catholics in Ireland wanted government grants, they would have to conduct non-denominational schools: they should not teach their particular religious creeds in such schools. In England the British government gave funds for education only to two agencies: the National Schools Society[16] which controlled Church of England Schools, or the so-called National

---

15. ibid., p. 223.

16. The National School Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales was founded in 1811. It taught religion as expressed by the Catechism and Book of Common Prayer. See H. Binns. A Century of Education 1808 - 1908. (Dent and Co., 1908) pp. 55-56. Also J.W. Adamson: English Education 1789 - 1902 (Cambridge University Press, 1930) p. 25.

Schools in which the creeds of that church were inculcated; and the British and Foreign School Society[17] which supervised schools for these Nonconformists willing to subscribe to its Protestant, but non-denominational teaching methods.

In Ireland where the Roman Catholics predominated, the British government decided against financial support for Church of England denominational schools; but on the other hand it would not underwrite Roman Catholic denominational schools. It put all its resources for education behind non-denominational schools.[18] There were important differences between the non-denominationalism of the Irish system and the non-denominationalism of the British and Foreigh School Society. For instance, in Ireland the non-denominational schools which the British government supported gave "joint secular and separate religious instruction"[19] The method of the British and Foreign School Society, on the other hand, was to expose all pupils to unsectariam religious education based on the Protestant translation of the Bible.[20] As far as the British government was concerned the vital consideration was that public funds were not supporting the teaching of particular religious creeds except those of the Church of England.

---

17. Curtis, op.cit., p. 224

18. D. Akenson: The Irish Education Experiment, The National System of Education in the Nineteenth Century (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970) pp 157 - 160.

19. J.C. Beckett: The Making of Modern Ireland 1603 - 1923 (Faber & Faber, 1966) p. 313.

20. H. Binns, op.cit., pp. 73-74; 95-96.

For at least two reasons the British government in framing an education policy for the West Indies could not finance only the teaching of the religious creeds of the Church of England. Thomas Buxton, the friend of the Negroes in the West Indies, and of Nonconformist missionaries teaching them, successfully moved an amendment in the parliament to the resolution of May 1833 which pledged the government to help education in the West Indies. The words "on liberal and comprehensive principles"[21] were added to the original resolution, Buxton was attempting to ensure that whatever scheme of assistance the government fashioned, would not be dominated by the Church of England at the expense of the Nonconformist missionaries. He probably did not have in mind the Roman Catholics in the islands.

Far more important, however, in explaining the willingness of the British government to assist Nonconformist denominational schools was the fact that over the previous fifty years these missionaries had successfully established themselves in some of the islands as rivals of the Church of England.[22] In the

---

21. For the original resolution See Debate on 14 May, 1833, pp. 1230 - 1231. Parliamentary Debates 3rd series vol. XVII.

22. For example the Wesleyan Missionary Society by 1834 had missions in Jamaica, Antigua, Dominica, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Kitts, Tortola, St. Vincent, Grenada, Barbados, Demerara and Trinidad. The L.M.S. in Jamaica, Demerara and Berbice; the M.M.S. in Jamaica, St. Kitts, Antigua, Barbados and Tobago. The S.M.S. and B.M.S. in Jamaica. It was in Jamaica that the non-Conformist missionaries offered the strongest challenge to the Church of England. See C. Campbell: Social and economic obstacles to the development of popular education in post-emancipation Jamaica 1834 - 1865. The Journal of Caribbean History Vol. 1. Nov., 1970.

"Protestant islands" Nonconformist missionaries were the religious agents who had, in a limited manner, confronted the slave regimes, and independently of the British government or the colonial governments were setting the pace in giving religious instruction to the Negroes. The protection which the British government had offered them in the 1820s against the vengence of the white planting and mercantile oligarchies had forged valuable links of cooperation between them and the British government;[23] and in 1834 they were obviously among the few allies within the colonies, upon whom the British government could rely in implementing the transition from slavery to freedom. The claims of the Nonconformist missionaries to establishing and conducting their own denominational schools could not be ignored in an useful scheme of popular education in the "Protest islands".

In regard to schools then, the British government's treatment of the Nonconformists in the West Indies was more liberal than its attitude towards them in England. All the Nonconformist Missionary Societies which had missions in the West Indies, or which showed any interest in opening missions in the islands, were put on an equal footing with the Church of England in the framework of the Negro Education Grant.[24] The same conditions applied to the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts as to the Methodist Missionary Society or the Baptist Missionary Society.

---

23. F. Augier et al: The Making of the West Indies (Longmans, 3rd edition 1961) pp. 142-147.

24. C.O. 318/122, Grey to Missionary Societies, 10 Sept., 1835. Also C.O. 318/122, Grey to Campbell, 31 Dec., 1835.

All were allowed to erect denominational schools- all were in fact expected to conduct denominational schools.[25] In the actual allocation of money, from year to year the partiality of the British government toward the Church of England surfaced: the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts got more funds than any of the other Missionary Societies.[26] Yet this was not simply the result of the bias of the particular officials or politicians in the Colonial Office who made the allocations: it reflected the superior financial strength of that Society which enabled it to make the largest applications for funds;[27] and this superior financial strength was itself the outcome of the privileged support which English society, particularly the richer classes, gave to all the organizations of the Church of England.

It is possible to maintain then that the approach to the making of an education policy in the "Protestant islands" broadly resembled that followed in England with the major difference that the strength of the Nonconformist missionaries in the West Indies won for them the right to establish denominational schools with British tax payers' money. The Church of England in these colonies was still the favoured child of the British government; and the few Roman catholics in the "Protestant

---

25. C.O. 318/122, Grey to Missionary Societies, 10 Sept., 1835.

26. After 1836 the Mico Charity got most of the grants. Between 1838 and 1841 the Societies annual grants were usually as follows: £17,000 for the Mico Charity; £7,000 for the S.P.G. £2,000 for the C.M.S.; £1,000 each for the M.M.S. and the W.M.S.; £800 for the S.M.S. and £700 for the Ladies Negro Education Society. See C.O. 318/126; 318/130-131: 318/138-139; 318/145; 318/152.

27. C.O. 318/131, A.M. Campbell to Grey, 6 July, 1837. Also C.O. 318/139, A.M. Campbell to Grey, 31 July, 1838.

islands" were not allowed to share in the British subsidy, for any kind of schools. The Roman Catholics in Jamaica were flatly refused any grants from the British government, although their case was sympathetically presented,[28] by Governor Sligo.

If the Nonconformist missionaries in the "Protestant islands" were given a better deal than their coreligionists in England, the Roman Catholics in the "Roman Catholic islands" were treated worse than the Roman Catholics in Ireland. In Trinidad the Roman Catholic church was de facto, if not de jure[29] the established church, lending the support of religious sanctions to the slave system; and displaying little enthusiasm for the task of educating the Negroes.[30] To the British government

---

28. C.O. 137/209, Sligo to Glenelg, 11 Jan., 1836., Enclosure: Roman Catholic Petition.

29. The confusion about the status of the Roman Catholic church arose partly from doubts about the validity of certain Spanish laws. The Roman Catholic church was the established church of Spain and Spanish Trinidad. By article XI of the Capitulation the people of the colony were allowed "the free exercise of their religion". See. G. Carmichael op.cit. p. 374. No law passed by the English specifically abolished the status of the Roman Catholic Church under the Spaniards. But Chief Justice Scotland had given his opinion that on the British capture of the island all existing laws which were "entirely opposed" to any "essential constitutional principle" of Her Majesty's government, were immediately abrogated. See C.O. 295/94, Grant to Goderich, 4 Nov., 1832., Separate. Enclosure: Scotland to Grant, 31 Oct., 1832.

30. There are no references in the official materials and newspaper in the years 1797 to 1834 of Roman Catholic schools for Negroes. In 1835, however, Rev. P. Smith said that the Roman Catholics had 30 schools, of which 22 were in the parish of Port of Spain. See C.O. 295/107, Hill to Glenelg, 6 July, 1835, no. 14., Enclosure Answer to Rev. P. Smith. These, however, do not appear to have been day schools teaching the three Rs. Latrobe in 1838 recorded only one Roman Catholic day school which had started before 1834. See Latrobe: Report on Negro Education in British Guiana and Trinidad p. 52. Unfortunately the Roman Catholic records in Trinidad are not open to the public.

the Roman Catholic Church and its priests probably appeared as obstacles to desirable change, rather than as instruments of such change. This was very likely to be the case since the largely French speaking Roman Catholic priests and the Roman Catholic faith reinforced the un-English cultural orientation of these islands, in which many of the landowners were of Spanish or French extraction.[31]

The Roman Catholic priests in Trinidad could be ignored as distant voices which had no repercussions in the politics of the metropolis. It was inexpedient to treat the Roman Catholics in Ireland in a cavalier manner. Irish radicals led by fiery Daniel O'Connell and Irish sympathisers were sitting in parliament ready to expose injustice to the Roman Catholics in Ireland.[32] The centre of the struggle for religious equality for Roman Catholics in the British Empire was not in the distant colonies, but in Ireland and England.

While the British subsidy for education in the "Roman Catholic islands", like the subsidy in Ireland, went mostly into non-denominational schools, the British government allowed the Church of England and even the Nonconformist Missionary Societies, to use parts of the subsidy to establish denominational schools in these same islands. At the same time the Roman Catholic

---

31. C.O. 295/107, Hill to Glenelg, 6 July, 1835, no. 14., Enclosure: John Torrie to Hill, 15 March, 1835.

32. David Keir: The Constitutional History of Modern Britain 1485 - 1937. (Adams and Charles Black, London 1950) pp 438-440.

were refused grants; and when they continued to ask for assistance they were pledged by the British government to conduct non-denominational schools only with the little money they received.[33] This was to discriminate against the Roman Catholics in these islands even more than against their co-religionists in Ireland, where even the Church of England was not allowed to build denominational schools with government funds. Down to 1838 only the Church of England had built and was conducting denominational schools in Trinidad with the British subsidy: but in Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica and St. Lucia the Methodist Missionary Society,[34] as well as the Church of England, had built denominational schools. The reason why other Missionary Societies did not, down to 1838, erect denominational schools in these islands was that they had their missions in the "Protestant islands", and did not have the resources to expand to the "Roman Catholic islands" at this time.

In Trinidad the Methodist Missionary Society had a small mission with two missionaries.[35] But it did not apply for any part of the British subsidy to be used in Trinidad. There is no record of any British government decision not to help the Methodist mission in Trinidad with schools; and the non-participation of the Methodist Mission in the Negro Education Grant seems

---

33. C.O. 296/14, Glenelg to Hill, 15 Nov., 1838, no. 366

34. C.O. 318/156, Beecham to Stanley, 30 Sept., 1842.

35. C.O. 295/107, Hill to Glenelg, 6 July, 1835, no. 14., Enclosure: No. 11. Answer from Rev. J. Wood, Methodist missionary.

to have reflected either the peculiarity of the missionaries involved, or the Society's own priorities in the use of the British subsidy.

The failure of any of the Nonconformist Missionary Societies to build schoolhouses in Trinidad with the British subsidy emphasised the nature of the intensified religious competition of post-emancipation Trinidad: it was a race between the Roman Catholics and the Church of England. The Bishop of Barbados had to cover a large area: his jurisdiction embraced all the British Leewards and Windward islands, and Guyana as well. Partly for this reason he was slow to make a start at school building in Trinidad; and the Church Missionary Society, another Church of England agency, but operating independently of the Bishop of Barbados, started a mission in southern Trinidad in 1835.[36] It was, however, only a matter of time before the Bishop would mobilise his superior resources from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Crown Colony government of Trinidad.

The Roman Catholic leadership in Trinidad was naturally dissatisfied with the openly discriminatory policy against the Roman Catholics of the island. Even if the Church of England had not been allowed to use the British subsidy for denominational schools in Trinidad, and a strict policy of non-denominationalism had been offered to all religious groups in the island, the example of open British support for the

---

36. W/L[2] (1834-1839) C.M.S. Correspondence. Instructions to Rev. Eckel and Rev. Mulhauser on leaving for Trinidad.

development of education along denominational lines in the "Protestant islands"[37] would have drawn unfavourable reactions from the Roman Catholics in Trinidad. The Roman Catholic priests could hardly have failed to make the argument that they too should be allowed to use the subsidy for denominational schools, at least in the islands in which they constituted the religious majority. Matters appeared worse when it became clear how the British government intended to implement non-denominationalism in Trinidad.

The British government did not negotiate with the Roman Catholic leadership in any aspect of its education policy in TRinidad. If it could be said that the Roman Catholics had no missionary society in England and therefore no agency to negotiate with the British government in London, the British government had a representative in Trinidad. Lt. Governor Sir George Hill was not consulted as much as he was informed[38] that the Mico Charity would be asked to go to Trinidad as the chosen instrument of non-denominationalism.

It was probably more than coincidental that the decision to back non-denominationalism in the "Roman Catholic islands" was taken about the same time as the Mico Charity was founded.[39]

---

37. In Jamaica, Barbados and the Leeward Islands the British government permitted education to develop along denominational lines. See Latrobe: Report on Negro Education In Jamaica; also Latrobe: Report of Negro Education in the Windward and Leeward islands. pp. 53-107; 120 - 124; 136-139.

38. C.O. 296/12, Glenelg to Hill, 13 July, 1837, no. 216.

39. For the circumstances in which this Charity was founded see C. Campbell: Denominationalism and the Mico Charity Schools in Jamaica 1835 - 1842. Caribbean Studies Vol. X. no. 1V. Jan., 1971.

A special relationship developed between this organization and the Colonial Office; its books were audited[40] by accountants approved by the Colonial Office, and one of the senior officers of the department, James Stephen, sat as the representative[41] of the British government on the Board of Mico Trustees. The Charity was given a free hand in the using of the British subsidy; it was exempted from the whole business of backing the British subsidy in fixed proportions; it could accept money to build new schoolhouses[42] and then rent a building if it liked. The Charity was accorded a privileged position in the scheme of the Negro Education Grant; and in Trinidad, as in all the other islands in which it established schools, it carried the ethos of a quasi British government organization.

The main principles and methods of the Mico Charity were precisely those of the British and Foreign School Society. The British government could hardly have thought seriously that the Roman Catholics in Trinidad would be more satisfied with the Mico type of non-denominationalism that the Roman Catholics in Ireland were with the "Irish system". In the Irish system" a Roman Catholic priest had more opportunities for proselytizing[43] under the cover of non-denominationalism; but with the Mico brand of

---

40. Grey to Wainwright, 4 March, 1837, Anti-Slavery Papers E.1/12.

41. Wainwright to Grey, Nov., 1835, Anti-Slavery Papers E 1/12.

42. Most of the buildings used as schools in the West Indies were rented. See Wallbridge to Trustees, 21 Aug., 1841. Anti-Slavery Papers E.1/13.

43. For the way this was done See D. Akenson, op.cit., Chap. V.

non-denominational schools it was the Mico Charity itself, not the Roman Catholics, which could abuse the non-denominational character of the schools. The fact was that the Mico Charity though not a denominational organization, was Protestant in its orientation[44], and it distrusted and hated Roman Catholicism and would have nothing to do with the Roman Catholic priests except to be their rivals and detractors.[45] Neither the Roman Catholic Bishop nor the Bishop of Barbados welcomed the Mico Charity to Trinidad,[46] although each found the Charity less dangerous than the other.

The making of an imperial policy for education in the West Indies was the work of the politicians in the Colonial Office, that is the Secretaries of State for the Colonies and their deputies, rather than the doings of the civil servants.

---

44. All the Trustees of the Mico Charity were Protestants. Rev. J. Trew, the chief Mico Superintendent in the West Indies, was a clergyman of the Church ofEngland. Mr. Bilby in Trinidad was an Anglican. There were no Roman Catholic teachers in employment of the Charity. See. C.O. 318/138, Report of the Trustees of the Mico Charity 1838. The absence of Roman Catholic teachers was resented by the Roman Catholic leadership in Trinidad. See C.O. 253/74, Henry Darling to Russell, 9 July, 1841. no. 6., Enclosure: Bishop P. Smith to McGregor, 24 Feb., 1841.

45. An exception to this was the relation between the Mico superintendent Mr. Bilby and Abbe Power, a Roman Catholic priest who had broken away from the local Roman Catholic hierarchy. See Abbe Power to Trew, 30 May, 1837 and Bilby to Trustees, 22 Nov., 1838, Anti-Slavery Papers E 1/4 1836-1842.

46. For a full Roman Catholic statement of its objections against the Mico Charity schools See. C.O. 253/74, Henry Darling to Russell, 9 July, 1841, no. 6., Enclosure: Bishop P. Smith to Darling 24 Feb., 1841. Also W/M^5 (1839-1840) C.M.S. Correspondence Rev. A. Eckel to Secretary 25 - 29 Aug., 1840. Enclosure: Excerpts from a Letter of the Bishop of Barbados to the Clergy 1840.

It was Stanley, Lord Glenelg and Sir George Grey -- with the advise of Rev. John Sterling, a misfit Church of England clergyman with a literary turn of mind -- who were immediately responsible[47] for the non-inclusion of the Roman Catholics on the same footing as the Protestant Missionary Societies; not Henry Taylor nor James Stephen the most important of the civil servants in the Colonial Office. To some extent Taylor and Stephen shared in the normal bias of top civil servants against Roman Catholics; but Stephen at least was not enthusiastic about the Church of England: his real sympathies were with the Nonconformist missionaries.[48] When Abbe P. Smith, the Roman Catholic priest in Port of Spain, Trinidad, applied[49] for a grant of £300 to build four schoolhouses, judiciously promising that the schools would not be denominationally exclusive, Stephen's comments revealed some desire for fair play towards the Roman Catholics. The Bishop of Barbados, Stephen remarked,[50] not only could use the British subsidy in Trinidad but he commanded money from the Council in Trinidad. Stephen's conscience pricked him into suggesting a more equitable scheme[51]

---

47. C. Campbell: Towards an Imperial Policy for the Education of Negroes in the West Indies after Emancipation. The Jamaica Historical Review Vol. Vll. 1967.

48. Stephen regarded the MMS as the best in the world. See. C.O. 318/152, Stephen to Hope, 11 Nov., 1841.

49. C.O. 295/114, Hill to Glenelg, 31 March, 1837, no. 27., Enclosure: Application of Abbe Smith. Abbe P. Smith is the same person elsewhere referred to as Rev. P. Smith or Dr. P. Smith or Bishop P. Smith.

50. ibid. Stephen's note dated 9 May 1837 on back of this despatch.

51. ibid.

the British subsidy for Trinidad, or money from the Trinidad Treasury should be divided according to the proportion of Roman Catholics and Protestants in the entire community, or according to the proportion of Roman Catholic and Protestant children in the schools. Nobody took him seriously, and Stephen did not press such an embarrassing issue.[52]

Taylor when he saw the application from Abbe P. Smith, which Lt. Governor Hill of Trinidad had recommended should not be heeded,[53] advised that the Roman Catholics might be given grants if they pledged to run their schools on non-denominational lines. Such an arrangement, Taylor reminded his colleagues, would not be incompatible with the policy of the British government.[54] Lord Glenelg, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Sir George Grey his understudy, who was more actively involved in administering the Negro Education Grant, remained unconvinced of the wisdom of such a step; the Roman Catholics were not given any funds on this occasion. But the Roman Catholic leaders continued to ask the British government for assistance,[55] and in late 1838 the government conceded a grant of £300 to erect three schools in Trinidad, on condition that the schools should be non-denominational in their religious teaching.[56] Another

---

52. C.O. 318/152, Stephen to Hope, 24 Sept., 1841.

53. C.O. 295/114, Hill to Glenelg, 31 March, 1837, no. 27.

54. ibid. Taylor's note on back of this despatch.

55. C.O. 295/122, Hill to Glenelg, 28 Dec., 1838, no. 124

56. ibid.

grant of the same amount was yielded in 1839, on the same conditions.[57] These were the only two grants the Roman Catholics in Trinidad ever got from the British government; and as a guarantee against the Roman Catholics breaking their word on the point of religious teaching the ownership of the schoolhouses built with the British subsidy was to be vested jointly[58] in the Roman Catholics and the Trinidad government. Even so, it proved very difficult for the Roman Catholic priests to get the £600 in their hands. The money was given to the Governor, and he would not release it until the conditions were strictly fulfilled by the Roman Catholics.[59] The conditions could not be fulfilled before the buildings were completed; and the Roman Catholics would not have enough money to complete the buildings until the money was released. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Olympus had to fall back upon a most extraordinary expedient in the administration of the Negro Education Grant: he offered the names of two respectable Barbadian merchants[60] as securities for the due completion of the schoolhouses according to the "conditions". Throughout the Apprenticship period (1834-1838) and long afterwards, the British government and the Governor and Council in Trinidad showed a conspicuous lack of confidence in the integrity of the Roman Catholic leadership in Trinidad.

---

57. C.O. 295/129, McGregor to Russell, 10 Feb., 1840, no. 8
58. ibid. Enclosure: Actg. Governor J. Mein to McGregor 20 Jan. 1840
59. C.O. 295/129, McGregor to Russell, 10 Feb., 1840, no. 8. Also C.O. 28/135, McGregor to Russell, 8 Dec., 1840, no. 110.
60. ibid.

This lack of confidence in the leadership of the Roman CAtholic church, despite the fact that the local leadership itself was English, suggests that what offended the British government and also the colonial government, was the Roman Catholic church itself, its doctrines and its ultramontane leadership in Rome. We could expect a Protestant government in the early 1830s to discriminate against the Roman Catholic church even if an active policy of spreading English institutions and habits was not in play. With such a policy in existence the un-English character of the Roman Catholic church was bound to bring it into greater disfavour. Because of the British government did not itself take the initiative in the anglicising programme, its discrimination against the Roman Catholic church in the matter of education appears on the surface to be merely on religious ground. However, the colonial government which was pushing the anglicising programme,[61] showed more openly than the British government, that it made a connection between the need to anglicise and the need to stifle the development of state supported Roman Catholic denominational schools. Both the British government and the colonial government turned their thoughts to the use of non-denominational schools -- which were really Protestant pro-English schools in disguise -- as the best way to check Roman Catholic schools without appearing to do them any injustice. Before we turn to the separate policy of the colonial government in education, it is well to look at

---

61. C.O. 295/111, Hill to Glenelg, 4 June, 1836, no. 69. Also C.O. 295/134, McLeod to Stanley, 3 Dec., 1841, no. 16.

the actual development of schools. While the governments were planning, the clerics were at work setting up denominational schools.

The most obvious thing about the development of education during the last days of slavery was that it was off to a slow start. In the first place, there was almost no foundation upon which to build. In the "Protestant islands" it was the non-conformist missionaries who had pioneered the first day schools for slave and free children in the towns; and also Sunday schools and evening schools for chidlren of estate slaves in the countryside; and they had made a start before emancipation.[62] Trinidad never had a large body of missionaries; in fact only the Methodist Missionary Society had a mission in Trinidad before 1834, and this was always a small affair. Of course, the Roman Catholic Church claimed a large following, but its schools in the eve of emancipation could be counted on one hand. It had a school at San Juan, and another at St. Joseph, but these were not for the children of slaves; and they did not enjoy a continuous existence from the early 1830s into the immediate post emancipation period. The Roman Catholic school in Port of Spain had a continuous existence from 1832 to the time when Latrobe visited Trinidad

---

62. Latrobe: Report on Negro Education in the Windward and Leeward Islands. p. 120, 123. Also C. Campbell: The development of primary education in Jamaica 1835 - 1865. (Unpublished M.A. thesis U.W.I., 1963) p. 37.

in 1838.[63] But the point is that the Roman Catholic Church paid little or no attention to the education of the slaves, even the town slaves.

The Church of England too in the pre-1834 period devoted most of its energies to the free population, white and coloured. The Church of England had a Sunday school[64] in Port of Spain from about 1828; but no day schools before emancipation. The Methodist was the only religious group which made the slaves its main concern. Unfortunately, it was too small a mission, and only a Sunday School was started from about the time of their advent to the island.[65]

Emancipation did not bring a flood of non-conformist missionaries to Trinidad. The expansion of non-conformist missions occured in those islands where they had already established a footing in the pre-emancipation period.[66] Only the C.M.S. which was Church of England in its creeds, came to Trinidad to explore the new opportunities for missions after 1834. This Society undertook a programme of expansion to meet the challenge of preparing the Negro apprentices for freedom; but it put most of its money and agents into Jamaica[67] where it had a small mission since the early 1820s, and not into Trinidad where it was starting a new venture.

---

63. Latrobe: Report on Negro Education in British Guiana and Trinidad p. 52; 84. This school was conducted by Abbe Power.

64. ibid., p. 52.

65. ibid.

66. C.O. 318/126, Dyer to Grey, 8 Jan., 1836 (B.M.S.); C.O. 318/126, J. Beecham to Grey, 20 Jan., 1836 (W.M.S.); C.O. 318/126, Ellis to Grey, 13 Feb., 1836 (L.M.S.); C.O. 318/126, Latrobe to Grey, 23 Jan., 1836 (M.M.S.)

67. C.O. 318/122, Coates to Grey, 26 Nov., 1835.

The C.M.S. had been encouraged to open a mission in Trinidad by the prospect of getting funds for schools from the British government. Even before the two missionaries, Rev. A. Eckel and Rev. J. Mulhauser, both of German extraction, left England, the C.M.S. had applied to the British government for money to build two schoolhouses in Trinidad.[68] Eckel and Mulhauser were instructed to scout the area around their intended mission stations, to select sites for schoolhouses and the necessary mission buildings, and to start training a handful of teachers.[69]

The two C.M.S. pioneers, on their arrival in Trinidad encountered the normal difficulties surrounding the starting of a West Indian mission from scratch. Their difficulties were similar in type, but not in intensity to those of the L.M.S. agents who opened a new mission in Jamaica in 1834. Eckel and Mulhauser overcame their initial difficulties easier than Rev. Slatyer, Rev. Barrett, Rev. Alloway and Rev. Vine in Jamaica. For one thing, the L.M.S. missionaries in Jamaica had to encounter fierce opposition from other non-conformist missionaries[70] not

---

68. The C.M.S. under the secretaryship of Rev. Coates took a leading role among the Missionary Societies in negotiating the terms of the Negro Education Grant with the British government. See C.O. 318/122, Coates to T. Buxton, 3 Dec., 1834; Rev. P. Latrobe to Coates, 22 Dec., 1834; Rev. Dyer to Coates, 6 Jan., 1835.

69. W/L 2 (1834-1839) C.M.S. Correspondence. Instructions to Rev. Eckel and Mulhauser on leaving for Trinidad, 1835.

70. Rev. Vine to Ellis, 19 Jan., 1836. Box 1. Folder 11. Also Howell to Ellis, 23 May, 1837. Box 11. Folder 1. Jacket C. L.M.S. Correspondence.

simply from the established Church of England. In southern Trinidad where Eckel and Mulhauser established themselves, the field was open except for opposition from the Roman Catholic Church. And this really meant the Roman Catholic priests, who were few in number and had themselves a large area to cover. Again it proved easier to obtain land in Trinidad than in Jamaica. Eckel and Mulhauser the first of whom established his headquarters at Savanna Grande, and the latter at San Fernando, did not face great difficulties in getting land upon which to build their schoolhouses.[71]

In Jamaica the C.M.S. missionaries and also the missionaries of the L.M.S. in fact, many non-conformist missionaries in the "Protestant islands", found that one of the greatest obstacles to the speedy erection of schoolhouses was the difficulty of getting a proper site with a clear title.[72] But Trinidad had an abundance of land; and although titles to many properties in the island were insecure, or even non-existent, the absence of fierce competition for school sites in southern Trinidad meant that Eckel and Mulhauser could choose their sites, either on Crown lands given by the Government, or on private estates where the owners were in a position to give a proper title. Better yet for the C.M.S. they did not have to buy land, like so many missionaries in other West Indian islands in the post-emancipation period. They were given land by the Government.[73]

---

71. C.O. 295/110, Hill to Glenelg, 6 March, 1836.

72. Rev. J. Stainsby to Rev. Pantin 30 Nov. 1835. C.M.S. Correspondence. Also C.O. 318/131, Coates to Grey, 8Sept., 1837.

73. C.O. 295/110, Hill to Glenelg, 9 April, 1836, no. 40.

Even so there were other difficulties which delayed the erection of the schoolhouses. One was the sheer fact that Eckel and Mulhauser were trying to do the work of five or eight missionaries. Each with the typical urge of the missionary to expand, lopped off a georgraphical area too large for his effective superintendence. Eckel set up his headquarters at Savanna Grande, but spread his activities from Monteserrat through the Negro American Villages, to Moruga on the south coast.[74] This was difficult country to travel. Rev. Mulhauser was even more ambitious and expansive; the area he took for his mission extended from Pointe-a-Pierre, through the Naparimas, with his base in the growing port town of San Fernando.[75] His eye, if not regular activities, extended across the Oropouche Lagoon, as far south as Cedros.[76] Each missionary called upon the C.M.S. to send him reinforcements:[77] more funds, more agents, expecially European teachers and catechists. In 1837 each was sent a European catechist who had a family,[78] but this was not enough help.

At any rate European catechists could not actually build the schoolhouses; they could help with the supervision of the buildings. Native labourers, tradesmen would be necessary.

---

74. W/M 3 (1834-1837) Eckel to Secretary, 1 July, 1836. C.M.S. Correspondence.

75. W/M 3 Mulhauser to Secretary, 13 March, 1837 and 15 June 1837. C.M.S. Correspondence.

76. W/M 3 (1834-1837) Mulhauser to Secretary, 18 July, 1836. C.M.S. Correspondence.

77. ibid.

78. Mulhasuer to Secretary, 15 Jan., 1838. C.M.S. Correspondence

Eckel and Mulhauser found that there was a shortage of local tradesmen[79], but they were in less a plight than missionaries in Jamaica where there was a boom in church and missionary buildings in the years 1834 to 1840.[80] There was no evidence of anything which could be called a building boom in Trinidad in these years, most certainly not in southern Trinidad. The missionaries were new to the island and Negro tradesmen were still apprentices on the estates. Carpenters were eventually employed; but then other difficulties ensued: rain fell and held up the construction, and the roads were so bad that lumber could be brought to the building sites only with gread difficulty.[81] Mulhauser in San Fernando was able to get up his first schoolhouse faster than Eckel in Savanna Grande. Timber could be brought in quicker by sea to San Fernando than it could be cut in the forest and carted across a handful of miles to Eckel's site in Savanna Grande.[82]

Before Eckel and Mulhauser could erect the two schools for which they had got British government subsidies in 1835, the C.M.S. had got more money from the Negro Education Grant for more schoolhouses.[83] The assumption of the British government that

---

79. W/M 3 (1834-1837) Eckel to Secretary 12-15 April, 1836. Also Mulhauser to Secretary 15 June, 1837. C.M.S. Correspondence.

80. C. Campbell: The Development of Primary Education in Jamaica 1835-1865. (Unpublished M.A. thesis 1963 U.W.I.) pp. 49-51.

81. W/M 3 (1834-1837) Eckel to Secretary, 31 Dec., 1836. C.M.S. Correspondence.

82. W/M 3 (1834-1837) Eckel to Secretary, 31 Dec., 1836. C.M.S. Correspondence.

83. W/L 2 (1834-1839) Coates to Eckel and Mulhauser, 1 Nov., 1836. C.M.S. Correspondence.

clerics in the West Indies could receive money, build and open a school within a year was hardly ever justified; and with pioneers like Eckel and Mulhauser it was out of the question. By the end of 1836 Eckel and Mulhauser got schools going, not to mention churches. What had helped them was the decision to purchase buildings in some cases instead of always building a new schoolhouse. Mulhauser had erected a school at San Fernando, which he partitioned into an Infant and a Juvenile School[84] The same building accommodated the teacher. Eckel who found building more difficult, rented a house in one of the Negro American Villages, and at Savanna Grande he had purchased a house to be used as a school.[85] Each had further plans for expansion; for more schools within his area of operation. But they were off to a slow start.

In the first two years of the Apprenticeship however, the C.M.S. missionaries were more actively conducting schools for apprentices' children than either the Roman Catholics or the Church of England. The Bishop of Barbados did not undertake to build any schools in Trinidad with the British subsidy for 1835. On the whole, Protestants in Trinidad felt strongly that the Bishop of Barbados had neglected Trinidad in favour of other areas of his Diocese.[86] Most of them had in mind the inadequate facilities and staff for church services;[87] in 1836 there was

---

84. W/M^3 (1834-1837) Mulhauser to Secretary, 15 Aug., 1836. C.M.S. Correspondence.

85. W/M^3 (1834-1837) Eckel to Secretary, 12 Aug., 1836. C.M.S. Correspondence.

86. P.O.S.G., 26 June, 1835, Letter from "Theodosius".

87. ibid. 6 May, 1836, Editorial.

only one Anglican Church in Trinidad, and one Anglican minister, namely Rev. Cummins who was an elderly man incapable of travelling far from Port of Spain. The affairs of this one church in Port of Spain formed the subject of frequent complaints.[88] Barbados was undoubtedly better provided for; with a Church of England theological seminary in Barbados, Protestants in Trinidad could not understand why no ministers were being sent to Trinidad.

It would be a mistake to think that the main criticism of the Bishop of Barbados concerned the absence of schools for the Negro apprentices. The burden of the newspaper attacks upon the Bishop, especially in April 1836 when he paid one of his infrequent visits to the island, was that the affairs of Trinity Church, Port of Spain, needed organisation, that the colony needed more clergymen, and that the Church of England should spread to central and southern Trinidad.[89] This partly reflects the usual priority given by the white upper classes of the West Indies to the provision of church facilities over the provision of day schools for the masses. Expenditure on salaries for clergymen and priests,[90] and on church buildings was always in excess of expenditure on schools. This was so before 1834, and it continued to be the case until the late 19th century. Priority was given to churches and ministers over schools and

---

88. ibid., 1 May 1835, Letter from "A High Churchman". Also P.O.S.G., 12 June, 1835, Editorial.

89. P.O.S.G., 8 May, 1835, Letter from a "Protestant".

90. See Appendix 1

teachers partly because the churches were partly designed for the use of the upper classes; also because religious instruction for the lower classes was seen as more important than literacy.

The priority of the upper classes was also the priority of the clerics themselves whatever their denomination. One of the most serious results of the leadership of clerics in the provision of education was that they subordinated it to the preaching of the gospel. This was a logical consequence of the way in which they conceived education for the masses. To them it meant primarily religious instruction leading to moral reformation rather than knowledge and skills in literacy leading to increased control over the environment and to social mobility.[91] Once education for the masses was conceived in this manner, it followed that it should be closely supervised by clerics; that schools could not stand alone; that they needed the moral support of churches and preachers of the gospel. Since all the religious groups in Trinidad were badly in need of clerics, the first stage in a programme of education for the masses was an increase in priests and clergymen. The C.M.S. had sent two to southern Trinidad. The Bishop of Barbados claimed that he could not find clergymen to work in Trinidad. The Scottish Secession Church sent a Rev. J. Kennedy to open a mission in the island in January 1836.[92] The Roman Catholic Church also wanted more priests;

---

91. C. Campbell: The Development of Primary Education in Jamaica 1835-1865 (Unpublished M.A. thesis U.W.I., 1963) pp 91-92

92. P.O.S.G., 26 Jan., 1836, Editorial. Also P.O.S.G., 23 Sept., 1836.

and if we are to believe Eckel and Mulhauser by early 1838 sixteen Roman Catholic priests had arrived from Ireland and France.[93] Probably the Roman CAtholics had been slowly adding to their number of priests from 1836; for Sir Andrew Halliday on his visit to the island in 1837 spoke of the recent arrival of Roman Catholic priests.[94] As far as clerical reinforcements were concerned, the Roman Catholic Church brought in more priests quicker than the Church of England.

The record of the Roman Catholics in the provision of schools improved during the Apprenticeship. Between 1834 and mid 1838 they had been pushed into action by the impending changes in the status of the slaves, and the coming of more Church of England agents to the island. By 1838 Charles Latrobe, the school inspector of the British government, recorded nine Roman Catholic Schools; in Port of Spain, in San Juan (1838); St. Joseph (1838), Arima; San Fernando (two; 1836 and 1838), Savanna Grande (1837) and Oropouche (1837).[95] It would appear that only a few children of the apprentices attended these schools; this was partly because some of these schools were not intended primarily for them. For instance the Roman Catholic schools in Port of Spain and St. Joseph charged fees of 1s. per week[96] which is enough indication that their clientele was not

---

93. W/M Mulhasuer to Secretary, 15 Jan., 1838. C.M.S. Correspondence 4

94. Sir Andrew Halliday: The West Indies: The Natural and Physical History of the Windward and Leeward Colonies (London, 1837) p. 323.

95. Latrobe: Report on Negro Education inBritish Guiana & Trinidad pp. 52-55.

96. ibid., p. 52.

from the apprentice population. The schools in the rural areas were doubtlessly meant for children of free parents.[97] The point is that the Roman Catholic Church had made a start in providing day schools for the masses, and for a church which did not have access to the British subsidy, nor to grants from the Trinidad government, nor to regular subsidies from co-religionists abroad, the start was promising.

While starting schools for the masses the Roman Catholic Church developed an interest in education of the local elite. St. Joseph Convent for girls was started in 1836[98] and St. Georges for boys in 1838.[99] These were secondary schools giving a superior type of education to a superior type of students, white and coloured. The interest which the Roman Catholic priests showed at this period in the education of the local elite remained a constant feature of that church's role in education in Trinidad.

When Latrobe reported in June 1838 almost all the elementary schools with the exception of the Roman Catholic schools had gained assistance from the British subsidy. The Methodists had only one day school (Cedar Hill) which they had built with their own funds.[100] The Mico Charity which had arrived in the colony in early 1837 had set up a Teacher Training school in Port of Spain and had attached a boys' and a girls' school to it.[101]

---

97. ibid., pp. 52-55.
98. P.O.S.G., 19 Feb., 1836, Advertisement by Ladies of St. Joseph.
99. P.O.S.G., 9 Jan., 1838, Prospectus of St. Geroges College.
100. Latrobe: Report on Negro Education in British Guiana and Trinidad p. 54.
101. ibid., p. 52

Outside of Port of Spain their first schools were in Diego Martin,[102] and in Canaan. The C.M.S. had started six schools mostly in the Naparimas, all of which had been assisted with money from the Negro Education Grant.[103] Four of the eight schools which were started by the Bishop of Barbados had been given building grants from the British government[104] all of them had been assisted with their maintenance cost by either the S.P.G. or the Trinidad government. If we take the schools of the Bishop, along with those of the C.M.S., the Church of England, largely through its command of money from the British and the Trinidad government, had clearly taken the lead over the Roman Catholic Church as a provider of schools for the masses. Yet at this time the Roman Catholic Church had more priests than the Church of England had clergymen;[105] and the Roman Catholic Church was getting more money from the Trinidad government for the maintenance of its priests THAN the Church of England. The latter led in the provision of schools, the former in the provision of religious worship for its followers. If we recall the Protestant bias of the Mico Charity, then it becomes obvious that the most serious challenge which the

---

102. ibid., p. 52, 54.

103. ibid., pp. 34-36: 54

104. ibid., 31-32.

105. C.O. 295/107, Hill to Glenelg, 6 July, 1835, no. 14., Enclosures: Reply of Rev. P. Smith; Reply of Rev. J. Cummings. There was 1 Church of England clergyman and 13 Roman Catholic priests. By 1838 there were 6 Church of England clergymen and 15 Roman Catholic priests. See C.O. 295/121, Hill to Glenelg, 26 June, 1838, no. 62. and Hill to Glenelg, 5 July, 1838, no. 68.

Church of England offered to the Roman Catholic church during the Apprenticeship was in the education of the children of the colony.

Thanks to the report of inspector Latrobe we have a comprehensive picture of the location of the new schools as they were founded in the Apprenticeship period. It seems remarkable that the estate schools were not founded at all in Trinidad during the Apprenticeship. In Antigua and Jamaica these institutions in which missionaries conducted day schools for "free children" with facilities provided by estate owners were well known.[106] Their absence in Trinidad is partly another result of the lack of missionary activity in the colony. On the whole the planter class of Trinidad showed remarkably little concern to use schools as means of attracting the apprentices to remain on the estates after the end of the Apprenticeship;[107] or as means of inculcating into the minds of the children of the apprentices a taste for agricultural work. The planter class of Trinidad during the Apprenticeship did not raise the cry of "industrial instruction"[108] for the children of the

---

106. In both Jamaica and Antigua the Moravians, who were generally very friendly to the planters had excelled in the conduct of estate schools. As there was no formal "Apprenticeship" in Antigua the reference to free children applies only to Jamaica. See Periodical Accounts Vol. XIII. pp. 70 - 71. Report on Moravian schools in Jamaica (March 1834). M.M.S. Archives.

107. C.O. 295/107, Hill to Glenelg, 6 July, 1835, no. 14.

108. This was a popular idea among the planters in Jamaica. It meant that children should work on the estates or at least be taught to like agriculture through the use of school gardens. See. C. Campbell: The Development of Vocational Training in Jamaica: First steps. Caribbean Quarterly Vol. 11 no. 1 and 11. March and June, 1965.

apprentices. This was probably because so few schools had sprung into existence that the planter class did not see them at this stage as a serious threat to their labour supply; hence no need to call the attention of the clerical schoolmasters to the wisdom of habituating school children to working on the estates. It is also likely that many planters were convinced that the existing labouring population could not provide an adequate labour force anyway;[109] and that more labourers would have to be imported into Trinidad if the sugar industry was to be saved. The Apprenticeship period seemed to have mattered less to the planter class of Trinidad than to those of Jamaica because the Trinidad planters appeared to be looking less to the existing population of apprentices to solve their labour problems. Hence the task of brainwashing the children of the existing population of apprentices into agricultural work on the estates was not attempted seriously.

Naturally the schools developed in 1834-1838 in a context of stern religious rivalries, mainly between Church of England and the Roman Catholic church. As far as schools were concerned it was not a rivalry in the sense that two or three schools controlled by rival denominations were standing cheek by jowl and drawing away one another's pupils. Apart from the two towns of Port of Spain and San Fernando, there were only two

---

109. C.O. 295/105, Burnley to Stanley, 24 Jan., 1834.

areas in all of Trinidad where rival schools were anywhere near each other. This was at St. Joseph where the Church of England and the Roman Catholics each had a school;[110] at Savanna Grande where the Church Missionary Society and the Roman Catholics had one school each.[111] To a lesser extent the same observation might justifiably be made about the location of Roman Catholic churches and Church of England chapels; apart from Port of Spain and San Fernando the Roman Catholic churches and Church of England chapels were not near to each other. What this meant was that Port of Spain was the centre of the Roman Catholic-Church of England rivalry; and in the rural areas the trouble arose because clerics were expansive in their thinking, if not always in their actual activities, and these were not mutually recognised zones of influence for any of the denominations. Each group insisted on regarding the island as open to the instrusion of its faith;[112] but none had the staff or the money to give adequate religious services to all the scattered communities of Trinidad.

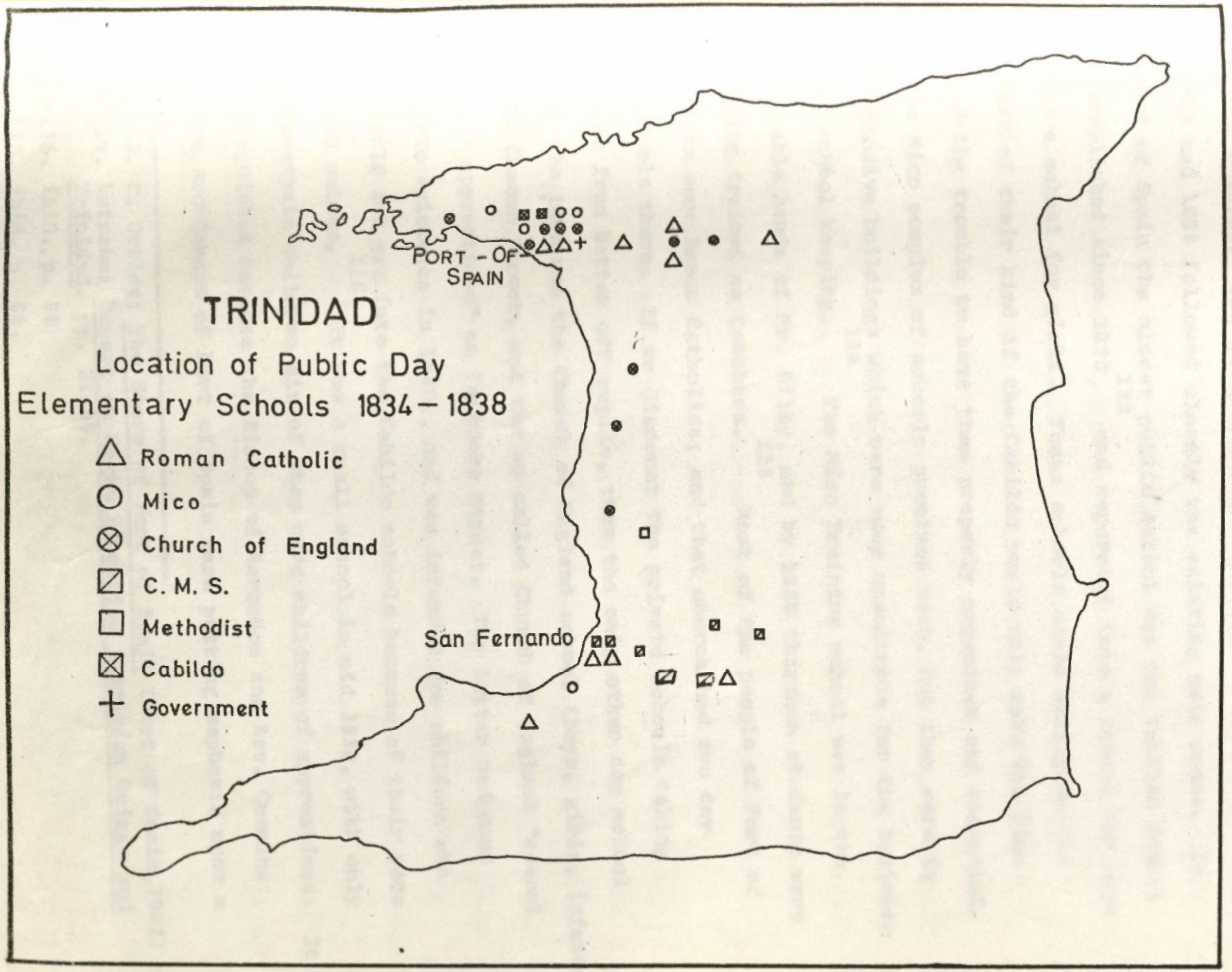
There was such a great lack of schools in Trinidad that the first wave of schools in the post-emancipation period was not badly located. The population of Trinidad was scattered along the main roads, with major concentrations at San Fernando and Port of Spain; it was also scattered on or near the sugar and

---

110. Latrobe: Report on Negro Education in British Guiana and Trinidad. p. 52

111. ibid., p. 54.

112. C.O. 295/107, Hill to Glenelg, 6 July, 1835, no. 14., Enclosure: Answer of Rev. P. Smith. Also Bishop Parry to Hawkins 14 July 1843. Correspondence of Thomas Parry, Bishop of Barbados S.P.G. Archives.


PORT - OF - SPAIN
TRINIDAD
Location of Public Day
Elementary Schools 1834 – 1838
Roman Catholic
Mico
Church of England
C. M. S.
Methodist
Cabildo
Government
San Fernando

cocoa estates. The geographical dispersion of schools between 1834 and 1838 followed closely the existing main roads. In Port of Spain the oldest public school was the Cabildo School established since 1823,[113] and separated into a school for boys and a school for girls. These schools could easily be the best of their kind if the Cabildo would only take the time and the trouble to have them properly organized and conducted. The Mico complex of schools promised much, but they were in expensive buildings which were very unsuitable for the business of school keeping.[114] The Mico Training school was in the capable hands of Mr. Bilby, and by 1838 thirteen students were being trained as teachers.[115] Most of the people of Port of Spain were Roman Catholics; and that church had two day schools there. If we discount the private schools taking fees from better off pupils, then the only other day school in the town was the Church of England school (boys, girls, infants) at Chacon Street, and the so called Church of England "school for apprentices" on Pembroke Street. The latter had come into existence in 1830, and was intended for children who could not get into the Cabildo schools because of their race and colour.[116] It was a small school in mid 1838, with only twentysix children, six of whom were children of apprentices. It languished because the Bishop of Barbados and Rev. Cummins the Archdeacon of Port of Spain were putting emphasis upon a

---

113. C. Ottley: The Story of Port of Spain (Port of Spain, 1962) p.57.
114. Latrobe: Report on Negro Education in British Guiana and Trinidad. pp. 38-39.
115. ibid., p. 39
116. ibid., p. 83.

new range of "national schools".

Three miles west of Port of Spain was the small village of Cocorite. The people were mostly poor, oriented toward French culture and Roman Catholic in religion.[117] Yet the Church of England was the first to start a school there.[118] The Bishop of Barbados had named this site as one on which a schoolhouse could be built with the British subsidy. But down to mid 1838 the school was still being kept in a house, without the actual site for the new schoolhouse being selected. Further to the west of Cocorite was the unhealty district of Carenage. With over 500 people Carenage[119] certainly deserved a school. The Roman Catholics had built a chapel; but it was the Mico Charity whose plans for a school in Carenage seemed most advanced. The Mico Charity was already keeping a school in the Diego Martin Valley;[120] a more thickly populated area than Carenage. The early start of the Mico Charity in Diego Martin Valley was the result of their tecnique of renting rather than constructing buildings whenever possible. The Bishop had plans for a school at Diego Martin. The Church of England usually claimed that immigrants from the British West Indies islands were Protestants; here in the valley there were agricultural immigrants from Tortula[121] and other West Indian colonies.

---

117. ibid., p. 31

118. ibid.

119. ibid., p. 39

120. ibid.

121. ibid.

Eastward from Port of Spain schools had sprung up along the Eastern Main Road. San Juan was an old village; and its residents were chiefly of Spanish descent. This meant that they were Roman Catholics. There was a Roman Catholic chapel and a resident Roman Catholic priest. It was he who kept a small school when time allowed.[122] St. Joseph like San Juan was a heavily Roman Catholic area. Since 1827 there had been two schools there, one for boys and another for girls of free parents. These had a semi-official status since part of their funds came from money at the disposal of the Commandant of the Quarter of St. Joseph.[123] Latrobe considered them the best Roman Catholic schools in the island.[124]

About three miles eastward of St. Joseph, the district of Tacarigua began. A number of Englishmen had bought sugar estates in the area. William Burnley was the biggest planter in the area; Orange Grove Estate was his showpiece. Burnley's house had been the centre of meeting to discuss the establishment of a chapel, and a school, and a clergyman for the district.[125] Burnley even gave a piece of land, and the Bishop of Barbados with the help of the Negro Education Grant erected a schoolhouse which was also used as a temporary chapel.

Further along the eastern Main Road was Arima. Arima, in 1838 had only the remnants of a mission; the Amerindians were

---

122. Latrobe, p.84

123. ibid.

124. ibid.

125. P.O.S.G., 22 July, 1836, Advertisement: Fund to build Protestant Church, school and minister's house.

on the decline and the area was poor. The Roman Catholics had a school and a European teacher there; and part of his salary came from the proceeds of a liquor store in the village.[126] Beyond Arima was a track which led to the Negro settlements of Quare and La Sieva, but the whole of the area east of Arima had no school at all.

In central Trinidad the only schools were those at Chaguanas, Couva and Savonetta. Here the Church of England and the Methodists had taken the lead, with the Roman Catholics having no school in the area. The apprentices here were reportedly eager for education for their children. In Chaguanas, Latrobe recorded that they had contributed £200 to build a chapel-school;[127] at Windsor Park, an estate near Savonetta, some apprentices offered to give free labour to build a Church of England school-house,[128] and at Cedar Hill, another estate in the Savonetta district, the Methodists supervised a school taught by an apprentice and supported partly by fees from the apprentices.[129]

Pointe-a-Pierre, between Savonetta and San Fernando on the coast was an area in which the C.M.S. missionary, Rev. Mulhauser had a strong interest. As yet a school was not there, for Mulhauser had been concentrating more on San Fernando and the Naparimas.[130] There were about 1,100 persons in San Fernando;

---

126. Latrobe, p. 84. The mention of this source of finance seemed to be an attempt by Latrobe to discredit the Roman Catholic priests as educators.

127. Latrobe, p. 32

128. ibid.

129. ibid., p. 84

130. ibid., p. 85.

but it had only a Roman Catholic day school for youths with a section for infants; also a C.M.S. day school, for youths and infants, kept in the same building. These schools were attended by the children of the people in the town, not by children of apprentices. They were not well patronised as altogether only 112 children attended them.[131]

A few schools had been started in south Naparima, and along the Savanna Grande road to the American villages. Eastwards to the latter place there were no settlements; but south-west of Oropouche were many scattered settlements none of which had a school in the middle of 1838. Oropouche itself was slightly more fortunate: it had a small Roman Catholic school irregularly taught by the priest from Siparia.[132] In the south Naparimas a rivalry was shaping between the Mico Charity and the C.M.S,[133] but it was the Charity which first got up a school at Canaan. At Belmont the C.M.S. kept classes in a half-finished schoolhouse partly being paid for by a British subsidy.[134] At Jordon Hill the Society was trying something different in its school: to develop a boarding school where pupils, it was thought, would benefit more from schooling since they were separated from the immorality of their parents.[135] The C.M.S. also taught a school at Palmyra in south Naparima.[136]

---

131. ibid., pp. 33-34; p. 54

132. ibid., p. 85

133. W/M^3 (1834-1837) Mulhauser to Secretary, 11 Oct., 1837. C.M.S. Correspondence.

134. Latrobe, p. 34

135. ibid.

136. ibid.

Eastwards of the Naparimas were two interesting areas which attracted the attention of the denominations as suitable places for schools and churches. At Savanna Grande the Roman Catholics still had a small school taught by the resident priest, and supported by fees from parents, free and apprenticed.[137] The C.M.S. had used a British government subsidy to build a substantial schoolhouse at Savanna Grande.[138] The area badly needed schools because on the San Fernando side there were a number of sugar estates with Negro apprentices; and in Savanna Grande north there were clusters of small settlers, of French and Spanish extraction, interspersed over hilly country.

Near Dunmore Hill and Monkey Town, on the north side of the Savanna Grande Road, the American villages started. There were seven such villages with about 828 Negro American "refugees" and their descendants.[139] The C.M.S. was doing most of work in helping the villages. It opened a school at Indian Walk, near the second, third and fifth villages; and another at Dunmore Hill near the sixth village.[140] Plans were afoot to start another C.M.S. school, this time near the fourth village, situated north of the Savanna Grande road, near the village of Montserrat.

The schools were not only small, geographically scattered institutions reflecting the patterns of settlement in the

---

137. ibid., p. 85
138. ibid., p. 34
139. ibid., p. 35
140. ibid.

colony; they also mirrored the social structure. Most people in Trinidad probably had a static conception of social relations in which it was presumed that a man should remain in the social class into which he was born. This notion applied particularly to the Negro apprentice population; for in relation to them it was buttressed by the economic self interest and racialism of those who propounded such theories, namely the upper classes. None of the school promoters of Trinidad was free from these social assumptions. Although there were radical missionaries, there was no radical missionary movement in Trinidad comparable to that of the Baptist mission in Jamaica.[141] In fact, Trinidad was in the position of having as the major school promoters, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Church of England, whose social and economic interests were closely identified with those of the planters of the colony.[142] Such was the

---

141. Two radical missionaries in Trinidad were Rev. J. Kennedy (Scottish Secession Church) and Rev. G. Cowan.(Baptist). For some of their activities See Trinidad Standard, 8 Aug., 1844. Proceedings of the Trinidad Auxillary Anti-Slavery Society. For radical action by the Baptists in Jamaica See P. Curtin: Two Jamaicas: The Role of Ideas in a Tropical Colony 1830-1865. (Greenwood Press, 1968) pp.163-165;182-184.

142. C.O. 295/124, Dr. P. Smith to Glenelg, 8 Sept., 1838. Some members of the West India interest in England encouraged the British government to give aid to the efforts of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to recruit more priests. See. C.O. 295/124, Joseph Harryat and Sons, Thomas Hankey and Co., Ellis Russell and Co. et al to Glenelg, 5 Sept, 1838 (London). Lt. Governor Hill usually praised the Roman Catholic priests under Dr. Smith as a force for peace and stability. See C.O. 295/107, Hill to Glenelg, 6 July, 1835, no. 14.

weight of conservative social attitudes upon both churches that they were very slow in developing anything remotely resembling a liberal view of the role of the Negroes in Trinidad society. After a decade in the school business neither church had a Teacher Training College for Negro youths. Neither had promoted anything like secondary education for even a few Negroes. In Jamaica the non-conformist missionaries, particularly the Baptists, the Independents and some of the Presbyterians and Moravians were quicker to offer the Negroes something more than elementary education but less than a sound secondary education.[143]

The grand purpose of popular education in Trinidad as in England, was not the spread of knowledge and skills which led to higher paid jobs and to upward social nobility. Its purpose was to spread religious instruction, yet without the fierce determination of the evangelical non-conformist missionaries to bring about a moral regeneration of the Negroes. There was the conviction that children should be educated according to the social position of their parents; the Negro masses were the labouring class of the island, and the kind of education which fitted their social position was religious instruction plus a modicum of literacy and skills in basic calculations.[144]

---

143. C. Campbell: The Development of Primary Education in Jamaica 1835-1865. (Unpublished M.A. thesis U.W.I., 1963) pp. 247-254.

144. Latrobe: Report on Negro Education in British Guiana and Trinidad pp. 52-55.

Children of upper class parents were entitled to more than this; to some exposure to the cultured curriculum of the classics, and to other studies leading into the professions.[145] Most often they did not get this, unless their parents were rich enough to send them abroad for education.

The elementary day schools were for Negro children, and all other schools above these were closed to them. What is more difficult is to decide the extent to which coloured children were excluded from the upper class private schools. Latrobe was not struck by the same tight colour bar as he had witnessed in Barbados. Probably a few near whites (light coloureds) who could afford it got into the Roman Catholic establishments: St. Georges and St. Joseph Convent. The fees were high; £48 per annum for St. Joseph.[146] At. St. Georges the fees were reduced shortly after the opening of the school: parents with two children at the school at least three months would pay £54 per annum instead of £60; and those with three children would pay £72 instead of £90.[147] The advertisement for St. Joseph Convent was in French; and this indicated that the patronage was expected to come particularly from French creole families. St. Joseph was said to be organised on "the plan of superior boarding schools in the mother country".[148] It seems obvious

---

145. C.O. 295/107, Hill to Glenelg, 6 July, 1835, no. 14., Enclosure: List of English Schools for Boys in Port of Spain. Rev. David Evans, chaplain to the forces, ran a private school for white boys only. The curriculum included Latin and Greek Also P.O.S.G., 9 Jan., 1838, Prospectus of St. Georges College.

146. Latrobe: Report on Negro Education in British Guiana and Trinidad. p. 54.

147. P.O.S.G., 22 June, 1838, Advertisement St. Georges College.

148. Latrobe, p. 84

that St. Joseph and St. Georges were meant for children of the upper classes who might have been thinking of sending their children to England or Europe.

In June 1835 a correspondent styling himself "Impartial Observer" alleged that no coloured children were admitted into private schools run by whites.[149] This assertion was denied by the Editor of the Port of Spain Gazette who said that he knew of white controlled private schools which accepted coloureds.[150] He did not, however, name the schools. There were sixteen private schools in Port of Spain according to Latrobe's count,[151] but we do not know how many, if any, were run by coloured persons. The issue of colour prejudice in private schools flared up in May 1835 when a coloured store owner in Port of Spain, Mr. Laquerrade complained that a school run by Messrs Howe and Torrie had refused to admit his son on the ground that the school was for whites only.[152] Laquerrade alleged that some white parents had threatened to withdraw their children if coloured pupils were admitted. This school, said Laquerrade, was inimical to social harmony in Port of Spain. The charges were true because one of the sponsors of the school, Mr. Torrie claimed that his partner's (Howe) refusal to accept Laquerrade's son was done without his permission. Torrie said that he would

---

149. P.O.S.G., 16 June, 1835, Letter from "Impartial Observer".

150. P.O.S.G., 16 June, 1835, Editorial.

151. Latrobe, p. 54.

152. P.O.S.G., 9 June, 1835, Letter from Laquerrade.

keep his own school which would accept coloured children, and the extent of his partnership with Howe's school would not go beyond "an exchange of lessons".[153] What this probably meant was an exchange of teachers for the two schools, one of which would accept coloured students, the other being an all white institution. The object of Torrie and Howe, before this scandal broke, had been to unite their separate schools into a single boarding school.

The curricula of the schools in Trinidad reflect the class assumptions of the educators. It is not known precisely what the higher elements of the curricula were at St. Georges and St. Joseph Convent in the 1830s. It is important however to observe that because of the class association of schools, all those schools which give education to the upper classes had elementary departments, even when the schools were classified as secondary schools. This is because upper class children did not go to the elementary schools run by the churches for the lower class children. This is to be seen clearly in the promised syllabus of one of the small private Port of Spain schools. The promoters were a couple, Mr. & Mrs. Collingwood, who claimed that they had taught a school in Berbice. The syllabus was the three R's and composition, and for this students would have to pay $4 per month.[154] But this was only the basic syllabus and the basic fees. Extra subjects at extra

---

153. P.O.S.G., 12 June, 1835, Letter from Torrie

154. P.O.S.G., 14 Feb., 1837, Advertisement: School of Mr. and Mrs. Collingwood.

fees were available. For an extra $1 per month geography, and for another $1 per month fancy needle work could be had. Italian, practical maths, and Latin would each cost another $3 per month.[155] Fashionable ladies of upper class families frequently delighted in singing classical Italian melodies. The Collinwoods also promised to offer French and English which probably meant that they would accept both English and French speaking pupils.

We cannot even guess what standard of living the Collinwoods were able to afford. Such schools then as now, were run as business houses. What we can be more certain of is this: if the Collinwoods had any prestige in Port of Spain it derived more from their status as white people than for their job as teachers. In a materialist community which had put so little store by formal education in the colony, teachers could not be accorded a high status as professionals. Where the clerics also taught schools their prestige in the community arose from being white and from being preachers.

The salaries paid to the teachers of the popular day schools reflect the low status of such teachers in the community. It also reveals the subordinate social position of the native teacher to the European teacher. Each denomination had its own salary range for teachers. Where teachers were also catechists as at the C.M.S. schools at Belmont and Savanna Grande, salaries could rise to £170.[156] But obviously such teachers' pay included

---

155. ibid.

156. Latrobe, pp.53-54.

remuneration for work done as catechists. Nothing is known about the salaries paid to Roman Catholic teachers at this time, but there is no reason to believe that they paid any better than the Church of England. In fact the Roman Catholics had less money to pay salaries, and a few of their schools were taught by priests, thus obviating the necessity to pay salaries.

The only known pattern of salaries was in the schools sponsored by the Bishop of Barbados. The usual pay to a male teacher, a native probably coloured, was £80 per annum[157] of which the Bishop usually paid a half, and the Trinidad government the other half. This was the arrangement at Pembroke Street school, also at Tacarigua school, Chaguanas, Couva River and Indian Walk day schools. The salaries of European teachers varied. The standardization of salaries of native teachers suggests that the Bishop was not inclined to bargain with them. They had to take what he offered; and this was less than what European teachers got.

It is not possible to maintain that a European teacher got more salary because he taught a higher range of subjects. In fact there is no discernible relationship between the rate of salaries and the curricula of the popular schools.[158] Salaries were geared to the race, sex and status of the teacher within the church. European teachers got more than native teachers; native males more than native females; European

---

157. ibid., pp.51-54

158. ibid.

Catechist-teachers more than European teachers. That the curricula had nothing to do with the pay suggests that academic qualification was a minor consideration in grading teachers. At the girls Cabildo school where the European female got as much as £200, the curriculum was reading, writing, arithmetic, needlework and the catechism.[159] The most ambitious curriculum in the day schools was at the Cabildo boys schools where in addition to the three R's geography and history were offered.[160] The normal fare at the day schools was the three R's plus the catechism. In the Sunday schools and Evening schools this was reduced to reading and catechism., and indeed some day schools offered no more than Sunday or Evening schools, i.e. San Juan Roman Catholic school, Couva school (Anglican); Savonnetta (Anglican); Cedar Hill (Methodist) Canaan (Mico Charity) and Belmont (C.M.S.)[161] What this meant was that religious instruction was the most available subject in the schools. It was taught in all, and probably occupied most of the time and attention of teachers and pupils.

It is quite clear that with untrained teachers, with meagre educational qualifications, and restricted social goals a high standard was impossible. Nor was it likely that the teachers had knowledge about the European teaching methods which they claimed to be using. The Roman Catholics were said by Latrobe to be using the "old system"[162] whatever that was.

---

159. Latrobe, pp. 52-53
160. Latrobe, pp. 51 - 52
161. ibid., pp. 51-54.
162. ibid.

All we can take this to mean is that the methods of elementary instruction which Bell and Lancaster, an Anglican and a Protestant Dissenter, had developed in England had not won any allegiance from the Roman Catholics of Trinidad. Bell and Lancaster at the start of the 19th century had developed the monitorial system[163] which meant that monitors, themselves pupils, were used as assistants to adult teachers in the schools. But Bell and Lancaster had differed seriously about the role of religion in the schools. Bell, an Anglican clergyman, insisted on the Anglican creeds, while Lancaster with a more liberal view worked out a system of religious instruction without imposing denominational creeds. The schools of the Bishop, the C.M.S. and the Cabildo were said to be "national" which meant that Bell was their model. The title "national" was presumptious; the Church of England since in England it was established by law arrogated to itself the term "national" as the proper title for its schools. The Bishops of Barbados and Jamaica imported this title into the West Indies, although in Trinidad the Church of England was not established by law before 1844.

The Mico schools were said to follow the British and Foreign School Society's system which was the same as Lancaster's In addition the Mico Charity sought to spread the Infant School System, and here they had Mr. Bilby, an expert in the system. As far as we can see, however, the most "progressive" feature of the Infant System of the Mico Charity was that it involved an

---

163. S.J. Curtis, op.cit., pp 206 - 208.

insistence that formal education should start in infancy. For the rest it was in practice merely a matter of drilling into infants the same curriculum, loaded with Bible extracts, hymns and catechism and moral sayings, as was taught to older children.[164] There was nothing about it which was modelled on the ultra-progressive ideas of Robert Owen or the European infant educationalists.[165] It simply meant religious and moral instruction at an earlier stage of life.

It was the ideal of denominational school promoters to build proper schoolhouses which would belong to the churches. It was only the Mico Charity which not having any congregational interest, deliberately opted for a policy of having schools in premises.[166] An essential step in the development of a proper system of day schools for the masses in the West Indies was to build proper and permanent schoolhouses. The British government had recognised this need, and had therefore placed a high priority on new and proper schoolhouses in spending the imperial subsidy. But a good deal of latitude was allowed the

---

164. Bilby who was on leave from Chelsea school in London had written a book on infant schools, some of which he had established for the Mico Charity in Jamaica. See Thomas Bilby: The Infant Teacher Assistant. (London, 1834).

165. H. Silver: The Concept of Popular Education (MacGibbon & Kee, 1965) pp. 95-109; 119 - 132.

166. In 1841 a tour of Mico Charity schools revealed that of 69 school sites in the West Indies, the Charity owned buildings only at 14. Most of the other buildings were rented. See Walbridge to Trustees, 21 Aug., 1841, Anti-Slavery Papers E. 1/13

school sponsors on the spot in spending the imperial grant on buildings. They might build a new schoolhouse, or repair old buildings. They might build the school in such a way that it could be used as a chapel on Sunday.[167] Such schools were called chapel schools. And in the case of the Mico Charity there was an understanding with the British government which permitted the Charity not necessarily to use building grants for building or repairing, but if appropriate, for renting premises.

Since the problems of the clerics who took the Negro Education Grant were not merely those of erecting a building or repairing one, Latrobe arrived in Trinidad before the clerics could erect all the schools which they had promised to build with the imperial grants of 1835 - 1838. A few of the schools were in proper buildings but the majority were being held in hired rooms, in teachers houses, or in temporary quarters of one kind or another.[168] This meant that children were hardly ever comfortable in their make-shift schoolroom, although at any rate the schools were not large in numbers. It would be hardly possible to work the European system which some clerics claimed to be following in classrooms which had no relevance to the systems. The usual formula was one teacher to a school; that

---

167. Most of the C.M.S. schools were used as chapel schools. See Latrobe, pp. 33-36.

168. Minutes of Evidence of the Agricultural and Immigration Society. Evidence of Rev. J. Hamilton. Enclosed in W. Burnley: Observations on the Present Conditions of the Island of Trinidad. (London, 1842) Abbe Power taught a half of his 87 pupils under a tree in a yard in Port of Spain. See C.O. 295/107, Hill to Glenelg, 6 July, 1835, no. 14., Enclosure: Reply by Abbe Power.

teacher might have an assistant, or monitors as assistants.[169] But a school meant one teacher in one room, large or small. The whole arrangement serves to remind us that schools are not really buildings, but the meeting of minds between a teacher and a group of students, whenever it takes place. Yet such a meeting of minds can bear more fruit in a proper setting; and that setting in Trinidad needed to be a permanent and proper structure to ensure the continuity of the school system, and to protect pupils and teachers against rain and heat.

The working of an imperial policy for education in Trinidad in 1834 - 1838 provides us with some useful insights into the nature of Crown Colony government. On a cursory examination of the record of Crown colony government in the West Indies in the 19th century, one might conclude with some justification, that it tended to be effective in proportion to the constructive energies and statesmanship of the governors.[170] Power was in the hands of the Crown, but in normal circumstances the direction in which this power was used, and the effectiveness of its use, depended more on the governors than on the British government. The British government intervened authoritatively to abolish the Apprenticeship in Trinidad,[171] but because it did not assign to popular education in England or the West Indies the importance

---

169. Latrobe: Report on Negro Education in British Guiana and Trinidad. pp. 52-55.

170. Outside of Trinidad, probably the Crown colony governors in th 19th century whose name is most usually associated with constructive government is Sir John Peter Grant of Jamaica. See C. Black: History of Jamaica (Collins, 2nd edition 1961) pp. 203 - 208.

171. C.O. 296/14, Glenelg to Hill, 31 Aug., 1838, Confidential.

it merited, it did not impose a policy upon the Governor and Council of Trinidad in respect to the use of colonial funds for education. It should have obliged the Governor and Council of Government in Trinidad to spend more on the education of the Negroes, the protection of whose interest was part of the rationale for the retention of power in the hands of the Crown.[172] Instead the British government accepted as a satisfactory response a Council vote of £208 for education in Trinidad.[173] The failure to send down any Orders-in-Council about education amply illustrates that in the Crown colony of Trinidad, no less than in the colonies with Assemblies, a policy for education was sadly in the backwater of metropolitan-colonial relationship.

Under Lt. Governor Hill a separate education policy from that of the British government emerged. This policy was not in conflict with what the British government was doing with its own money. In its general outlines it rather complemented, more than it either conflicted or was identical with the policy of the British government. It was a separate policy made by Hill and the Council of Government; and it was administered separately from the Negro Education Grant.[174]

After an abortive attempt in mid 1835 to make a policy for education the Council of Government in May 1836 voted £208 to

---

172. P.P. House of Commons. 1831-1832 (212) XXXl. Papers relative to the Legislative Council in Trinidad. Goderich to Grant 30 Jan., 1832. For other aspects of the rationale See E. Williams: History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago (Andre Deutsch,1964) pp. 65-73.

173. C.O. 295/111, Hill to Glenelg, 25 May, 1836, no. 58. Colonial Office note on this despatch.

174. Latrobe: Report on Negro Education in British Guiana and Trinidad. p. 88

the Bishop of Barbados towards the salaries of teachers.[175] The Bishop was to back this vote with another £208 from any source. There was not requirement that the teachers aided with the Council's vote should or should not be getting part of their salaries from the British subsidy. The Council in other words made no effort to integrate its spending on education with the spending of the British government, except in the negative sense that the British government was subsidising mostly the Mico Charity, and that the Council without making any grants to this Charity was backing the Church of England schools. The truth was that neither Hill nor the Council knew very much about the amount of British money which reached the island through the Church Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, or the Mico Charity; nor did Governor and Council know what plans these agencies had for the use of the British subsidy. The British government did not give the Governor, as a matter of course, detailed information about the allocations of the British subsidy, beyond the knowledge that most of the money would reach the island through the Mico Charity.[176]

In the sense that the British government emphasised non-denominationalism,[177] and Hill and the Council actually supported Church of England denominationalism there appear to be a margin of disagreement in the orientation of the two policies for

---

175. C.O. 295/111, Hill to Glenelg, 25 May, 1836, no. 58

176. C.O. 296/12, Glenelg to Hill, 13 July, 1837, no. 216

177. C.O. 296/12, Glenelg to Hill, 11 Oct., 1837, no. 239.

education. Yet this margin of disagreement reflected the complementarity and not the conflicting nature of the two policies. After all support for Church of England denominationalism was a part of the apparently contradictory policy of the British government.[178] If we keep in mind the basic Protestantism of the Mico Charity, the British government's instrument of non-denominationalism, we might reasonably conclude that support for Protestantism in general, and the Church of England in particular was the real policy of the British government. This would mean that the British government's policy was contradictory only on the surface, in its means and not its ends.

Governor Hill's policy too revealed its own apparent contradictions, but in reality his ends were similar to those of the British government. Not wanting to be out of step with the non-denominational aspect of the British government's policy Hill gave moral support to the Mico Charity,[179] and to the concept of non-denominationalism. At the same time he rejected Roman Catholic denominationalism while backing Church of England denominational schools with the public revenues of the colony.[180] Hill, however, tried to talk the Bishop of Barbados into making concessions to the Roman Catholics in the hope that Church of England controlled schools would be less unpalatable to the Roman Catholics. Hill had in mind the

---

178. C.O. 318/131, A.M. Campbell to Grey, 6 July, 1837. Also Grey to Campbell, 21 Aug., 1837.

179. C.O. 295/122, Hill to Glenelg, 28 Dec., 1838.

180. C.O. 295/114, Hill to Glenelg, 31 March, 1837.

removal of the Church of England's catechism from the Church of England schools.[181] This was to ask the Bishop for his eyes; such a withdrawal was unthinkable; and what was more, the Bishop could quote the terms of the Negro Education Grant which specifically allowed all the Missionary Societies to teach their creeds in their schools.[182]

The only possible approach to a way out of the anti-Roman Catholic bias of the education policies of the British government and the colonial government was to support Roman Catholic denominational schools as well as Church of England denominational schools. Support for truly non-denominational schools only -- if any such could be established -- would still amount to discrimination against the Roman Catholics, though it would be more tolerable than support for only Church of England schools, or non-denominational schools of the Mico type and Church of England schools. Nor could the simple answer to the "religious difficulty" with its associated political and cultural undertones, be to support all denominational schools, Roman Catholic or otherwise, for then the exasperating question of finding fair criteria to determine the distribution of funds among the denominations would be opened.

With the coming of emancipation in 1838 the colonial government was placed under more pressure to make a satisfactory policy for education. This pressure did not come from the

---

181. W/M 4 Eckel to Secretary 20 Nov., 1838. Enclosure: Bishop of Barbados to Hill, C.M.S. Correspondence.

182. ibid.

British government but from the Mico Charity and the Roman Catholics who appealed to the government for assistance to their schools,[183] and from Charles Warner the Solicitor General who was keen to evolve a new policy based on exclusive support for the non-denominational schools of the Mico Charity.

183. Bilby to Hill, 10 Sept., 1838, Anti-Slavery Papers E.1/4 1836 - 1842.

CHAPTER III

The Search for a Pro-English Education Policy 1838-1846. The Trinidad Government

> ".....the difference of languages and religion make it more imperative that the system to be adopted, should be one, under the control of the Government, not only with a view to make it accessible to all parties and creeds, but to cause the language spoken to be that of the Country to which this Colony belongs". 1.
>
> McLeod to Russell, 13 Oct., 1841

The British government between 1838-1846 left the Council of Government in Trinidad with the task of making a policy for the development of popular education in the colony. As in the period 1834-1838, the British government made no attempt to dictate a policy to the governors and Council of Trinidad. The British Government continued to aid mostly the Mico Charity, and to a lesser extent the Bishop of Barbados through the medium of the S.P.G. Once the Mico Charity had established itself in the colony, the Secretaries of State for the Colonies, and the top civil servants in the Colonial Office made little or no remarks about the development of education in Trinidad. By this time the business of dividing the Negro Education Grant had become a routine affair,[2] not eliciting any policy statements about the development of education within the island. The

---

1. C.O. 295/134, McLeod to Russell, 13 Oct., 1841, no. 92

2. See a series of Colonial Office notes in Sept., 1841. C.O. 318/152, Mico Correspondence.

Latrobe report on Jamaica induced the British government to relax the requirement that Missionary Societies should own the land upon which they built schoolhouses.[3] But acquiring land for school sites was never an appreciable problem in Trinidad; and so this relaxation had no effect in Trinidad. The decision of the British government in March 1841 to reduce and put an end to the British subsidy[4] cut the ground from underneath the Mico schools; and the opinion of Stanley, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the early 1840s that non-denominational schools in Ireland had failed to be truly non-denominational further weakened the prospects of the Mico schools in Trinidad.[5] But all these matters were left in the hands of the governor and Council in Trinidad.

In 1838 the Council of Government was only seven years old. It had been established to give the colony a clear and precise local method of making laws, and to afford the local planters and merchants a greater share in the business of government without jeopardising the paramount power of the British government.[6] It consisted in 1838, of the governor, six officials and six unofficials, the latter being nominated by the governor with the approval of the British government. Apart from the Chief Justice, all officials were normally expected to support the policies of

---

3. Latrobe: Report on Negro Education in Jamaica 1837. p. 95
Copy of Circular to Secretaries of Missionary Societies 16 Jan.1838

4. C.O. 318/152, Vernon Smith to Missionary Societies, 18 March, 1841.

5. C.O. 296/16, Stanley to McLeod, June, 1842.

6. C.O. 296/10, Goderich to Grant, 25 May, 1831.

UWI LIBRARY ST. AUG

the government;[7] and as the latter had two votes, an original and a casting vote, the intention of the British government was clearly to ensure the governor a majority on all questions on which he desired to win the vote. To emphasise the separate character of the governor from the Council, all laws passed by the Council had to be taken to the governor for his assent.[8] All laws assented to by the governor had to be sent to the British government for final confirmation or disallowance.

Within the Council of Government the role of the Attorney General and the Solicitor General, as law officers of the government, was crucial. These men were professional lawyers, and since so much of the business of the Council was concerned with the framing of laws, the technicalities of which were beyond the competence of the governor, the Attorney General and the Solicitor General assumed the major role in introducing and

---

7. George Scotland, the Chief Justice, behaved independently. No move was made towards a definition of the role of the Chief Justice in the Council until after Chief Justice Knox opposed Keate on the Sewage Scheme in 1862. The British Government, when asked, was wary not to give too tight a definition of the role of any of the official members of the Council, but it did concede that the Chief Justice was in a different position: "I am of the opinion that in as much as the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney General, and the other official members not judicial form a part of the Executive Government and are bound to obey the directions of the Governor in the exercise of their respective offices, whereas the Chief Justice forms no part of the Executive Government and in the exercise of his judicial duties is bound to held himself independent of the Government, the obligation on the non-judicial officers to support the Governor is of a character to admit of fewer exceptions and less relaxation than that of the Chief Justice. It is, however, necessary in the case of the Chief Justice as well as in that of the other official members, that he should give the Governor such a measure of support as is necessary to enable him to carry on the Government". See C.O. 295/218, pp. 400-410 Newcastle to Keate, 7 Oct., 1862, No. 517

8. C.O. 381/74, pp. 10-58. General Instruction to Grant, 23 Apr., 1831.

steering legislation through the Council. Charles Warner, first as Solicitor General, and then as Attorney General, played such a prominent part in the affairs of the Council, particularly in relation to the anglicising of the laws,[9] and the development of a policy for education, that a brief survey of his position in the society in 1838 seems appropriate.

In 1838, Charles Warner was 33 years old. His father was Colonel Edward Warner, a retired soldier of the 26th Regiment of Foot, and unsuccessful sugar planter in the Naparimas.[10] Charles Warner after having grown up in England came to the island for the first time in late 1829,[11] after an education at Eton and at the Temple. Though he had not quite qualified as a lawyer in 1838 he began practising[12] in the colony from 1830. Partly because of his good breeding and education, partly because of his friendship with Governor Grant, he rapidly became a success at his profession. Undoubtedly, however, the greatest factor in that early success was his talent: his quick wittedness and his

---

9. C.O. 297/9, Minutes of Council, 20 Dec., 1834. Also C.O. 295/139, Chichester to Stanley, 1 Jan., 1843. no. 94., Enclosure: Second Report of the Committee appointed to revise the Criminal laws. Also P.O.S.G., 4 Aug., 1843, Council of Government 1 Aug., 1843.

10. Wood, op.cit., p. 37

11. Aucher Warner: Sir Thomas Warner, Pioneer of the West Indies, A Chronicle of the family (1933) p. 130.

12. C.O. 295/92, Grant to Goderich, 11 June, 1832, Separate. Although Grant said that Warner had studied at the Temple, it was at Lincoln Inn that Warner was called to the Bar on 18 Nov., 1840. See Lincoln Inn Black Book Vol. LV 1776-1845. p. 258

eloquence which set him above the other young English lawyers.[13] He was also fortunate in that he came to the island at a time when a gap was opening up in the ranks of the existing lawyers. The old Spanish lawyers like Dr. Garcia and Dr. Llanos had passed their peak; and two of the leading English lawyers Edward Jackson and Henry Fuller were also engaged in agriculture.[14] Warner was not a planter. He had no slave property and was moderate in his opinions: that is, he was not seriously opposed to the emancipation policy of the British Government.[15]

Warner's first taste of public office came in June 1832 when he was made acting Solicitor General. In this capacity he served for varying periods between 1832 and 1834. In 1835 in an effort to keep him in the Council at all costs, Lt. Governor Hill appointed Warner an acting unofficial.[16] Between 1836 and 1839 Warner again acted as Solicitor General, and from 1839 to 1845 he was the Solicitor General. Warner was the first person to assert the role of Solicitor General while the Attorney General was actively on duty. To follow his official career is to study the way in which the colonial government handled the problems of post-

---

13. In recommending Warner for the job of acting Solicitor General Hill remarked that he was "in first rate practice, is eloquent, more perhaps than is required in a Court of Justice....". See C.O. 295/102, Hill to Stanley, 6 April, 1834, no. 27

14. P.O.S.G., 27 Dec., 1844, Editorial.

15. C.O. 295/102, Hill to Stanley, 6 April, 1834, no. 27

16. C.O. 295/106, Hill to Aberdeen, 21 May, 1835, no. 39. The British government on the advice of Mr. J.E. Marryat, a prominent member of the West India interest, refused to confirm Warner. The objection was that he did not have enough property. See C.O. 296/12, Glenelg to Hill, 15 July, 1835, no. 23.

emancipation Trinidad. In addition to his role in the Council, he was from 1834 to 1840 the Syndic Procurador of the dying Cabildo of Port of Spain.[17] Although he did not take the latter duties seriously, his position meant that he was for some time one of the legal advisers of the governor, and the legal adviser of the only body which resembled a local government authority.

In following the search of the Council for a new education policy it seems convenient to divide the period 1838-1846 into three phases: August 1838 to May 1840; June 1840 to October 1843; and November 1843 to April 1846. The end of the first, second and third phases were marked respectively by the arrival of Sir H. McLeod as Governor (May 1840), by the pronouncement of the Church Committee of the Council that only schools which collected fees should be aided by the government (October 1843), and by the first attempt of any governor to put forward in the Council, proposals representing government policy, (April 1846). The acceptance of these resolutions marked the end of the governorship of McLeod, and the beginning of steps by the government towards a new policy in education. But the policy was not actually implemented until a new governor found a novel administrative and financial base for it. This governor was Lord Harris.

But this is to run ahead of events. The first debate in the Council on popular education after full emancipation, came on the 29th August, 1838;[18] and it was initiated by Charles Warner.

---

17. Minutes of the Cabildo 1832-1836. Cabildo. Meeting 15 July, 1834.

18. P.O.S.G., 31 Aug., 1838, Council of Government 29 Aug., 1838.

He put before the Council resolutions calling for a policy of government support only for non-denominational schools; and he urged the Council to use the Mico Charity schools as the instrument of non-denominationalism in the colony.[19] An immediate beginning, said Warner, should be made to this policy by giving the Mico Charity £1,000 for schools. These resolutions got Warner into trouble with Lt. Governor Hill; or rather into more trouble since the two men did not see eye to eye on many problems. They were at loggerheads over the way the government should handle the Cabildo;[20] and now Hill's grouse was that Warner had taken the initiative in education without consulting him. With all the irascibility of an old man conscious of a challenge to his office by a young man, Hill accused Warner of trying to do the governing in Trinidad.[21] The initiative was to be his; not Warner's; and Hill said he had already started gathering information on the Mico Charity. George Scotland, the Chief Justice gave his views: he was favourably disposed towards the Mico Charity, but he doubted whether the Charity would accept inspection of its schools by the Trinidad government in return for such a small grant.[22] He then warned the government against committing itself to an annual grant. Scotland was never the man to encourage government expenditure. But there was no need for him to restrain Hill when it came to

---

19. P.O.S.G., 28Sept., 1838, Council of Government 24 Sept., 1838. Also P.O.S.G., 12 Oct., 1838, Council of Government 8 Oct., 1838.

20. P.O.S.G., 18 Sept., 1838, Council of Government 17 Sept., 1838. Also P.O.S.G., Sept., 28, 1838, Council of Government 24 Sept., 1838.

21. P.O.S.G., 12 Oct., 1838, Council of Government 8. Oct., 1838.

22. ibid.

expenditure on education. The governor killed the debate by asking the Council to wait until he got more information about the Mico Charity. Thus the matter dropped apparently without the resolutions being formally withdrawn or a vote taken on them. This lapse in correct parliamentary procedure was a loophole for the ingenuity of a clever lawyer like Warner. In later years Warner insisted that the Council had accepted his resolutions,[23] and therefore stood pledged to help the Mico Charity. Perhaps Warner was wrong in the first place to have brought forward such measures without the prior approval of the governor.

Having reserved for himself the initiative in making a new policy for education, Governor Hill unfortunately died in March 1839 before any of his plans could mature.[24] When the Roman Catholic Bishop of Olympus in September 1838 asked the Council for assistance with the salaries of teachers of a school at San Juan, and another at Santa Cruz,[25] a new phase of the rivalry between the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England was on its way; this was the first time that the Roman Catholic leadership had applied to the Council for aid with schools. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Olympus, aware of the British government's partiality to the idea of non-denominational schools, promised that

---

23. P.O.S.G., 18 Oct., 1839, Council of Government 10 Oct., 1839.

24. P.O.S.G., 8 March, 1839.

25. P.O.S.G., 11 SEpt., 1838, Council of Government 5 Sept., 1838.

the two schools would not be religiously exclusive.[26] The Council however, made short work of the Bishop's petition. Hill said that money to maintain teachers would only be given when the Bishop named teachers who were competent to teach in the English language.[27] That concluded the matter. We may safely assume that the Council, certainly the official members, were agreed that English should be the language used in all schools receiving government aid. When the C.W.S. in November 1838 applied for half the salary of a teacher at Pointe-a-Pierre, the request was immediately granted.[28]

On the 18th February, 1839 the Roman Catholic Bishop of Olympus reapplied for aid for the same two schools.[29] Only Edward Jackson, the Attorney General argued in favour of yielding to the applicant. Jackson's position was that these schools were not entirely new schools; they had existed before 1834; and had been assisted by funds at the disposal of the Commandant of the Quarters in which they were located.[30] The Council had in mid 1838 abolished the office of Commandant of Quarters without saying how the schools which these officers had aided were to be subsidised. Lt. Governor Hill, and also Charles Warner would not yield to this consideration; they should have made the same reply as in September 1838, and the fact that they did not, might mean that the Bishop had now got teachers who could use the English language.

---

26. ibid.
27. ibid.
28. P.O.S.G., 23 Nov., 1838, Council of Government 19 Nov., 1838.
29. P.O.S.G., 2 Feb., 1839, Council of Government 18 Feb., 1839
30. ibid.

Hill and Warner now put forward another argument to frustrate the Roman Catholic Bishop: it was better to have Mico Charity schools at San Juan and Santa Cruz.[31] If this reply meant that Lt. Governor Hill was making progress towards using Mico it should follow that a similar reply be made to all other applicants for aid to denominational schools. But it was only a means of fobbing off the Roman Catholics. When Mr. and Mrs. Sicards applied for aid a few days later they were not told that it was better to have a Mico Charity school at Maraval.[32] The Sidards were teachers of their own school at Maraval, but it was under the inspiration of Rev. Cummins of the Church of England. The application of the Sicards was killed on procedural grounds: it should have come from the Church of England minister, instead of being merely recommended by him; it should have requested only half of the teacher's salary and not the entire salary.[33] The other indication of the insincerity of Hill's reply to the Roman Catholic Bishop was that in the debate on the Sicards' application Hill told Warner that the Mico Charity would not suffer itself to be controlled by the Trinidad government; nor would it allow the government to tell it where to establish schools.[34] In other words, Hill might have been realising more and more the difficulties of using the Mico Charity, rather than seeing his way to co-operation with the organisation. Where Hill was going we will never know, for he died in March 1839.

---

31. ibid.

32. P.O.S.G., 26 Feb., 1839, Council of Government 22 Feb., 1839.

33. ibid.

34. ibid.

From March 1839 to mid April 1840 the Crown colony government of Trinidad was directed by an acting governor Col. J. Mein. Acting governors, especially those like Mein who were really military men with little experience of civilian government, rarely felt inclined to undertake vigorous policies. This was particularly true in areas where the acting governor had no clear guidelines to follow. Col. J. Mein gave no lead on a policy of education. The officials of the Council came more into their own in the face of a governor who was unsure of himself. When the Church of England clergyman, Rev. Cummins the Rector of Trinity Chapel in Port of Spain, applied for aid with the salaries of three teachers of three Anglican schools in Port of Spain, Charles Warner found that he had no support in the Council in his efforts to refuse him a grant.[35] Warner's position was still in favour of the Mico Charity; and he now opposed a grant to the Church of England for the same reasons he was opposed to grants to the Roman Catholics. But the two most prestigious officials of the government, Attorney General Jackson, and Colonial Secretary Turnbull, chose not to argue against the Mico Charity, but to maintain that Cummins' application was proper and ought to be granted.[36] Neither Jackson nor Turnbull had said anything in the Council in favour of non-denominationalism based on the Mico Charity. Jackson seemed partial to aiding denominational schools, no doubt with a bias towards the schools of the Church of England taken for granted.

---

35. P.O.S.G., 24 May, 1839, Council of Government 22 May, 1839

36. ibid.

Turnbull favoured a declared policy of partiality to the schools of the Church of England.[37] Along with Mr. T. Roxburgh, an unofficial member of the Council, Turnbull went so far as to state that since the Church of England was the established church, its schools ought to be given preference over schools of other denominations.[38] Rev. Cummins got the grants.

Turnbull tried to soften his position in the wake of press criticism of his statement that the Church of England was the established Church, by sponsoring the petition for aid of a Mr. Crooks, the Roman Catholic teacher at the Roman Catholic school at San Juan.[39] The Bishop of Olympus had already applied unsuccessfully for aid towards the salary of this teacher; now the teacher himself applied, saying that money was owing to him by the Commandant of the Quarter whose office the Council had abolished. Warner opposed the granting of aid to Mr. Crooks,[40] probably because he made no distinction between aid to Mr. Crooks in his personal capacity and a grant to the Roman Catholic schools. But if it was only a question of repaying money owed, without any committment to future grants, Warner could have allowed this grant without departing from his commitment to non-denominationalism based on the Mico Charity. Partly because of the peculiar intricacy of his application, partly because the Council had recently given

---

37. ibid.

38. ibid.

39. Trinidad Standard, 5 April, 1839, Council of Government 1 April, 1839; also Trinidad Standard, 4 June, 1839, Council of Government 1 June, 1839.

40. P.O.S.G., 4 June, 1839, Council of Government 1 June, 1839.

a grant to Rev. Cummins, Warner backed down on his opposition to a grant for Mr. Crooks when he saw that it would get the approval of the majority of the Council.

From June 1839 Warner announced his intention of having £500 put on the budget for 1840 as aid to the Mico Charity schools;[41] and in October 1839 he pressed for a decision. When his motion was debated in October 1839 there was only one Roman Catholic on the Council: Mr. P.A. Ganteaume. Warner as a precaution against being outvoted had privately asked Edward Jackson, the Attorney General, for his support; and Jackson seconded Warner's motion.[42] The new argument of Warner was that a vote for education was more necessary now that a policy of immigration had been launched. He played for the support of the unofficial members -- all planters -- by suggesting that British public opinion would be more favourable to immigration if Trinidad voted funds for education.[43] But at best this was only an argument for more funds for education, not an argument for support to the Mico Charity schools. If Warner assumed that the Council was familiar with the merits of the Mico Schools, Jackson in his first speech in favour of them felt the need to explain the advantages of these schools. The Mico Charity by teaching in English would help to make Trinidad an English colony.[44] Chief Justice Scotland also

---

41. P.O.S.G. 28 June , 1839, Council of Government 22 June, 1839.

42. P.O.S.G. 15 Oct., 1839, Council of Government 10 Oct., 1839.

43. ibid.

44. ibid.

supported Warner's motion, but he did not think that only Mico schools should be supported by the Council. It would appear that Warner, previous to the debate, had also asked some of the unofficials to support him; and they had promised to do so in a casual good humoured way. But in the debate Messrs Losh, Scott and Brand decided to quibble about the size of the proposed grant. Scott said that the Mico Charity was a rich organization and did not need financial assistance.[45] Losh agreed, and made the unhelpful suggestion that the Council should not help Mico until the Charity's own funds were exhausted.[46] He warned that the Charity was not merely interested in Trinidad, but wished to expand elsewhere in the Caribbean. Brand was convinced that £500 was too large an annual grant.[47] These unofficial members showed a serious lack of generosity as far as education was concerned. Their primary concern was not with the behaviour of the Council vis a vis Roman Catholic and Church of England applicants, but to restrain the government from voting funds for education. Their real position was that Negro parents should pay the bulk of the cost,[48] if not the entire cost, directly out of their own pockets.

P.A. Ganteaume was the sole spokesman of the Roman Catholic opposition to the Mico Charity. He asserted that the Mico Charity schools were not what they pretended to be: religiously neutral

---

45. ibid

46. ibid

47. ibid

48. ibid

and harmless schools which were acceptable to all denominations. Warner had been fooled, said Ganteaume. The Mico Charity schools were Protestant organizations which taught Church of England creeds, and used the Protestant version of the Bible. The Mico Charity's spelling books were said to have the Church of England catechism in them. The Charity had no Roman Catholic teachers, either on the job or in training. Ganteaume alleged that in Ireland school books were chosen by a Committee of Roman Catholics and Protestants, and that Roman Catholic and Protestant ministers had the right to enter schools to teach religion to children of their faith.[49]

The most fundamental criticism however of the Mico Charity sprang from Ganteaume's belief that religious instruction must be denominational if it was to be effective. Either Mico was not teaching religion, or it was teaching particular religious creed; but he could not understand, or would not believe, that religion could be taught without teaching creeds. Ganteaume alleged that immorality among children and adults of the lower classes strengthened the case for religious education; but religion would not be received without a large dose of "enthusiasm" and only denominational creeds could stir up religious "enthusiasm".[50] Ganteaume dismissed the argument that the attendance of many Roman Catholic children at Mico schools was a proof of their acceptance of the Charity; he argued that it was simply a case of

---

49. ibid.

50. P.O.S.G., 15 Oct., 1839, Council of Government 10 Oct., 1839.

the Roman Catholics not having their own schools. The Council, said Ganteaume, had done great injustice to the Roman Catholics by refusing the applications of their Bishop for assistance with schools. He called for an immediate investigation of the Mico schools to test the accuracy of his charges; for a long term solution of the problem of a policy for education he seemed to envisage aid for denominational schools.[51]

Charles Warner won the day in the sense that no other member of the Council wanted an enquiry into the Mico Charity schools, and the Council granted Mico the £500. But Warner in his reply to Ganteaume was not able to meet his agruments. Warner simply refused to believe the charges Ganteaume had made; he trusted Mr. Bilby, the Mico Charity leader in Trinidad, who had assured him that no Church of England creeds were used in the schools. He did not believe that the arguments of Ganteaume reflected the true feelings of the community at large; or the attitudes of the leadership of the Roman Catholic Church.[52] The Roman Catholic Bishop of Agna, the Rev. P. Smith was then the resident head of that Church in Trinidad; he was an Englishman, conciliating and schooled in the English tradition of subordinating the church to the dictates of the state. Rev. P. Smith had signified that some of his schools were not religiously exclusive; and Warner since 1838 had felt that the Roman Catholic leadership was more willing to have non-denominational schools than the Bishop of Barbados.

---

51. ibid

52. ibid

This, however, did not mean that the Roman Catholic leadership did not see the Mico Charity as a Protestant organization; or that they would not prefer to have their own schools. Rev. P. Smith, we may safely assume, had made gestures in the name of "non-denominational" Roman Catholic schools only in the hope of getting grants. But nobody would trust a Roman Catholic school or a Church of England school to be truly non-denominational.

In October and November 1839 letters against the Mico Charity schools appeared in the Port of Spain Gazette, the leading newspaper in Trinidad. It seems safe to think that ill-feeling towards the Mico Charity was more widespread than Charles Warner liked to believe. "A Lover of Truth", a correspondent in the Port of Spain Gazette of 22nd October 1839 alleged that Mico teachers put a Protestant interpretation upon their religious teaching.[53] He illustrated his charge from a school lesson which was reportedly given by Mr. Bilby himself at the Mico Evening school at Pembroke Street, Port of Spain. Bilby, it was said, had told his pupils not to pray to Saints, but to God; and that he did not see anything about the worship of Saints in the Bible. This said "A Lover of Truth", was what should be expected from Mico Church of England teachers when dealing with the non-historical parts of the Bible.[54]

The above critic had agreed that the Mico Charity taught religion. But other critics asserted that Mico did not teach

---

53. P.O.S.G., 22 Oct., 1839. Also P.O.S.G., 8 Nov., 1839, Letter from "A Roman Catholic".

54. P.O.S.G., 22 Oct., 1839, Letter from "A Lover of Truth".

religion at all. What these critics meant, however, was that they did not understand how Mico could teach religion without teaching creeds; and since Mr. Bilby denied that he was teaching creeds, he could not be teaching religion. To these critics Bilby denied that Mico taught Church of England creeds, but he could not deny that the Charity was using a Protestant version of the Bible; that it had no Roman Catholic teachers.[55] There is not the slightest doubt that the Mico Charity was oriented towards Protestantism, though it was not controlled by the Bishop of Barbados.

Any member of the Council who had respect for what passed in Trinidad as "public opinion" would have hesitated in late 1839 to erect a general system of education upon the base of the Mico Charity schools. Warner always cared more for his own views than for "public opinion";[56] he did not think much of the latter; it could be created overnight, he claimed, by the press. Warner always plugged for public policies which he felt were right or legal. In the October 1839 debate he repeatedly reminded the Council that in 1838 it had pledged itself to help the Mico Charity schools.

If Warner was not the man to flinch from "public opinion" he knew that the possibility of getting the Council to support the Mico Charity schools only was dim. The Council in October 1839 had made a grant of £500 without pledging any future support.

---

55. P.O.S.G., 8 Nov., 1839, Letter from Mr. Bilby.

56. P.O.S.G., 6 March, 1840, Council of Government 2 March, 1840.

Warner made no more efforts in the next six years to press his scheme upon the Council. But this did not mean that between 1840 and 1846 he had abandoned his ideas; he remained firmly convinced of the correctness of a general policy of support for non-denominational schools; but when the Mico Charity schools between 1841 and 1845 collapsed for lack of funds to replace those withdrawn by the British government, it meant the end of the Warner's hopes of building non-denominationalism in education on the base of the Mico schools.

For about nine months viz May or June 1840 - April 1841, Charles Warner was on leave in England. Before he left, however, he sat back and watched how the Council would meet the school applications of the denominations. In early 1840 more applications for aid with salaries were made by the Roman Catholics, and the Church of England and the Methodists.[57] All talk of non-denominationalism was forgotten, at least for the time being, in the Council; the question was simply when to acceed to a request. Fortunately the question of the amount of money to give each applicant did not arise since the formula was to give a half of a teacher's salary; but the total amount of money the government should spend on education was in question. What the government was spending on education was trivial; but some officials were worried about the prospects of increasing expenditure in carrying on the government. Mr. Losh one of the unofficials, called for

---

57. Trinidad Standard, 21 Feb., 1840, Council of Government 18 FEb., 1840.

a retrenchment of Stipendiary magistrates.[58] The acting Colonial Secretary, James Walker, called for a Board of Education which would process all applications for aid to schools.[59] Possibly, Walker had his eyes on expenditure; surely the Board of Education would have a budget.

On the 7th February 1840 the Council unanimously agreed to give the Roman Catholic Bishop aid for two teachers, as soon as they were appointed.[60] This is the first record we have of money actually granted to the Roman Catholic leadership for schools. This grant was largely due to the speech of Mr. P.A. Ganteaume. The application from Bishop P. Smith promised that the school would not be religiously exclusive, and assured the Council that the teachers used the English language in the schools.[61] In other words Bishop P. Smith offered all the requirements which he knew the Council would have in mind. But the Bishop was almost thwarted by the acting Colonial Secretary James Walker. Walker took a very active part in the discussions of the Council; and either because he misunderstood the instructions of the British government, or wished to harass Bishop Smith, he insisted that the Bishop should give the Council an assurance that he had the funds to meet the other half of the salaries of the teachers.[62] The schools for

---

58. Trinidad Standard, 21 Feb., 1840, Council of Government 18 Feb., 1840.

59. Trinidad Standard, 4 Feb., 1840, Council of Government 1 Feb., 1840.

60. Trinidad Standard, 11 Feb., 1840, Council of Government 7 Feb., 1840.

61. ibid.

62. ibid.

which Bishop Smith had applied, were the same two schools towards the building of which the British government had made a building grant. The Roman Catholics had to give the Trinidad government, on the instruction of the British government, a guarantee that they had the money to finish building the schools. But the British government had not required that the Roman Catholics give the Trinidad government a guarantee that they could meet half the cost of any teachers aided out of the Trinidad Treasury. Mr. Ganteaume refused to accept the arguments that such a guarantee should be given; he argued that it was unfair to ask the Roman Catholic Bishop for such a guarantee when neither the Bishop of Barbados nor Rev. Cummins had to provide guarantees. The word of a Roman Cahtolic Bishop should be as good as the word of the Bishop of Barbados.[63] As Ganteaume realised the leaders of the Roman Catholic church in Trinidad were being treated like irresponsible men who would misuse grants made by the Council. In this case common sense prevailed for Ganteaume got the Council unanimously to grant the money as soon as the teachers went on the job. This was really a compromise. If the Bishop appointed teachers who actually started teaching, it would be some indication that he had his part of the salaries; but he did not have to offer the names of anyone as guarantors, as he had to do in order to have the British subsidy for the school buildings released.

---

63. ibid.

Asking for reassurances that the Bishop had funds to back Council grants was one way of discriminating against the Roman Catholics. This practice manifested itself in another form of discrimination. Roman Catholics petition for aid were not granted immediately; but Church of England applications were. When Rev. Cummins applied on 6th April, 1840 for salaries for two Church of England teachers his request was met the same day.[64] On that very day the Roman Catholic Bishop put in an application for aid towards paying teachers at Couva, San Fernando, Savanna Grande and Siparia. His request was deferred until another meeting of the Council.[65] Bishop Smith was asked to rephrase his petition to make it clear that raising the rest of the salaries would be his personal responsibility. About one month later the Council reconsidered the revised petition and made a grant. But the Roman Catholic Bishop was warned that Governor McLeod, who had just taken over his duties, was preparing a general scheme of education; and that grants might not be repeated.[66]

The only part Charles Warner had played in the processing of the applications between January and May 1840 was to explain why in his opinion the Roman Catholic Bishop needed to give assurance of his personal responbibility to back Council grants.

---

64. Trinidad Standard, 10 April, 1840, Council of Government 6 April, 1840.

65. ibid.

66. Trinidad Standard, 5 May, 1840, Council of Government 2 May, 1840.

This, said Warner, was not necessary for the Bishop of Barbados: the latter could pledge his successors to financial policies, but the Roman Catholic Bishop could not legally pledge his successors.[67] The point was made about the difference in the organization of the two churches; the assumption was always that the organization of the Church of England was known, and the Bishop was amenable to control by the Trinidad government; the opposite applied to the Roman Catholic church.

The coming of McLeod to the governorship of Trinidad marked another phase in the search of the Council for a policy in education. Col. J. Mein had left the Council to do what it wanted; and it began to give the Roman Catholic grants, though not on the same footing as the Church of England. Charles Warner was left in splendid isolation, holding on to his convictions that non-denominationalism based on Mico was the proper policy. The arrival of McLeod as governor meant a revival of the search for a non-denominational policy. After only a few weeks in the colony, McLeod came to the conclusion that the Council's grants for schools were being abused: he alleged that competitive denominational schools were being established in the same districts without any regard for the real needs of the colony.[68] The government should support a scheme in which children, whatever the religious faith of their parents, could attend the same school.

---

67. Trinidad Standard, 10 April, 1840, Council of Government 6 April, 1840.

68. Trinidad Standard, 5 May, 1840, Council of Government 2 May, 1840.

McLeod felt that the Mico Charity schools might be the base of non-denominationalism if they would withdraw the Bible from their schools.[69] Warner must have experienced a sense of satisfaction; he might even have been instrumental in convincing the new governor. Warner, however, left for England; and McLeod became immersed in other affairs of the colony. A policy for education languished while McLeod laid down guidelines for the building of the long talked about Hospital, abolished the Cabildo and replaced it with a Town Council, and brought in legislation to control the building of fire prone wooden houses in Port of Spain.

While Governor McLeod was away on a mission to Guyana, the British Government was developing a change in policy which affected education in Trinidad. It decided in March 1841 gradually to reduce[70] the British subsidy for education and then bring it to an end in 1845. The decision was merely a part of new and larger measures of the imperial government to further its own interest at the expense of the colonies. Less tariff protection was to be given to West Indian sugar in the interest of cheaper sugar for the consumer in England.[71] The government in England was under pressure to reduce expenditure in the colonies, and to concentrate on the social and economic needs of the English

---

69. C.O. 295/130, McLeod to Russell, 11 May, 1840.

70. C.O. 318/152, Vernon Smith to Secretaries of Missionary Societies, 18 March, 1841.

71. F.R. Augier, et al: The Making of the West Indies (Longmans 1960) p. 193.

people in England.[72] To facilitate the new imperial policies the British government concluded that the crisis of emancipation was over in the West Indies, and that the people in the West Indies should pay for their own social and economic development.[73]

Although the first reduction of the British subsidy was made in 1842, the announcement of the intention to retrench precipitated a crisis among the users of the subsidy from early 1841. As far as Trinidad was concerned the reduction of the British subsidy had no direct effects on the Roman Catholics for obvious reasons. The weight of the blow fell on the Mico Charity and to a lesser extent on the Church of England. The Mico Charity immediately drew up plans to retrench its school programme in the West Indies, but it decided to continue its schools in Trinidad, St. Lucia and Dominica in the hope of getting financial assistance from the colonial governments.[74] It also felt that schools were more urgently needed in these "Roman Catholic islands" where missionaries hardly existed. In the Protestant islands retrenchment was to begin at once. The C.M.S. decided to transfer its mission to the Bishop of Barbados,[75] but this could not be done right away since the Bishop's own funds from the S.P.G. were being reduced, and until he got more money from the colonial governments of the Diocese he could not take on the additional financial

---

72. ibid.

73. C.O. 318/152, Vernon Smith to Missionary Societies, 18 Mar., 1841.

74. C.O. 318/152, Trew to Russell, 22 June, 1841.

75. C.O. 318/152, (C.M.S.) Coates to Vernon Smith, 15 July, 1841.

responsibility of paying the salaries of Eckel and Mulhauser and the C.M.S. school teachers. Altogether the reductions of the British subsidy seemed to put the Mico Charity and the Church of England in the lap of Governor McLeod. But McLeod was not going to be stampeded into voting money to these schools. Could he not sell them the Irish national school system in return for grants from the government? McLeod, became more convinced, once the Mico Charity and the Church of England began to look to the Council for more grants, that the solution laid in some form of non-denominationalism. He saw Trinidad as a medley of peoples and cultures in which the government must take an active role in education in order to shape the culture of the society.[76] The school system should not only weld together the immigrant society, but the new culture of Trinidad should be dominated by Anglo-Saxon values. The English language should become the normal means of communication, not French nor Spanish, nor French patois. Since the hostility of the Roman Catholics would be fierce if a new policy based on support only for Church of England schools were adopted, the logical conclusion was that some form of government sponsored non-denominational schools would be the answer.

Anytime in the 1830s to 1870s that a school problem like Trinidad's was posed anywhere in the British Empire, people instinctively looked to the endeavour to work the Irish national

---

76. C.O. 295/134, McLeod to Russell, 13 Oct., 1841.

system in Ireland. The virtues and demerits of the Irish national system were often the subject of debate in Trinidad between 1834 and 1870. The most obvious feature of this discussion is that different interpretation was put upon it by different parties. What did it actually mean? How did it work? McLeod wanted to know, and he requested the British government to give him the information, and to send him copies of the books used in the schools in Ireland.[77] The Secretary of State for the Colonies who made the reply was Stanley; and Stanley had been instrumental in framing the Irish national system in the early 1830s. In 1842 Stanley had nothing cheering to say about this experiment in Ireland. The non-denominational system had broken down into a system of denominational schools. The clerics, Roman Catholic and Anglican, did not like it or want it. Stanley felt that the same thing was likely to happen in Trinidad; and he advised McLeod against any policy which excluded giving aid to denominational schools.[78] He suggested that possibly the most feasible policy would be to copy the practice of the metropolitan government; to erect a Board of Education which would aid a variety of schools on certain indispensable conditions. For instance, teaching should be in English; and government inspection accepted.[79] Stanley, however, made sure that McLeod understood that this was only the advice; not a dictation of the policy which he should adopt. McLeod was given a free hand.

---

77. C.O. 295/130, McLeod to Stanley, 1 May, 1840, no. 10
78. C.O. 295/16, Stanley to McLeod, June, 1842.
79. ibid.

Not knowing what to do McLeod postponed action by having the matter considered by a Committee of the Council.[80] Charles Warner, George Scotland and Mr. P.A. Ganteaume were appointed in June 1842; and their terms of reference was that the system of education adopted must be open to children of all religious faith. McLeod had then declined the advice of Stanley; but had appointed a Committee which was well balanced in its opposing views. Warner and Scotland were Church of England followers, but Scotland had an independent mind and would not be a puppet to Warner.[81] Ganteaume was the only Catholic member of the Council; and his views were diametrically opposed to those of Warner. How this Committee would have worked we don't know; for Ganteaume declined the appointment on the ground that urgent business required his going to England shortly. It was obvious that without a Roman Catholic on the Committee its findings would fail to command the confidence of the Roman Catholic community. Mr. Henry Scott, an unofficial member was appointed to the Committee after Ganteaume left the island;[82] but the Committee did not form a policy. In August 1842, two of its members were off the island; and in 1843 to 1845 the Council did not act as if this Committee had made any report to it. The next positive move in the direction of making a policy came not from this Committee, but from the Church Committee of the Council.

---

80. P.O.S.G., 3 June, 1842, Council of Government 1 June, 1842.

81. Scotland and Warner were usually at loggerheads. See C.O. 295/105, Scotland to Stanley, 18 June, 1834. Also C.O. 295/121, Hill to Glenelg, 14 Aug., 1838, no. 82., Enclosure: Scotland to Glenelg 10 Aug., 1838. Also C.O. 295/121, Hill to Glenelg, 23 Aug., 1838, no. 84, Enclosure: Warner to Glenelg, 21 Aug., 1838.

82. P.O.S.G., 28 June, 1842, Council of Government 27 June, 1842.

In the middle of the absorbing debates of 1843 on the shift to British civil and criminal laws, the Church Committee, chaired by Mr. Losh, introduced the idea that no petition for teachers' salaries should be met in future unless the petitioner would undertake to collect 50 cents per month from each pupil who was not a pauper.[83] This money was to be deposited in the Treasury to form a School Fund. The Church Committee usually processed the applications for aid to churches and schools; and it was composed mostly of unofficials. Since 1838 the unofficials had displayed more interest in the principle of Negro parents paying for the education of their children than in the search for a non-denominational system.[84] Now that the British subsidy was coming to an end, the unofficials were determined that the Council should not make good the deficiency, but Negro parents. Losh insisted that 50 cents a month was the smallest sum which made sense. He claimed that this could easily be paid; and he suggested that one purpose of the rule would be to encourage the Negroes to work more regularly on the estates.[85] William Burnley, the biggest estate owner among the unofficials, thought rather characteristically that school fees of 50 cents per month per pupil was too low.[86] This proposal was coming from the unofficials at a time when they, as members of the Immigration and Agriculture Society, were anxious to secure a reduction of labourers wages.

---

83. P.O.S.G., 13 Oct., 1843, Council of Government 10 Oct., 1843.

84. P.O.S.G., 26 Feb., 1839, Council of Government 22 Feb., 1839. Also Trinidad Standard, 4 Feb., 1840, Council of Government 1 Feb., 1840.

85. P.O.S.G., 13 Oct., 1843, Council of Government 10 Oct., 1843.

86. ibid.

Edward Jackson, the Attorney General, and Mr. Allen the Treasurer, were in favour of Losh's suggestion; Scotland disagreed, and McLeod too: their argument was that 50 cents was too high.[87] Warner did not argue against fees; he said that whatever was done should apply equally to all schools. Obviously there was enough support in the Council for fees; though not at the level of 50 cents per month for each pupil. Allen introduced a compromise amendment which was carried: only schools which collected fees should be aided, but each school would be left to determine the fee it would charge.[88]

The question of a non-denominational system of schools was not discussed again in the Council until April 1846, on the eve of McLeod's retirement from the government of the colony. In the last years of McLeod's administration the Council became absorbed in the passage of legislation to implement British civil and criminal laws in Trinidad and to establish the Church of England on a parochial base. In the meantime the Mico Charity schools crashed for lack of financial support; but the Bishop of Barbados was able, although not without reducing the salaries of the teachers, to ride the shock of the S.P.G's reductions of funds by getting more money from the Council. These increased grants were for churches and salaries of clergymen,[89] not for teachers or schools. But by internal reorganization of the funds at his command, the new Bishop of Barbados, Rev. Parry, was able to absorb

---

87. ibid.

88. ibid.

89. P.O.S.G., 14 March 1843, Council of Government 11 March, 1843. Estimates for 1843.

the C.M.S. mission in 1844, its teachers, and its two clergymen Eckel and Mulhauser.

The major effect of the Ecclesiastical Ordinance[90] of 1844 was to heighten the dislike and the suspicion of the Roman Catholic and Church of England clerics of each others' church. The aim of this law was to divide Trinidad into sixteen parishes, to appoint immediately Rectors and Curates in seven of these; and to extend the ecclesiastical cannons of the Church of England to the island.[91] The salaries of the clergymen of the Church of England were written into the Ordinance. The Roman Catholics claimed that the effect of this Ordinance would be to make the Church of England the established Church of Trinidad. The fact that this law was carried through in the Council, despite the great public outcry[92] against it from the Roman Catholics, served to underline the extent to which the Church of England had a hold upon the Crown colony government of the island. The passage of the Ecclesiastical Ordinance must have had the effect of reducing the confidence[93] of the Roman Catholics in the

---

90. For a copy of this Ordinance see G. Carmichael, op.cit., Appendix XXXI

91. ibid.

92. P.O.S.G.,23 July,1844, Letter from "Libertas" P.O.S.G., 17 Sept., 1844, Letter from "Anti-Ascendancy"; also P.O.S.G., 22 Oct.,1844, Letter from "Titus".

93. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Olympus, Dr. McDonald was so opposed to the passage of the Ecclesiastical Ordinance that he declined having Governor McLeod in the Cathedral on Corpus Christi day as was customary. See P.O.S.G.,3 Sept., 1844, Council of Government 2 Sept., 1844. Probably the Roman Catholic campaign against this Ordinance would have been prolonged had it not been for the death of McDonald before the Ordinance was passed. His successor was Dr. Smith a more conciliatory man. See. P.O.S.G., 29 Oct., 1844.

impartiality of the Irish system of education which the administration was contemplating. By his pro-Church of England policies McLeod substantially reduced the basis of possible cooperation for his contemplated education policy.

When at last McLeod put his education policy before the Council, he appeared desirous of crowning his administration on the eve of his departure from the island. He knew that his would not be the task of implementing the policy; and indeed it is our contention that the policy was not well thought out, and could not be successfully implemented as it stood in 1846. The proposals prepared by Charles Warner, who was now the Attorney General, on the instruction of McLeod amounted to an attempt to introduce the Irish national system. A Board of Education with a budget not exceeding £2000 sterling per annum was to be established.[94] Out of this fund it was to help local inhabitants with half the cost of land and school buildings, and to pay the whole cost of the teachers' salaries. In return the Board of Education would appoint teachers; and organize inspections of the schools. Only secular subjects were to be taught in the schools; but children would be admitted to these schools only if they could show proof by certificate that they were receiving religious instruction elsewhere.[95] This proposal about the curriculum of the school constituted the significant variation from the Irish national school system.

---

94. P.O.S.G., 3 April, 1846, Council of Government 1 April, 1846.

95. ibid.

All the officials except Scotland, the Chief Justice, voted for the proposals. Scotland felt that the plan should not mention religious instruction at all; that it should be purely secular.[96] Only Dr. Philip, a coloured acting unofficial supported his amendment to this effect. Ganteaume forced the administration to change its mind on the composition of the Board of Education. This was originally slated to have seats for both the Bishop of Barbados and the Roman Catholic Bishop, along with certain officials of the Council. Ganteaume felt that the Bishop of Barbados would carry too much weight; and persuaded McLeod and Warner simply to leave the selection of the Board of Education to the governor -- with the understanding that neither of the Bishops would have a seat.[97] Ganteaume's main effort, however, was directed to getting the government to agree to have religious instruction in the school at certain specified times. For this purpose the clerics would visit the schools to teach their creeds to the children of their faith. Warner objected that this would cause too much inconvenience to the schools;[98] and the officials with the exception of Scotland held their ground on this point. The unofficials led by Losh again showed most concern over the financing of the project. Losh was against the principle of the government paying for the education of the masses.[99] He and the other unofficials were

---

96. ibid.
97. ibid.
98. ibid.
99. ibid.

really against any changes in the existing system. Enough money was being spent on education they claimed, and there was no public demand for a new education policy.[100] The resolutions were passed; three days later McLeod sailed for England.

There are two fundamental questions which we must ask about the colonial government's dealings with education in the period 1838 to 1846. Firstly why did Charles Warner and Governor McLeod insist on wanting a non-denominational system of education? And secondly why did they fail to implement such a system? The answer to the first question was that a non-denominational system was an essential part of the plan to spread English habits, customs and institutions; in other words to anglicise the colony. Just as Warner and McLeod were the foremost proponents in the Council for English laws[101], so they were the most determined and consistent advocates of a non-denominational system of education. One of the major characteristic about the argument for non-denominational schools was that it was not a pedagogical argument at all. None of its advocates argued publicly that the Mico Charity schools, or non-denominational schools in general, were, or tended to be institutions of learning superior to denominational schools. The argument that the Mico Charity schools taught in the English language was not an argument about quality, but about a goal which to the

---

100. ibid.

101. C.O. 295/134, McLeod to Stanley, 3 Dec., 1841, no. 16. Also P.O.S.G., 4 Aug., 1843, Council of Government 1 Aug., 1843.

English was politically and socially desirable. The need to teach the English language was the part of the anglicising motivation behind the proposal for non-denominational schools, which was most publicly acknowledged. But did not the Church of England teach in the English language? And could not those Roman Catholic schools which taught in French be induced to use English by regular offers of grants? If teaching in the English language was all that the colonial government was looking for, there would be no need to declare for non-denominational schools. The truth was that the government wanted the inculcation of English values and habits, and it did not trust the Roman Catholic church -- the church of the non-English people -- to undertake such a task. In the eyes of Warner and McLeod Roman Catholic denominational schools under the control of priests who might be French or Spanish were instruments of social disharmony.[102] If children went to a non-denominational school such as the Mico Charity schools which taught in English, and inculcated English cultural values, a foundation for social harmony -- not social integration -- would be laid on the basis of English culture.

If the goal was political, there were also political limitations on the strategy to be adopted to reach this goal. The most logical policy in education for McLeod and Warner would have been to support only the schools of the Church of England,

---

102. C.O. 295/134, McLeod to Russell, 13 Oct., 1841, no. 92. The best statement of Warner opinion on this matter came much later. See C.O. 295/243, Gordon to Buckingham, 8 Jan., 1868, no. 9. Enclosure: Warner to Gordon, Dec., 1867. See Appendix III.

and in religion , only the clergymen of the Church of England. No doubt, some supporters of the policies to anglicise the colony felt this way. Turnbull, the Colonial Secretary, might have been speaking for more than himself when he asserted in 1839 that the Council should logically give the Church of England schools pride of place.[103] Of course the Council was doing just this; but without openly declaring this to be the policy of the Council. But to give only the schools of the Church of England assistance would have brought a storm of criticism upon the government. Not even a Crown colony government could afford so blatantly a discriminatory policy against a large section of the population, many of whom were to be numbered among the upper classes. Discriminatory policies against the Roman Catholics had to be limited and subtle; and appear to have some reasonable justification. When the Ecclesiastical Ordinance was made law in the face of widespread protest from the Roman Catholics, the justification was that the Church of England needed to be properly organized; and that the Ordinance did not in any way affect Roman Catholics.[104] The Church of England was merely putting its own house in order, and not preventing the Roman Catholics from doing the same thing for their Church. The truth is that the Ecclesiastical Ordinance did put the Church of England in a better position to increase

---

103. P.O.S.G., 24 May, 1839, Council of Government 22 May, 1839.

104. P.O.S.G., 6 Aug., 1844, Council of Government 3 Aug., 1844, Speech of Warner. Also P.O.S.G., 9 Aug., 1844, Council of Government 3 Aug., 1844, Speech of Jackson.

its followers at the expense of the general revenues of the colony, but it is very significant that the Ordinance itself stopped short of declaring the Church of England to be the established Church of Trinidad. As the Ordinance was put into effect the Church of England slowly began to get from the government as much money as the Roman Catholic Church for salaries, and then to surpass that Church.[105]

The policy of a general system of non-denominational schools was in line with the general strategy of subtle discrimination against the Roman Catholics. In a negative way it seems fair: none of the denominations would get help for denominational schools. From this point of view it satisfied the requirements of the strategy of not being openly and blatantly discriminatory against the Roman Catholics. While it is true that between 1838 and 1846 the Council gave more money, and quicker too, to the Church of England schools than to the Roman Catholic schools, there was the danger that this policy could not be continued with any show of reason, as the Roman Catholics organized their resources and made more and more applications which satisfied the requirements laid down by the Council for such grants. Short of declaring a primacy to the Church of England -- which was politically undesirable -- the Council could not be sure that it could invent apparently fair criteria which in the long run would not lead to the Roman Catholics

---

105. See appendix I.

capturing most of the state grants for schools. The requirement that the Roman Catholic teachers use the English language was met; when the Council insisted that the Roman Catholic Bishop give assurance of his personal responsibility for the salaries of the teachers, the assurance was given. If the Council chose to aid denominational schools according to the proportion of the church supporters in the total population, the Roman Catholic Church would top the list; or if it chose to aid schools according to the number of pupils in them, the Roman Catholic would again be well placed. It could not pay Roman Catholic teachers less than Church of England teachers; and nobody was terribly concerned about the quality of education; so this could not be a criterion. What the Council in the early 1840s feared would happen did occur after 1875: once the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church were put on the same footing in respect of state aid for schools, the numerical superiority of the Roman Catholics enabled them to out-distance the Church of England in the provision of state aided schools.[106]

To block the Roman Catholic church schools it was also expedient to deny the Church of England schools of grants. The advocates of non-denominational schools in the Council obviously thought that it was more important to contain the growth of the influence of the Roman Catholic Church over the young than to

---

106. C.O. 295/315, Robinson to Secretary of State, 29 Sept. 1887. no. 262., Enclosure: Report of Inspector Guppy, 1885-1887.

give the Church of England the resources to enter into a competition which it might lose. Of course, if the non-denominational system was built upon the unreformed Mico Charity schools, then the non-denominational schools would be only vaguely disguised Protestant agencies. But the real strategy was that while the non-denominational schools blocked the path of the Roman Catholics, the Ecclesiastical Ordinance of 1844 would allow the Church of England to spread and gain more grass-root support; and then in the future it could really top the Roman Catholic church in a fair competition for school grants. The Church of England never lived up to this hope.

Another argument put forward by the advocates of non-denominational schools was that the rivalry of denominational schools led to a needless multiplication of schools;[107] and hence to a waste of public funds. The assumption of this argument was that the Council must need yield to all sorts of denominational applications for aid to schools. But this need not be so. Why could the Council not set up fair criteria upon which to assess the merits of rival applications for denominational schools? Of course the denominations in the late 1830s and early 1840s had begun to establish rival schools in the same districts. But this had not gone so far as to justify any official outcry against it. When Latrobe visited Trinidad in June 1838 there were only two districts, apart from Port of Spain

---

107. C.O. 295/130, McLeod to Russell, 1 May, 1840, no. 10.

and San Fernando, where two schools of different denominations existed: St. Joseph and Savanna Grande.[108] In the early 1840s the Church of England, the Mico Charity and the Roman Catholic sited more schools in the same districts; but there is no evidence whatsoever that any of these districts had too many schools. The proper task of the government was to encourage a higher level of attendance at schools; rather than to seek to reduce the number of schools in any of the districts on the ground that too many schools existed. At any rate, the Council had little moral footing for arguing about the wastage of public funds on denominational schools when it voted so little money for these schools. In 1836 it was £200; in 1842 it was £937; but in 1844, £500 was put on the budget for schools.[109] The argument about waste was really an argument about the prospects of rising expenditure on denominational schools as the post-emancipation period lengthened. But even then this would only be the case if the Council took no measures to make the schools effective institutions of learning.

The other question we have to ask of the Council's behaviour between 1838 and 1846 is this: why did it fail to implement a general system of non-denominational schools? While it is true that only Warner and McLoed consistently

---

108. Latrobe: Report on Negro Education in British Guiana and Trinidad. pp. 51-54.

109. These figures are not always accurate. The Blue Books sometimes give figures different from the Council. The biggest discrepancy here is in the 1844 figure where the Blue Book gives £934. See Expenditure on Education C.O. 300/54; C.O. 300/55.

declared in favour of non=denominational schools, the Crown colony system had a great capacity to yield the result desired by the governor. Fundamentally the failure was due to the fact that McLeod and Warner did not propose a system of government owned and controlled non-denominational schools. They were looking to the Mico Charity, or to the churches to run such schools. McLeod and Warner placed great hopes in particular on the Mico schools. But their hopes were dashed to the ground by the objections of the Roman Catholics, and indeed, the Bishop of Barbados, against the Mico Charity schools; and by the refusal of the Mico Charity Trustees even to make gestures in the direction of reforming its schools.[110] Even when the Mico Charity schools had collapsed the Council still imagined that it could get "local inhabitants"[111] to erect and run secular schools with the assistance of government. This after all was the proposal of McLeod in April 1846; he was not proposing government owned, and conducted schools. The essential flaw in these proposals of April 1846 was that they made too generous an estimate of community development in the colony. Who were these "local inhabitants" who were going to come forward, pay part of the cost of erecting the schools, take responsibility for their day to day existence, and not teach religion in them? There

---

110. Walbridge to Trew, 30 April, 1841, Anti-Slavery Papers E.1/13. In 1842 Rev. Trew on a tour of Mico Schools in the West Indies dismissed Rev. George Cowan, Mico Superintendent in Trinidad, partly because he had removed the Bible from the Mico school in Port of Spain. See Trew to Trustees June 1842. Anti-Slavery Papers E 1/13

111. P.O.S.G., 3 April, 1846, Council of Government 1 April, 1846.

were no such people in Trinidad. The planter class could hardly have cared less about popular education; if Messrs Losh and Burnley were typical of this economic group then nothing like leadership in popular education could be expected from them. Junior plantation staff themselves needed to be educated; so too the coloured and Negro masses. As in the "Protestant islands" the clerics were the people who would take the initiative in education, with or without the help of the government. And the clerics, whatever they might say, would never trust a rival cleric to run a non-denominational school.

It could hardly be that the idea of government owned and controlled schools never entered the minds of Warner and McLeod. When it did they probably dismissed it on two grounds; firstly they were still wedded to the notion that private individuals and groups had a large responsibility for running schools. Obviously both men felt that the government should take an active part; and that it should vote money to underpin a system of schools. Neither was looking to school fees as the major means of financing the schools. But how could Warner and McLeod face the Council with the proposals of paying for a colony wide range of government owned and maintained schools? This would cost far more than what was being spent on education; it would cost more than the maximum of £2,000 which Warner and McLeod envisaged spending under the April 1846 proposals.[112]

---

112. ibid.

The Council would not hear of this. And the British government would never force upon the colony welfare expenditure of which the Council disapproved.

How was the government, from its headquarters in Port of Spain, to erect and control its own schools out in the isolated and scattered settlements of the colony? The Board of Education would have an inspector who would be obliged to travel; but he would not supervise the schools in their week to week activities. Apart from a few stipendiary magistrates, the government had no officers in the countryside who could readily undertake such a task. The office of the Commandant of Quarters had been abolished in 1838,[113] even in Port of Spain the Cabildo had been eliminated and replaced by a Town Council over which the Governor had a veto.[114] Despite the granting of Town Councils to Port of Spain and San Fernando the direction of authority was towards a greater centralization of power in the hands of the Governor and the Council.

---

113. C.O. 300/50, p. 34 Cabildo Revenue and Expenditure. 1838.

114. C.O. 295/130, McLeod to Russell, 15 June, 1840, no. 29.

CHAPTER IV

THE MAKING OF AN EDUCATION POLICY 1846-1854

"The principle of municipalities is the first step common to all civilised countries ....."[1]

Lord Harris to Council, 1 April, 1847

What Governor McLeod and Charles Warner were searching for, Lord Harris the new governor in 1846 discovered and implemented. The scheme of education which Harris put into practice was non-denominational and secular; and although Harris did not belabour the point, it was still intended to forward the general policy of anglicising the institutions of the colony. By the mid - 1840s the anglicising policy was so taken for granted, that Harris did not feel it necessary to make the point that the new non-denominational secular schools, controlled by the government, would teach the English language and inculcate English values. If we keep these social and cultural intentions in mind, it becomes quite clear that Lord Harris' scheme of education was basically a continuation of the lines of thought of McLeod and Warner. The real achievement of Harris was first to decide unequivocally that it was the government, not the churches, or any organisation such as

---

1. P.O.S.G., 16 April, 1847, Council of Government 1 April, 1847.

the Mico Charity, which had to undertake the establishment and conduct of non-denominational secular schools inculcating English cultural values; and secondly he solved -- to some extent -- the puzzle of how the colony was to have a general scheme of education without a large expenditure from the general revenues. The money for the schools was to come from local rates.

The imposition of local rates, for what were called local purposes, involved the reorganisation of the fiscal and administrative system of the island. It involved the division of the island into counties, districts and wards;[2] a shifting of some of the burden of taxation from indirect taxes on imports and exports to direct taxes on lands and houses; and a corresponding transfer of some of the responsibilities -- for local roads, local schools, local charity, local administration of justice and maintenance of law and order -- to the wards, the effective unit, not really of local government, but of local administration. Harris hoped that in time local municipal bodies of an elective nature would arise and take over some of the functions of the Warden[3] -- the executive officer in charge of the wards -- and administer the local rates.

The inauguration under the Wardens Ordinance of a system of wards and of local rates for local purposes, and the tacking on of a scheme of non-denominational secular schools to the

---

2. P.O.S.G., 19 March, 1847, Copy of Wardens Ordinance of 1847.

3. P.O.S.G., 19 March, 1847, Copy of the Municipal Ordinance.

wards and the ward rates, constituted the essential part of Harris' fame as an innovating and creative governor. What he was doing here, though he was not borrowing slavishly, was to introduce into the colony models of local government organisation -- and hopefully local municipal organisations -- from England. The move towards local government represented a form of anglicising. Of course Charles Warner in his role of Attorney General was still carrying forward the law revolution which was making the statute book of the colony -- admittedly with several gaps -- look more and more like that of England. Harris thoroughly approved of what McLeod and Warner had done in terms of anglicising the laws;[4] and he supported Warner's continuing mania for the spread of English laws and habits.[5] There was only one part of the law revolution with which Harris disagreed: he thought that the Ecclesiastical Ordinance of 1844 which established the Church of England was the kind of folly which had led to tragedy in Ireland.[6] Yet he did not press or even call for its repeal. At the same time he was not bigoted against Roman Catholicism as a religion.

---

4. C.O. 295/156, Harris to Grey, 5 April, 1847, no. 32

5. For instance he supported Ordinance 2 of 1853 to amend the laws relating to Solicitors and Conveyancers. Warner justified this by asserting the wisdom of all professionals getting their education in England where they would cultivate English habits. See C.O. 295/180, Harris to Newcastle, 22nd August, 1853, no. 29., Enclosure: Report of Warner

6. C.O. 295/152, Harris to Grey, 21 Dec., 1846, Private.

Its cultural associations were another matter.[7] Harris though widely read, always preferred to take his models from England directly, or at any rate from the Anglo-Saxon political and cultural experience. This came to him so naturally that he seemed hardly aware that he was continuing an anglicising policy. In fact, when some people from the non-English sector of the community grumbled against Harris' policy on the grounds that he too was anglicising, Harris retorted that he was not trying to introduce English models of government and administration into the island:[8] it was not, he said, his fault if England did provide [9] the best models and principles for a colony like Trinidad. In his mind he was not so much anglicising as giving the colony good government.

Lord Harris soon found out that good government had to await the passing of bad times. Any planter who could put out of his mind the likelihood that tariff protection would be removed, might well have felt at the start of 1846 that the stage had been set for a new surge of economic development -- meaning the development of the sugar economy -- in the colony. Indian immigrants had started arriving;[10] more capital was expected to come now that the law revolution had made capital safer.[11] A cruel disappointment met these hopes.

---

7. For unfavourable comments on the non-English people who were Roman Catholics See. C.O. 295/161, Harris to Grey, 6 May, 1848, Private. C.O. 295/168, Harris to Grey, 12 Nov., 1849, Confidential; C.O. 295/171, Harris to Grey, 11 Sept., 1850, no. 73

8. C.O. 295/168, Harris to Grey, 12 Nov., 1849, Confidential

9. ibid.

10. Wood, op.cit., p. 113

11. P.O.S.G., 19 Sept., 1843, Council of Government 15 Sept., 1843.

Instead of boom times the colony ran into a double-barrelled economic crisis. It was a crisis of a sudden shortage of working capital within a larger and more permanent crisis of free trade.[12] In May 1848 Harris reported that the Treasury was empty.[13] Harris had to postpone the implementation of his ideas for wards, local rates and schools; and what is more he had to rethink some of his ideas, particularly about local rates, to make them -- hopefully -- part of the means to the recovery of the economy.

The year 1849 was chosen as the time when his plans would swing into operation. While making some savings by some reduction of the civil service,[14] Harris imposed a new excise on the distillers on rum;[15] at the same time he reorganised some of the duties of imports. In 1850 he brought in the direct tax on land and houses -- the local rate -- and then reduced the Export tax by a half of what he expected to get from this local rate.[16] By subsequent adjustment of the Export tax downwards until it was completely abolished in 1852,[17] and adjustment of the local rate upwards, Harris managed to effect a major

---

12. Wood, op.cit., pp.121-124. W.P. Morrell: British Colonial Policy in the Age of Peel and Russell. (Frank Cass, 1966) pp.232-269.
13. C.O. 295/161, Harris to Grey, 22 May, 1848, no. 53
14. C.O. 295/163, Harris to Grey, 19 July, 1848, no. 88., Comments on Estimates for 1849.
15. ibid.
16. C.O. 295/168, Harris to Grey, 3 Sept. 1849, Enclosure: Estimates for 1850.
17. C.O. 295/174, Harris to Grey, 9 June, 1851, no. 55., Enclosure: Estimates for 1852.

reorganisation of the sources of government revenues. And it made it less likely that the Treasury would again be empty, because government revenues were now not so closely tied to the fluctuating fortunes of the sugar trade.

Behind Lord Harris' fiscal reorganisation was a philosophy of society. It was derived from his experience as an English gentleman farmer of aristocratic stock;[18] and from his quick assessment of the needs of the divided society of the colony. His views about society were confirmed in his mind by the obvious support of Earl Grey, the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Grey's prescription for the society, though harsher than Harris' in some respects, ran along the same lines as those of the governor. Grey believed that the ex-slaves should not be cuddled; they should be taxed to the point where they would be compelled to seek employment on the estates to obtain cash.[19] The obligations to labour, he believed, would be morally beneficial to a race prone to idleness. Grey had these views since the early 1830s when as Lord Howick he had presented a plan for the emancipation of the slaves.[20] Harris' plan to tax the ex-slaves, as well as the planters, on their lands and houses was entirely in line with Grey's thinking. Grey recommended

---

18. He was the 3rd Baron Harris. See G. Carmichael, op.cit., p 449.

19. W.L. Mathieson: The Sugar Colonies and Governor Eyre 1849 - 1866. (Longman, Green, 1936) pp. 45-50.

20. ibid.

a similar policy, plus compulsory education for the children of the ex-slaves on farm schools.[21] Although the governors of Crown colonies were allowed a wide scope in proposing and implementing policies, it was conceivable that another Secretary of State might have baulked at the fiscal and administrative plans of Harris. It was only when Harris as part of his plan for the energising of society proposed a measure of popular participation[22] -- not representative government -- in the Council of Government that Grey stalled. He could, said Grey go ahead with the other aspects of his plans if he could assuage his local opponents.

Harris' most quoted saying was that "a race has been freed but a society has not been formed".[23] To form a society in the colony, thought Harris, all the classes, the races and the colours, must be taught that they had duties to perform according to the position in life in which it had pleased God to put them. And the place where first of all they should carry out these duties was in their own localities; in the place where they lived. This would create an attachment to their

---

21. C.O. 295/151, pp 251-254 Grey to Harris, 1 Oct., 1846. Also Grey sent to the Colonies a plan of farm schools for the Colonies prepared by Kay-Shuttleworth, Secretary of the Board of Education in England. See P.O.S.G. 2 March, 1847 for the plan called "Brief Practical Suggestions on the Mode of Organising and Conducting Day Schools of Industry, Model Farm Schools or Normal Schools as part of a system of Education for the Coloured Races of the British Colonies dated 6 Jan., 1847.

22. C.O. 295/152, Harris to Grey, 21 Dec., 1846, Private. Also C.O. 295/170, Harris to Grey, 20 March, 1850, Confidential. C.O. 295/173, Harris to Grey, 27 Jan., 1851, Confidential.

23. C.O. 295/162, Harris to Grey, 19 June, 1848, no. 71.

localities; for the workers this would reduce the tendency to be migratory; it would make them settle down; be more easily counted and more easily taxed. For the higher classes attachment to their localities would give the localities the benefits of their leadership, moral, social and political; and the bonds of society would grow tighter at the level of the localities with the races and the classes doing their duties and knowing their place.[24] Direct taxes on the land and houses of all who lived in the localities would make a more direct impression on them than indirect taxes on food or merchandise. The impact of direct taxes was not diffused and piecemeal, but concentrated and forceful; and as such it would stimulate the tax payer to realise that he was contributing to the government. This would make him more anxious to know how his money was being spent, and the fact that the ward rate was to be spent locally would give him a chance of, in fact, seeing how it was being spent. All this would make for greater civic consciousness.

The Municipal Ordinance of 1847 was to be one of the means of stirring civic consciousness. It allowed for the participation of elected members out in the countryside, within the wards, in municipal corporations or local councils to be formed whenever there was a sufficient number of people to work them, and a sufficient number of people who wanted them.[25] However, the Municipal Ordinance was never implemented because the people who

---

24. For a good summary of Harris' intentions in instituting the ward system, See. C.O. 295/178, Harris to Pakington, 8 Nov., 1852, no. 67. See Appendix II.

25. ibid.

wanted representative government were after the substance of power at the centre, and would not easily be diverted by the shadow of municipal privileges in the countryside. The Wardens, instead of becoming less important as the municipal councils came into being,[26] became all important. Since these Wardens were appointed directly by the governor and responsible only to him, the scheme of stimulating civil consciousness through the participation of elected representatives largely collapsed. Despite the introduction of elected ward auditors in 1853,[27] the Wardens Ordinance was worked from the centre; from the Executive in Port of Spain, and not from the localities.

When Lord Harris became governor there was a total of 53 denominational elementary day schools of which 27 were run by the Church of England; thirteen by the Roman Catholic church; six by the Methodist missionaries; three by the Baptist missionaries and four by the Presbyterian missionaries.[28] These schools had a total of 2416 children on the rolls and an average attendance of 1682. After the termination of the British government's subsidy, the Trinidad government subsidised these schools to the extent of £1418 in 1845.[29] The remainder of the cost of running the schools was met by funds which the denominations raised from their co-religionists, sometimes abroad, and from fees paid by pupils.

---

26. P.O.S.G., 19 March, 1847, Copy of Wardens Ordinance of 1847. Also C.O. 295/168, Harris to Grey, 4 Sept., 1849, no. 67., Enclosure: Ordinance 9 of 1849.

27. C.O. 295/178, Harris to Pakington, 8 Nov., 1852, no. 67.

28. C.O. 295/151, Harris to Grey, 31 July, 1846, no. 35., Enclosure: A Return of Schools.

29. ibid.

The Town Council of Port of Spain ran a Boys school with 102 on the roll and an average attendance of 90. This cost the Town Council £144 in 1845. In addition to these day schools, the denominations conducted 21 Sunday schools,[30] some of which might have taught reading. As the 1844 census showed, 13,102 children under ten years old,[31] the provision of schools in 1845 was very inadequate.

Of course, there were private schools in Port of Spain, and less so in San Fernando, which offered both elementary and secondary education. How many of these existed in the mid 1840s is not known. And there were also the Roman Catholic colleges: St. Georges for boys and St. Joseph Convent for girls. But neither the private schools, nor the Roman Catholic colleges which charged fees, were for the children of the lower classes.

It can hardly be said that the denominational day schools, which had come into existence between 1834 and 1846 had been given a fair chance to prove their worth, and found pedagogically lacking. The government's grants had not been generous, and it had not insisted on the attainment of specified standards as a condition for earning the grants. There had been no local and continuous inspection of the schools. The government had merely requested that the teaching be in English; and in the case of Roman Catholic schools, there appears to have been an understanding that religious creeds would be kept out of such of these

---

30. ibid.

31. P.O.S.G., 16 June, 1844.

schools as got grants. The teachers in the denominational schools and the Town Council schools were mostly untrained and inefficient. But on the other hand the government had not done much to improve these denominational schools; and this was both because most of the Council members did not care much about schools anyway, and because those who cared -- like McLeod and Warner in particular -- were hoping to have a non-denominational range of schools which would project English cultural values.

Harris decided very soon after arriving in the island that the government had to take the initiative in education; that the government schools should be secular, but still have links with the denominationalists.[32] They would be secular because government schools, in Harris' mind, should not impose religious creeds. But the schools were to have links with the churches because the society, and especially the Negroes, needed a moral code based on religion. Harris felt that "without religious principles no society of men can flourish".[33] He did not think highly of the morality of the whites,[34] and the blacks certainly needed lessons in moral behaviour. As he said "....The negro differs from the lower classes of most nations in that without achieving it by any display either of moral power or of intellectual capacity or of physical force -- un-educated --,"

---

32. C.O. 295/151, Harris to Grey, 31 July, 1846, no. 35

33. P.O.S.G., 2 February, 1847, Council of Government, 1 Feb.,1847.

34. C.O. 295/152, Harris to Grey, 21 December, 1846, Private.

undisciplined, and moreover demoralized by the general example of his superiors, he has been placed in a state of freedom with no knowledge of its obligation, and with but little appreciation of its value beyond the idea of being able to follow the bent of his inclinations and passions....."[35]

Harris was not convinced that religious morality in the schools could be taught without creeds;[36] and therefore he was not in favour of the Irish education system or the Mico Charity system. He was willing, however, to let the Board of Education discuss this question sometime in the future.[37] In 1846 Harris' way of reconciling secular schools with the teaching of denominational creeds was to allow the minister of the church which had the greatest number of supporters in the district where the secular government school was located, to come into the school and give religious instruction to his co-religionists, with other pupils having the right not to submit to such religious instruction.[38] Harris did not persist with this plan: he probably saw that it had a potential to promote denominational disputes and rivalries. But he never gave up the idea that the denominations teaching their creeds should be associated with the secular government schools.

---

35. C.O. 295/156, Harris to Grey, 16 Jan., 1847.

36. P.O.S.G., 4 April, 1851, Council of Government 2 April, 1851, Message of Harris.

37. ibid.

38. C.O. 295/151, Harris to Grey, 31 July, 1846, no. 35.

Harris really cared more for religion than for churches. And he was conscious that his own religious ideas would be anathema in the Colonial Office, and anyway, too advanced for the colony. He wrote in January 1847

"My opinions have been formed on the principle that religious truth is one, eternal and indestructible, that not only is it out of the power of men to destroy it, or to hide it for any length of time, but that they will find more and more they cannot exist either as individuals or in societies without it, that they must come to recognise it fully and clearly, but to attempt to bring about this recognition by force or by laws or by any other means than by leaving it to enter their hearts and obtain their convictions, by allowing every opportunity of free discussion and the free exercise of worship, is, I believe utterly futile".[39]

Theoretically Harris was in favour of the government giving aid to no religious group, and of men being left, through the use of their own intellect, to develop their own religious views.[40] Harris was not always clear in expressing his own theoretical position on religion, but it is clear that the thought that his own personal ideas were too advanced for the colony. Nevertheless, it is important to note that he held strong religious views which influenced his education policy: even

---

39. C.O. 295/156, Harris to Grey, 18 Jan., 1847, no. 7.

40. ibid.

when he was putting forward a scheme for secular government schools, he wanted the churches to develop a parallel, if separate, system of religious instruction for the children of the secular government schools; and he never defended the secular government schools as pedagogically the best kind of education. In fact, he thought that education -- true education -- could not be secular at all; it was only instruction which could be secular.[41] The system he was adopting was only the next best, a convenient if regrettable device to meet the peculiar conditions in the colony.[42] He wanted all the lower class children, of whatever creed, or cultural orientation, to go to the same school where they could be taught the English language and English cultural values. If the Roman Catholic church in giving religious instruction, imparted non-English cultural values as well, Harris was prepared to accept it because he valued the religious instruction as a means of giving the lower classes proper moral attitudes. Granted the difficulty for Harris personally, and for his officials, who were all christian colonial administrators, to accept secular instruction or secular education as superior pedagogically to religious education, it was nevertheless a serious tactical mistake for them to confess publicly, as they did in the Council of Government[43], that a religious education would be morally the best kind of

---

41. P.O.S.G., 2 Feb., 1847, Council of Government 1 Feb., 1847.

42. P.O.S.G., 4 April 1851, Council of Government 2 April, 1851, Message of Harris.

43. Trinidadian, 23 April, 1851, Council of Government 19 April, 1851.

education. Everybody knew that the government supported religion. Did it not pay thousands of pounds in salaries[44] to priests and construction costs for Church of England and Roman Catholic churches? And was it not one of the pastoral duties of the clerics to teach the young? If the clerics carried out their duties -- and the government expected them to -- the children, while not having religious instruction in the secular government school, would have it over the same period of their lives as their formal schooling. If the activities of the state supported churches and the state supported schools are seen together, then the government was not simply in favour of secular instruction or education. It was in favour of religious instruction generally, but of secular instruction in the schools. A most serious consequence followed from all this: the failure to defend the secular system in the schools as pedagogically the best, deprived it of any real moral footing and laid it open to the winds of denominationalism.

Harris presented his scheme twice to the Council of Government, in April 1847 and in April 1851. In 1847 he was not ready to implement it at all; after the worst of the financial crises had passed, he was ready in 1851, but he had to change some aspects of the 1847 plan. In 1847 a committee of each of the projected municipal councils was to run the ward school

---

44. See Appendix I for government expenditure on the Church of England and Roman Catholic Church 1834 - 1870, (excluding expenditure on church buildings). In 1851 the government spent £4696 and £4719 respectively on salaries of Clergymen of the Church of England and priests of the Roman Catholic Church.

under the direction of a Central Board of Education. Pupils were to pay fees.[45] In 1851 the Wardens were to be in charge of the ward schools, and no fees were to be charged. In 1846 Harris spoke of two other kinds of schools neither of which materialised in his governorship. Harris said he had a vision of an open system of education in which the son of the Negro peasant if he had the capacity, and wanted to, could pass through a series of schools until he reached the threshold of the professions. At the entrance to the professions would be a College teaching the classics as well as industrial instruction; and the link between the College and the ward school would be one or more superior District schools in the counties.[46] The College would charge a fee; and the District school a moderate fee. How the poor boy was to negotiate these financial obstacles was not explained. There was no pressing need to do so: these schools were for the future. In 1851 the Harris scheme as presented to the Council did not include superior District schools--or a College, only secular elementary ward schools.

The big debate in the Council on Harris' education scheme came in April 1851 when Harris produced a simple twelve point plan.[47] The immediate objectives were:-

(1) "That a committee or Board of Education be formed, the members of the Legislative Council being ex-officio members, and six other members to be

---

45. P.O.S.G., 2 Feb., 1847. Council of Government 1 FEb., 1847, Message of Harris.

46. ibid.

47. P.O.S.G., 4 April, 1851, Council of Government 2 April, 1851, Message of Harris

named by the Governor. Three members to form a Board.

(2) "That an Inspector of Schools be appointed, with a salary.

(3) "That a Normal School, with an able master and mistress be at once established.

(4) "That the Wardens of the several wards be called upon to establish schools at once, in such parts of their wards as shall appear most suitable for the convenience of the population, which shall be under the direction of the Board.

(5) "That the allowance now made from the public Treasury to the several schools be withdrawn, on the establishment of the schools under the Board.

(6) "That all persons seeking to be appointed masters or mistresses of schools under the Board, undergo an examination and be required to show good credentials of character from two or more respectable persons, and from the minister of the church or religious body to whom they are known.

(7) "That all children be received at the schools free of expense.

(8) "That no books be used in the schools without the sanction of the Board.

(9) "That the instruction given be secular -- that is that no directly doctrinal teaching be given on religion.

(10) "The primary schools to include infant and evening schools.

(11) "Lending libraries to be attached to the schools of each Ward.

(12) "All expenses attending the schools and libraries in the Ward to be met by the local rates."

The debate in the Council of Government was a mild affair, concerned inevitably with religion and to a lesser extent money.

Mr. Hume, a new unofficial making his maiden speech, went right away to the loophole in the idea that Negro parents through their contribution to th e Ward rates would be paying for the education of their children. Some Negro parents would escape the Ward rate, and these Hume insisted should pay school fees.[48] Neither Harris nor Warner could deny the fact that there would be landless labourers living in plantation barracks who would not pay ward rate on houses because the barracks belonged to the planters. Warner's answer was that the proper thing for planters to do was to end the barracks system which, he claimed, demoralised the workers, and made it easier for them to be migratory.[49] The assumption was that if the planters did not provide shelter for such workers, they would have to get their own little houses on their own little land. Harris said that it should be government's policy to encourage such a development.[50] Then everybody would be subject to ward rates.

With the death of William Burnley in 1850, the leadership of the unofficials in the Council fell to John Losh, a planter and merchant who had served on the Council since the late 1830s. Losh had on past occasions sponsored unsuccessfully legislation to stop Sabbath breaking,[51] and in general he stood for the

---

48. Trinidadian, 26 April, 1851, Council of Government 19 April, 1851, Speech of Mr. Hume.

49. ibid., Speech of Warner

50. ibid., Speech of Harris.

51. When the Council in 1838 discussed "An Ordinance to consolidate and amend the laws relating to Vagrants, Rogues, Vagabons and incorrigible Rogues" Mr. Losh proposed, unsuccessfully that cock-fighting on Sundays be added to the definition of vagrancy. See P.O.S.G., 4 Sept., 1838, Council of Government 1 Sept., 1838.

spread of religion and religious morality among the lower classes,[52] provided it did not cost the colony a great deal. He stood opposed to any measure which separated religion from the instruction given in the schools. He called Harris' plan a "Godless system of education",[53] and upbraided him for not consulting the leaders of the churches, and for not giving the churches credit for the pioneering work they had done in the field of education. Losh did not want any changes in the existing system: he made the preposterous claim that a large part of the younger people of the existing population had got some education,[54] and went on to say that the problem was to get the African immigrants christianised. There was no public demand, he said, for changes. And what Harris proposed, by extracting religion from the system, would demoralise the people further.[55] Losh would probably have made an attack upon expenditure for schools if Harris had not tied the expenses to the ward rates. The idea of local rates for local purposes, appealing as it did to the parochialism of Losh, and the other unofficials, had calmed some of their objections to public expenditure on popular education.

Harris, Warner and William Knox, the Chief Justice, defended the scheme, not as an secular system, but as secular

---

52. In 1840 Losh was one of the Vice-Presidents of the Trinidad Auxillary Bible Society. See Trinidad Almanac and Pocket Register, 1840, p.23

53. Trinidadian, 26 April, 1851, Council of Government 19 April, 1851.

54. ibid.

55. ibid.

instruction to be taken in conjunction with the religious instruction, which the denominations would give to their co-religionists. Knox suggested that the government should oblige the clerics who got salaries from the government to teach religion to the children in the churches and chapels.[56] He was not, however, in favour of the old McLeod - Warner idea that children should be asked to bring to school certificates from their ministers proving that they were attending religious instruction. There were too many ways of circumventing such a regulation. Warner said that once the clerics were freed from giving secular instruction they would have more time to give religious instruction.[57] Harris felt that by developing the intelligence of the children in the schools they would be more capable of grasping instruction in the churches. He was even willing to see half of Wednesdays and Saturdays freed from school work to allow the children to go to their various places of worship for religious instruction. But the clerics should not come to the schools to give it.

No concessions to the objections of Losh and Hume were made by Harris. What Harris said about allowing half of Wednesdays and Saturdays to be set aside for religious instruction in the chapels and churches was not incorporated in the final version of the plan. The changes went to confirm the principles

---

56. Trinidadian, 26 April, 1851, Council of Government 19 April, 1851, Speech of Knox.

57. ibid., Speech of Warner.

of Harris. It was now stipulated that only laymen could sit on the Board of Education;[58] that the cost of the Teacher Training School should be met from the general revenues; and that as long as the schools in Port of Spain and San Fernando, two municipalities, got any aid from the government, they would have to submit to government inspection.[59] If the Town Councils of these two towns did not want any aid for their schools, they could presumably do their own inspection and keep out of the system laid down for the rest of the colony.

The Harris scheme as debated in the Council did not make any special provision for the African and Indian immigrants. Although there was nothing in the scheme which excluded the children of African and Indian immigrants, their parents, who would in the first case be landless labourers contracted to the estate, would not be payers of the ward rates. There was a feeling among those who thought of these matters that something special had to be done for the African and Indian adult immigrants and their children. Harris proposed in 1847, and got, power to apprentice African children to appropriate persons,[60] but this was to control them, to teach them a trade or agricultural work, not to provide them with literacy. Major Fagan, the special magistrate for the Indians, had suggested in November 1846 that retired chaplains from the Indian civil service who knew Hindustani

---

58. For the revised twelve point plan, now in fact a thirteen point plan See Trinidadian, 26 April, 1851, Council of Government 19th April, 1851, Resolutions moved in a Committee of Council.

59. ibid.

60. C.O. 295/156, Harris to Grey, 18 March, 1847, no. 26.

should be brought to the colony to teach the children of the Indian immigrants literacy and christianity under the guidance of clergymen of the Church of England.[61] Both the Church of England and the Roman Catholic church saw in the arrival of African and Indian immigrants a challenge to evangelise and to win new supporters. But in the 1850s both churches gave more attention to the Africans than to the Indians because they thought that the Indians were transients and anyway they showed no interest in wanting to be christianised.

In June 1850, Rev. Thomas Gilbert, the Rector of St. Pauls parish, which included San Fernando, wrote to Harris criticising the conditions of the African immigrants, particularly the failure to make provisions for the instruction and christianisation of either the children or the adults. Gilbert said that African adults and children should be compelled by law to attend both schools and churches where these already existed and were ready to welcome them.[62] Until they learnt the English language, these African immigrants should be taught by pictures: he called it the "pictorial" system.[63] Saturday should be set aside in the contracts as the time when the adults should go to schools; and adults and children should attend church on Sundays. The children should presumably be free to go to the day schools also. Gilbert was sympathetic to the planters and attorneys who had African and Indian immigrants on their estates, but had done

---

61. C.O. 295/156 Harris to Grey 20 Jan., 1847, Private Enclosure: Fagan to Harris, 25 Nov., 1846.

62. C.O. 295/170, Harris to Grey, 3 July, 1850, no. 48 Enclosure: Rev. Gilbert to Harris 3 June, 1850.

63. ibid.

nothing for their education and christianisation. He felt that unless the British government allowed the African to be contracted to planters for a long term, the planters would not have the interest to spend any funds on their improvement.[64]

Harris was very peeved that Gilbert should have written such a letter -- which reached the Colonial Office. Gilbert had criticised the Executive on two subjects -- immigration and education -- on which Harris felt that his views and policies were above criticism. One result of the Gilbert letter was that Harris set Dr. Mitchell, the Superintendent of Immigration, to work: he was to collect facts and make recommendations on the education of the African immigrants. Both Harris and Mitchell felt that Rev. Gilbert had underestimated the difficulties. There were not enough schools to educate the children of the existing population. Harris felt that a case could not be made for educating the African immigrants in preference[65] to the rest of the lower classes. The Africans were often placed on estates in areas which had neither schools nor hospitals. But even if churches and schools were near at hand, Mitchell felt that it would lead to trouble if any compulsion was used to get the Yoruba people to either church or schools.[66] This tribe which Mitchell represented as the most intelligent of the African immigrants, wanted to be paid for time lost in going to either

---

64. ibid.

65. C.O. 295/171, Harris to Grey, 11 Sept., 1850, no. 73

66. C.O. 295/173, Harris to Grey, 24 Jan., 1851, no. 13., Enclosure: Report of Dr. Mitchell, 16 Jan., 1851.

schools or churches.[67] Mitchell felt that they would resist violently if forced to attend schools or churches. A few Congo children were going to Rev. Gilbert for instruction, but only one day in the week.[68] As for the African adults the big problem -- apart from the unwillingness of some -- was that there was no time for schooling. Gilbert had suggested Saturday for school and Sunday for church for the adults. This was really impracticable for people who had to work Mondays to Fridays as well.

The ideas of the British government on this subject, though well intentioned, would have been impracticable if Harris had tried to carry them out. The British Government suggested that African and Indian immigrants should be sent to areas only where schools existed; that it should be written into the contract between planter and liberated African that time should be made available on Saturdays for them to go to school; and there should be a law to compel their attendance.[69] And the money to pay for these schools, which presumably would be estate schools, should come from the tax on contracts. There is no indication that these suggestions were acted upon.

Outside of the Council the response to the Harris plan for education was mixed, but not enthusiastic. It is probably too much to expect the sort of people who wrote letters to the press to be enthusiastic about any school for educating the lower classes.

---

67. C.O. 295/173, Harris to Grey, 11 April, 1851, no. 36., Enclosure: Report of Dr. Mitchell, 21 March, 1851.

68. ibid.

69. C.O. 295/171, pp 160-163 Grey to Harris, 30 Aug., 1850, no. 455.

The planters had not established any estate schools since emancipation. This fact at first took Harris by surprise but he began to understand when he took a good look at the planter class of the island. By and large they were not men of high morals or education; they did not constitute anything like the English gentry.[71] Many were mere agents for absentee owners, and , if we are to believe Major Fagan, these agents excelled in plundering the absentees' estates to their own benefit.[72] Harris, but moreso Major Fagan, testified to the bad treatment which the sugar planters or their agents meeted out to the Indian and African immigrants.[73] They were seen merely as instrutments for the production of sugar. Obviously, not much was to be expected from such men as a group, although we hear of a handful of cases in which some attention had been given to the instruction of the African immigrants. Mitchell said that one overseer had began to teach his African immigrants on the "Pictorial system";[74] that a few African children who had picked up a little ability to read had done so because of lessons given to them by females in the families of a few planters;[75] that where there were resident owners prayer-meetings in the

---

70. C.O. 295/156, Harris to Grey, 5 April, 1847, no. 32
71. C.O. 295/152, Harris to Grey, 21 April, 1846, Private.
72. C.O. 295/156, Harris to Grey, 20 Jan., 1847, Private Enclosure: Fagan to Harris, 15 Jan., 1847.
73. C.O. 295/156, Harris to Grey, 20 Jan., 1847, Private Enclosure: Fagan to Harris, 25 Nov., 1846.
74. C.O. 295/173, Harris to Grey, 11 April, 1851, no. 36., Enclosure: Report of Dr. Mitchell, 21 March, 1851.
75. C.O. 295/173, Harris to Grey, 24 Jan, 1851, no. 13, Enclosure: Report of Dr. Mitchell, 16 Jan., 1851.

mornings and evenings were sometimes held on the estates.

Perhaps there were not many planters who would take up in the 1850s the position that no instruction whatever should be given to the labouring classes. The prevailing attitude was that nothing ambitious or expensive should be attempted. The planters had experienced a recent depression the effects of which were still evident. There were fears of losing their labour force if education became a lever of social mobility, and at the same time the belief that the non-whites, particularly the blacks, were racially inferior and therefore not capable of intellectual excellence. But people who held such views were not ready to articulate them publicly. Harris himself while believing the Negro children capable of improvement and education and said he saw both, still found it appropriate to write.

"To what pitch of advancement they are capable of attaining remains still to be proved".[76]

After Harris in September 1850 had told the Council of his plan for education, condemning along the way the European socialists and communists who wanted to overturn society, Mr. P.N. Aumaitre, a French planter resident in the colony for 48 years, thought he recognised in Harris a kindred spirit to which he could privately appeal. Aumaitre was scared of any social mobility of blacks or coloureds in the society, and warned Harris of the danger that his education plan might create the sort of social instability and disorder which education had, he alleged,

---

76. C.O. 295/160, Harris to Grey, 21 Feb., 1848, no. 21.

produced in France.[77] Already the labouring classes, in the colony he said, had many "lofty and extravagant notion",[78] including the idea that estate work was degrading. Already he saw restless desires for upward social mobility ....."the agricultural labourer wants to apprentice his son to a tradesman, and the tradesman to place his children in a store or a shop or in preference as clerk to a lawyer or a solicitor....."[78]

Aumaitre confided to Harris that he was not against upward social mobility as such people might rightly seek to raise themselves, but the government should not help them to do it. The proper role of the government was to give civil liberty to all. It would anyway, he claimed, take centuries to civilise the African race.[80]

There were no such reactionary opinions expressed in the newspapers. If any letters along these lines were written to the editors of the newspapers they were not published; but the probability is that none such was written. Perhaps, the practice of racism was always in advance of the public expression of it. The letters to the press, commonly under pseudonyms, were concerned with the question of religious instruction. One from "Quod" said[81] that the Chief Justice's argument that there was morality before christianity was nonsense.

---

77. C.O. 295/171 Harris to Grey 12 Oct., 1850, Confidential Enclosure: P.N. Aumaitre to Harris, 9 Feb., 1850.
78. ibid.
79. ibid.
80. ibid.
81. P.O.S.G., 29 April, 1851, Letter from "Quod".

Another from "An Enemy to Ignorance" upbraided Mr. Losh for being impractical.[82] The existing system of education was thoroughly bad, asserted this writer; and if the clerics did their duty the Harris scheme would not lack religious instruction. It was, however, he added, only fair that the children's attendance at the churches on half holidays and Sundays should be made compulsory. A writer using the pen name "Scotus" asserted[83] that common creeds could be found and could be taught without comment by teachers. The Irish system could work. It is to be noted that all these correspondents were in one way or another saying that religious instruction was absolutely necessary As a writer, who signed himself "M", said a secular system had been rejected in England.[84]

The editors of the San Fernando Gazette[85] and the Port of Spain Gazette welcomed the scheme. As the latter saw it, Harris had incorporated the ideas of the British government about the need to make parents pay for education; but Harris had done this without resort to the harsher proposals of Secretary of State Earl Grey, for an Education tax and compulsory attendance.[86] The editor of the Port of Spain Gazette felt that the Harris scheme would work because parents having paid ward rates would

---

82. ibid., Letter from "An Enemy to Ignorance".

83. P.O.S.G., 2 May, 1851, Letter from "Scotus"

84. P.O.S.G., 4 July, 1851, Letter from "M"

85. San Fernando Gazette, 9 April, 1851, Editorial

86. P.O.S.G., 4 April, 1851, Editorial.

have an interest in sending their children to school, and the planters would see that it was to their advantage to have an improved labour force. The coloured editor of the Trinidadian Numa des Sources paid little attention to the Harris scheme though he had a lot to say against the Wardens Ordinance. The little he did say, however, was unfavourable: des Sources hardly cared about religious creeds at all, so it was not the religious arrangement that he criticised. Since the Wardens Ordinance did not afford the people participation in the running of their affairs in the wards, all the subordinate parts of the ward scheme[87] such as schools, were bound he thought, to be defective. When des Sources had gone to set up "Numancia"[88] and the editorship fell to Conrad Stollmeyer, a moderate white, Harris and Knox but not Warner, came in for some praise as wanting to see the spread of education.[89]

Since almost all the commentators agreed that religious instruction was crucial, the reaction of the clerics themselves to the education plan was all important. Unfortunately the position of the clerics has mostly to be inferred or taken at second hand. The Wesleyan missionaries, Harris said, entirely disapproved of the plan and at the very moment when Harris was introducing it in the Council,[90] the Wesleyans applied for and, surprisingly, got £200 towards their denominational schools.

---

87. Trinidadian, 5 April, 1851, Editorial

88. This was an attempt by des Sources to establish a socialist Utopia in Venezuela, See C.O. 300/14, "The Trinidadian", 13 Dec., 1851. A Prospectus of the "Fraternal Colonising Association in Venezuelan Guiana."

89. Trinidadian, 1 July, 1852, Editorial

90. C.O. 295/151, Harris to Grey, 31 July, 1846, no. 35.

This grant brought a protest from some Baptists missionaries who did not believe that the government should give aid to religion at all,[91] and they included schools in their objection. This meant that the Baptists should theoretically be in favour of a secular system of government schools. But the Protestant Dissenting missionaries did not carry as much weight as the Roman Catholic church and the Church of England. Gladstone, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in 1846, had asked Harris to consult the churches before finalising his plan. Harris said he did so; and he concluded thus in July 1846.

"I believe the clergy of the Church of England universally, without any intention of opposing the Government proposal, have a great dislike to it /secular government schools/, and that their cordial and energetic support cannot be relied upon. The Roman Catholic Bishop and priesthood have generally manifested a disposition to approve, but I think that approval is conditional upon the plan adopted and that they have not contemplated its being entirely secular".[92]

It is easy to believe that Harris was here substantially correct. From the time of Lt. Governor Hill and Governor McLeod the Church of England, without openly opposing the governors, had expressed disapproval of the idea of non-denominational schools, not to mention secular schools. The Bishop of Barbados had in 1838 told Hill that the Irish system was unacceptable, and that he would not take the Church of England catechism out of

---

91 Trinidadian, 23 April, 1851, Council of Government 19 April, 1851, Petition from Revs. Cowen, Brodie and Law.

92. C.O. 295/151, Harris to Grey, 31 July, 1846, no. 35.

the Church of England schools.[93] The new Bishop of Barbados was most likely of the same mind in the 1850s. The establishment of the Church of England by the Ecclesiastical Ordinance of 1844 had probably strengthened the Bishop of Barbados and his clergymen in the belief that the government should support their schools as well as their churches. And as long as the colonial government continued, as it did between 1834 and 1846, to give most of its grants to Church of England schools, the Bishop had every interest in seeing the continuation of denominational schools and preferential treatment for the Church of England schools.

On the other hand, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Olympus, first Dr.MacDonnell, and then Dr. P. Smith, because they saw how biased the government was in its grants to schools between 1834 and 1846 had a greater desire for change; and would probably prefer to see no schools aided at all than to see more and more Church of England schools springing up under the preferential treatment of the colonial government. In fact, to get grants between 1834 and 1846 the Roman Catholic adopted the system of not teaching their creeds in those schools aided by the government. It is not entirely surprising therefore that in July 1847, after Harris had announced the first version of his plans, the Bishop of Olympus, Dr. P. Smith petitioned the Council of Government and expressed willingness to agree to "any impartial system which your honourable Board may devise....."[94] He continued:

---

93. W/M^3 Rev. Eckel to Secretary of the C.M.S. 20 Nov., 1838. Enclosure: Copy of Letter of the Bishop of Barbados to Lt. Governor Hill. C.M.S. Correspondence.

94. P.O.S.G., 13 or 16 July, 1847, Council of Government 10 July, 1847, Petition of Dr. Smith.

"As the funds expended in education are paid by the community at large, without reference to the creeds and tenets of the various christian bodies residing in this island, it appears only just that the Government should afford the necessary means for the secular instruction of all who require it, leaving the religious instruction altogether in the hands of the parents of the pupils and the ministers of religion. Wherever schools are supported at the expense of private individuals, the case is quite different, and nobody can, in my humble judgement complain fairly thereof".[95]

It appears then that Dr. P. Smith who was the Bishop of Olympus, and from 1851 the Archbishop of Port of Spain, was willing to see two systems of schools: the denominational schools and the government secular schools. In the 1851 debate in Council on the education plan Harris made bold to say that Dr. Smith approved of it; while the Bishop of B arbados had reservations but would cooperate.[96] When Harris left the island temporarily in 1851 various Church of England and Roman Catholic groups sent him farewell addresses, but only one Roman Catholic group headed by Dr.P. Smith, made mention of Harris' education plan. Without being enthusiastic about it they said it was a "vastly improved plan",[97] presumably over what was in existence.

There is reason to believe that Dr. P. Smith was not speaking for a united Roman Catholic body. The key to his

---

95. ibid.

96. P.O.S.G., 22 April, 1851, Council of Government 19 April, 1851.

97. P.O.S.G., 10 June, 1851, Valedictory Address of Roman Catholics.

attitude lay in the existing discriminatory policy in education against the Roman Catholics, and in the personality of Smith himself. Smith was an Englishman schooled in the English tradition of Roman Catholic subservience to the state.[98] He had been in the colony since 1828 and had moved up the ladder from a cure in Carenage to the local leadership of the Church.[99] His cool and conciliatory nature had caught the notice of Henry Breen, the historian of St. Lucia. Breen wrote of Smith: "his aim appears to be to serve a purpose rather than to save a principle".[100] Smith had helped to calm the anger of the Roman Catholics against the Ecclesiastical Ordinance of 1844, and in 1851, from his new eminence as Archbishop of Port of Spain, he was able to see possible advantage in Harris' plan for the Roman Catholics. Because of the authoritarian nature of the Roman Catholic church, no priest could conduct a campaign against the Harris plan while the Archbishop was willing to give it a try. But it should be clear that the strategy of a particular Archbishop did not invalidate the canons of the Church, and these insisted on the combination of religion and education. At any rate it was not entirely clear how far Dr. Smith really approved of the final plan. His death in May 1852 removed an obstacle to a more hostile and uncooperative attitude by the Roman Catholic church to the Harris education scheme. But it took some time

---

98. Wood, op.cit., pp. 236-237

99. P.O.S.G., 14 May, 1852, Editorial

100. Breen, op.cit., p. 212.

and some provocation before this attitude showed itself in the open.

As for the Bishop of Barbados, the embrace of the government around the shoulders of the Church of England choked his dissentient voice. In January 1852 the Bishop who was normally stationed at Barbados, paid a visit to Trinidad. In his report to the British government in February 1852 he represented the low quality of teachers and their low pay as the chief difficulties of the Church of England schools and he added:

"How far these difficulties will be removed by the new government plan of common schools for all on a secular basis remains to be seen. Increased funds appropriated to the purpose will necessarily afford great advantages. Still, even with these advantages, the supply of duly qualified masters for a large number of schools must be the work of time; and I cannot but wish, that until the government plan were ready to be carried out in any given Neighbourhood, the old schools were continued, and that too with such increased assistance as should give them an opportunity of answering their purpose more effectually. Of the government Measure itself, especially in its present embryo and perhaps undecided state it would ill become me to speak otherwise than with hope. Possibly for such a community like Trinidad it may eventually prove the best; but it is impossible to contemplate without anxiety the separation of christian teaching and training from the regular daily school <u>instruction,</u> which after all must be of necessity, constitute a very main part of the <u>education</u> of

the scholars. Even the establishment by the Church of a collateral provision of effective catechetical teaching can never fully supply the deficiency though it may in some measure correct its evils".[101]

The implementation of the Harris scheme of education in a way began even before the twelve point plan passed in the Council in April 1851. The Wardens Ordinance from September 1849 had authorised Wardens to use ward funds to start schools. The ward rates were first collected in 1850, and by September 1850 Harris reported that in a few wards, unfortunately unnamed, ward rates had already started to support schools.[102] Harris envisaged that if teachers could be found -- and this to his mind was the immediate thing holding back the emergence of ward schools -- schools could easily be started "after a little communication with the Warden and the inhabitants",[103] presumably from the Executive. Apparently the wards which did not have any denominational schools within them were urged to start schools right away. It is not known which ward or wards were the foremost in starting schools in 1850 and 1851, but the Maracas ward school was being examined in April 1851 while the Council was discussing the details of the Harris plan for ward schools.[104]

The transition from assisting denominational schools to the implementation of the Harris' plan could hardly be done smoothly. Harris was so anxious to get it going that he cut

---

101. C.O. 295/179, Bishop of Barbados to Grey, 27 FEb., 1852.

102. C.O. 295/171, Harris to Grey, 27 Sept., 1850 no. 75., Enclosure: Speech to Council, 2 Sept., 1850.

103. ibid.

104. Trinidadian, 5 April, 1851.

government aid to the denominational schools in the countryside, but not in the towns, from 1852. Even before this, it appears that Harris had instructed the Wardens, who could not for some reason start ward schools on their own, to aid the existing denominational schools within the ward from the ward rate.[105] But this would have been only a temporary measure, since the plan called for ward rates to aid only secular ward schools. Anyway, before the situation could be tidied up, a correspondent in the San Fernando Gazette, complained in March 1851 that in some wards funds were being spent on sectarian schools over which the Wardens had no control.[106] Harris was very anxious to free the general revenues from aiding the denominational schools. In the 1852 budget £1700 formerly spent on denominational schools was taken off the list of general expenditure,[107] but £500 and £400 were added to pay respectively the salary of the Inspector of Schools and the establishment of the Teacher Training schools in Port of Spain.

There is little doubt where the initiative in starting the ward schools came from. The Wardens Ordinance was being worked primarily from the Executive in Port of Spain. About May 1851 Harris sent a circular to all the Wardens asking them to state the number of schools needed; the proposed location of the schools, and whether premises would be hired or schools built.[108] As there

---

105. P.O.S.G., 4 April, 1851, Council of Government 1 April, 1851, Message of Harris.

106. San Fernando Gazette, 29 March, 1851, Letter from "A Subscriber" 24 March, 1851.

107. C.O. 295/174, Harris to Grey, 9 Jan., 1851, no. 55, Estimates for 1852.

108. San Fernando Gazette, 24 May, 1851, Report of San Fernando Town Council.

was legally no obligation for Wardens to start spending on schools right away, it seemed to some that Harris was rushing the Wardens in this matter. This was the view of Mr. Rennie, an unofficial in the Council. In August 1851 he complained from his seat in the Council that the Executive was forcing the Wardens to spend on schools.[109] The first Wardens were unpaid members of the planter class who as a group had never displayed any enthusiasm for the education of the masses. They would not be, if left alone, in the years 1851 to 1854, an eager bunch of school promoters. But they were anxious to please Harris; and when they did reply in 1852 to Harris' call for information about their plans for schools, the Wardens' response apparently took the Board of Education by surprise. A committe e of that Board, under the chairmanship of Charles Warner, said it was unwilling[110] to see the ward rates carrying as many schools as the Wardens had recommended. This Committee of the Board of Education was already developing ideas about the arrangement for schools in the wards which deviated somewhat from the original intention of the Wardens Ordinance. Its Inspector of schools, Mr. Alexander Anderson, was sent down to some of the wards to look for school sites; and he was told to favour sites which were central in relation to three of four wards.[111] This would tend to reduce

---

109. P.O.S.G., 5 Aug., 1851, Council of Government 1 Aug., 1851.

110. P.O.S.G., 27 April, 1852, Meeting of Board of Education 22 April, 1852.

111. ibid.

the number of schools required, though it might also mean that the schools would be larger. But in 1851 in assessing where schools were needed, the Warden would have been thinking only of the population distribution in his own ward, not of that of the neighbouring wards. The truth is that as soon as the siting of the ward schools was considered seriously, it became clear that the setting of the ward boundaries had been geared to the existence of roads rather than to the incidence of population centres. The Committee of the Board of Education recommended that children should attend the nearest school, even if it was not in the ward in which their parents paid rates.[112] As each ward could set its rates at a different level, and as each school could not be as good or as bad as every other, children whose parents paid low rates in a poor ward might have to go to a better school in a richer neighbouring ward or vice versa. At best, such an arrangement might be regarded as evidence that the principle of local rates for local purposes was not to be worked in a tight and inflexible manner; at worst it might be the first indication that a school expansion programme might find the ward framework too restrictive.

Harris gave the municipalities of San Fernando and Port of Spain the option of staying out of the scheme, but he wanted them to come into it. He invited them in; the Town Council of San Fernando said it would, but it had insufficient funds.

---

112. ibid.

At this time the Town Council of San Fernando was only a few years old, and it had no schools. Harris offered it seats on the Board of Education, and was sympathetic to its request for more power to raise more taxes.[113] When the municipalities were revamped in 1853, they were divided into wards and the San Fernando Town Council was given more power to raise taxes,[114] but it still did not come into the scheme, though eventually it started a school.

The Town Council of Port of Spain appeared more difficult to deal with. It refused the Harris invitation to come into the scheme. If felt that it should watch how the system worked before deciding to join.[115] It had a school for boys and a school for girls upon which it spent £712 in 1851, £674 in 1852, £594 in 1853 and £706 in 1854.[116] The Town Councillors often disagreed among themselves how to conduct these schools; they seemed to have standing grouses with the Executive which made them unwilling to cooperate. One Mr. G. Savary was particularly hostile to Harris. Harris found himself in a spot when he decided to set up a Teacher Training school in Port of Spain. Such a school would have to have attached to it -- according to contemporary educational practice -- a Model school in which the trainee-teachers could practice what they learnt. Such a school in Port of Spain was bound to be a cut above the ward schools, and it would benefit the people who lived in the capital.

---

113. San Fernando Gazette, 24 May, 1851, Report of San Fernando Town Council.

114. C.O. 295/182, Harris to Newcastle, 7 Sept., 1853, no. 107.

115. P.O.S.G., 6 July, 1852, Council of Government 1 July, 1852, Speech of Harris.

116. Figures compiled from Blue Books for these years See C.O. 300/60 to 65.

The Town Council of Port of Spain refused to contribute to the expenses of the Model school. Harris said in June, 1852, that he would therefore have no Model school,[117] since it was unfair to use the general revenues to keep up a school which would benefit Port of Spain exclusively. Either Harris relented or some accommodation was reached, for by December 1852 the Model school was having its first public examination.[118]

In 1853 the Town Council of Port of Spain was reorganised. The town was divided into wards and councillors were elected from these wards on what seemed to be a tighter property qualification.[119] The Church of England and Roman Catholic denominational schools in Port of Spain and San Fernando, which the government had continued to subsidise when it had cut grants to denominational schools in the countryside, were no longer assisted after 1853. There appears to be some connection between this development and the reorganisation of the Town Councils, but its precise nature is not clear. The Town Councils still declined to assist the denominational schools within the towns.

Harris and the Board of Education made a quick start with that part of the scheme which was to be financed from the general revenues. A Mr. Dixon, who was experienced in the Irish

---

117. P.O.S.G., 4 June, 1852.

118. P.O.S.G., 7 Dec., 1852, Public Examination of Model School.

119. C.O. 295/182, Harris to Newcastle, 7 Sept., 1852, no. 107., Report of Warner on Ordinance 16 of 1853.

system, was invited from Ireland to take charge of the Teacher Training school and the Boys Model school attached to it.[120] Dixon started teaching in rented premises at Woodbrook in July 1852, but nine months later he was dead. What Dixon started was a non-residential Training school, where trainees were subsidised in the hope that they would qualify as ward school teachers. It was an all male institution, and all the existing teachers of the ward schools would have to get its certificate if they were to be permanently appointed teachers.[121] A similar institution for female teachers was to be established as soon as was possible. The Board of Education had the idea that in the ward schools boys and girls should be taught separately.

As for the ward schools the Board of Education soon began to make rules. Crown colony government in the island delighted in making lengthy rules and regulations for all public institutions be it the Royal Gaol, Queens Royal College, or the Lunatic Asylum. Such activity was an essential part of the whole business of centralised government. The rules for schools made by the Board of Education in 1852 make light reading compared with the compendious codes of the later nineteenth century. Teachers were to be paid on a graduated scale from £50 to £120 per annum according to qualifications and success in teaching.

---

120. P.O.S.G., 27 April, 1852, Meeting of Board of Education 22 April, 1852.

121. ibid.

The books to be used were to be those of the Irish National System.[122] Harris suggested that someone should write a book on the laws of Trinidad for use in all the schools. It is not surprising that nothing came of this immediately.[123] The laws were too complicated a matter even in the 1850s. All pupils were to be examined every half year under the watchful eye of the Warden and -- hopefully -- an audience of ward rate payers. The brighter pupils from the country side were to be sent annually to Port of Spain to compete against the children of the town schools for special prizes donated by Lord Harris.[124] The rules implied that when the teachers were not preparing the pupils for examination, they should be preparing to face their own ordeal: annual examination to determine the annual competence of the teachers.

The strangest rule of all was never implemented. It was one of those devices of the post-emancipation plantocracy to hood-wink the children of the ex-slaves into thinking of agricultural grind as an honourable occupation. Each school was to have a plot of land where the children could practice agriculture. But only those pupils who behaved well were to be allowed this privilege![125] This was worse than the attempt of Governor Elgin in Jamaica in the mid 1840's to put a favourable gloss upon agricultural work by associating it with the sciences

---

122. ibid.

123. In 1867 we hear of a Mr. G.W. Greenwood who had written "The Trinidad Handbook of Everyday Law" See P.O.S.G., 1867.

124. P.O.S.G., 27 April, 1852, Meeting of the Board of Education 22 April, 1852.

125. ibid.

of agricultural chemistry and physics.[126] The ward schools never honestly tackled the problem of increasing the agricultural skills of lower class children. The coming of the Indian immigrants on contract to the estates seemed to render unnecessary any attempt even to habituate the children of the ex-slaves to the routine of agriculture.

Harris has come down to us in West Indian historiography as an enlightened and creative governor. This reputation is quite justifiable, but it does not mean that his most creative piece of legislation, the Wardens Ordinance is above reproach. One of the greatest defects of the ward system, even in Harris' time, was that too many burdens were placed upon the ward rates. More responsibilities, not less, were placed upon the ward funds in the 1850s. The responsibilities outgrew the ward revenues until only the richer wards could do anything but maintain the existing services. Eventually the situation was reached in the later 19th century when the Executive in Port of Spain had gradually to take back some of the responsibilities formerly met by the wards. One such was education.[126A]

The power and influence of a governor was such, and the prestige of Harris himself in the Council was so high that it is not easy to believe that Harris could not have got the Council to vote a substantial sum of money from the general revenues for a system of secular government schools. Harris mentioned an

---

126. C.O. 137/284, Elgin to Stanley, 3 Aug., 1845, Confidential.

126A. Trinidad Royal Gazette, 1 Dec., 1875, Ordinance 24 of 1875.

... Education tax,[127] but he never pushed the idea. Mr. Hume and Mr. Losh, and the unofficials would have fumed with rage, but Harris could have brought them off by some more concessions to the planter class. It is not that it was unfair to ask the wards to meet part of the expenses of the schools, but funds from the general revenues should have played the major role, with the ward rates playing a supporting role. In other words, education might have been conceived more as an item for the general good to be defrayed out of the general revenues, than as a local purpose to be met by local rates. By marrying the scheme of education to the ward system and the ward rates, Harris made a start in having the non-denominational secular schools which McLeod and Warner had talked about. But it should at the same time be realised that by placing the financial burden of education upon local rates Harris was putting the expansion of education within a restrictive straight jacket.

Harris himself sensed this early. In 1850, the first year in which the wards began to operate, Harris saw that some of the poorer wards could or would not be able to bear the expense of supporting a school.[128] Would the general revenues be used to help such wards? Harris was not willing to do this; for it would mean that some people in some wards would be falling down on their responsibilities.[129] The result was that after three years there were only eleven ward schools in the

---

127. P.O.S.G., 3 Sept., 1850, Council of Government 1 Sept. 1850.

128. C.O. 295/171, Harris to Grey, 27 Sept., 1850 no. 75, Enclosure: Speech to Council, 2 Sept., 1850.

129. ibid.

41 wards.[130] Then the pace picked up and by 1855 there were 23 schools in 35 wards,[131] the wards in 1854 having been reduced to 35, and grouped into nine Ward Unions. But twelve years later, there were only 31 ward schools in the 35 wards.[132] In other words in twelve years only eight new ward schools came into existence.

The wards had too many expenses to meet in a situation where a high priority was not given to education. There were large differences between wards in terms of revenues collected. In 1855 Maraval ward with a revenue of about £400 in 1854, opted for a cheap infant school in preference to a ward school with a trained but more expensive teacher.[133] On the other hand the richer wards had not ventured into supporting more than one school each. Surely Tacarigua and South Naparima could do better than this. With the introduction in 1854 of Ward Unions presided over by paid Wardens,[134] came no relief to the stagnation of the school programme in the late 1850s and the 1860s. It might have helped if the revenues of the wards in the Ward Unions had been pooled. Then the richer wards might have been encouraged to help the poorer wards in the same Ward Union to

---

130. C.O. 295/181, Harris to Newcastle, 20 June, 1853, no. 76.

131. P.O.S.G., 1 Mar., 1856, Report of Acting Inspector of Schools Maxwell Philip.

132. C.O. 299/18, Trinidad Royal Gazette, Report of Inspector of Schools for 1867.

133. P.O.S.G., 1 March, 1856, Report of Acting Inspector of Schools Maxwell Philip.

134. C.O. 295/185, Elliot to Sir George Grey, 6 Oct., 1854, no. 75., Enclosure: Ordinance 14 of 1854.

to get a school going or to upgrade it. But this was not the case; the revenues and expenditure of each ward within the Ward Union were kept separately. The main effect of the grouping into Ward Unions seemed to have been to reduce the number of Wardens who had to be paid now that they had become salaried civil servants.[135]

In respect to education the major defect of the Wardens Ordinance was the failure of ward rates, already obvious in the 1850s, to sustain a continuous programme of school expansion. To a certain extent this was a failure, not only of money, but of human intentions: the intention of the Executive, the Council of Government, the Wardens and the planter class. Most of the money of the wards was spent on something else -- hospital charges, legal charges, the salaries of the Wardens, but mostly on the making and annual remaking of the same roads.[136] When the system of ward schools was attacked in the late 1850s and the 1860s, the indictment was that they had failed to spread religious instruction. But this could never be the real failure of the schools themselves, but of the arrangements outside of the schools for religious instruction. The real failure of the ward schools -- apart from their intellectual inadequacies which they shared with the denominational schools -- was that they did not grow into a dynamic and potentially expansive system. In 1858 there were 27 denominational schools; and the ward schools

---

135. ibid.

136. C.O. 300/60 - 81, REturns of Local Revenues, 1850 - 1870.

also numbered 27.[137] In 1869 the number of ward schools had gone up to 31.[138] Unfortunately the number of denominational schools for 1869 is not known; but the ward schools either did not sufficiently outnumber the denominational schools, or worse yet, the denominational schools might have outnumbered the ward schools. If the opponents of the ward schools in the late 1860s were faced with 100 or 150 ward schools and not 31, they would have found it far more difficult to push them aside. But the fact that there were only 31 ward schools gave a more aggressive Roman Catholic Archbishop, and a less anti-Roman Catholic governor, increased chances for toppling the system of Lord Harris.

---

137. C.O. 295/205, Keate to Newcastle, 9 Aug., 1859, no. 123.

138. C.O. 299/20, Trinidad Royal Gazette, Report of Inspector of Schools for 1869.

CHAPTER V

THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS 1852 - 1867

> "With this one exception, the extension of Ward schools has been carried as far as the present system of local rates for local purposes will admit of". 1.
>
> Inspector Anderson 1 March, 1862.

The knowledge we have of the elementary schools in the 1850s and the 1860s down to 1868 comes to us mainly from the Inspector of schools, Alexander W. Anderson. Anderson was of Scottish descent. His father settled in the colony in 1805,[2] and Anderson was born in Trinidad about 1809.[3] Like his brother Henry Hart Anderson, a radical solicitor who never achieved office under any governor, he received his formal education in England. Alexander Anderson claimed to have got a "University education"[4] though he had no degree; and he also claimed to have studied for 7 terms at the Inner Temple,[5] though he never qualified as a lawyer. He returned to the colony about 1832 and Governor Lewis Grant admitted him to practise at the Bar. In 1833 a law was passed allowing only

---

1. C.O. 299/12, Report of Anderson for 1861, dated 1 March, 1862.
2. C.O. 295/152, Harris to Grey, 19 Dec., 1846, no. 111., Enclosure: H.H. Anderson to Lord Glenelg, 6 Oct., 1846.
3. John Davy: The West Indies before and since Slave Emancipation (London, 1854) p. 315. footnote; p. 316.
4. C.O. 295/174, Harris to Grey, 10 June, 1851, no. 58., Enclosure: Anderson to Grey 9 June, 1851.
5. C.O. 295/160, Harris to Grey, 4 Feb., 1848, no. 16., Enclosure Anderson to Grey, 3 Feb., 1848.

those who were graduates of British law schools to practise in the island.[6] Anderson had just got in before the gates were closed against unqualified lawyers.

Anderson's only known participation in the political life of the colony was his support in the mid 1840s for representative government.[7] He seems to have concentrated on his law practice, and on the study of sugar cultivation and manufacture. In 1847 he participated in an essay competition organised by Lord Harris: the topic was the best method of manufacturing sugar. Dr. L.A. DeVerteuil won the 1st prize, but Anderson's essay was one of the three published by Harris.[8] In the late 1840s and the 1850s he apparently wrote articles published in Barbados and Trinidad about the techniques of managing a sugar plantation and of manufacturing sugar. In the early 1850s the colonial government awarded him a patent for some undisclosed sugar manufacturing technique, but by 1855 the patent was withdrawn.[9] The interest of Anderson in plantation business, though he himself does not appear to have been a planter, had a bearing upon his role as Inspector

---

6. C.O. 295/97, Grant to Goderich 19 April, 1833, no. 56., Enclosure: Rules for admission of advocates and solicitors.

7. Trinidadian, 1 May, 1850, Editorial

8. Davy, op.cit., p. 315. footnote.

9. C.O. 295/189, Elliot to Molesworth, 5 Sept., 1855, no. 76., Enclosure: Ordinance X of 1855.

of schools. At one time he wanted to see the Model school in Port of Spain turning out trained youths who would supply a better kind of plantation management than that which he had condemned in his 1847 essay.[10] Anderson's knowledge of plantation business was probably instrumental in his getting the job of acting Agent General of Immigration in 1855;[11] and in 1858 he applied for the job of being the island's recruiting agent at Bombay.[12]

If Anderson had succeeded in his applications for jobs with the government he would have been the Solicitor General in 1846, or the Master of the Supreme Civil Court in 1848, or Immigration Agent at Bombay in 1858. In the late 1840s he claimed that only two other lawyers, the Attorney General, Charles Warner, and George Knox, had a larger legal practice.[13] Harris thought him an able man who knew well the colony and its people;[14] and he was obviously knowledgeable about plantation business. But he knew almost nothing about schools when Harris

---

10. C.O. 229/12, Report of Anderson for the year 1861, dated 1 March, 1862.

11. C.O. 295/191, Elliot to Labrouchere, 21 Feb., 1856, no. 17., Enclosure: Report of A.W. Anderson, Acting Agent General of Immigration 24 Jan, 1856.

12. C.O. 295/198, Keate to Labrouchere, 19 Mar., 1858, no. 37., Enclosure: Anderson to Labrouchere, 22 Mar., 1856. The date 1856 may have been an error by Anderson.

13. C.O. 295/152, Harris to Grey, 16 Nov., 1846, no. 92., Enclosure: Anderson to Grey, 13 Nov., 1846.

14. C.O. 295/174, Harris to Grey, 10 June, 1851, no. 58.

in 1851 appointed him Inspector of schools. Anderson retained the post for 16 years and learnt on the job. But he has not left us with any profound observations about the process of education in the colony. While the Inspector of schools elicited respect from the teachers over whom he had considerable power, the inspectorate was not a major civil service job. The Agent General of Immigration was given a seat in the Council of Government, but not the Inspector of schools.

There were five different categories of schools which might be called elementary. Over the denominational schools which survived the withdrawal of government support Anderson had no authority whatever; he rarely visited them, and he knew little about them, and what he knew was not from first hand experience. The first two or three Indian estate schools, and also the Tacarigua Orphanage and Indian school were not the responsibility of Anderson. They fell into the sphere of the Agent General of Immigration who merely included in his reports observations on these schools from the individual plantation managers, or in the case of the Tacarigua Orphanage and school, from the managing committee. The mixed boys and girls school administered by the San Fernando Borough Council, and the boys school and the girls school run by the Port of Spain Borough Council, were primarily the responsibility of these two Borough Councils. Anderson included them in his inspection and reports, and they were said to accept the rules

of the Board of Education about schools, but how far they in fact did is a matter for doubt, for Anderson himself felt that he did not have jurisdiction over these schools.[15] Since the Borough Councils paid the expenses of these schools and the schools fell within the institutions which the Borough Councils were authorised by law to conduct,[16] the word of the Borough Council schools committee carried more weight with the teachers than the word of the Inspector of schools. The real domain of Anderson was the ward schools in the countryside, and the Port of Spain Male and Female Teacher Training schools and their allied Model schools. These ward schools, Teacher training schools and Model schools, were the government schools, the responsibility for which was shared among the Wardens, the Inspector of schools and the Board of Education. The Queens Royal College, when it was started in 1859 was the capstone of the government system of education. But no Inspector of schools was thought fit enough to report on the College, the pinnacle of knowledge in the colony.[17] It was thought absurd to set up Anderson as judge of the work of graduates of Cambridge and Oxford, some of whom were masters of the classics and mathematics.[18]

---

15. C.O. 299/14, Report of Anderson for 1863 dated 7 March, 1862 Also C.O. 299/10, Report of Anderson for 1858 dated 1 Mar., 1859.

16. C.O. 295/182, Harris to Newcastle, 7 Sept., 1853, no. 107., Enclosure: Ordinance X of 1853.

17. C.O. 295/196, Keate to Labrouchere, 6 Sept., 1857, no. 91., Enclosure: Printed speech of Warner to Council 2 Sept., 1857.

18. ibid.

It is not clear if the withdrawal of government aid from the denominational schools resulted in a fall in their numbers,[19] but certainly in the case of the Church of England schools it induced a change in the character of these schools. The Bishop and Church of England clergy began to concentrate more on infant schools run on the cheap by low paid female teachers. The average age of the pupils would have been lower than the average of 9 or 10 years recorded in the ward schools, and most certainly the standard of instruction was lower, being mostly confined to religious instruction and the learning of the Alphabet, and perhaps rudimentary reading and writing. The Bishop of Barbados in February 1857 called upon the clergy to increase the number of denominational Infant schools and to attempt to make them pay their way by collecting subscriptions;[20] but in September of the same year he made it clear to governor Keate that

"it would be unreasonable to expect the Clergy, without public assistance, to supplement the government system in this respect; /-Infant Schools/ the ground for appeal to private liberality being cut away from under them by the existence of a government system supported by special taxation for the avowed purpose of providing for the education of the whole

---

19. In 1861 the Methodist superintendent said that because of the withdrawal of government aid the Methodist did not have even a single school. See C.O. 295/212, Walker to Newcastle, 7 March, 1861, no. 33., Enclosure: Rev. John Horsford to Walker, 21 Feb., 1861.

20. P.O.S.G., 4 March, 1857, Speech of Bishop Parry to Clergy of the Trinidad Diocese, 24 Feb., 1857.

people. The attempt may be made here and there, but only overstrained efforts, or else by assistance ab extra, or at best, under great disadvantage"[21]

While these denominational schools were not thought of as rivals to the ward schools in terms of the quality of education, observers were impressed with the number of these schools in comparison with the number of ward schools. Governor Keate reported in 1859 that in the previous year the number of ward schools was twenty seven and the number of denominational schools was also twenty seven.[22] Keate was apparently thinking of having a range of government Infant schools,[23] but it was not clear how this could have been accommodated within the structure of the ward school system when the ward schools had stagnated for lack of finance. The denominational schools, far from being looked at as undesirable rivals, were regarded by the government and the Inspector of schools as useful supplementary agencies, on a lower standard, but still doing a helpful job. Keate in 1862 said that the colony was indebted to the clergy for maintaining infant schools in their parishes from voluntary means;[24] and in his 1861 report Inspector Anderson acknowledged

"that a considerable number of children are under instruction in schools upheld by the exertions of the Clergy.

---

21. C.O. 295/197, Bishop of Barbados to Keate, 8 Sept., 1857.(Barbados)
22. C.O. 295/205, Keate to Newcastle, 9 Aug., 1859, no. 123.
23. C.O. 295/197, Bishop of Barbados to Keate, 8 Sept., 1857 (Barbados)
24. C.O. 295/218, Keate to Newcastle, 4 June, 1862, no. 112.

This instruction, it is not pretended or intended should be of an ambitious character. The children are generally taught by females, satisfied with a very moderate remuneration; and as a matter of course, direct religious teaching forms an essential portion of the instruction.

These schools, in their humble sphere of action do a great deal of good....."[25]

The most significant thing about these denominational schools was, that quality apart, they managed to survive in numbers comparable to the ward schools.

As already indicated no special provision was made for the children of immigrants in the education policy of Lord Harris. Soon after the investigation into the position of African immigrant children in the early 1850s, brought about by Rev. Gilbert's charges of neglect, the subject was forgotten, and from all appearances it was assumed that African immigrant children did not pose any special problem in terms of their accommodation in the existing education system. The recognition of the Indian immigrants and their children as a special problem for the education system continued. Up to June 1860 only 6 Indian children were recorded in the ward schools.[26] It was not simply the refusal of Indian parents to send their children to the ward schools which set the Indians in a special category; it was believed by the government and the clerics

---

25. C.O. 299/12, Report of Anderson for 1861 dated 1 March, 1862.

26. P.O.S.G., 19 Sept., 1860, Report of Anderson for the quarter ending 30 June, 1860.

that positive Christian influence had to be brought to bear on the Indians to christianise them. For this purpose the advantages of a captive audience, such as schools provided, were appreciated. The ward school system which taught morality without creeds, and which left the burden of religious instruction to clerics outside of the schools, was not well adapted to the task of christianising the Indian children. As the Bishop of Barbados said:

"the case of the Immigrant [Indians] being an exceptional one hardly amenable to the general system of Education for christians differing in principles one from another. It seems to be a special want, of a most urgent and serious character, to be specially provided for."[27]

It is doubtful whether any Indian children got any formal education at all between 1845 and 1856. The Agent General of Immigration could not keep accurate returns of the number of Indian children in the island, even on his own definition of children as those up to 10 years old. For 1857 Mitchell estimated that there were 574 Indian children whose parents were indentured on the estates; and in the following year the number in the same category was put at 626.[28] For 1859 and 1862 Mitchell produced figures for Indian children on and off the estates: these were put[29] at 3046 in 1859 and

---

27. C.O. 295/202, Bishop of Barbados to Lord Stanley, 24 June, 1858.

28. C.O. 295/205, Keate to Newcastle, 9 Aug., 1859, no. 123., Enclosure: Report of Mitchell for 1858.

29. C.O. 295/210, Keate to Newcastle, 31 Oct., 1860, no. 152., Enclosure: Report of Mitchell for 1859.

4219 in 1862.[30] These figures probably erred on the side of an under-estimation of the number of Indian children.

The first provision for the education of Indian children came out of the wider concern to christianise the Indians, adults and children; and it came at a time when the economic prospects of the sugar estates were brighter than in the immediate past. From about 1857 the good news of a sudden rise in the price of sugar[31] on the London market induced a movement for expansion of the acreage under sugar, and for more Indian immigrants. From 1854 the planter struggle for long term contracts with the Indians had succeeded;[32] the normal length of contracts was from 1862 settled at 5 years. In the late 1850s also the feeling gained ground that the Indian immigrants were multiplying and showing a tendency to become more settled.[33] But the planter was never quite sure of having adequate labour, particularly if he was interested in expansion. The Tacarigua Orphanage and Indian school, two estate schools for Indians, grew out of the efforts of individual planters to make their estates attractive to Indian labour. But they probably would not have ventured on supporting a few private Indian schools if the outlook for sugar had not become favourable in the second half of the 1850s.

---

30. C.O. 295/222, Keate to Newcastle, 20 June, 1863, no. 101, Enclosure: Report of Mitchell for 1862.

31. C.O. 295/191, Elliot to Labrouchere, 21 Feb., 1856, no. 17., Enclosure: Report of Anderson, acting Agent General of Immigration 24 Jan., 1856.

32. K.O. Laurence: The Evolution of Long-term Labour Contracts in in Trinidad and British Guiana 1834-1863. Jamaica Historical Review Vol. V. May 1965 pp. 24-25.

33. C.O. 295/199, Keate to Stanley, 23 June, 1858, no. 85.

The first of these Indian schools arose in an indirect way. In 1856 Frederick Burnley, an absentee proprietor living in Scotland and the owner of Golden Grove Estate in Tacarigua, sent out a Rev. McSorby to act as a catechist to the Indians on this estate. McSorby was coming from England, but he had served in India and was said to be fluent in Hindustani.[34] McSorby began by preaching to the Indian adults, but either by design or by force of circumstances he began caring for a few Indian orphans whom he naturally taught. After the cholera epidemics of the early and mid 1850s many children, Indian and Negro, were left without parents. In the case of the Indian immigrants, some parents had died on shipboard, or shortly after arriving in the colony. The authorities recognised that in the second half of the 1850s the problem of juvenile delinquency had grown.[35] McSorby saw the need to protect and educate some of these Indian orphans, and probably because his original mission was to the Indians, probably because the Indians had formed the greater part of the estate work force, Indian orphans alone were included in the orphan home which McSorby started. McSorby acted under the immediate guidance of the Rev. Henry Richards, the Church of England Rector for the area, although his salary of £200 per annum was paid by Mr. Burnley. Mr. Eccles, the local

---

34. C.O. 295/220, Bishop of Barbados: An Appeal (May) 1862.

35. C.O. 295/192, Elliot to Labrouchere, 25 Oct., 1856, no. 102., Enclosure: Report of Charles Warner on an Ordinance to train juvenile offenders to industry.

representative of Burnley,[36] and an unofficial member of the Council of Government, was also friendly to the efforts of McSorby. The government which had no intention of starting schools for the Indians, and which claimed that it had no funds to tackle the general problem of juvenile delinquency by building Reformatory schools,[37] was quick to offer support to the private benevolence of Mr. Burnley and the zeal of McSorby.

As McSorby needed authority to detain and keep Indian children in residence at Tacarigua, and as the government needed a place to put the orphaned children of Indian immigrants, Ordinance II of 1856 was passed. This authorised the governor to recognise certain schools as Indian schools,[38] and the first such was the Tacarigua school. McSorby now had a legal right to detain the children, and penalties were set out for anyone who encouraged the orphans to run away,[39] or who harboured them if they ran away. The legislation assumed that other Indian schools would be started by private enterprise; and Charles Warner, the Attorney General believed that Mr. Burnley intended to establish other Indian schools in other parts of the island,[40] presumably on his other estates. The Agent General of Immigration was authorised to place Indian orphans under

---

36. P.O.S.G., 13 Dec., 1856.

37. P.O.S.G., 6 Sept., 1856, Council of Government 1 Sept., 1856. Also C.O. 295/192, Elliot to Labrouchere, 25 Oct., 1856, no.102., Enclosure: Report of Charles Warner on an Ordinance to train juvenile offenders to industry.

38. C.O. 295/192, Elliot to Labrouchere, 25 Oct., 1856, no. 102., Enclosure: Ordinance II of 1856.

39. ibid.

40. C.O. 295/192, Elliot, to Labrouchere, 25 Oct., 1856, no.102., Enclosure: Report of Warner

10 years old at such institutions when recognised, and in return the government would give these institutions a grant of £10 per annum for each such orphan.[41] The money was to come from the funds set aside for immigration.

Many things were expected of the Tacarigua Orphanage and School which was really one institution, the Orphanage referring to the status of the children and the fact that they were domiciled and fed, and the school referred to the educational efforts to teach the orphans. The institution was expected, or rather it was hoped, that it would pay its way, or at least most of its expenses. It was inconceivable that Indian children could be domiciled, fed, clothed and taught without being called upon to work to repay at least part of the costs. The institution was from the first intended to be industrial: the children were to grow provisions and canes, and the girls were to sew. There was a considerable amount of land around the school, and the Golden Grove estate was nearby. But the school never paid its way down to 1870; and its industrial efforts at first were meagre. As Mitchell explained in 1859 the children were too young "to effect much in an industrial point of view".[42] But either older children were later taken in, or the industrial side of the schools was better organised at a later date. For in 1862 the Bishop of Barbados reported that

---

41. C.O. 295/192, Elliot to Labrouchere, 25 Oct., 1856, no. 102., Enclosure: Ordinance 11 of 1856.

42. C.O. 295/205, Keate to Newcastle, 9 Aug., 1859, no. 123., Enclosure: Report of Mitchell for 1858.

the boys at the Orphanage had made that year 4½ hogshead of sugar.[43] Presumably, they had only grown the canes and sent it to the mills of the estate. In the previous year the sugar which was made from the canes the boys grew had been used to supply the Orphanage and the surplus sold.[44]

The other aspect of the curriculum at the Tacarigua Orphanage and School involved reading, writing, arithmetic and singing. It is not clear if Hindustani was actually taught, but care was taken to teach the English language without killing the existing practice and knowledge of Hindustani. The central aim of the institution was to christianise the children, and to break down their Indian cultural values, and particularly to eliminate their sense of caste.[45] To do this it was felt necessary to provide the children with a "Western home",[46] to separate them from the mass of their heathen caste ridden countrymen. As Governor Keate put it in 1857:

"The separation of even a small number of persons of Indian extraction at an age when lasting improvements are most easily formed, from the debasing influences of caste and heathenism, is in itself a gain but when it is considered that this is to be done in a country as far removed as Trinidad

---

43. C.O. 295/220, Bishop of Barbados: An appeal (May) 1862
44. P.O.S.G., 6 July, 1861, Fourth Anniversary of Tacarigua Orphanage.
45. C.O. 295/210, Keate to Newcastle, 31 Oct., 1860, no. 152., Enclosure: Rev. H. Richards to Mitchell, 18 April, 1860.
46. ibid.

from the land where those influences are rife, and that all other ties to the land are severed at the same time, it will not appear too much to predict that this Asylum may prove to be the cradle, so to say, of a local Indian population, Indian that is in descent, but English, in education and feeling, and having no home associations beyond the limits of the colony."[47]

Obviously, the Tacarigua Orphanage and school was being conceived by Keate as a special project in a wider intention of christianising and anglicising the Indians. It would take time, but the school was regarded as a step in the right direction, and Mr. Burnley was repeatedly praised for his munificence.[48]

It was hoped that the school would produce Indian teachers who could then carry on the work of christianising the other Indians.[49] The Bishop of Barbados realised, however, that if the graduates were going to be useful christian agents among the Indian population, they would have to appear Indian, while thinking like christians. He outlined the strategy at the Tacarigua Orphanage as designed not to erase the pupils' knowledge of their Indian languages, and to encourage them to retain their Indian dress.[50]

---

47. C.O. 295/195, Keate to Labrouchere, 6 July, 1857, no.54

48. C.O. 295/192, Elliot to Labrouchere, 25 Oct., 1856, no. 102., Enclosure: Report of Warner on Ordinance II of 1856.

49. C.O. 295/220, Bishop of Barbados: An Appeal (May) 1862.

50. C.O. 295/202, Bishop of Barbados to Stanley, 24 June, 1858.

The Orphanage might have suffered in 1859 when Rev. McSorby died.[51] No mention of a replacement who knew Hindustani or understood the customs of the Indians was made. Rev. Henry Richards, the Rector of the parish who had always been the manager of the school, now gave it closer supervision,[52] but Richards was an inadequate replacement for McSorby. From our point of view, the great disappointment of the Tacarigua Orphanage was that it did not provide any Indian christian teachers down to 1870. The academic attainments of the school were sacrificed to the spread of religious instruction and English cultural habits. The managers of the school were intent to have the graduates, or rather those who had reached the age limit of 15 years, go out to work, meaning mostly domestic work for the girls, and agricultural labour for the boys. A few of the school leavers were apprenticed to Port of Spain families as domestics and handymen;[53] it was felt that such a period of service with christian, probably English families, would reinforce the christian and English habits taught by the school. Even where orphans had not gone to the Tacarigua Orphanage their placement with private families in Port of Spain was regarded as a satisfactory solution. Dr. Mitchell, the Agent General of Immigration, even thought that this method

---

51. P.O.S.G., 7 May, 1859, Editorial

52. ibid.

53. C.O. 295/218, Keate to Newcastle, 4 June, 1862, no. 112., Report of Rev. Richards. Also C.O. 295/205, Keate to Newcastle, 15 Sept., 1859. no. 143., Enclosure: Report of Mitchell 5 Aug., 1859.

"promises apparently even happier results for speedy naturalisation than their aggregation in the training school".[54]

The Orphanage was regarded by observers as a success. They put emphasis on the numbers of pupils which grew from 9 in 1856, to 50 in 1858,[55] to 62 in 1861.[56] It is also possible that they were impressed with the ease with which the children had become christian, or had adopted English habits. But the school failed to teach agricultural skills as against agricultural routine; and no teachers emerged. Whether those who left the school were able to resist the cultural pull of the Indian community, and retain on a permanent basis their christian religion and English habits, is open to doubt. The Presbyterian missionaries who concentrated on the Indians were to discover in the later 19th centruy that it was a much easier thing to get Indians to come to their christian schools than to obtain converts to christianity.[57] During the years 1856-1870 most of the Indians who were baptised or confirmed in the Church of England were children,[58] and most of them came from the Tacarigua Orphanage. In other words, the adult

---

54. C.O. 295/205, Keate to Newcastle, 15 Sept., 1859, no. 143., Enclosure: Report of Mitchell 5 Aug., 1859.

55. C.O. 295/205, Keate to Newcastle, 9 Aug., 1859, no. 123., Enclosure: Report of Mitchell for 1858.

56. C.O. 295/218, Keate to Newcastle, 4 June, 1862, no. 112., Enclosure Report of Rev. H. Richards 7 May, 1862.

57. B. Samaroo: The Canaidan Presbyterian Mission to Trinidad pp 16-17. Unpublished paper delivered at the Fourth Conference of Caribbean Historians U.W.I. Mona April, 1972.

58. C.O. 295/220, Bishop of Barbados: An Appeal.(May) 1862. At this stage 193 Indians had been baptised in the Church of England of whom 144 were children.

Indian community was substantially not interested in becoming christians, or in accepting English habits. Some of the childrem when released from the Tacarigua Orphanage must have been influenced by the preference of their elders.

Without non-Indian christian teachers who understood the habits of the Indians, or christian Indian teachers, it was impossible, on the assumption that the Indian children needed special schools, to have an adequate provision of these schools. Even if the government was willing to provide the funds the teachers were not to be easily found. The government was not willing to provide money, though it gave the Tacarigua Orphanage help in the form of a special Building grant of £500 in 1860 and £10 per annum for each orphan sent to the school by the government.[59]

The editor of the Port of Spain Gazette asserted that the Church of England, more than any other church, responded to the challenge of educating and christianising the Indians and their children.[60] The Bishop of Barbados and his clergy, especially Rev. Henry Richards, Rector of St. Mary, and Rev. S. L. Richards of Port of Spain, certainly had plans. A Missionary Association was formed specificially to raise funds for the education and christianisation of the immigrants,[61]

---

59. C.O. 295/208, Keate to Newcastle, 30 March, 1860, no. 43.

60. P.O.S.G., 26th Oct., 1861, Editorial

61. C.O. 295/220, Bishop of Barbados to C. Fortesque, (Barbados) May 1862.

particularly the Indians. The Bishop of Barbados issued an Appeal both in Trinidad and England for funds for the work. What was absolutely essential to obtain, they felt, was christian teachers[62], who were either Indians themselves or white teachers, who knew something of the languages and habits of the Indians. They would then work as teachers and catechists under the guidance of Church of England clergymen. The Bishop also felt that the special needs of the Indians warranted the colonial government giving funds to his church to support special Indian Infant schools.[63] The Bishop's appeal to co-religionists in Trinidad and England did not bring in any considerable funds; and the colonial government did not respond to the idea of supporting special Indian Infant schools under the aegis of the Bishop. What happened was that the Tacarigua Orphanage set the example for two other proprietors to start Indian schools on their estates; and it was said that some proprietors also gave some financial assistance to the Tacarigua Orphanage.[64] The Church of England also started an Indian school in Port of Spain.[65] And this was all that was done for the Indian children down to 1868 when Rev. John Morton

---

62. C.O. 295/220, Bishop of Barbados: An Appeal: (May) 1862.

63. C.O. 295/202, Bishop of Barbados to Lord Stanley, 24 June, 1858.

64. C.O. 295/218, Keate to Newcastle, 4 June, 1862 no. 112. Enclosure: Report of the Rev. H. Richards.

65. P.O.S.G., 28 May, 1862, Report of Mitchell for 1861.

arrived to start a special Indian mission.[66] In May 1862 Mitchell after mentioning the Indian schools on the Lothians estate and on the Golconda estate, and the Church of England Indian school in Port of Spain, went on to say that other Indian schools were "proposed or initiated".[67] And Governor Keate in reporting on the affairs of the island during 1863 vaguely referred to schools for the Indians opened by "the Clergy and others in Port of Spain and on several estates throughout the Island."[68] But both Mitchell and Keate appear to have been exaggerating: apart from the Tacarigua Orphanage, the only other schools for Indians were the Church of England school in Port of Spain run by Rev. S.L. Richards; and the estate schools at the Lothians and Golconda estates, both in Naparima.

These three Indian schools in Port of Spain and Naparima were on a smaller scale than the Tacarigua Orphanage, and they were not specifically for orphans. Nor were they industrial except in so far as the Indian children at Golconda estate and at the Lothians estate might have given some labour to the estates, although not under contract to do so. The emphasis in these schools was similar to that at the Tacarigua Orphanage; to christianise and anglicise the Indian children.

---

66. Wood, op.cit., p. 279.

67. P.O.S.G., 28 May, 1862, Report of Mitchell for 1861.

68. C.O. 295/227, Keate to Cardwell, 4 June, 1864, no. 84, Enclosure: Report on Blue Book for 1863.

A teacher from India was obtained for the Port of Spain school,[69] but not for the Golconda school. At the latter the teacher was said to be a native of Grenada.[70] At the Lothian estate school, a christian Indian and his wife were recruited from India in the early 1860s. The wife took charge of the Indian infant school, while in addition to teaching, the husband did missionary work in the area.[71] His activities extended to the Ne Plus Ultra estate where a school attended by Indians was said to be in existence by 1861.

A very interesting feature of these Indian schools, in contradistinction to the Tacarigua Orphanage, is that they were not exclusively for Indian children.[72] In 1862 the Bishop of Barbados reported that the Lothians estate school had 24 pupils of whom 21 were Hindoos.[73] As the term Hindoos was used often to mean simply Indians, we might presume that the other 3 pupils were not Indians of the Muslim religion, but Negro creoles. But the school on the property of the resident owner Mr. Henry Darling was intended for the Indians; and perhaps it was Darling's hope that his estate would be, through the existence of this school be more attractive to Indian immigrants.[74]

---

69. C.O. 295/220, Bishop of Barbados: An Appeal (May) 1862.

70. P.O.S.G., 4 March, 1863, Report of San Fernando Committee of S.P.C.K. for 1861-1862.

71. C.O. 295/220, Bishop of Barbados to C. Fortesque, (May) 1862.

72. P.O.S.G., 4 March, 1863, Report of S.P.C.K. for 1861 - 1862.

73. C.O. 295/220, Bishop of Barbados: An Appeal (May) 1862.

74. C.O. 295/200, Keate to Newcastle, 31 Oct. 1860 no. 152. Enclosure: Report of Mitchell for 1859. Mitchell made such a link. He thought that the prpspect of an Indian teacher on the estate had influenced the chief Sidar to settle in the island.

The Bishop of Barbados also spoke of having seen, on his last visit, 9 Indian children at the Golconda school,[75] but he spoke as if other children were at the school at the same time. In 1863 the Golconda school was said to have 34 pupils.[76] Clearly for economy purposes a proprietor would have an interest in having one school for Indian and non-Indians if he was going to have any estate school at all. But in the 1860s there were probably few Negroes resident on the estate; and if the ward school was not too distant they would probably see more point in sending their children to a school with a higher standard than to an estate school. There is, however, the interesting probability that the few estate Indian schools had as many, if not more Negro children, than the ward schools had Indian children.

The development of Tacarigua Orphanage and a few other schools for Indians did not spring from a desire on the part of the colonial government, or the proprietors, to separate Indians and Negroes for political purposes. Of course, the government and proprietors would not have liked to see any kind of labour or political alliance between Indians and Negroes; but the prospect of this was so remote that there was no need to take precaution against its happening. The justification for special teachers and schools was that more than the rest of the labouring

---

75. C.O. 295/220, Bishop of Barbados: An Appeal (May) 1862.

76. P.O.S.G., 4 March, 1863, Report of San Fernando Committee of S.P.C.K. for 1861-1862.

classes they needed to be christianised and weaned from their apparently strange habits. Many more Indians could have sent their children to the ward schools if they wanted. Such children would undoubtedly have faced ridicule.[77] The language problem, one suspects, would not have been the chief obstacle; the wider cultural problem would have been. After all many of the Negro creole chidlren who went to the ward schools hardly knew at first any English,[78] the official language of the ward schools. All the blame for non-attendance of the Indian children at the ward schools was placed at the door of the Indians. Inspector Anderson, making one of his few observations about the education of the Indians, blamed Indian parents whose minds were said to be "tramelled by national habits and prejudices adverse to mental and social improvement".[79] Dr. Mitchell spoke in 1861 of the "deeply rooted prejudices",[80] which prevented the Indians from sending their children to the ward schools.

What was to be done? Inspector Anderson thought that the government should provide cheap Infant schools for the Indians -- schools which taught the simple elements of learning and good behaviour.[81] Apparently he was not thinking of special

---

77. Charles Day: Five Years Residence in the West Indies (LONDON) 1852 Vol. 1., p. 181.

78. C.O. 299/10, Report of Anderson for 1858, dated 1 March, 1859.

79. P.O.S.G., 19 Sept., 1860, Report of Anderson for the Quarter ending June, 1860.

80. P.O.S.G., 8 May, 1861, Council of Government 1 May, 1861, Report of Mitchell.

81. P.O.S.G., 19 Sept., 1860, Report of Anderson for the Quarter ending June, 1860.

Indian ward schools, but of having these schools on the estates. In other words, government should assist proprietors financially with estate schools for Indian infants. But the government, if it did this, would in contradiction to its policy of secular education in the ward schools, be helping religious education in these Indian estate schools, for it can be taken for granted that no proprietor was going to have an Indian estate school without religious instruction. If such estate schools did not materialise then, said Anderson, the Indians should be encouraged[82] to send their children to the ward schools.

Mitchell, the Agent General of Immigration, like Inspector Anderson, believed that the short term solution lay with estate schools. He felt that estate schools such as that at Lothians showed how much good could be done for the Indian children even by a humble infant school.[83] When an estate had a certain number of Indians on it, suggested Mitchell, or when it produced a certain amount of sugar, the government should oblige the manager or owner of such an estate to keep an Infant estate school for the Indians. This would alleviate the situation

"till the gradual obliteration of prejudices, now in progress would admit of the Indian children either attending the ward schools by the permission of their parents or under some systematic regulation laid down by the colonial authorities."[84]

---

82. ibid.

83. P.O.S.G., 8 May, 1861, Council of Government 1 May, 1861, Report of Mitchell.

84. ibid.

Mitchell who knew less about the condition of the ward schools than Anderson was willing to contemplate the idea of compelling Indian children of a certain age to attend these schools.[85] Inspector Anderson who knew how crowded were the ward schools, was not thinking of compelling the attendance of any pupils, Indian or Negro. The problem of getting enough special estate Indian schools, or of getting Indian children to attend the ward schools, was not solved down to 1870. But it is of value to note that both Inspector Anderson and Dr. Mitchell, the Agent General of Immigration, were willing to see the Indian children going to the ward schools attended by Negro children. Governor Keate too in his observations on the colony in 1863 regretted that

"Coolie children do not yet as a rule attend the ward schools provided at the public cost for the children of parents of all classes and all religions."[86]

But Keate too was making the mistake of inviting the Indians into a ward school system which could not really accommodate them. Keate himself two years previously had recognised that the ward school system had just about reached the limits of its expansion given the scattered nature of the population in many areas[87], and the inability of the wardens to raise more taxes. Not enough money, and not enough schools, and certainly not the type of schools which would give labouring

---

85. ibid.

86. C.O. 295/227, Keate to Cardwell, 4 June, 1864, no. 84., Enclosure: Report on the Blue Book for 1863.

87. C.O. 295/223, Keate to Newcastle, 4 June, 1862, no. 112 Blue Book for 1861.

class parents hopes of social mobility for their children, were available for either Negroes or Indians.

The best schools were located in the two main towns, Port of Spain and San Fernando. Because of the higher concentration of the population in these towns, the presence of a higher proportion of middle and upper class parents; because of the presence of white planters, merchants, civil servants and their families, it was well recognised that the schools in these towns needed to attain a higher standard than the schools in the countryside. It is not known how many private schools existed in San Fernando, but the Church of England had two denominational schools there in the early 1850s. The Borough Council of San Fernando was under a legal obligation since 1853 to provide schools,[88] including Infant schools, for the needs of the town. But its funds were meagre, and it did not start a school until January 1857. Between 1853 and 1856 the average revenue of the San Fernando Borough Council was £2082 per annum.[89] The Borough Council before and after 1857 was looking to the Executive for help with education in the town. It told Harris in 1852 that it needed more funds. Harris apparently helped in three ways: he gave the Borough Council Crown lands in the town to build a Town Hall,[90] and promised them a part of the proceeds of the sale of other Crown

---

88. C.O. 295/182, Harris to Newcastle, 7 Sept., 1853, no. 107., Enclosure: Ordinance X of 1853.

89. See Table 1.

90. P.O.S.G., 6 June, 1857, Council of Government 1 June, 1857, Petition from San Fernando Borough Council.

TABLE I

San Fernando Borough Council

REVENUES AND EXPENDITURE 1853-1870

Year	Revenue £ sterling	Expenditure £ sterling	Expenditure on Education	Fees collected	Expenditure on education less fees as % of revenue	Expenditure on education less fees as % of expenditure
1853	2173	2280	Nil+			
1854	2352	2651	Nil			
1855	2062	2104	Nil			
1856	1741	1586	Nil			
1857						
1858	2073	1845	134	65	3.3	3.7
1859	2224	2472	212	71	6.3	5.7
1860	1876	1722	129	62	3.6	3.9
1861	1776	1771	258	59	11.2	11.2
1862	1631	2076	236	66	10.4	8.2
1863	2179	2013	280	94	8.5	9.2
1864	1898	1509	190			
1865	1704	1863	199			
1866	2011	2424	262	66	9.8	8.1
1867	3154	2938	299	53*	7.8	8.3
1868	3527	3501	280	51*	6.5	6.5
1869	4073	4103	333	50*	6.9	6.9
1870	2984	2962	272	65*	6.9	6.9

\+ No school was kept before 1857

* This was money from the "Upper school". From 1866 the school was divided into two schools with the lower school not paying any fees.

Compiled from Blue Book C.O. 300/63-81.

lands in what was called the Promenade. Then the Municipal Corporations Act 1853 authorised the Borough to increase its rates.[91] The Crown lands were somehow sold without the Borough getting any of the proceeds, and so when Governor Keate arrived in 1857 the Borough Council among its many grievances set out its claim to Crown land, or the proceeds from the sale of Crown lands in the town, as a means of building a proper schoolhouse[92] for the school started in January 1857. It got no assistance with its school.

What the Borough Council had started in January 1857 was a co-educational school for boys and girls under the tutorship of a Mr. Proctor and his wife.[93] Proctor had been an Assistant teacher at the Teacher Training school in Port of Spain where he had got his training as a teacher.[94] From the high praise which Mr. Proctor earned from Inspector Anderson every year, we must conclude that Proctor had outstanding qualities as a teacher. Inspector Anderson criticised the San Fernando Borough Council for charging fees in the school,[95] and for not opening more schools as the Municipal Corporations Ordinance of 1853 called upon it to do.

---

91. C.O. 295/182, Harris to Newcastle, 7 Sept., 1853, no. 107., Enclosure: Ordinance X of 1853.

92. P.O.S.G., 6 June, 1857, Council of Government 1 June, 1857, Petition from San Fernando Borough Council.

93. C.O. 299/9, Report of Anderson on the San Fernando and Port of Spain Borough Council Schools dated 16 Dec., 1857.

94. ibid.

95. ibid.

Anderson did not think that political bodies such as Borough Councils with constantly changing membership, were proper organisations to supervise schools. Although Anderson inspected the San Fernando Borough Council school, he had no authority over the school or the teacher. He felt that the charging of fees was probably illegal, and that the Borough Council had no interest in the school.[96] Whatever laurels of praise the school won from Anderson went to Proctor.

It may be that the San Fernando Borough Council was inefficient in collecting its revenues. The revenues collected did not show any real increase in the 14 years between 1853 and 1866.[97] Between 1853 and 1856 the average annual revenue was £2082; between 1857 and 1866 the average annual revenue was £1929. Between 1867 and 1869 the average annual revenues went up to £3584, but in 1870 the revenue was down to £2984. Despite the fairly stagnant position of the revenues of the San Fernando Borough Council in the 1850s and the early 1860s, the Council between 1861 and 1863 increased its average annual expenditure on education to £185. In the previous 3 years (1858 - 1860) the average annual expenditure was only £92. But when the average annual revenues of the Borough Council nearly doubled between 1867 and 1869 the Council did not proportionately increase its expenditure on education. The average annual expenditure on education between 1867 and 1869 was £253.

---

96. ibid.

97. See Table 1.

In the case of the Port of Spain Borough Council, the average annual expenditure on schools over the period 1867 to 1869 was £404, lower than it had been since 1853.[98] But in the period 1861 to 1863, the Port of Spain Borough Council, like the San Fernando Borough Council, had increased its average annual expenditure on education to £780 as against an average annual expenditure of £596 between 1858 and 1860. And this it did in the face of stagnant revenues. Over the same period 1861 to 1863, the Ward Unions, with the exception of Cedros Ward Union experienced increases in their revenues without spending anything more on education.[99] Inspector Anderson tended to sympathise with the Wardens more than with the Borough Councils, but the wards had more expansive revenues than the Borough Councils.

---

98. See Table II

99. See Table V

TABLE II

Port of Spain Borough Council

REVENUES AND EXPENDITURE 1853 - 1870

Year	Revenues £ sterling	Expenditure £ sterling	Expenditure on Education	Education % of Rev.	Education % of Exp.
1853	6542	5765	595	9.1	10.3
1854	6262	8230	707	11.3	8.6
1855	6805	7614	467	6.9	6.1
1856	6981	7047	454	6.5	6.4
1857					
1858	6225	7103	547	8.8	7.7
1859	5873	7028	598	10.2	8.5
1860	6694	6165	643	9.6	10.4
1861	6658	7152*	795	11.9	11.1
1862+	6884	5957**	820	11.9	13.8
1863	6077	6859	725	11.9	10.6
1864++	6564	5436	790	12.0	14.5
1865	6378	6366	557	8.7	8.8
1866	7543	7242	464+++	6.2	6.4
1867	6895	8601	370	5.4	4.3
1868	8339	8067	407	4.9	5.0
1869	8796	8796	436	4.9	4.9
1870	8107	8107	491	6.0	6.0

Compiled from Blue Books C.O. 300/63-81

* The excess of expenditure over revenues this year was said to represent "monies in the hands of the Treasurer and in deposit in the Colonial Treasury at the termination of the previous year" (C.O. 300/72 p. 44)

+ From 1862 the financial year ran from 1st Sept. to August 31, of the following year. This was the pattern for the remainder of the period.

** There is a note to this effect: "The foregoing return (1862) showe an excess of Revenue over expenditure for the financial year which requires explanation as the expenditure in fact exceeds the Revenue Immediately after the auditing of the accounts the amount due to the Colonial Hospital was paid amounting to $3080.16 and in the month of December the Board was compelled to borrow from the Colonial Bank $3000 to meet outstanding liabilities". (C.O. 300/73. p.46).

++ There is a note to this effect: "The balance of Revenue as shown by this Return was retained by the Colonial government out of sums due by the Government to the Borough for interment of Hospital patients; in payment of Hospital Expenses of patients treated for the Borough".

+++ There was no girls school after 1866.

Until 1866 the pattern in the San Fernando Borough Council school was for Proctor's wife to teach the infants, and Mr. Proctor himself to take the older pupils, with the help of monitors. Any school with an average daily attendance of over 100 pupils was regarded as very well attended, and Proctor's school was usually near this mark. In late 1860 Inspector Anderson rated it as the second best school in the island,[100] next only to the Female Model school in Port of Spain. The structure of the school was determined basically by the reading books used; and these were the famous reading books of the Irish National School system. These went from the First Book of Lessons to the Fifth Book of Lessons, with the First Book divided into two parts, and the Second Book having a "Sequel".[101] The highest reading book in use in the school down to 1862 was the Fourth Book. In 1858 there were 42 pupils in the First class which read the First and Second Book; 40 in Second class reading the First Book and Second Sequel to the Second Book; 30 in the Third class reading the Third Book; and 12 in the Fourth class reading the Fourth Book.[102] If we take the books read as a kind of key to the standard of work of a school, then this school made some ground. In 1864 the Fifth Book had come into use; and remained so in 1867. As the figures for the number of boys and girls reading the Fifth Book

---

100. P.O.S.G., 13 Feb., 1861, Report of Anderson for Quarter ending Dec. 1860.

101. Akenson, op.cit., p. 231

102. C.O. 299/10, Report of Anderson for 1858 dated 1 March, 1859.

was lumped with those reading the Fourth Book, there is no way of telling how many pupils could actually cope with the Fifth Book. In 1864, 42 pupils out of 142 on roll were reading the Fourth and Fifth Books;[103] and in 1867, 50 pupils out of 210 were reading the same books.[104] In 1858, 12 pupils out of 136 pupils on roll read in the Fourth Book. This seems to indicate, along with other figures for the other classes which cannot be mentioned here, that although the school got larger, and added a higher reading Book over the years, progress in terms of the proportion of pupils reading the higher Books was lacking.

Each class did writing and arithmetic thought appropriate to its capabilities. From 1858 the highest class, the Fourth Class, was studying geography, particularly the geography of the British Isles, natural history and English history. The real standards attained in these subjects is not easy to say. But Proctor must have been a well equipped man to tackle such a range of subjects. If we are to judge from the spread of subjects standards went up at least for some pupils in this respect as in relation to the reading matter.

In 1862 Inspector Anderson thought he noticed a change in the class of pupils going to the San Fernando Borough Council School.

"It has latterly assumed the character more of a school

---

103. C.O. 299/15, Report of Anderson for 1864 dated 6 March, 1865.

104. C.O. 299/18, Report of Anderson for 1867. dated 5 March, 1868.

for the children of the middling and more respectable members of the San Fernando society than one for the lower classes." [105]

Anderson felt that this might have been the result of the fees charged, which, although not high, encouraged low class parents to keep their children at home, or to send them to the ward school at St. Joseph Village in North Naparima.[106] Proctor might have started drawing the better class of pupils because he was adding more exotic subjects to his range, or it might be that on getting more pupils of a better social class he was encouraged to add such subjects. In 1864 he was teaching anatomy,[107] in 1867 he did some algebra and geometry, and natural history.[108] What was happening was that the school was evolving into two distinct schools under the same roof: an upper school taught by Proctor where a flat fee of 1 shilling per week was charged and the higher subjects taught,[109] while Proctor's wife took care of the infants; and another school with lower standards taught by another teacher. There was no fee for this latter school.[110] Perhaps this was the Borough Council's way of meeting in one school the pressures for different kinds of education in the town. The lower classes, meaning the unemployed and agricultural workers and probably domestics, wanted free education. There would at the same time be artisans, storekeepers

---

105. C.O. 299/13, Report of Anderson for 1862 dated 2 March, 1863.
106. ibid.
107. C.O. 299/15, Report of Anderson for 1864 dated 6 March, 1865.
108. C.O. 299/18, Report of Anderson for 1867 dated 5 March, 1868
109. C.O. 299/17, Report of Anderson for 1866 dated 20 March, 1867.
110. ibid.

and other self-employed persons, black and coloured, who felt that they ought to give their children more than mere literacy, even if they had to pay fees. These were the types whom Anderson seemed to be calling the middle class. There is no positive indication that the children of white people were going to this school.

As in the case of the San Fernando Borough Council school, changes in the structure of the 2 schools run by the Port of Spain Borough Council were due to the fact that the Council was trying to meet too many different kinds of educational needs with only 2 schools. But undoubtedly another reason, which we can see more clearly in the case of the Port of Spain Borough Council, was that the changing political composition of this Borough Council affected the fortunes of the 2 schools. From mid 1849 to 1853 the Borough Council added an upper school giving a secondary type of education for fees., Then in 1853 this upper school[111] was abandonded on the ground that the newly established Boys Model school made it unnecessary.[112] By 1857 the Borough Council had converted its boys school into a school soley for pauper children who paid no fees.[113] Between 1849 and 1853 the Borough Council ran a Girls School of Industry which concentrated on needlework and drawing.[114] The male

---

111. Trinidadian, 3 March, 1849, Meeting of the Borough Council 28 Feb., 1849.

112. Trinidadian, 16 July, 1853, Meeting of Borough Council 21 June, 1853.

113. C.O. 299/9 Report of Anderson on the San Fernando and Port of Spain Borough Council schools dated 16 Dec., 1857.

114. Trinidadian, 11 Jan., 1851, Meeting of Town Council 8 Jan.1851 Mr. Cazabon the best known local artist was employed to teach drawing.

members of the Borough Council were not thought adequate to the task of visiting and supervising this female school; so wives of prominent Port of Spain citizens were drafted to do the visiting and supervision.[115] The teachers' salaries were changed more often and not always upwards than could have been good for the sense of job security on their part.[116] In 1853 there was a clear split in the Port of Spain Borough Council over the appointment of a new teacher for the Boys school. The liberals, mostly coloureds, wanted Mr. Duncan Clunes; a coloured man and the existing assistant teacher;[117] the conservatives, mostly whites backed Mr. Walker, a white man trained as a teacher in Ireland. Dr. L.A. DeVerteuil, who consistently showed interest in the Borough Council school when he was serving on the Council, cleverly suggested that the issue should be resolved by subjecting both men to an examination.[118] Mr. Duncan Clunes did not turn up for the examination; Mr. Walker was appointed. Mr. Conrad Stollmeyer, a German by descent and the acting editor of the Trinidadian, rejoiced in the defeat of "native"[119] talent. Although it would need a closer study of the politics of the Borough Council to substantiate the thesis that its political composition influenced its policy towards its schools, there is enough evidence on the surface to suggest that this was so.

---

115. Trinidadian, 9 Jan., 1850, Meeting of the Town Council 28 Dec. 1849.
116. C.O. 299/9, Report of Anderson on the San Fernando and Port of Spain Borough Council schools dated 16 Dec., 1857.
117. Trinidadian, 25 June, 1853, Meeting of the Borough Council 22 June, 1853.
118. ibid.
119. Trinidadian, 29 June, 1853, Editorial

Mr. Walker who was trained as a teacher at the Dublin Teacher Training school attached to the Irish National School system was consistently praised by Inspector Anderson. Because the Port of Spain Borough Council school for boys was frequented by pauper children many of whom came to school in ragged clothes and without shoes,[120] Anderson felt that Walker was facing a stiff task in what was a large school. Anderson described many of the boys in 1860 as ignorant, vicious, and knowing only the French patois when they entered the school.[121] By 1862 average daily attendance was up to 208; and Mr. Walker, two other teachers and some monitors, did the teaching.[122] Anderson felt that more teachers were needed for this school; and that the Port of Spain Model school attached to the government Teacher Training school was being used as an excuse by the Borough Council for not expanding its education service.[123] Walker was given a lot of sympathy for controlling such a large school with so little staff; for Anderson dismissed the monitors as more or less unreliable or inadequate assistants. Walker's school in 1860 was ranked third in the island behind Mrs. Alcock's Female Model school and the San Fernando Borough Council school.[124]

---

120. C.O. 299/9, Report of Anderson on the San Fernando and Port of Spain Borough Councils school dated 16 Dec., 1857.

121. C.O. 299/11, Report of Anderson for 1860, dated 1 March, 1861.

122. C.O. 299/14, Report of Anderson for 1863 dated 7 March, 1864.

123. C.O. 299/14, Report of Anderson for 1863 dated 7 March, 1864.

124. P.O.S.G., 13 Feb., 1861 Report of Anderson for the Quarter ending December 1860.

Up to 1857 the Port of Spain Borough Council school for boys taught nothing else but reading, writing, arithmetic and English grammar. This was on the specific instruction of the Borough Council, which at that time was intent on running a school only for pauper children.[125] But from 1858 the Borough Council began to observe the rules of the Board of Education, though without yielding control over its schools. One result was that geography of Trinidad was studied from Dr. L.A. DeVerteuil's book. As in the San Fernando Borough Council school, the reading book determined the structure of the classes. There were five classes. The First Class read the First Book of Lessons of the Irish National Schools;[127] the Second class the Second Book; the Third Class had two divisions with one reading the First Sequel of the Second Book of Lessons and the other the Second Sequel to the Second Book; the Fourth class read the Third Book and the Fifth class read the Fourth Book.[128] At this time there were no students sufficiently advanced to read the Fifth Book; but by 1862 some students were reading this book. In 1867, 29 pupils out of 100 were reading in the Fourth and Fifth books;[129] so that Mr. Walker's school, like Mr. Proctor's school in San Fernando,

---

125. C.O. 299/9, Report of Anderson on the San Fernando and Port of Spain Borough Councils schools dated 16 Dec., 1857.
126. C.O. 299/10, Report of Anderson for 1858, dated 1 March, 1859.
127. ibid.
128. ibid.
129. C.O. 299/18, Report of Anderson for 1867 dated 5 March, 1868.

if judged by reading material, did show progress towards a higher standard.

In 1858 the First class used slates for their writing; all other classes wrote on paper. The Fourth and Fifth classes could write, Anderson said, an "easy sentence from dictation".[130] They could also phrase a simple sentence; in geography the same classes knew the outlines of the map of the world and also a "little mathematical descriptive"[131] of the "definitions"[132] of the globe. In arithmetic the Fourth and Fifth classes could both do sums involving the "compound rules",[133] and the Fifth class could do "Proportion and Practice".[134] The lower classes had a proportionately reduced knowledge of geography, grammar and arithmetic. Up to about 1861 Anderson seemed altogether pleased with the progress of the pupils in this school. Without giving any explanation, he reported that a better social class of pupils had begun to attend the school in 1860.[135] This may have been the result of some boys switching from the Boys Model school to Mr. Walker's school. About the same time Anderson reported that both teaching standards and the social status of

---

130. C.O. 299/10, Report of Anderson for 1858 dated 1 March, 1859.

131. ibid.

132. ibid.

133. ibid.

134. ibid.

135. P.O.S.G., 13 Feb., 1861, Report of Anderson for the quarter ending December, 1860.

the boys at the Boys Model school were falling -- due to the neglectful attitude of the teacher Mr. Sugars.[136] After 1861 Anderson felt that standard of work had fallen in Mr. Walker's school; not because of any neglect by Mr. Walker, but because the school was getting too large for the number of teachers;[137] and also because the school in 1862 had moved into less commodious buildings.[138]

The Port of Spain Borough Council tried to reorganise its schools about 1866. First of all it abolished the Girls school which after 1857, the year the Female Model school started, never attracted more than 20 students a day, and was of such a poor standard that Inspector Anderson preferred to say as little as possible about this school since he could not say anything good. He suggested that it might be converted into an Infant school.[139] Having closed the Girls school, the Borough Council divided the Boys school into two separate schools, probably held on the same premises. Mr. Walker took the higher classes viz. Third to Fifth class into his school;[140] and another teacher, Mr. Fortune, took over the lower classes viz. the Alphabet class to the Second Class.[141] But this sort of division of standards was difficult to maintain given the number of children of varying attainment who were anxious to get into

---

136. ibid.

137. C.O. 299/13, Report of Anderson for 1862 dated 2 March, 1863.

138. ibid.

139. P.O.S.G., 4 April, 1860, Report of Anderson for the quarter ending December, 1859.

140. C.O. 299/17, Report of Anderson for 1866 dated 20 March, 1867.

141. ibid.

either school. What we can see happening from 1867 was that Mr. Walker's school began to add the lower classes, and Mr. Fortune's the higher classes.[142] Neither was getting enough funds, or supervision from the Borough Council of Port of Spain.

The government Male Teacher Training School and its allied Boys Model school were intended to be at the top of the government system of secular education. A building was rented in Woodbrook with enough land around on which agricultural practice could be gained. The latter object was apparently the main reason for siting this institution outside of Port of Spain.[143] But no agricultural work involving the use of the land was ever done at the Woodbrook site; and the school had to suffer the inconvenience of being outside of the town without any compensation in what was called industrial instruction. In the first 6 years of its existence, however, all observers had only praise for the work of this institution. The first superintendent Mr. John Dixon who arrived on the 1st March, 1852 and died of typhoid exactly one year later,[144] created a mild sensation in Port of Spain by the effectiveness

---

142. C.O. 299/18, Report of Anderson for 1867 dated 5 March, 1868.

143. P.O.S.G., April 27, 1852, Meeting of Board of Education 22 April, 1852.

144. P.O.S.G., 2 March, 1853.

of his teaching. Dixon had been trained as a teacher in Ireland, and was recognised as an expert in the school methods of the Irish National Board of Education. It was this system of education with its books which was established in the Boys Model school and the Teacher Training school.[145] By the time Dixon died, Conrad Stollmeyer, the acting editor of the Trinidadian claimed that Dixon had established nothing less that a College,[146] the graduates of which were competent to teach any school in the West Indies. The Borough Council of Port of Spain which was also impressed with the results of what Dixon was doing had set up in January 1853 a Committee to interview Dixon,[147] and study the organisation of the Boys Model school with a view to adopting his methods in the Borough Council schools.

The findings of this Committee chaired by Dr. L.A. DeVerteuil provide us with the first detailed insight into the organisation of the Boys Model school. Parents wishing to have their sons admitted had to apply to government, presumably to the Board of Education. Each month Mr. Dixon examined the aspirants, and those who were good enough and between the ages of 6 - 16 were accepted.[148] They had to pay 50 cents monthly, in advance, if their parents were not paying ward rates. The "mechanical" part of the method of the Irish school system was described as ingenious, though we are not told in what way.

---

145. Trinidadian, 29 July, 1852, Editorial

146. Trinidadian, 2 March, 1853, Editorial

147. Trinidadian, 29 Jan., 1853, Meeting of the Town Council 26 Jan., 1853.

148. Trinidadian, 16 July, 1853, Meeting of the Town Council 21 June, 1853.

The pupils were using the land around the school for a playground. Dixon had the assistance of all the teachers in training, and of such of the senior pupils as he wished to use as monitors. The school in addition had the moral support of the governor and the Board of Education.[149] It gave 18 hours of instruction per week, which was 17 hours per week less than at the Borough Council boys school; it also had longer hoildays; but better results than the Borough Council school. The only thing Mr. Dixon's school taught which was not on the curriculum at the Borough Council school was Latin. When questioned about the methods used, Dixon behaved as if it was all very simple. He had had to modify the Irish system, but he was using their books and developing the power of the pupils to think. Dixon implied that the secret of his success was in his own teaching power, and this was the aspect of the school's success which most impressed the investigating Committee.[150] The Borough Council decided to borrow the mechanical arrangement of the Boys Model school; to use the books which it used, and to drop the attempt at secondary education at the Borough Council school since this could be done better by the Model school.[151]

The intention of the Board of Education to continue along the lines laid down by Dixon manifested itself in the appointment of Mr. William Sugars. Mr. Sugars too had been

---

149. ibid.

150. ibid.

151. ibid.

trained in Ireland as a teacher, and had taught in the Irish National system.[152] Sugars served from July 1853 until he was dismissed in late 1861. For purpose of convenience it is best to separate the story of the Boys Model school from that of the Teacher Training school, although these two schools were interrelated. Like the Borough Council boys school in Port of Spain, and the San Fernando Borough Council school, the Boys Model school found itself under strong social pressure to give a secondary type of education; the kind of education which would prevent hard pressed parents of the better classes in Port of Spain from having to shoulder the expenses of sending their sons to England and Europe for secondary education. IN its original conception the Model school was intended to be the area for the teachers in training to practice the art of teaching.[153] Because it would have one of the best paid teachers, and an Irishman specially recruited for his expertise; because it would have at its disposal the assistance of the trainee teachers, and because it was located near Port of Spain under the eye of the Inspector of School and the Board of Education, the Boys Model school was expected to be the best school in the island of an elementary kind. But it soon sprouted higher classes giving instruction far above the curriculum on the normal ward schools to which it was supposed to be an examplar. Neither Mr. Dixon nor Mr. Sugars was content to teach only the normal fare of

---

152. C.O. 295/220, William Sugars to Under Secretary of State, 10 July, 1862 (Belfast)

153. P.O.S.G., 27 April, 1852, Meeting of Board of Education 22 April, 1852.

an elementary school. And some parents in Port of Spain were looking for a source of cheap, but good secondary education.[154] The Inspector of schools and the Board of Education acquiesced in this development of a secondary type of curriculum in the higher classes of the school. Mr. Sugars soon developed what was called a "Science" class as the top class of the school, and a review of the class organisation of the school in December 1853 showed[155] that it had a Second class, a Third class divided into 2 sections, a Fourth class and a Fifth class and the Science class. The Second class read the Second Book; the Third class read the Sequel to the Second Book; the Fourth class read the Third Book and the Fifth class and Science class read the Fourth Book. Geography, grammar, arithmetic and writing were taught at different levels throughout the classes. But so too was natural history, and the Science class and Fifth class were also doing "Natural philosophy",[156] involving the "definitions, dividions and sub-divisions of the Animal Kingdom, with the Physiology of Animals and Vegetables";[157] also political economy, algebra and astronomy. All this was being attempted before anyone was reading the Fifth Book.

Between 1853 and 1859 a period in which the lack of good and cheap secondary education in Port of Spain was felt; the period of the collapse of the Church of England Grammar school,[158]

---

154. Trinidadian, 2 Aug., 1852, Editorial
155. Trinidadian, 14 Dec., 1853
156. ibid.
157. ibid.
158. P.O.S.G., 22 Sept., 1855. Also P.O.S.G., 5 Sept., 1857, Council of Government 2 Sept., 1857.

and of reports in the years 1854-1856 that financial hardship had caused some parents to withdraw their children from fee paying private schools,[159] there is clear evidence that some of the better classes in town, white and coloured, sent their sons to the Boys Model school. At this period the school had some white, probably more coloureds, whose social connections led into mercantile and planting business. A breakdown of the pupils who left the school in 1859 in either the Fourth, Fifth or Science class showed that 7 out of the 44 had become clerks,[160] probably in the merchant houses; 1, a wheel wright; 1, a printer, another a goldsmith; 2 had gone on to the Queen College, and 1 had become an overseer. In addition 7 had gone on to another school; the destination of the remainder of the 44 was not known. Those who had gone on to clerkship had all reached the "Science" class; so too young Boissiere who had left to become an overseer,[161] most likely on family properties. These figures confirm what Anderson had said in his 1858 report of the school:

"Many most important and responsible positions are now held by young men who were indebted to the Model school, if not entirely, yet in great measure, for the knowledge and other acquirements which have fitted them to occupy these positions."[162]

---

159. P.O.S.G., 19 Sept., 1857, Editorial.

160. P.O.S.G., 11 April, 1860, Report of Anderson for 1859

161. ibid.

162. C.O. 299/10, Report of Anderson for 1858 dated 1 March, 1859.

Inspector Anderson felt that the school ought to equip boys "to fill any position of life short of that requiring classical attainments".[163]

Nevertheless, from about 1858 or 1859 a change in the fortunes of the Boys Model School, and also in that of the teacher Mr. William Sugars, set in, and with this came some reassessment of the role of the school. Sugars had since 1853 been concentrating on the higher classes of the school, especially the Science class. When the first batch of better class pupils had begun by 1858 to leave the school whether for jobs, or from 1859, to go to the newly established Queen College, Sugars could not find among the junior classes boys sufficiently advanced to be promoted to the Science class.[164] There is an impression that the establishment of the College in 1859 attracted some of the boys who might otherwise had gone to the Boys Model school. These developments led Inspector Anderson to reassess the teaching priorities of the school: he called upon Mr. Sugars to concentrate on raising the standards of the whole school[165] in reading, writing and arithmetic instead of developing the Science class as a showpiece.

Mr. Sugars's career, like the school, also ran into more difficult times. From early 1859 Inspector Anderson began to develop an unfavourable view of Sugars's work in both the Boys Model school and the Teacher Training school. In November 1859

---

163. ibid.

164. ibid.

165. P.O.S.G., 3 Dec.,1859, Report of Anderson for quarter ending June, 1859.

the Port of Spain Gazette carried the quarterly report of Anderson for the period January to March 1859;[166] Anderson alleged that Sugars was neglecting the pupils and absenting himself from school. Since all the reports of the Inspector of Schools were carried verbatim in the Port of Spain Gazette, such accusation of neglect which continued, must have seriously affected Sugars's reputation in Port of Spain. Sugars was known to be a hard drinker, and this more than anything else was held responsible for his short comings in the school. In June 1861, Governor Keate sought to encourage Sugars to resign,[167] but he would not co-operate. His conduct was investigated,[168] and there was enough evidence of addiction to alcohol, unauthorised absences from school, tampering with the school fees, and refusal to heed the admonition of the governor and Inspector of Schools, for the British government to confirm the dismissal of Sugars.

But Sugars did not leave his job before Anderson had the opportunity to produce a number of unfavourable reports on the falling standards of both the schools. The junior boys were backward; the Science class had dwindled; the trainee teachers were not being given enough instruction, and the Female Model school and the San Fernando Borough Council school were ranked above Mr. Sugars's school. The social status of the boys attending

---

166. P.O.S.G., 23 Nov., 1859, Report of Anderson for the quarter ending March, 1859.

167. C.O. 295/220, Sugars to Under Secretary of State, 10 July, 1862 (Belfast).

168. C.O. 295/216, Keate to Newcastle, 21 Jan., 1862, no. 18., Enclosures: Reports of Committee of Investigation.

the Boys Model school was said to have fallen,[169] and that of the Port of Spain Borough Council school had risen at the same time.[170] The inference was that some parents had transferred their children from Sugars's school to the Port of Spain Borough Council school. The latter school certainly grew in numbers about this time, and the Port of Spain Borough Council agreed to buy some of the unneeded school furniture of the Boys Model school to put into its schools.[171] Inspector Anderson by his constant criticism of Sugars between 1859 and 1861 might well have helped to destroy public confidence in Sugars's ability as a teacher; and thus help to bring about the very situation of which he Anderson complained: the fall of the Boys Model school from its position at the top of the government education system This Anderson regretted for any falling off of standards in this school called into question the teaching power not only of Sugars,[172] but of the trainee teachers who assisted him, and who were to be the future teachers of the ward schools. In addition, Anderson insisted

"there is a considerable portion of the population of this colony who placed in the position beyond that of labourers on estates and aspiring to give their children an education to fit them to fill responsible positions, look to the Model school as

---

169. P.O.S.G., 13 Feb.,1861, Report of Anderson for quarter ending December 1860.

170. ibid.

171. P.O.S.G., 20 April, 1861, Meeting of Port of Spain Borough Council 17 April, 1861.

172. C.O. 299/11, Report of Anderson for 1860 dated 1 March, 1861.

the place where their chidlren should be enabled to procure this education. This they have a right to do, considering the endowments of the school.....".[173]

One of the ex-pupils of Mr. Dixon in the Training School, Mr. Tronchin, assumed the headship of the school from the 1st August 1861. Tronchin had taught at the Tacariqua ward school,[174] and had acted once before for Sugars while the latter was on leave. Inspector Anderson reported that both the Boys Model school and the Teacher Training school improved in quality under Tronchin from the low level in 1860. In numbers also the Boys Model school, though not the Teacher Training school, made gains. Tronchin was praised for giving equal attention to all the classes of the Boys Model school which produced an easy flow of pupils from the lower classes into the higher classes. Anderson thought that the fact that 80 out of 201 boys were in 1863 reading in the Fourth and Fifth Books showed progress at the top of the school.[175] In 1867, 80 out of 141 boys were reading in the Fourth and Fifth Books,[176] an even better percentage of top readers. But there was no return to the aim of building up a Science class though something more than the normal three R's, grammar and geography was offered to the better equipped students. Tronchin

---

173. ibid.

174. C.O. 299/10, Report of Anderson for 1858 dated 1 March, 1859. List of Schoolmasters.

175. C.O. 299/14, Report of Anderson for 1863 dated 7 March, 1864.

176. C.O. 299/18, Report of Anderson for 1867 dated 5 March, 1868.

seemed to have had some special skill or interest in agricultural chemistry and land surveying. In 1864 the school was reported to be doing some "Agricultural chemistry, Outlines of optics, Mathematical Geography, Algebra, Euclid, Mensuration of Surfaces, Plane Trigonometry".[177] In 1866 more or less, the same subjects were done, though now "Human Physiology"[178] was added. But in 1867 only "Euclid, Algebra and Mensuration"[179] were left.

It was hoped that these higher subjects, particularly agricultural chemistry, geometry and surveying ("mensuration") would help to produce some more competent sugar estate managers. The colony faced stiff competition in the world sugar market, and there was a premium on expert sugar estate management. Anderson thought that

"It would surely be a matter of importance to the Colony if lads could be procured from Woodbrook who, besides being able to read, spell, write and cypher correctly, could measure a cane piece and calculate the number of tasks in it of so many rods each; who could temper cane juice and take off a strike; who would understand the general lines of agricultural chemistry, and particularly the vegetable economy of the sugar cane, and the general principles connected with the manufacture of sugar; and

---

177. C.O. 299/15, Report of Anderson for 1864 dated 6 March, 1865.
178. C.O. 299/17, Report of Anderson for 1866 dated 20 March, 1867.
179. C.O. 299/18, Report of Anderson for 1867 dated 5 March, 1868.

who would above all be desciplined to order, obedience, and steadiness of conduct." [180]

The use of the Boys Model school to satisfy the needs for secondary education in Port of Spain detracted from its value as an area of training for teachers who were going to be posted in the rural ward schools. For these latter schools struck to the three R's, grammar, geography and singing. The trainee teachers who assisted Dixon, Sugars and Tronchin to teach the Boys Model school, probably got carried away by the glamour of the higher subjects,[181] to the neglect of more elementary knowledge like proper grammar and worst of all, to the relative neglect of the theory of teaching.

The Teacher Training school was always a small one. The figures are as follows:

TABLE III

Month	Year	No. of Trainee Teachers
December	1858	13.
March	1859	11.
December	1859	10.
March	1860	12.
December	1860	7.
August	1861	6.
December	1862	6.
December	1863	9.
June	1864	8.
December	1866	5.
December	1867	4.

180. C.O. 299/12, Report of Anderson for 1861 dated 1 March, 1862.

181. P.O.S.G., 23 May, 1860 Report of Anderson for the quarter ending March 1860. Enclosure: Report of Sugars.

What the number of trainee teachers was between 1853 and 1857 is not known, but it seems likely to have been higher that the 13 in 1858. When the Teacher Training school was first opened in July 1852 as many as 40 persons applied for admission;[182] but as many did not meet the required standards on examination by the Board of Education and Mr. Dixon,[183] we can assume that the numbers originally admitted was less than 40; and considerably less since Dixon alone could hardly have coped with as many as 20 teachers. At any rate, the immediate job prospects for these trainee teachers were limited to the ward schools; and the job situation was already tight by 1855 as almost all the wards had already one school with one teacher. Indeed the general stagnation of the ward schools system is directly related to the small and falling number of persons who offered themselves for training as teachers. At any point between 1858 and 1867, and probably before 1858, the Teacher Training school had more teachers deemed ready to conduct ward schools than the number of vacancies in the ward school system.

Although by both the accounts of Mr. Sugars and Inspector Anderson the standard of education of the incoming trainees was higher in the years 1853 to 1858, than afterwards, those who came in 1853 to 1859 had, Sugars claimed when vindicating his conduct of the school, to be

"instructed ab initio in every branch in which they would themselves have afterwards to convey instruction".[184]

---

182. Trinidadian, 29 July, 1852, Editorial

183. ibid.

184. C.O. 295/220, Sugars to Under Secretary of State, 10 July, 1862 (Belfast).

Intending trainee teachers had to submit their qualifications to the Board of Education.[185] The implication is that there was some required standard of entry, even if loosely defined. What is certain is that there was no required length of stay in the school; no end of course examination; no definite standard which a trainee had to reach before he was deemed fit to take charge of a school. When the trainee left to take charge of a school would depend on the existence of a vacancy, and on the general opinion of him by the teacher. More often than not, more trainees were deemed ready to take charge of schools than vacancies existed. This meant that a few trainees stayed on in the school marking time in the hope of getting a job. The government's policy was to give allowance varying between £20 - £40 per year to the 6 best trainees on condition that they assisted the teacher in conducting the Boys Model school.[186] At one stage one of the trainees, presumably the best of the lot, was elevated to the position of Assistant teacher.[187] But after he left, Sugars alone had the task of teaching the trainee teachers.

In 1859 Sugars said he taught the trainees reading, writing from dictation, arithmetic, geometry, grammar and the theory of teaching.[188] They had plenty of opportunity to practice the theory of teaching in the Boys Model school. What is evident though is that the art of the teaching was not given any special

---

185, P.O.S.G., 26 Sept., 1857, Advertisement by the Board of Education.

186. ibid.

187. P.O.S.G., 4 April, 1860, Report of Anderson for quarter ending December, 1859.

188. P.O.S.G., 23 Nov., 1859, Report of Anderson for quarter ending March, 1859; Enclosure: REport of Sugars.

place in the subjects taught to the trainees. Although the number of trainees was small, it would have been quite a job for Sugars or Tronchin to supervise them personally when they were conducting the classes in the Boys Model school. From the investigation into Sugars's conduct in 1861 it seems clear that Sugars had too much to do in the Model and Training schools. The number of registers alone which he had to keep would have been enough work to occupy one-third of each day if he took them seriously.[189] And he had to keep and sell a large stock of school books and equipment stored at the Model school for the general use of the ward schools. Sugars clearly felt that he had too much to do, and he claimed that he asked for an additional teacher.[190] The response of Inspector Anderson, according to Sugars, was to increase the number of hours which he had to devote to teaching the trainee teachers.[191] Sugars was now required to give them 2 hours instruction every Saturday and Wednesday, previously free days, without any additional teacher of the status of an Assistant teacher. Anderson's side of the story was that since the government allowance to some of the trainees was increased Sugars could utilise the more advanced trainees more than he was doing.[192] Sugars did seem to find a way to reduce his work load: on Saturdays and Wednesdays he instructed the trainees in the ordinary subjects, and during the week days, he instructed them

---

189. C.O. 295/216, Keate to Newcastle, 21 Jan., 1862, no. 18, Enclosures: Reports of Committee of Investigation.

190. C.O. 295/220, Sugars to Under Secretary of State, 10 July, 1862.

191. ibid.

192. P.O.S.G., 23 May, 1860, Report of Anderson for quarter ending March 1860.

along with the Science class in the Model school.[193] This meant that the higher branches which the Science class did was also part of the fare of the trainee teachers.

The standard of the trainee teachers when they left the school cannot be precisely determined. Sugars said that during his headmastership the average stay of the trainees was about 5 months.[194] Inspector Anderson, in 1858 said the stay of the trainees ranged from 5 to 15 months,[195] and he, like Sugars, thought that this was too short. But at the same time Anderson usually praised the trainees once they became ward school teachers. Thus Anderson combined doubts about the standards they had reached in the Training school, with praise for their performance as teachers of the ward schools. The answer to this apparent inconsistency is that Anderson was very sympathetic to the difficulties the teachers faced in the ward schools; did not really expect the education of the labouring classes to make rapid strides forward, and felt that dedication and discipline and the ability to teach were more important in a ward school teacher than academic excellence. In other words, teachers were inadequately trained, but they were good enough for the ward schools.

Both Anderson and Sugars apparently agreed in reporting that from about 1858 to 1859 the quality of those who applied for admission to the Teacher Training school was lower than before.

---

193. P.O.S.G., 23 May, 1860, Report of Anderson for the quarter ending March, 1860; Enclosure: Report of Sugars.

194. C.O. 295/220, Sugars to Under Secretary of State, 10 July, 1862 (Belfast).

195. C.O. 299/10, Report of Anderson for 1858 dated 1 March, 1859.

Inspector Anderson, however, obviously felt that this was the result of Sugars's neglect of the school, as of the Model school, and of the general lowering of the public esteem for the whole institution at Woodbrook. Sugars later claimed that the real cause of the problem was the abandonment of any standard of attainment as a prerequisite for admission to the Teacher Training school.[196] What Sugars really meant was that the standards of admission were lowered. In 1861 Inspector Anderson admitted that the entrance requirements were only of an elementary character.[197] If anything Anderson and the Board of Education must take most of the blame for allowing such a low standard. But here we encounter another dimension -- which to Anderson was the important dimension, and which Sugars did not acknowledge at all: the question of the lower social class of would-be teachers. Anderson said they were of lower social status;[198] this worried him as much as their lower academic standing. He hoped that the new teacher, Mr. Tronchin would attract a better type of trainee teachers, socially and academically. Tronchin, according to Anderson, worked hard on what was a diminishing number of trainee teachers, but there is no evidence that he attracted a better type of recruit socially or academically. Keenan, the government sponsored investigator of the education system, did not like what he saw at the Teacher Training school in 1869; a handful of poorly

---

196. C.O. 295/220, Sugars to Under Secretary of State, 10 July, 1862 (Belfast)

197. C.O. 299/12, Report of Anderson for 1861 dated 1 March, 1862.

198. ibid.

qualified drop outs from other jobs.[199] He told the governor to close down the school.

Of the Boys Model school and the Teacher Training school on the same premises and under the same teacher, the former was undoubtedly the more important in terms of the attention it got from the Inspector of school, and the Port of Spain public. In the case of the Female Model school it was seldom mentioned that it also had a Female Teacher training school attached to it. Yet the original intention of Lord Harris and the Board of Education was to set up a Female Training school as a counter-part of the Male Training school;[200] and the Female Model school, as the Boys Model school, was supposed to be ancillary parts of the teacher training programme. Yet in both cases the Model schools became more important that the Teacher Training schools, in the case of the Boys Model school because of the pressure for secondary education for boys, and in the case of the Female Model school because there was no pressure for trained female teachers, while there was room for a good elementary school for girls in Port of Spain. Very little was said about the training of female teachers at the Female Model school. The only figures we have are these: 5 trainee teachers were there in 1858[201] and 6 in 1859.[202]

---

199. Shirley Gordon: The Keenan Report 1869. Caribbean Quarterly Vol. VIII No. IV 1962, p. 11.

200. P.O.S.G., 27 April, 1852, Meeting of the Board of Education 22 April, 1852.

201. C.O. 299/10, Report of Anderson for 1858 dated 1 March, 1859.

202. P.O.S.G., 11 April, 1860, Report of Anderson for 1859.

The Female Model school was opened in November 1856 with the arrival in September of the same year of a Mrs. Alcock, the teacher recruited from England. By this time most of the wards had already started a school with a single male teacher; and it was not at all clear considering the limitations of the ward school system where trained female teachers were going to get jobs. There was at this time only one ward school under a female teacher: this was at Maraval where the ward was said to be poor to the extent that it could only afford an untrained female teacher operating an Infant school.[203] The editor of the Port of Spain Gazette in August 1856 seemed to envisage that the role of trained female teachers would be to staff Infant schools for boys and girls, and to teach the girls within the ward schools.[204] Where the money was to come from to pay these additional teachers within the wards was not considered. The education of girls, the future mothers, was considered important by the editor; and the education of boys without a parallel education of girls would not bring about as much social gain as if both sexes were educated.[205] It may well be too that the notion, expressed by a Committee of the Board of Education in 1852, that within the ward schools boys should be educated separately from girls,[206] was still regarded

---

203. C.O. 300/66, Report of Acting Inspector Maxwell Philip for 1855.

204. P.O.S.G., 27 August, 1856, Editorial.

205. ibid.

206. P.O.S.G., 27 April, 1852, Meeting of the Board of Education 22 April, 1852.

in the 1850s as the ideal situation. It may have been, as the editor of the Port of Spain Gazette claimed in 1856, that there were few girls in the ward schools[207] and many more in the denominational schools -- the implication being that this alleged situation had something to do with the absence of female teachers in the ward schools, and their predominance in the denominational schools. This situation did not persist. In 1858 about a ¼ of the 1684 pupils on the roll of the ward schools were girls;[208] in 1867 slightly more than 1/3 of the 1873 pupils on the rolls were girls.[209] If the same proportion of girls may be assumed to be in each ward school, then the number of girls to be taught in each ward school between 1858 - 1867 would not be more than 10-12. Such numbers would hardly justify the employment of a trained female teacher to instruct the girls only. The average age of the pupils in the ward school between 1858 and 1867 was 9 or 10 years, and if we take anyone below 6 years old as an infant, then only the St. Anns ward school in 1864 and 1866 was an Infant ward school.[210] The meaning of these figures was that trained female teachers could not be employed on the ground that most of the pupils in the ward school were infants for whom female teachers were thought to be particularly suited; and as

---

207. POSG, 27 Aug., 1856, Editorial

208. C.O. 299/10, Report of Anderson for 1858 dated 1 March, 1859.

209. C.O. 299/18, Report of Anderson for 1867 dated 5 March, 1868.

210. C.O. 299/15, Report of Anderson for 1864 dated 6 March, 1865. Also C.O. 299/17, Report of Anderson for 1866 dated 20 Mar., 1867. The average age at St. Anns school was 5 years.

already indicated most were not girls. Teaching was mostly a male occupation where infants or girls were not a majority of the pupils to be taught. And the wards having once employed a male teacher had no funds to employ a female teacher also. The formula was usually one trained teacher to one school. In these circumstances even the handful of female teachers being trained by Mrs. Alcock had a bleak future before them. One got a job at the ward school in St. Anns,[211] which was an Infant school; and another did the sensible thing: she started her own private school in San Fernando.[212]

If we are to believe Inspector Anderson, Mrs. Alcock was the best elementary school teacher in the whole island; and the Female Model school was the largest and best attended school. The figures of attendance are as follows:

TABLE IV

Year	No. on Rolls	Average daily attendance
1858	140	111
1860	207	148
1861	272	173
1862	274	200
1863	260	199
1866	320	235
1867	302	221

No other school of any sort, in or out of Port of Spain had a daily attendance figure anything as good as this. In 1862

211. C.O. 299/11, Report of Anderson for 1860 dated 1 Mar., 1861.

212. ibid.

Anderson felt that either new admissions into the school would have to cease, or be more related to departures; of the school get more teaching space. Which of these happened is not clear, but average daily attendance went up after 1862.

The average age of the girls at the school was 9 years in 1859,[213] and 8 years in 1862.[214] There was no attempt at all to develop a secondary school type of curriculum. When Anderson praised the teaching and its results it was in the ordinary elementary subjects: the three Rs, geography, grammar. The school also did sewing, the proceeds of which remained with the girls;[215] and they also sung. Mrs. Alcock arranged her classes in a reverse order from those of the Boys Model school and the Port of Spain Borough Council boys school. There were 5 classes in 1858, but the Fifth class was the lowest[216] which read the First Book, and included those who were learning the Alphabet. The Fourth class read the Sequel to the Second Book; the Third class read the Third Book; the Second class read the Fourth and Fifth books, and the First class of 36 chidlren read the Sixth Book. The classification of the students was here, as elsewhere, based on the reading book; and it is to be noted that 36 out of 145 pupils were reading the Sixth Book. This was the only elementary school which went beyond the Fifth Book, but this

---

213. P.O.S.G., 11 April, 1860, Report of Anderson for 1859.

214. C.O. 299/13, Report of Anderson for 1862 dated 2 March, 1863.

215. C.O. 299/10, Report of Anderson for 1858 dated 1 March, 1859.

216. ibid.

distinction was not maintained as in subsequent years the highest book was the Fifth Book. What the school could always claim was that it had a large proportion of its pupils reading the Fourth and Fifth Books. And the school was always praised for solid work in all the subjects taught. And for discipline too; an achievement which Anderson respected since on his account many of the girls when they first entered the school were "rude, uncouth, ill mannered and ignorant".[217] Perhaps these were mostly the girls with lower class parents; or perhaps those whom Anderson defined as the middle class also had children who behaved in this way. But Anderson felt the school was educating the "middle and lower classes of society";[218] and he doubted if there was a better school for such classes.[219]

As can be seen from Table V. the revenues of the Ward Unions expanded over the period 1850 to 1869. In the early 1860s the increases were not as sizeable as in the late 1850s. There are no figures for the amounts on education by the Ward Unions in the 1850s, but in the early 1860s (Table VI) about half the number of Ward Unions were spending a reasonable percentage of their revenues on education. But when their revenues went up in the late 1860s the wards either reduced expenditure on education or increased it only marginally. The figures suggest that the wards had too many expenses to meet other than education.

---

217. ibid.

218. C.O. 299/11, Report of Anderson for 1860 dated 1 March, 1861

219. C.O. 299/10, Report of Anderson for 1858 dated 1 March, 1859.

TABLE V

REVENUES OF WARD UNIONS 1850-1869

Ward Unions	Revenues 1850-1854	Revenues 1855-1859	% increase over last 5 years	Revenues 1860-1864	% increase over last 5 years	Revenues 1865-1869	% increase over last 5 years
Arima	Ł 4734	Ł 7822	65.2	Ł 7911	1.1	Ł 9223	16.6
Cedros	6093	10938	79.5	10050	8.1*	10815	7.6
Caroni	5658	6825	20.6	7418	8.7	8834	19.1
Couva	15530	18864	21.5	20162	6.9	20582	2.1
Diego Martin	9091	9555	5.1	11631	21.7	11953	3.0
Mayaro	2626	2738	4.3	3038	10.9	4356	43.4
N.Naparima	14153	19948	40.9	20882	4.7	22883	9.6
S. Naparima	20658	20073	2.8	21644	7.8	24851	14.8
St. Anns	12656	14885	12.6	16916	14.9	18867	11.5
Tacarigua	13339	19254	44.3	19704	0.2	20395	3.5
Toco	456	1950	327.6	2010	3.1	3020	50.2

Compiled from C.O. 300/61-80.

* A Decrease.

TABLE VI

Revenues and Expenditure on Education of Ward Unions 1860 - 1869

	(1860 - 1864)			(1865 - 1869)		
Ward Unions	Revenues	Expenditure on Education	Ed. Expenditure as % of Revenues	Revenues	Expenditure on Education	Ed. Expenditure as % of Revenues
Arima	£ 7911	£ 573	7.2	£ 9223	£ 551	6.0
Cedros	10050	1470	14.6	10815	1350	12.5
Caroni	7418	673	9.1	8834	698	7.9
Couva	20162	1730	8.6	20582	1696	8.2
Diego Martin	11631	1760	15.1	11953	1500	12.5
Mayaro	3038	436	14.4	4356	664	15.2
N. Naparima	20882	2621	12.6	22883	2991	13.1
S. Naparima	21644	1778	8.2	24851	1769	7.1
St. Anns	16916	1779	10.5	18867	1815	9.6
Tacarigua	19704	2761	14.0	20395	2861	14.0
Toco	2010	nil	-	3020	133	4.4

Compiled from C.O. 299/11 - 20

300/71 - 80

In fact, most of the funds of the wards were spent on road repairs.[220] Between 1851 and 1867 only 8 new ward schools were started. The ward schools stagnated within an expanding system of revenues. More revenues had to be collected, and a higher priority given to expenditure on education.

Most of the ward schools were in rented premises highly unsuitable for school purposes. In 1860, 20 of the 30 schools were in rented premises.[221] Of these 20, Inspector Anderson had this to say:

"Some of them are of a rude description such as those at Erin, Caura, and Arima, which have mud floors and are covered with palm leaves. Three of the school houses are upstairs buildings, and the masters reside in the upper part of the building. With respect to 15 of the remainder, a part of the school building under the same roof is set apart as a residence for the Master, the accommodation being scanty and incommodious.

In one of the richest districts of the Island at St. Magdelaine, North Naparima, may be seen during a school day, seated on the ground under a building too low to admit of their standing up, some 15 children attending the Ward school who are thus excluded from the school room in consequence of its being too small to admit them. This school house like most of the others is selected not with reference to its situation or

---

220. See the Blue Books C.O. 300/61-80. For the amount of money spent on roads in a single year See D. Hart: Trinidad and Other West Indian islands and colonies (Trinidad, 1866) pp.29-45., Abstract of Ward Accounts from 1 Oct. 1865-30 Sept., 1865.

221. C.O. 299/11, Report of Anderson for 1860 dated 1 March, 1861.

convenience, but because it is the only one that can be got for the purpose. The school rooms are in general too small to allow for the erection of a gallery for simultaneous teaching with which every primary school ought to be provided." [222]

With a shortage of funds, with incommodious rented premises in most cases, and an average pay for teachers which rose only slightly over the years from £78 in 1858 to £82 in 1863 and £81 in 1867, the ward schools were clearly in a state of stagnation. How were they to escape this financial situation? In 1854 the Executive had given the wardens a good incentive to collect the ward rate efficiently: they were given a commission on the rate collected.[223] Since the ward scheme was being worked predominantly by the Executive in Port of Spain, real relief had to come from that quarter. In December 1857 Charles Warner, the Attorney General, said in the Council of Government that Governor Keate felt it better for the wards to build schoolhouses rather than rent them.[224] Warner gave notice of an Ordinance which would enable the wards to build schoolhouses, presumably by a loan from the Executive, to be repaid from the ward rates.[225] This would not have been such an unusual expedient as some wards had borrowed money from the Executive for other purposes, and repaid it from the ward rates. But Warner did not keep his promise: no such legislation was introduced. The Executive

---

222. ibid.

223. C.O. 295/186, Elliot to Grey, 22 Dec., 1854 no. 98

224. P.O.S.G., 23 Dec., 1857, Council of Government 15 Feb., 1857.

225. ibid.

itself had set a bad example to the wards, or had followed the bad example of the wards, by renting premises for both the Boys Model school and the Female Model school and their related Teacher Training schools. In his 1858 report Inspector Anderson, probably knowing what Warner and Keate were thinking in 1857, also suggested that the Executive should lend money to the ward to build proper schoolhouses. The rent which these wards presently paid for school premises could be used as part of the repayment.[226] In 1860 he felt the same way about the need for proper schoolhouses even on grounds of economy alone, though he did not say now that the Executive should lend the money.[227] After 1860 Inspector Anderson made no further calls for buildings.

Shortly after his arrival Keate visited several parts of the island. One result was that he saw the need for the wards to do more to educate the children within the wards. Not wishing to do anything drastic to undermine the principle of local financing of education, he offered the small sum of £250 to assist with the pay of teachers in outlying districts where the ward funds were insufficient to provide a school.[228] At this stage the wards of Toco and Blanchisseuse had no schools. It is not clear, however, whether this money was to be a gift or a loan, and apparently no ward took up the offer. In 1859 Keate reduced

---

226. C.O. 299/10, Report of Anderson for 1858 dated 1 March, 1859.

227. C.O. 299/11, Report of Anderson for 1860 dated 1 March, 1861.

228. P.O.S.G., 3 Aug., 1859, Council of Government 1 Aug., 1859, Message of Keate.

this sum on the budget for 1860 from £250 to £150,[229] but in the budget debate this latter sum was struck off when Charles Warner pointed out that previous sums allocated for this purpose had not been spent.[230] Either the wards which had not started schools were too poor to take up the offer, which would have entailed the renting of premises; or uninviting conditions unknown to us were attached to the offer. There is, of course, the possibility that some wardens did not know that such a vote existed.

It may be that Warner's real reason for suggesting that the vote be struck out was not that it was not used between 1857-1859, but that it might open the gates to an erosion of the principle of financing the ward schools solely from the ward funds. Nothing else was suggested to get the ward schools out of their stagnated position. The attitude of Governor Keate and Inspector Anderson in the early 1860s was that expansion would simply have to await the collection of more ward revenues which in turn was seen to depend on the growth of population and taxable property. Inspector Anderson reported in 1861 that

"... there seems now but one locality remaining which admits of the establishment of a new school. I mean the Eastern portion of South Naparima. With this one exception, the extension of Ward Schools has been carried as far as the present system of local rates for local purposes will admit of".[231]

---

229. ibid.

230. P.O.S.G., 13 Aug., 1859, Council of Government 11 Aug., 1859.

231. C.O. 299/12, Report of Anderson for 1861 dated 1 March, 1862.

Keate agreed with him when he saw this opinion. There was, he told the British government, no room for an expansion of the ward schools

"until the scattered portion of the population become more united, and rateable property is proportionately increased."[232]

The curriculum of the ward schools in the 1850s and 1860s was basically the three Rs: reading, writing and arithmetic, plus some geography. Some schools also did grammar and a handful indulged in singing. No trades, sewing, handicrafts or agricultural skills were taught in these schools. The existing popular culture of the Negro people was completely excluded No denominational religious instruction was given, but the reading books in use were highly religious. As in the Port of Spain and San Fernando schools, the organisation of the ward schools into classes was based on the reading books. Then, as now, the usual way of ascertaining quickly the educational standard of a child was to find out what book he was reading.

Table VII on the following page gives some indication of the level of attendance and of achievement as judged formally from the number of children reading the various Books. The dominant characteristic of the Table is the overall lack of serious movement over the 12 years, in the number of schools, the attendance figures, and the percentage of pupils reading the various Books. It was a fairly stagnant system of education.

---

232. C.O. 295/218, Keate to Newcastle, 4 June, 1862, no. 112.

TABLE V11

THE WARD SCHOOLS 1858-1870

Year	No. of schools	No. on Rolls	Average daily attendance	% of no. on rolls	No. in the Alphabet	% of no. on rolls	No. in 1st Book	% of no. on Rolls	No. in 2nd Book & Sequels	% of no. on rolls	No. in 3rd Book	% of no. on rolls	No. in 4th & 5th Book	% of no. on rolls	TOTALS
1858	26	1684	985	(58.5)	204		642**				193		112		"
1859	27	1664*	827	(49.7)	329		469		502		142		141		"
1860	30	1819	972	(53.4)	344		620		533		155		180		"
1861	31	2072	939	(45.3)	432		707		434		209		200		"
1862	30	2113	1054	(49.9)	451	(21.3)	662	(31.3)	564	(26.7)	244	(11.6)	192	(9.1)	2113 (100%
1863	30	2064	1069	(51.8)	416	(20.2)	669	(32.4)	562	(27.2)	215	(10.4)	202	(9.8)	2064 (100%
1864	30	1823	958	(52.6)	341	(~~29.3~~ 18.7)	535	(29.3)	558	(30.6)	196	(10.8)	193	(10.6)	1823 (100%
1866	32	1877	1007	(53.6)	335		602		529		199		191		"
1867	31	1873	1007	(53.8)	347	(18.5)	583	(31.1)	516	(27.6)	218	(11.6)	209	(11.2)	1873 (.00%
1868	30	2241+	1076	(48.0)											
1869	31	3139++	1186	(37.8)											
1870	31	3750++	1336	(35.6)											

* Figure for the last quarter of the year

** And also Sequel to 2nd Book

" The totals in these years are not stated since they do not agree with the numbers stated to be on the rolls. For this same reason the percentage of pupils reading in each book has not been calculated

\+ The highest number on rolls

++ The total number who attended in 1869 and 1870

And this is reflected in Anderson's reports. Each year he struggled to find something new to say, and usually he wrote in detail only about the state of the schools in San Fernando and Port of Spain. Anderson was not perturbed by this stagnation: his position was that no rapid advance in education could be expected.[233] From 1868 to 1870 the numbers on the roll, though not the average daily attendance, show an increase, but part of this is due to the different way in which the new Inspector Robert Guppy stated the numbers on the rolls. He took the highest number enrolled at any one time, and since the willingness to go to school was no better in 1868-1870 than in the previous years, there appears a drastic fall in the percentage of pupils who daily attended the schools in this same period. Apart from this, the average daily attendance was mostly just above 50% with the fall to 45.3% in 1861 due partly to the amount of "sickness",[234] the euphemism for epidemics, which the island experienced that year.

It is also clear from Table VII that in 1862, 1863, 1864 and 1867 over 50% of the children in the ward schools were reading in the First and Second Books. If we consider the numbers in the Alphabet class for the same years, we observe that about 75% of the pupils in the schools never got beyond the Second Book.

233.C.O. 299/13, Report of Anderson for 1862, dated 2 March, 1863.

234. C.O. 295/218, Keate to Newcastle, 4 June, 1862, no. 112.

As Anderson put it in 1860

"The tendency among some of the pupils of these schools, is to leave for work as soon as they can read the 3rd Book or the 2nd Sequel. They can then express their ideas on paper intelligibly though not correctly, and can work sums in the simple rules".[235]

Table VII shows a greater tendency to leave in the Second Book and its Sequels than to wait until the Third Book was reached. Such a small percentage read the Fourth and Fifth Books that the average number of students in each school in 1862, 1863, 1864 and 1867 who read the Fourth and Fifth Books was 6 pupils. In 1862 there were 6 schools, and in 1863, 1864 and 1867, 3 schools which did not have anybody reading in the Fourth and Fifth Books.

The reading Books are crucial to the attempt to understand the formal standard of the classes. These books, also the slates and maps were the same types used in the National schools in Ireland. The reading Books from Ireland were the most popular and most widely used set of books in England and Ireland. A stock of them was kept at the Boys Model school, and distributed to the ward schools for sale to the pupils.[236] In Ireland the price of the Books was deliberately kept very low; and if as Inspector Anderson said, the price in the island was only increased by 25% to cover the cost of freight[237] then the books would not have been expensive. Akenson has described the Irish reading books as forming

---

235. C.O. 299/11, Report of Anderson for 1860 dated 1 March, 1861.
236. Akenson, op.cit., p. 230
237. C.O. 299/10, Report of Anderson for 1858 dated 1 March, 1859.

"a logical, integrated sequence of instruction, taking the child from elementary literacy to fairly sophisticated lessons in geography, science and literature."[238]

The First Book took the beginner from the Alphabet to short sentences of words with one syllable. The Second Book continued reading and spelling practice, taking the pupil to words of two syllables, and at the same time introducing lessons on a variety of subjects. This Book had basic geographical information, an introduction to English grammar and natural history, as well as "a good deal of bible history, and general moralising".[239] The Third and Fourth Books, using the same principle as the first two, carried the instruction in each subject to higher levels. It was because the transition from the Second Book to the Third Book was too difficult that two Sequels to the Second Book were composed. The main purpose in these Sequels was to build up the pupils' store of factual knowledge. Akenson concludes that after mastering the Fifth Book the pupil was able to read most books in the English language.[240]

What proficiency was achieved in the reading of these Books? The teaching of reading was said to be a particularly difficult job as children attended irregularly and often spoke

"nothing but the patois or Creole French, a language to which the lower orders take readily, as easily accommodating itself to the expression of their thoughts".[241]

---

238. Akenson, op.cit., p. 232

239. ibid.

240. ibid., p. 233.

241. C.O. 299/10, Report of Anderson for 1858 dated 1 March, 1859.

In 1858 Inspector Anderson estimated the children's proficiency thus

"those in the 4th and 5th Books read and spell with ease and fluency. Those in the 3rd Book can read and spell very fairly even difficult words. Those in the sequel to the second Book can read and spell words of two syllables with accuracy, while those in the second Book can read and spell words of one and two syllables."[242]

In the following year Anderson made more or less the same judgement of proficiency, adding that those in the Alphabet were newcomers to school, while those in the First Book "have advanced beyond the Alphabet and are reading and spelling easy words of one syllable.[243] There is no way of checking if Inspector Anderson's assessment of the proficiency of the pupils is correct. On his own account the prevalence of the French patois, the short stay in school, and irregularity of attendance would have militated heavily against the pupils being proficient in reading, and therefore in understanding. Although the schools were small the formula of one teacher to a school with a number of classes meant that some classes had to get on with their own work, while the teacher taught other class or classes. Sometimes inexperienced monitors, who were really the most advanced of the pupils, taught the pupils in the Alphabet and First Book, while the teacher took the higher classes.[244] In his 1858 and 1859 reports, which were the only occasions when Anderson stopped to examine in detail the work which was

---

242. ibid.

243. P.O.S.G., 11 April, 1860, Report of Anderson for 1859.

244. C.O. 299/10, Report of Anderson for 1858 dated 1 March, 1859.

done by each class, he sometimes gives the impression that he was relating the work which was required by each Book rather than the degree to which the pupils had mastered the work. But even if the pupils were competent in the work of each Book, the fact that some 75% of the pupils in 1862, 1863, 1864 and 1867 had not gone beyond the Second Book and its Sequels meant that most pupils left school without being able to read properly. And in the Negro community which did not practise frequently, the art of reading and writing, hundreds of the better school leavers in the Second Book and Sequels probably lapsed into illiteracy.

There are three important aspects of the contents of these reading Books. Firstly, they sought to do more than teach reading and spelling. They sought to give a certain store of factual information about geography, the zoology of birds and animals and about history. Akenson has shown that this factual knowledge was not related to the environment of Ireland.[245] It is useless therefore to expect any thing substantial in them relevant to the environment in Trinidad,[246] though in the Fifth Book there were a few pages about the emancipation of the Negro slaves by the British government.[247] In reading the Books the pupils were expected to stock up on information in subjects which were dealt with more fully in other books.

---

245. Akenson, op.cit., p. 238

246. S. Gordon: The Keenan Report 1869. Caribbean Quarterly Vol.VIII No. IV 1962. p. 7. Anderson once complained about the non-relevance of the books to Trinidad. See P.O.S.G. 23 May, 1860, Report of Anderson for quarter ending 31 March, 1860.

247. Akenson, op.cit., p. 238.

The second noteworthy feature of these Books is that they were not Godless or secular books. As Akenson puts it "they were crammed full of moralizing and religiosity, and differed from denominational texts only in their religious content being neutral as between Christian denominations".[248]

As soon as the pupils had learnt words of one syllable from the First Book, the other Books progressively combined reading with bible history, Old Testament stories and the New Testament message of sin, repentance and salvation.[249] Nowhere in the British Isles could one find elementary school books for reading which were devoid of religion. In the hands of a biased denominational teacher the Irish Books could be taught in a way at least not to do any damage to the denomination to which the particular teacher belonged. The highly religious content of these books in the hand of teachers with strong denominational convictions was one factor which made for the erosion of the National system in Ireland from a non-denominational system to a denominational one.[250] The use of these books in the schools of Trinidad shows that Harris had not quite succeeded in separating religious instruction from literary teaching, and that the proper way to describe the ward school is by the term non-denominational not secular.

Linked with the religious content of the reading Books was the emphasis on acceptable social behaviour. Pupils were

---

248. ibid., p. 235.

249. ibid., p. 236.

250. ibid., Chap. VI.

encouraged to be humble, honest, respectful to parents; to be clean and tidy.[251] Inspector Anderson placed a great deal of importance on this aspect of the schools' work. A major function of the ward schools in his eyes was to lighten the moral darkness of the Negro sub-culture; to bring the torch of civilisation into the lives of Negro children. Although religious creeds had been taken out of the schools, the moral function of the school was still given a prominent place. The code of behaviour which Anderson put before the children of the lower classes in the ward schools was one which stressed the social obligations of the labourers: their duty to work hard, respect their social betters and to be contented with their lot in life.[252] The corollary of this was that Anderson valued in his teachers "steadiness and perserverance",[253] more than academic qualifications. No teacher was faulted for the poverty of his education; but only for inattention to his duties.

While geography was a popular subject in the schools with the children reportedly doing well in it, arithmetic was said to baffle them. Here Anderson found no fault in his teachers, but in the pupils. Those whose parents were uneducated came to school with their minds "totally blank"[254] in respect to figures; and since arithmetic was of a more abstract character than geography, they did not understand it easily, he said. The children of educated persons came to school already knowing

---

251. Akenson, op.cit., pp. 237-238.

252. C.O. 299/12, Report of Anderson for 1861 dated 1 March, 1862.

253. P.O.S.G., 11 April, 1860, Report of Anderson for 1859.

254. C.O. 299/10, Report of Anderson for 1858 dated 1 March, 1859.

something of arithmetic. These children did better at it Anderson reported. In 1859 Anderson said the most advanced pupils could "work sums in the four rules, simple and compound. Some of them sums in Proportion, Practice and Reduction".[255] Geography, said Anderson, had the merit of not needing any foundation in other subjects. The lessons were "pictured out to them on the maps".[256] It thus became an exercise of the memory, aided by pictures; and the children learnt it readily. Usually favourable reports of progress in geography were made. In 1858 the more advanced pupils were said to be quick in answering questions in "Astronomical Geography".[257] And the following year this group of students was described as having an extensive knowledge of the "Geography of the four quarters of the Globe".[258]

Inspector Anderson surprisingly discouraged the teaching of grammar beyond simple recognition of parts of speech and their inter-relationship in a sentence. He did not want the teachers to go into the business of moods and tenses; into what he called the technicalities of grammar.[259] Apparently, he felt that the pupils did not really understand these but merely repeated them from memory.[260] Yet if the schools were going to combat the French patois of the pupils a higher priority should have been afforded to grammar. Anderson felt that the time would be better spent in teaching reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic. In 1859 he reported that the more advanced pupils

---

255. P.O.S.G., 11 April, 1860, Report of Anderson for 1859.
256. C.O. 299/10, Report of Anderson for 1858 dated 1 March 1859.
257. ibid.
258. P.O.S.G., 11 April, 1860, Report of Anderson for 1859.
259. C.O. 299/10, Report of Anderson for 1858 dated 1 March, 1859.
260. ibid.

could "pharse sentences very creditably".[261] After 1860 Anderson did not comment in detail on the work of the schools in grammar or any other subject. Apparently he had nothing new to say about the work of the ward schools. In a general way he expressed in 1864 his belief

"that the great majority of the ward schools may be favourably compared with the primary schools of any country...."[262]

And in 1867 he asserted that

"The great majority of these ward schools are working well, and it is but an act of common fairness to bear testimony to the zeal, perseverance and success with which the masters generally carry out their useful labours".[263]

The teaching of the ward schools in the colony was the occupation almost exclusively of men. These teachers were both young men and more mature men who had spent a few months at the Teacher Training school. Inspector Anderson was not always happy with either the class of men who presented themselves for training, nor with the level of education they possessed at the time of entry into the school.[264] Of what class they were Anderson did not say specifically; but his comments suggest that they were probably the sons of agricultural labourers, or petty tradesmen. These would-be teachers had most likely scraped together some knowledge of elementary school subjects at one of the Port of Spain denominational schools in the 1830s and 1840s.

---

261. P.O.S.G., 11 April, 1860, Report of Anderson for 1859.
262. C.O. 299/15, Report of Anderson for 1864 dated 6 March, 1865.
263. C.O. 299/18, Report of Anderson for 1867 dated 5 March, 1868.
264. C.O. 299/12, Report of Anderson for 1861 dated 1 March, 1862.

Some had got jobs as teachers with the denominational schools before the Teacher Training school started in 1853. Others had worked at other jobs in Port of Spain, and then sought to raise their status by qualifying as teachers. Inspector Anderson rather triumphantly remarked that none of the graduates of the Teacher Training school had abused the government subsidy for their training by not going out to take charge of a school.[265] If he took this to signify the success of the Training school in inculcating a sense of devotion to teaching, he was probably mistaken, if not in every case then in most instances. The society did not offer to these black and coloured men of such educational standards many alternative respectable employment netting £60- £100 p.a. with rent free accommodation. Teaching was a lowly job in the 1850s and 1860s if we were to make a compilation of occupations, their incomes and their status value; but this job was emerging in the post-emancipation period as one of the surest avenues for some social mobility for black men. And with the coming of a government system of schools, though financed by the wards, the job of a teahcer was socially upgraded becuase teachers of ward schools might fancy that they were civil servants of a sort, employed by the government with regular salaries, a printed code of regulations and a head of department. Their salaries and jobs were not ordained by the British government like the job of the Colonial Secretary or the Collector of Customs;

---

265. C.O. 299/11, Report of Anderson for 1860 dated 1 March, 1861.

but in a way they were salaried agents of the government albeit the money to pay them came from the wards. The mystification of the government teachers whether they were civil servants or not had begun.

There is one teacher about whose career we know enough to illustrate more particularly the status of the ward school teacher and the working of the social system. His name was John Jacob Thomas and the first mention we have of him is as a winner of a prize for writing. This was in 1855 at one of Lord Harris' examinations held in Port of Spain. Thomas shared the 1st prize with a youth named John Watts, as the judges could not quite decide who had written better.[266] He was a pure Negro born about 1840 of parents who probably had been slaves.[267] Thomas went to the Training School about 1858, and stayed there for all of 1859. He was at the school precisely at the time when Mr. Sugars was, according to Inspector Anderson, losing his touch as a teacher and his interest in the pupils. This, however, did not affect the progress of young Thomas. In early 1859 when a vacancy occured among the trainee teachers who got salaries from the government, Anderson examined the unsalaried trainees and filled the vacancy with Thomas[268] who up to that point was paying his way at the school. In the same year Mr. Sugars got at his request, some assistance with the teaching: Thomas one of the

---

266. P.O.S.G., 30 June, 1855, Editorial

267. D. Wood: Biographical Note p. 9 in J.J. Thomas: Froudacity: West Indian Fables Explained. (New Beacon Books Limited, London 1969 ed.)

268. P.O.S.G., 23 Nov., 1859, Report for quarter ending March, 1859.

trainees was appointed Assistant teacher. Inspector Anderson whose eye Thomas had caught, had this to say of him at the end of 1859.

"One of these is a young man acting as assistant master at Woodbrook, who has been entirely educated under our present system of instruction. With the exception of classical learning, his attainments are of a high order in all that appertains to the business of a school master; while his conduct has been in general most exemplary and commendable. And looking at his case we may reasonably hope that the young who are now receiving or have received instruction or training at our schools, grow up, there shall not be wanting young men of similiar qualifications to fulfil the duties of school master here and elsewhere."[269]

Thomas left the Training school in 1860 and was posted to the ward school at Savonetta in central Trinidad. Inspector Anderson who was anxious to discredit Mr. Sugars at this time represented Thomas as wanting to have charge of his own school[270] rather than act as the assistant to Sugars. It might, however, have been simply a question of Thomas wanting a higher salary. At Savonetta the ward paid Thomas £80 p.a.,[271] though the teacher who was there in 1858, Mr. Fraser had got £70. It is not clear whether this had anything to do with a recognition of merit in Thomas. The warden and the ward auditors were generally not

---

269. P.O.S.G., 4 April, 1860, REport of Anderson for the quarter ending December, 1859.

270. P.O.S.G., 23 May, 1860, Report of Inspector Anderson for quarter ending March, 1860.

271. C.O. 299/11, Report of Anderson for 1860 dated 1 March, 1861.

disposed to paying teachers according to merit. The pay of the teacher usually depended on the state of the ward funds, and what the Warden and ward auditors were minded to put into education. In 1861 Thomas' salary[272] was £90; in 1862 it was £80;[273] and in 1863 it was again £90.[274] Thomas stayed at Savonetta school until about 1864.

From 1865 Thomas was transferred to Couva ward school which carried a salary of £100 p.a. This was a promotion brought about in the usual manner employed by Inspector Anderson: by moving the teacher to a ward which carried a higher salary. But why did Thomas move, or why was he transferred to Cedros in 1866 where the salary was the same as at Couva? Mr. A. Innis who had been the teacher at Cedros for £90 p.a. went to Tacarigua ward school at £100 p.a. It might have been that Thomas' interest in languages drew him to Cedros predominantely an area of Spanish speakers. Or it might be that Inspector Anderson sent him there because he was not satisfied with the attendance under the previous teacher.[275]

How good a teacher was J.J. Thomas? The following is a Table of Savonetta school while he was there as teacher.

---

272. C.O. 299/12, Report of Anderson for 1861 dated 1 March, 1862.

273. C.O. 299/13, Report of Anderson for 1862 dated 2 March, 1863.

274. C.O. 299/14, Report of Anderson for 1863 dated 7 March, 1864.

275. P.O.S.G., 4 Sept. 1861 Report of Anderson for the quarter ending June, 1861.

TABLE VIII

Savonetta Ward School 1860-1864

r	Aver-age Age	No. on rolls	Average daily attend. % on rolls	Alpha-bet	1st Book % on rolls	2nd Book % on rolls	3rd Book % on rolls	4th,5th Book % on rolls
)	9	60	32(53.3)	nil	15(25.0)	31(51.7)	nil	14 (23.3)
.	12	57	30(52.6)	nil	5(8.8)	26(45.6)	11(19.3)	15 (26.3)
2	11	53	30(56.6)	nil	9(16.9)	24(45.3)	10(18.8)	10 (18.9)
3	10	53	26(49.0)	nil	7(13.2)	26(49.1)	11(20.8)	9 (16.9)
4	11.5	49	23(43.9)	nil	7(14.3)	27(55.1)	10(20.4)	5 (10.2)

From the absence of any pupils as low as the Alphabet between 1860 - 1864, and a higher proportion of readers in the Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Books in 1860 - 1863 than the average for all the schools at this time, the school statistics suggest that he was having exceptional success as a teacher. And Inspector Anderson at the end of 1860 thought that Thomas was already a success at Savonetta. He wrote of a Mr. Skerret and J.J. Thomas:

"from the knowledge and order and the success that has already attended their teaching at Chaguanas and Sevonetta where they are stationed, favourable results may be anticipated in the hope of educating young men ourselves to fill the places of school masters throughout the wards".[276]

276. C.O. 299/11, Report of Anderson for 1860 dated 1 March, 1861.

In his leisure time Thomas was engaged in studying the forms of speech - Creole French - of the people around him. Even Anderson who had no desire to foster French patois had seen from 1858 that "it is undoubtedly susceptible of definite grammatical arrangement".[277] Thomas set himself the task of explaining the grammar of this language.

But before his book -- The Theory and Practice of Creole Grammar, the only one of its kind on Trinidadian Creole to appear in the 19th century -- came off the local press of Otto Wenkstern in early 1869,[278] Thomas left the teaching service. In late 1867 he became the 3rd Locker in the Receiver General Department in Port of Spain.[279] It was a minor clerical appointment in the civil service. The duties were defined as receiving goods into the Bonding Warehouses and allowing them to be taken out, while keeping an account of them.[280] The salary was only £82.10 shillings p.a. which was less than what Thomas was getting at Cedros ward school. The cost of living in Port of Spain was higher than that in Cedros. The way this appointment had come about was this: Governor Gordon had introduced the British practice of competitive examinations as a qualification for entry to junior grades of the civil service. The first examination was held in May 1867 and of the 14 candidates who sat 9 were successful.[281] J.J. Thomas topped the list of those who had

---

277. C.O. 299/10, Report of Anderson for 1858 dated 1 March, 1859.

278. D. Wood, Biographical Note op.cit. p. 13.

279. C.O. 295/240, Gordon to Buckingham, 7 Sept., 1867, no. 3.

280. ibid.

281. Chronicle, 3 Sept., 1867.

passed.[282] There was no obligation on the part of the governor to find jobs for the successful candidates, but when Mr. O'Brien resigned, Gordon appointed Thomas to the Customs department. While it might have occured to Thomas that proximity to the Public Library in Port of Spain, and to such men of intellectual interest as the town provided, had its merits, there is still the impression that for a teacher real promotion was promotion out of the teaching service and into the ranks of those employed by the Executive. Other teachers were thinking the same way: two other teachers were among the 9 successful candidates. The prospects of advancement was greater as a junior civil servant at £82.10 p.a. than as one of the best paid ward school teachers getting £100 p.a. Thomas might also have known of the moves afoot by civil servants to get increased salaries -- a move towards which Governor Gordon was sympathetic.[283] In August 1868 Thomas was among a group of junior civil servants who petitioned the government for an increase of salary.[284]

Real promotion for Thomas then was out of the teaching service and into the lower ranks of the civil service. He was not the first of the ward school teachers to do this: another teacher Mr. Best had taken a similar route in 1861, his prize being an assistant Clerkship of the Peace in the County of Victoria.

282, Wood, Biographical Note p. 12.

283. C.O. 295/246, Gordon to Buckingham, Sept., 1868.

284. C.O. 295/248, Kortright to Buckingham, 7 Aug., 1868, no. 136. (N.B. This dispatch has been bound in the wrong volume).

When Inspector Anderson learnt that Best had resigned to take up this job, instead of bemoaning the loss of one of his teachers, he hailed it as a development which might rescue the teachers from frustration. As Anderson put it Best's new job was,

"An appointment admitting of this interpretation that it might show the Masters, that their lot is not intended to be fixed unalterably to the destiny of a school, but they might indulge reasonable aspirations that the Government may be inclined to consider their claims of service in apportioning appointments among competitors".[285]

The publication of Thomas' book in early 1869 enhanced his stature as a man of learning. Governor Gordon gave him his favour: he was promoted to the office of Clerk of the Peace in Cedros in December 1869;[286] introduced by Gordon to the famous English novelist Charles Kingsley when he visited the island at Christmas 1869. Thomas was moved from Cedros to Caroni in March 1870, still as Clerk of the Peace, but in a position which was probably more pleasing since Caroni was nearer to his friends and the Public Library in Port of Spain. In July 1870 Thomas was made Secretary to the Board of Education, a post which only carried a salary of £50 p.a., but since he was also appointed Secretary to the Council of Queen Royal College[287] his salary was altogether £200 p.a. These posts remained his substantive

---

285. C.O. 299/12, Report of Anderson for 1861 dated 1 March, 1862.

286. Wood, op.cit., p. 229

287. Wood, Biographical Note, p. 14.

posts until his premature retirement in 1879 from the civil service because of illness.

There were more triumphs in store for Thomas, also more illness and an early death in London in 1889. This is not the place to expand on his literary career after 1870, and his further advance in the civil service up to the position of an acting magistrate in Cedros.[288] He was the most outstanding man of letters which the island produced in the second half of the 19th century. He was a man with an original turn of mind; he had been educated, as Anderson put it, "under our present system of instruction".[289] Whether this meant that Thomas had first attended the Boys Model school and then shifted to the Training school on the same premises, or whether it simply meant that he had attended a ward school, the fact was that he was a local product. While it is true that Gordon recognised his talent and promoted his career much more than a less liberal governor would have done; while it is true that the blacks and coloureds were proud to observe his advancement in the civil service and his recognition abroad as a man of letters,[290] there is no reason to believe that Thomas received fair treatment at the hands of the government and the society. There were many white men of far inferior education and intelligence who held civil service jobs of greater status

---

288. ibid.

289. C.O. 299/11, Report of Anderson for 1860 dated 1 March, 1861.

290. Wood, Trinidad in Transition op.cit., p. 229

and emoluments than Thomas. True he was only 29 years old in 1869; that he was born too early to take advantage of the College established in 1859. But he had taught himself more than the College would have taught him; and he had seen the wisdom of taking and passing the competitive examination for entry into the civil service, and the local examination for entry into the ranks of the solicitors. In a society where appointments and promotions were made on merit, irrespective of race and colour, Thomas's career in the civil service would have been more startling. There is a suggestion that towards the end of 1870 some of the ward school teachers expressed a preference to have Thomas as Inspector of Schools than Robert Guppy,[291] the new appointee who had angered them by scathing criticism of them.

In its social meaning the system of education established in the 1850s and 1860s lasted for the rest of the 19th century. The pattern of schools established corresponded fairly with the three tiered colour class stratification of the society. The ward schools in the countryside were intended for the labouring class who were to remain labourers. Most of them were black; some would be coloureds. The schools in San Fernando and Port of Spain were expected to be above the standards of the ward schools, because they would provide for the children of the middle class most of them coloureds, some of them black and a few whites. Because apartheid did not exist, and because of the pressure for schooling in Port of Spain and San Fernando from blacks, coloureds and whites, the town schools became areas of social class tension.

---

291. P.O.S.G., 3 Dec., 1870, Letter from "A Friend to Education".

In a school like the Boys Model school, between 1853-1859 whites, coloureds and blacks would be found together. In the Port of Spain Borough Council school there were the boys who wore shoes and those who did not.[292] With the advent of the College in 1859 the range of schools supported by public funds was brought in line with the social assumptions of a class and colour conscious community. The College would maintain the distinctions which seemed threatened at the Boys Model school. The College would prevent the "toe of the peasant coming too near to the heel of the courtier as to gall his kibe".[293] It would give a classical education to the children of the upper classes and nothing the Boys Model school offered could compare with the majesty of an education along the lines of an English Grammar School. The pupils of the College would be mostly whites who could not afford to send their children to England and Europe for education, but even here a few coloureds would slip in.

The ward schools were not expected to promote the social mobility of the children of the labouring class. The planters in the countryside who were increasingly being provided with Indian immigrant labourers could hardly have conceived of these country ward schools as threats to the plantation system. The presence of the Indian labourers, and the low academic achievement of the schools, made it unnecessary for planters to insist that habituation to agricultural grind under the euphemism

---

292. C.O. 299/9, Report of Anderson on the San Fernando and Port of Spain Borough Councils schools dated 16 Dec., 1857.

293. C.O. 299/12, Report of Anderson for 1861 dated 1 March, 1862.

of industrial instruction be included in the work of the schools. Whenever industrial instruction was suggested for lower class children by whites it was suspected,[294] and rightly so, of being an attempt to keep them as agricultural labourers. When Inspector Anderson was planning to produce competent sugar estate managers from the middle class pupils at the Boys Model school, he did not propose that they do any practical agricultural work although the school had a lot of land attached to it. Harris had also suggested agricultural instruction at the College, but nothing came of it.

There is some evidence to suggest that the Boys Model school which was later to be relocated and renamed Tranquility Boys School, was an arena of social class tensions. This was partly because it was not a simple elementary school, but an intermediate school, doing work merging into the curriculum of a secondary school. Lower class black children were there; also a middle class, of coloured children mostly, and also some blacks above the rank of the lower class. A few white children attended the school. Ideally the elementary subjects would be for the lower class blacks, and the higher subjects for the middle class children. It was seen from the start that problems would arise from having boys of different class on the same compound and in the same school. Some parents, it seems, were perturbed that their children would have to mix with boys of a lower social status.[295]

---

294. Trinidadian, 10 Dec., 1853, Editorial

295. P.O.S.G., 7 Dec., 1852, Public Examination of the Boys Model School.

It seems that when the school started they had in mind some separation of children along class lines, which would correspond pretty closely to colour tones; and for a different curriculum to be given to different categories of children.[296] When this question was raised after the first four months of the school's existence, Charles Warner, the Attorney General, sought to calm fears by insisting that there was no intention on the part of the government to use the school as a vehicle for social mobility of lower class children.[297] Upper class children, he said, would not lose permanently from their brief association with lower class children; but the latter might benefit from the experience. The issue did not come out into the open again, but it is not likely that Warner's flattery of the upper classes would have solved this problem. Probably some of the boys who were shifted from the Boys Model School to the College in 1859 had been shifted not only to get a classical education, but also to escape the association of lower class children.

It is unfortunate for us that Inspector Anderson was not willing to talk about problems of colour, and was casual about the existence of different classes of pupils in the Boys Model school and in the schools in general. But this is a feature about the reports of white officials who without specifically denying that

---

296. ibid.

297. ibid.

race, colour and class problems existed, wrote their reports as if these were irrelevant to the institutions over which they were in charge. This is very evident in Anderson's reporting on the condition of the ward schools, and on the reaction of the labouring class to the educational opportunity these provided.

Anderson was sure he knew the reasons for irregular attendance at the schools; and he was just as certain that nothing could be done about them in a hurry.[298] He said it was because parents, degraded by slavery, did not appreciate the importance of education.[299] This was the most fundamental reason offered by Anderson and also Guppy. If parents had a greater appreciation of education, then other obstacles such as the bad state of the roads or the absence of roads, the rainy season from July to December, and the crop season in the early months of the year, the low state of public health, would be less formidable in the eyes of parents. This attitude of disregard, said Anderson, was particularly pronounced in areas where the population was thin and scattered, and people lived near subsistence level as peasants farmers, free from the competitive pressure of the towns, suburbs or estates.[300] This kind of existence Anderson equated with savagery, the antithesis of civilization. When the people living in this barbarous condition were blacks or coloureds of Spanish or French descent, the prospect for support for school, Anderson implied -- if they were ever started -- was particularly dim[301]

---

298. C.O. 299/15, Report of Anderson for 1864 dated 6 March, 1865.

299. P.O.S.G., 11 April, 1860, Report of Anderson for 1859 dated 1 March, 1860.

300. C.O. 299/11, Report of Anderson for 1860 dated 1 March, 1861.

301. C.O. 299/12, Report of Anderson for 1861 dated 1 March, 1862.

for in addition to lack of social drive, of individual ambition, the inability of children to understand the English language alienated them from the schools.[302] Such was the case at Erin where a ward school existed but had to be closed;[303] such would be the case, implied Anderson, in Toco and Blanchisseuse, if ward schools were started.[304]

The very antithesis of scattered frontiersmen was of course Port of Spain and San Fernando. After these two towns major villages of ex-slaves, and the sugar estates rank as population centres. In all these areas attendance at school, though also irregular, was better than at Carenage, Monos, Santa Cruz, Cedros or Erin. It is surprising to hear that Mayaro regularly ranked as one of the better attended schools. It is not surprising to observe that in Port of Spain the average daily attendance of the Borough Council school and the Boys Model school ran into the 80s which was slightly over 70% of pupils on record.[305] The Girls Model school with nearly 150 girls in average daily attendance was usually lauded as a school with the best attendance record, and it was certainly the largest public school in the colony. Savanna Grande, and Arima, Tacarigua, and St. Madeleine Village in North Naparima had schools which ran into the 60s in terms of average daily attendance; but Carenage and Erin and Gasparillo ranged under 30; and the overall average of daily

---

302. P.O.S.G., 10 Sept., 1862, Report of Anderson for the quarter ending 30 June, 1862.

303. ibid.

304. C.O. 299/12, Report of Anderson for 1861 dated 1 March, 1862.

305. For figures See Tables of Attendance attached to Reports of Anderson C.O. 299/10 - 17.

attendance for all the ward schools in the 1850s and the 1860s would be about 35 pupils per school.[306] Needless to say, the great majority of children of school age -- however illiberally defined -- never went to school at all.

Having observed a correlation between population density and larger and better attendance at the schools, we are left to wonder if the figures have any social meaning. The inspectors Anderson and later Guppy saw some aspects of the social meaning of the attendance figures, but neglected to mention others. Anderson and later Guppy seemed to be saying: concentrate population and education will advance.[307] It is true that in Port of Spain where the influence of the white upper class was most powerful and most sophisticated,[308] the Negro petty trader or house servant might dream of a clerkship for his son in some merchant's house. The town in fact, and probably even more in fantasy, provided more opportunities for a bright Negro boy. Schools would have more meaning for Negroes living in the towns. But they probably had less meaning for the lower class Negroes in the towns than for all other classes there. It was probably not the children of the estate labourer migrated to Port of Spain who really gave the Boys and Girls Model school and the Borough Council School their better attendance record. Port of Spain probably had the largest conglomeration of non-white people in

---

306. P.O.S.G., 11 April, 1860, Report of Anderson for 1859 dated 1 March, 1960.

307. C.O. 299/15, Report of Anderson for 1864 dated 6 March, 1865. Also C.O. 299/19, Report of Guppy for 1868 dated 9 Feb., 1869.

308. C.O. 295/214, Keate to Newcastle, 5 Dec., 1861, no. 179., Enclosure Census for 1861. Port of Spain had the largest number of whites.

the so-called "middling" walks of life. Some were black, but others coloured. Together with the less well off section of the white population their children kept the town schools the best attended elementary schools. It was probably not simply where Negro people lived which determined their allegiance to the schools, but the class and the colour of the people in question.

Anderson's omission -- less so that of Guppy -- was to fail to make any distinctions along class or colour lines among those he called the labouring classes. He wrote as if they all were of the same colour and the same class; and he described the reactions of the labouring class to the schools as if these had nothing to do with class and colour. The Erin ward school was closed in 1862 because attendance fell into the 20s and then to a handful.[309] But can we be certain that there were not two or three parents, probably coloured, and with a few more acres than their neighbours, who supported the school, and grieved at its closing? Slavery had never depressed equally the spirits of all the non-white people of the island;[310] and in a colony in which plantation slavery had been shorter than the older British West Indian island, we should be careful about any generalisation which threw the non-white people into a mass equally degraded by slavery

---

309. C.O. 299/13, Report of Anderson for 1862 dated 2 March, 1863.

310. In the pre-1834 period Trinidad had a large body of free coloured people. See C.O. 295/110, Hill to Glenelg, 13 March, 1836 no. 34, Enclosure: Population Statistics from the Commissary of Population. For a statement of the struggle of the free coloured See J.B. Philip: An Address to the Right Hon. Earl Bathurst, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies Relative to the Claims which the Coloured Population of Trinidad have to the Same Civil and Political Privileges with their White Fellow subjects. (London 1824).

planters in Monos. Why should the "inhabitants" at Santa Cruz insist on having back Mr. Durham, a former teacher of Santa Cruz when Mr. Mitchell the existing teacher resigned?[315] And who were the people at Guapo who lost confidence in Mr. Greenidge the teacher because he closed the school and went on his own business?[316] It is not known who these inhabitants were, but on Anderson's own account there were some people in the countryside who sometimes displayed more than ordinary interest in the schools.

It would be unlikely that the inhabitants who were showing interest in the school in the above manner were estate labourers, Indians or Negroes. The Indians who sent their children to the ward schools could be counted almost on one hand.[317] The Negro estate labourer was becoming fewer and fewer; and where they existed they did not support the schools in any conspicious manner. Guppy found that the children in the country ward schools in 1868 had mostly parents who were peasant farmers.[318] Although there must have been some overlap between peasant farmers and estate workers in the 1860s, the remark carries some significance as a failure of estate labourers, Negro or Indian, to support the schools. The estate workers were the lowest class in the countryside; and probably saw the least use for educating their children. If he was an Indian immigrant he might fear discrimination or ridicule of

---

315. P.O.S.G., 26 March, 1862, Report of Anderson for quarter ending Dec., 1861.

316. P.O.S.G., 10 Sept., 1862, Report of Anderson for quarter ending June, 1862. On two days Greenidge closed the school and went to Carnival.

317. P.O.S.G., 19 Sept., 1860, Report of Anderson for the quarter ending June, 1860.

318. C.O. 299/19, Report of Guppy for 1868 dated 9 Feb., 1869.

his child in the ward school; or might be uncertain whether he was staying in the colony. If a Negro he could see clearly the social limitations of people of his class, race and colour.

This brings us to the central failing of Anderson and later Guppy in their attitude to the attendance figures. They took the social limitations of the Negro for granted; and they could or would not see these social limitations as obstacles in the path of the allegiance of the country people to education. Those among the non-white population who felt that on grounds of class or colour they had more reason to hope for some mobility through education would most likely have given more serious support to the schools. But the number of these people in any one district outside of the towns would not be so great as to save the district from being classified as apathetic towards the schools. For this apathy Anderson blamed slavery.[319] But he was thinking of slavery as a past condition which had left a stain on the nature of the Negro; a psychological malady inside the body of the ex-slave. Of course, he was partly right; but he failed to see the continuing social limitations, which he justified as ordained by God, as the material and moral framework which constituted a new kind of non-legal slavery, and which kept alive the sense of inadequacy and frustration originally induced by plantation slavery. When Anderson explicitly denied any intention to have pupils rise above their "station in life";[320]

---

319. P.O.S.G., 11 April, 1860, Report of Anderson for 1859 dated 1 March, 1862.

320. C.O. 299/12, Report of Anderson for 1861 dated 1 March, 1862.

when he defined the purpose of ward school education as giving the common people an education in the elements of learning to make them "industrious, contented and happy"[321] in their existing social position, then we might ask why should the labourers and peasant farmers buy what Anderson was selling? Anderson's views about the place of the Negroes in the society was typical of his class at that time. This consideration, however, does not make such views any less an obstacle in the path of education.

It is unreasonable to expect strong support by the lower classes for schools which did not clearly lead to some material advantage. People, especially lower class people, will not support schools for love of learning. The wonder is that some support to the level of 1,873 children in the books in 1867 was given to the country schools.[322] Probably these parents sometimes had greater hopes of the schools than Anderson; but in more realistic moments they preferred to acquire the economic assistance of their children's labour than to gamble on their making good at school. Behind the attendance figures there is most likely the human story of vague hopes and widespread despair. Not just time, but social reforms, the prospect of real social mobility through education, could break this circle of hope and despair.

Anderson unwilling to contemplate social change, offered time. In time, he said, the ex-slaves will learn to appreciate education.[323] Probably he also felt that in time more money would

---

321. ibid.

322. C.O. 299/18, Report of Anderson for 1867 dated 5 March, 1868.

323. C.O. 299/11, Report of Anderson for 1860 dated 1 March, 1861.

be forthcoming to make expansion possible. He suggested that remote areas ought to be tried by cheap Infant schools,[324] and that the wards in the same Ward Unions should pool their school expenditure to facilitate mutual assistance. But he did not make these suggestions as if he thought they would be adopted. The irony of the situation was that while regretting the under-utilization of some of the schools,[325] Anderson never put forward any crash programme to boost attendance. He did not ask teachers to canvass parents or round up the children. This was probably because the under-utilization of schools was more apparent than real nine times out of ten. A school of 35 pupils might be small in relation to the number of pupils on the roll. But from Guppy's description of the schoolhouses in 1870,[326] if all the children on the roll came to school at the same time the teacher might have nowhere to put them; and also a case for another teacher could be made out. Instead of highlighting the failure of the government to provide an adequate system of ward schools, Anderson played on the unwillingness of the labouring class to send their children to school; and then decided that nothing could be done about this. He could not interfere, he said, with the economic necessity of the labouring class to use their children's labour.[327] We may add -- since Anderson did not -- that the Inspector of schools also could not interfere with the fiscal policies of a Crown colony Government.

---

324. C.O. 299/12, Report of Anderson for 1861 dated 1 March, 1862

325. C.O. 299/13, Report of Anderson for 1862 dated 2 March, 1863.

326. C.O. 299/21, Report of Guppy for 1870 dated 12 April, 1871.

327. C.O. 299/11, Report of Anderson for 1860 dated 1 March, 1861.

There is an element of incalculability in estimating the success or failure of any school system. The influence of a school works, for good or evil, in many secret half-forgotten ways beyond the ken of even the student himself. When there is no data to tell us how many students left the schools each year and precisely at what level of attainment, the bewilderment grows. Nowadays the downgrading of the moral function of the elementary schools, and the conception of them as primary schools, feeding pupils into the stream of secondary education, leaves the number who make such a successful passage as the usual criterion for judging the success of the elementary schools. Such a criterion was not available in the 1850s and 1860s; for there was a wide unbridged chasm between country ward schools and the existing secondary schools. When he spoke about the success of the schools Anderson immediately gave more points to the town schools than to the country schools.[328] He judged them largely from a different point of view; and in doing this he reveals the social prejudices which underlaid the education system.

Anderson praised the town schools for their learning; their best products were boys who had reached the threshold of a classical education.[329] The impression is that the other pupils, if they had stayed any length of time in these schools, had mastered the basic subjects and had learnt a good deal of geography and grammar. The point about the kind of judgement Anderson made

---

328. See Reports of Anderson, C.O. 299/10-17.

329. C.O. 299/13, Report of Anderson for 1862 dated 2 March, 1863.

of the town schools was that it was not a judgement about the morals of the pupils; the town schools were not seen as civilising agents but as disseminators of knowledge. The better class pupils who mostly attended the town schools did not need to be civilised. But not so the country schools; when estimating their success both Anderson and later Guppy put emphasis upon their role as agents of civilisation; upon their moral success in terms of the improved behaviour of children, and even of the whole community in which the school was situated.[330] The better pupils who stayed on for any length of time had also learnt to read and write and do elementary calculations; some had got up to the Third class readers of the Irish National system; and had learnt some geography. But this was not the aspect of the schools achievement which most impressed the inspectors; it was thought more important to be able to say that children in Gasparillo or Mayaro were morally improved.[331] Even in a non-denominational school system, the familiar Victorian education formula of knowledge for the better classes, and moral training for the labouring classes, triumphed.

Of the academic progress of the country ward schools an aspect which brought pleasure to the inspectors,[332] and probably to the government, was the thought that a few thousand children

---

330. P.O.S.G., 11 April, 1860, Report of Anderson for 1859 dated 1 March, 1860. P.O.S.G., 23 May, 1860, Report of Anderson for quarter ending 31 March, 1860. Also C.O. 299/19, Report of Guppy for 1868 dated 9 Feb., 1869.

331. P.O.S.G., 26 March, 1862, Report of Anderson for quarter ending 31 Dec., 1861. Also C.O. 299/19, Report of Guppy for 1868 dated 9 Feb., 1869.

332. C.O. 299/19, Report of Guppy for 1868 dated 9 Feb., 1869.

were learning the English language. This, as we have already seen, had largely a political motivation: to speed the anglicising of the colony. The schools must have had some success; for it is difficult to see how English could have later become the majority language without the schools. Little progress, however, was made in the 1850s and 1860s. J.J. Thomas wrote in 1869 of "the nullifying effects of the patois on English instruction among us".[333] When Gamble wrote in 1869,[334] and Underhill visited in the 1870s[335] the French patois was still by far the language of the common people.

---

333. J.J. Thomas: The Theory and Practice of Creole Grammar (New Beacon Books Ltd., 1969 First published 1869) p. IV.

334. W. Gamble: Trinidad: Historical and Descriptive (Yates and Alexander, London 1866) pp. 38 - 39.

335. E. Underhill: The West Indies: Their Social and Religious Condition (Jackson, Walford, and Hodder, London 1862) pp. 26 - 27.

CHAPTER VI

THE ESTABILISHMENT OF QUEENS COLLEGIATE SCHOOL

1854 - 1867

"There is, I believe, no training equal to that of the great English schools. It was said by the Great Duke, that waterloo was won at Eton". 1.

Charles Warner to Council, 2 Sept., 1857

In the ebb and flow of acrimonious relationship between Protestants and Roman Catholics, the English and the French in 19th century Trinidad one is left to wonder if there was any built-in time mechanism, any necessary time scale to explain the state of the relationship. The period 1854- 1870 forms the worst fifteen years in the entire history of confrontations between Protestants and Roman Catholics. Why was this so? Was it simply the storm which followed the relative calm of Lord Harris' administration in the years 1846-1853? Did not the Harris administration follow upon the McLeod governorship which had raised the level of enmity between the Church of England and the Roman Catholics to its highest pitch since the advent of the English to the island ?

---

1. C.O. 295/196, Keate to Labrouchere, 6 Sept., 1857, no. 91. Enclosure: Printed Speech of Charles Warner to Council, 2nd Sept., 1857.

Throughout the entire period 1834 - 1870 the Roman Catholics felt that their church was not being fairly treated. The escalation of this feeling at certain periods was largely the direct result of the policies carried out by the governors. McLeod (1840-1846), Elliot (1854-1857), Keate (1857-1864) were anti-Roman Catholic governors, particularly Elliot and Keate. When governors more friendly to the Roman Catholics arrived, for example Manners - Sutton (1864-1866) and Gordon (1866-1870), the Roman Catholics pressed for changes, and the Church of England supporters were anxious to defend the status quo. The result was inevitably an intensification of the struggle between the two parties.[1]

The main element in the time scale which governed the relationship between Roman Catholics and the Church of England was that which related to the tenure of office of the leading personalities in the drama. Although the return to relative prosperity of the cocoa industry,[2] the major agricultural activity of the Roman Catholic French creoles, gave them new confidence in asserting themselves; although the British government in the 1860's showed more sympathy for the religion and political claims of the French creoles,[3] in the last analysis it was personalities which explain the ebb and flow of bitter relationship between the denominations. But it would be a mistake to

---

2. For figures of cocoa exports 1860-1869 See C.O. 295/252 Longden to Kimberley, 9 Dec., 1870 no. 209.

3. C.O. 295/218, pp. 32-33 Newcastle to Keate, 14 Nov., 1861. no. 374.

think that in the period 1854-1867 the only personality of any importance was the governor. One of the most important facts about this period was that the Roman Catholic Church in the colony was under more assertive leadership than in the previous two decades. Archbishop Spaccapietra and Archbishop Gonin were not as conciliatory as Archbishop Smith; and the Roman Catholic Church under the leadership of Pope Pius IX (1846-1878) went through a famous phase of its modern existence.[4] There is no doubt at all that the spirit of Pio Nono reached Trinidad; that the increased centralisation of the church,[5] and the reassertion of the old claims of Roman Catholicism vis a vis the temporal authority of the state, permeated the attitude of the Trinidad hierarchy to the local government. When the British government interferred, its role was that of a mediator, though from the partial position of preference for the Church of England. The instigators were Elliot, Keate -- and inevitably Warner -- on the one hand, and Spaccapietra Gonin, English and Pio Nono on the other.

The first major incident to aggravate the Roman Catholics in this period was the Spaccapietra affair. It burst upon the colony in 1854. When Dr. P. Smith died in May 1852,

---

4. K.S. Latourette: Christianity in a Revolutionary Age (Eyre and Spottiswoode,1959) Vol. 1. pp. 266-293.

5. The Roman Catholic diocese in the Eastern Caribbean was reorganised: the Vicar Apostolic Dr. P. Smith was raised to the new Archbishopric of Port of Spain,and his province was made to embrace St. Lucia, Grenada and Tobago. See Wood,op.cit., p. 198.

Dr. Monaghan, Bishop of Rosseau in Dominica was, according to previous arrangement,[6] brought back to act as Archbishop until an appointment could be made. A new governor Capt. Elliot arrived in the colony before the new Archbishop was appointed, although Harris had departed early in January 1854, and Dr. P. Smith had died in May 1852. Elliot immediately put forward proposals to reduce expenditure. The year 1854 was a bad one for the colony. The revenues for the first six months of the year only equalled that for the first six months of 1853 although duties on imports had been increased.[7] Trade had slackened; but this time it was not a metropolitan financial crisis which was responsible for this, but a fall in the price of sugar, and high rate of freight to Europe due to a shortage of shipping.[8] The trade decline was accentuated in the second half of the year by an outbreak of cholera which killed about 3500 people,[9] and reduced the purchasing power of the colony. The point about the state of the island's economy in 1854 is important because it furnished part of the arguments which Elliot used in his quarrel with Spaccapietra.

Spaccapietra arrived in Trinidad in late November or early December 1853.[10] He was the most powerful Roman Catholic prelate to visit the colony since its possession by the English.

---

6. C.O. 295/177, Harris to Pakington, 27 May, 1852, no. 32., Enclosure: Dr. Monaghan to Harris, 19 May, 1852.
7. P.O.S.G., 2 Aug., 1854, Council of Government 1 Aug., 1854
8. Wood, op.cit., p. 201.
9. Wood, op.cit., p. 27
10. Trinidadian, 3 and 7 Dec., 1853, Editorial

He came to the island with the authority of papal legate[11] in the Eastern Caribbean. In addition he was the titular Bishop of Arcadiapolis, and a member of the Congregation of St. Vincent de Paul.[12] Spaccapietra sent Dr. Monoghan back to Dominica and assumed the duties of Archbishop of the Roman Catholic community. The arrival of such an important prelate was said to cause "a great sensation in the colony."[13] From the start speculations were rife about the person and mission of Spaccapietra.[14] The new Archbishop denied that he was a Jesuit, but did not state if he had any special mission. Conrad Stolleymer, the editor of the Trinidadian and himself not a religious bigot, guessed that the mission was to "counteract Protestant tendencies in the British West Indies".[15] THe die-hard Protestants probably speculated that some Roman Cathdic plot was afoot.

The position of Elliot and the supporters of the Church of England was that Spaccapietra was a foreigner; a Neapolitan who spoke little English. Such an Archbishop, it was felt, would appoint foreign priests who hardly knew the English language,[16] and thus the anglicising process would be blocked by the Roman Catholic Church. All the moral distrust and sus-

---

11. C.O. 295/185, Elliot to Grey, 18 July, 1854.

12. Trinidadian, 10 Dec., 1853, Letter from Spaccapietra.

13. Trinidadian, 3 and 7 Dec., 1853, Editorial

14. Trinidadian 10 Dec., 1853, Letter from Spaccapietra.

15. Trinidadian, 3 and 7 Dec., 1853, Editorial

16. C.O. 295/186, Elliot to Grey, 8 Nov., 1854, Confidential.

picion which the Protestant Council had towards the Roman Catholic leadership was heightened when the Archbishop was a papal functionary, and a subject of the kingdom of Naples.[17] One gets the impression in this crisis, and in previous encounters that the English party reacted more from fears of what the Roman Catholic hierarchy might do, than from knowledge of what it was doing. Even in a small society the supporters of the Church of England might not know what was happening in the inner councils of the Roman Catholic Church. Elliot spoke about Spaccapietra as if he was talking about the first secretary of a secret society dedicated to the subversion of the state.[18]

The Spaccapietra affair illustrates the argument of those Roman Catholics in Europe who felt that the safest course for the Church in its struggle with the national states was to seek a separation of Church and state. This was not the official course pursued by Pius IX in Europe; it was not the course of the Roman Catholics in Trinidad. Elliot's major weapon against Spaccapietra was money; the control of the government over the salaries of Roman Catholic priests, including the Archbishop's. Elliot cut Spaccapietra's salary in half; offered him £500[19] and warned that foreign priests, if appointed, might not receive any salary from the government. He could plead that the colony's finances were in straightened circumstances. But even this would have been a weak arugment if Elliot was not able to couple

---

17. Wood, op.cit., p. 204

18. Wood, op.cit., p. 204. Also C.O. 295/186, Elliot to Grey, 18 Nov., 1854, Private.

19. C.O. 295/185, Elliot to Grey, 18 July, 1854.

it with two others. He claimed -- with what justification it is not clear -- that as a foreigner, Spaccapietra was not entitled to any salary from government; the £500 offered was by the grace of the government.[20] The other argument, less important than the first, was that the Archbishopric was technically vacant until someone was appointed in the place of Dr. Smith.[21] When Spaccapietra cut this ground from under the legs of Elliot by showing him in November 1855 his papal letters of appointment as Archbishop, Elliot refused to examine the documents.[22]

This was certainly a piece of high-handed behaviour, for which the British government reprimanded Elliot.[23] It was becoming obvious that there was not enough room in Trinidad for Spaccapietra and Elliot; and that one of them would have to go. Spaccapietra had the backing of a Catholic Committee specially constituted to defend the Church, and to expose the behaviour of Elliot to the British government.[24] Elliot considered these Roman Catholic petitioners as dangerous men who had Spaccapietra under their control. Spaccapietra was not under the control of Roman Catholic laymen, but it was true that some of these laymen who were backing Spaccapietra were also involved in agitation for representative government.

---

20. C.O. 295/186, Elliot to Grey, 8 Nov., 1854, Private: Enclosure: Elliot to Spaccapeitra.

21. ibid. Also C.O. 295/186, Elliot to Grey, 9 Dec., 1854, no. 91

22. C.O. 295/191, Elliot to Labrouchere, 11 March, 1856.

23. Wood, op.cit., p. 204.

24. Wood, op.cit., p. 203 .

This desire for constitutional change was nothing new, but it escalated during the Spaccapietra crisis[25] partly because it was so obvious that a truly representative government would never offer such insults to the Roman Catholic majority. Dr. L.A. DeVerteuil, Henry Fitt, James Kavanagh to name only a few prominent persons, were members of both the Catholic Committee and the REform Association. As in 1848 and 1849 when another depression had gripped the island, the opponents of the government saw the existing Council of Government as inherently inadequate to tackle successfully the problems of the economy.[26] The dynamics of the campaign for constitutional reform needs further study, but its upward surges seem related to economic depression. In the mid 1850's the campaign fixed itself to the band-wagon of discontent over the treatment of Archbishop Spaccapietra. It was a two-edged opposition that Elliot and Warner faced.

In the official documents Charles Warner is not mentioned as a party to the dispute with Spaccapietra. But people in the island knew better than this: Warner's enemies suspected him to be the evil genius goading Elliot into an intransigent

---

25. C.O. 295/187, Elliot to Grey, 22 Feb., 1855, Enclosure: Petition of Hinde and Ireland. Both of these men were coloured and Hinde was a member of the Church of England. C.O. 295/190, A. Cumming to Labrouchere, 24 Nov,, 1855 and 25 Dec., 1855. Also C.O. 295/191, Elliot to Labrouchere, 24 Mar., 1856, Enclosure: Petition from the REform Association. C.O. 295/193, A. Cumming to Labrouchere, 19 Sept. 1856 (London). Cumming and James Kavanagh went to London to see the Secretary of State for the Colonies C.O. 295/193, pp. 201-220 Printed proceedings of the Reform Association from October 1855- May 1856. N.B. DeVerteuil was secretary of the Association. Also See M. Cumpston: Radicalism in Trinidad and Colonial Office Reactions 1855-1856; Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research Vol. XXXVI. 1963

26. M. Cumpston: Radicalism in Trinidad op.cit., p. 159.

position.[27] Robert Guppy remembered in 1889 that Warner

> "deluded him (Elliot) into a quarrel with the Roman CAtholic priesthood and tormented this weak but well intentioned governor until he in despair resigned his office."[28]

With Warner and the officials with the exception of Garcia, the Solicitor General, standing firmly behind Elliot another humiliating defeat would have been inflicted upon the Roman Catholic community if the British government had backed Elliot fully. It agreed at first with the reduction of Spaccapietra's salary, but when Elliot refused to accept Spaccapietra's papal credentials as Archbishop, the Colonial Office grew impatient with his intrasigence.[29] Elliot had clearly overplayed his hand; Spaccapietra showed no sign of leaving the island. The problem of a permanent appointment got caught up in the squabbles among high Roman Catholic prelates in England and Rome.[30] The new Secretary of State for

---

27. J.K. Chapman: The Career of Arthur Hamilton Gordon, First Stanmore 1829-1912. (University of Toronto Press, 1964) p. 49

28. Royal Franchise Commission 1888, Statement of Robert Guppy, Mayor of San Fernando.

30. Monsignor Talbot, the papal chamberlain, a very powerful prelate in negotiations between the Vatican and the Roman Catholic church in England arrived in Trinidad in Dec., 1855 (See P.O.S.G., 29 Dec., 1855) His mission to end the impasse between Elliot and Spaccapietra was unsuccessful; but it seemed that the Vatican did not mean deliberately to offend the British government by the appointment of a foreigner as Archbishop. After returning to Rome, Talbot and the Pope tried to persuade Dr. Errington, an Englishman and a bishop who could not get along with Cardinal Manning, to accept the Archbishopric of Port of Spain. Dr. Errington refused to oblige the Pope, Talbot and Manning. See Wilfred Ward: Life and Times of Bishop Ullathorne 1806 - 1889 (London, 1926) pp. 215-216.

the Colonies, Henry Labrouchere, was eager to settle the matter. Elliot resigned. He never wanted the governorship of the colony anyway;[31] but was tired of service in the tropics.

One of the recurrent difficulties which bred bad relationship between the local government and the foreigners was that the local government did not take easily to the idea of foreigners becoming naturalised British subjects in Trinidad. It was not that this was made impossible by some law; the point is that naturalisation as a solution to the problem did not occur readily to the government. The British government supported the idea that the Roman Catholic Archbishop should be a British citizen; and the only way this could be effected without the removal of Spaccapietra was for him to be naturalised.[32]

Spaccapietra consented; the new governor Mr. R. Keate saw to it that the other difficulties were overcome,[33] and the full salary of £1000 was paid to Spaccapietra from the date of his official recognition as Archbishop. A compromise had been reached; but to avoid further loss of face the Council insisted on passing a resolution that in future no Archbishop would be paid a salary unless he was "British born".[34]

---

31. C.O. 295/191, Labrouchere to Elliot, 15 April, 1856. Minute of Taylor on this despatch.

32. Wood, op.cit., p. 204

33. ibid. The Ordinance which naturalised Spaccapietra was not valid outside of Trinidad.

34. P.O.S.G., 3 Oct., 1863, Council of Government 1 Oct., 1863. Message of Keate enclosing correspondence between the British government and Cardinal Manning in respect to the appointment of Dr. Gonin as Roman Catholic Archbishop in Trinidad.

The Roman Catholics were mistaken if they thought of Keate in early 1857 as friendly to their cause. There is no doubt at all that under the rather long administration of Keate from 1857 to 1864 Charles Warner arrived at the pinnacle of his influence in the colony.[35] No other governor praised Warner as much; a Knighthood for him was discussed;[36] no other governor fell in so easily with the ideas of Warner. Keate and Warner were a team; they were probably schoolmates at Eton when Keates's father was the headmaster.[37] One of the first acts of the team was to propose a College.

It is interesting to attempt to locate the immediate event or series of events which prompted Keate to propose a government College. On more than one occasion there were vague references to Keate's interest in education while serving as governor of Grenada.[38] Precisely what he did, if anything is not clear. A correspondent in the Sentinel claimed that Keate had not lifted a finger to help education in Grenada.[39] Within eight months of his arrival in Trinidad he was proposing a College. It is almost impossible to believe that Warner had

---

35. Chapman, op.cit., p. 49. Chapman gives the dates 1845-1864, but Lord Harris was an influential governor.

36. C.O. 295/197, Keate to Labrouchere, 25 Dec., 1857, Confidential

37. C.O. 295/202, Rev. Edward Coleridge to Cox, (Colonial Office) 7 Nov., 1858. Eton College. Coleridge joyfully recognised Keate as "alias Bob Keate". Warner was at Eton while it had one of its most famous headmasters viz. Dr. Keate (1809-1834). See H.C. Maxwell Lyte: A History of Eton College 1440-1910 (London 1911 4th ed.) pp. 388-389.

38. P.O.S.G., 23 Dec., 1857, Speech read by pupil at St. Georges prize giving.

39. Trinidad Sentinel, 4 Mar., 1858, Letter from "An Observer of Mr. Keate's government in Grenada."

nothing to do with the formation of Keate's ideas on education. But why should 1857 be the year for the plunge into a government College? Keate explained the timing largely in terms of a rise in government revenues; a period of increased trading activity after the serious depression of 1854. Elliot had cut back on expenditure in 1854-1856,[40] and reimposed the Export Duty at the end of 1855. After the crop season of 1856 the finances were looking better; increased prices for sugar and cocoa had helped trade and revenues. When Keate arrived in January 1857 he almost immediately informed the British government that more revenues for the year could be expected[41] than the sum anticipated by Elliot. He could in fact foresee a surplus of revenues over expenditure. The high price for sugar had stimulated an expansion in the acreage under cane and cocoa,[42] a demand for more immigrants, and localised rise in wages. As in the case of the Tacarigua Orphanage, the College was proposed against a background of improved economic prospects. Keate and Warner seemed anxious to push through the College while the revenues were buoyant. The whole annual cost of the

---

40. Elliot made savings under the heads of salaries, allowances contingences, public works, repair of streets and bridges, miscellaneous services, a little on churches and schools. The reimposition of the Export Duty at the end of 1855 brought in £6714 in revenues and the duties on imports in 1856 rose by 24%. See C.O. 295/194, Keate to Labrouchere, 2 Feb., 1857, no. 6., Enclosure: Statement of Revenues and Expenditure 1854-1856.

41. C.O. 295/194, Keate to Labrouchere, 2 Feb., 1857, no. 6

42. C.O. 295/195, Keate to Labrouchere, 6 Aug., 1857, no. 74., Enclosure: Report of a Legislative Council Committee on Immigration 23 July, 1857.

College was immediately put on the budget, although it would take at least three years before the cost of staffing and the overseas exhibitions reached the level of the annual grant. Another depression would surely overtake the colony though Keate said he did not expect it "for a long time to come".[43]

There is, however, another circumstance which helps to explain why the College was proposed about this time. About 1855 or 1856 the only Church of England secondary school in the colony collapsed. In 1850 the Bishop of Barbados, with the active encouragement of Lord Harris, had formed an Ecclesiastical Board, consisting of an equal number of clergymen and laymen.[44] One of the main purpose of this Board was to start an active campaign to collect money. Harris himself had made a financial contribution,[45] probably in connection with its intention of founding a secondary school. The first tangible result of the efforts of the Ecclesiastical Board was the starting of a secondary school. There can be no doubt that there was a demand for cheap secondary education in Port of Spain. The attempts to teach secondary school subjects in the Port of Spain Borough Council boys school in the late 1840's and the

---

43. C.O. 295/196, Keate to Labrouchere, 6 Sept., 1857, no. 91.

44. Thomas Parry: A General View of the Present State of the Diocese of Barbados in a Letter from the Lord Bishop of Barbados to the S.P.G. (London, May 1854) p. 14.

45. C.O. 295/251, Gordon to Granville, 25 June, 1870 (Grenada).

early 1850's, and the development of a Science class at the Boys Model school, were manifestations of this demand. The first prospectus of the Church of England secondary school appeared in March 1852. It hoped to open a Grammar school teaching, among other unstated subjects, French and Spanish. A Church of England clergyman was to be invited from England to take charge of it. Pupils, not members of the Church of England, would be exempted from its religious instruction.[46] The Boys Model school got started before this Church of England secondary school. Not until May 1853 was the school begun under the headship of a Rev. George Pix, an M.A. from Oxford University. The school taught Latin, Greek, Arithmetic, Georgraphy, History and sacred history.[47] High dignitaries like the Bishop of Barbados and Charles Warner, the Attorney General, attended the public examinations and asked the boys questions.[48] The boys were said to be doing well; but all was not well with the school. In 1854 it had only 20 pupils.[49] The fees were set at £15 per year for each boy payable in advance; those boys who wanted French and Spanish as well would have to pay an extra charge.[50] Anyone contributing £10 towards

---

46. P.O.S.G., 5 March, 1852.

47. Trinidadian, 20 Aug., 1853

48. P.O.S.G., 5 Aug., 1854, In the examination in July 1854 Warner questioned the boys on "Xenophon's Anabases, Cicero de Sententile, Virgil's Aenids, Ceasar, Greek Delectus and the Latin Reader".

49. Thomas Parry, A General View op.cit., p. 16

50. Trinidadian, 9 April, 1853.

the establishment of the school would be allowed to send one boy there for three consecutive years for £10 per year.[51] Such an incentive to subscribers was indeed small; there were not many subscribers and not many pupils. By September 1855 a crisis point had been reached. The Ecclesiastical Board called a meeting at Rev. Pix's house to decide if a guaranteed minimum sum[52] for the continuation of the school could be got. If not, it must be closed.

Warner's explanation of the failure of the school was that it had too much of a denominational image, and therefore did not win the support of Roman Catholics.[53] While there was some truth in this, there were other factors at work. After all, if the Roman Catholics did not send their sons, could the school not succeed as a Church of England school if Anglicans sent their children there in sufficient numbers? There was, in fact, a sprinkling of Roman Catholic boys at the school,[54] and the fundamental reason for its failure was economic. Unfortunately, it started in 1853 when a depression was setting in; it was hit by the serious depression of 1854; and also by the cholera epidemic of 1854 and 1855. Some parents who in the depression could not afford the fees withdrew their boys. An arrangement was made with Rev. Pix whereby

---

51. ibid.

52. P.O.S.G., 22 Sept., 1855.

53. P.O.S.G., 5 Sept., 1857, Council of Government 2 Sept. 1857.

54. P.O.S.G., 19 Sept., 1857, Editorial.

private subscriptions would make up his salary when the fees of the pupils fell short of the mark.[55] Pix thus found himself in the demoralising position of being dependent on the fees of a fluctuating number of boys and uncertain voluntary subscriptions. He resigned at the earliest convenient moment. Another school had come and gone; that moaned a correspondent in the Port of Spain Gazette in September 1855 was the tragedy of so many useful institutions in the colony. Trinidad could not expect an Oxford graduate, a first rate grammarian, the best Church of England preacher in the island, to live on "air".[56] Yet there is the probability that if the school had survived the initial economic setbacks it might have grown into a larger school in the late 1850s when more prosperous times prevailed. But its permanence as a secondary school unaided by government was doubtful. To defray the salary of even two or three good teachers of a secondary school concentrating on the classics would demand fees -- in the light of the usually small numbers attending such schools -- at a rate which parents might be unwilling to pay. In lauding the Roman Catholics for keeping ST. Joseph Convent and St. Georges going without government assistance since the 1830s, it must not be forgotten that the Catholics had one immense advantage over the Protestants in running secondary schools: the Roman Catholic Archbishop

---

55. ibid.

56. P.O.S.G., 26 Sept., 1857, Letter from an "Observer".

could often use priests and nuns who were not paid as teachers. Indeed it seems a tenable position to maintain that any priest who got a salary from the government to preach, and then in addition taught at St. Georges without extra pay, was a medium of indirect government assistance to St. Georges.

Unfortunately, the picture of St. Joseph Convent for girls and St. Georges College for boys in the middle 1850's comes from Protestant sources. The most remarkable thing about these two institutions was their survival value; even the Protestant reporters paid tribute to their long careers as schools in a colony where schools were opened and closed in a short space of time. Almost every year the annual prize-giving function at St. Joseph was a matter for the press. This function was indeed one of the greatest social events of the Christmas season; and the Roman Catholic ladies came out in a dazzling display of the latest fashions. After all, St. Joseph was a boarding school for "young ladies",[57] though some came also as day pupils. In 1858 there were 100 boarders and 48 day pupils.[58] But this school like other town schools, felt the need to cater for more than one class of pupils. Hence an elementary school giving free instruction to poor girls in reading, writing and the catechism, sacred history and needlework had developed, probably on the same premise, but in separation from the dormitories and class rooms of the young

---

57. P.O.S.G., 1 Jan., 1859

58. ibid.

ladies of better class. The young ladies were taught modern languages, the ordinary subjects of an elementary curriculum, and above all, good deportment and a sense of religious devotion; and a smattering of all those various subjects like singing and music without which no finishing school was complete. Conrad Stolleymer who was all for industrial instruction, had in 1853 provided a critique of boarding schools for young ladies. He might not have been specifically criticising St. Joseph Convent, but he saw such institutions as places where young ladies

> "study German, French and Italian Literature, and from which they return finished, without knowing how to boil a pot of potatoes, or how to sew a button on for a brother or a husband."[59]

If Conrad Stolleymer had a daughter whom he could not afford to educate abroad he might very well have sent her to St. Joseph Convent, and let the maid boil the potatoes. As long as the role of upper class women who could afford maids was mainly to be wives and mothers the curriculum of the schools they attend would appear -- to men anyway -- as vague and pointless; a jumble of fashionable subjects lightly touched in a sea of uncertainty how to prepare upper class ladies for the leisured life of mothers and wives. The problem was not simply at St. Joseph Convent, but in the status and role of upper class women in the society. Yet in a way St. Joseph Convent

---

59. Trinidadian, 3 and 7 Dec., 1853, Editorial.

was the best established school in the island; it was the only public school above the merely elementary schools which was sited on its own premises owned by the Sisters of St. Joseph. A public school in its own premises was such a rarity that on this ground alone St. Joseph inspired a tremendous amount of public confidence.

St. Georges College was either in the residence of the Archbishop, or the Archbishop's residence was on the same compound as the College. The principal of the school was usually a high ranking priest in Port of Spain. In the late 1840s the principal was Dr. Monaghan,[60] who was to become the Bishop of Rosseau in Dominica. Between 1853 and 1858 an Irish priest Abbe Ford, assistant curate of Port of Spain, was the principal.[61] The majority of the boys belonged to non-English families who could not afford for them an education in Europe. In December 1848 out of the 55 prize winners only 4 boys had English names.[62] The curriculum of the College as derived from the prize giving in December 1851 included reading, writing, arithmetic, spelling, grammar, geography, Grecian history, scripture history, ancient history. The higher subjects were represented by Latin, Geometry, Algebra and surveying. This made it something of a classical school although it also taught

---

60. Trinidadian, 19 Feb., 1851.

61 C.O. 295/225, Rev. Ford to Newcastle, 25 Feb., 1863 (Dublin).

62. Trinidadian, 20 Dec., 1848.

elementary school subjects. In addition St. Georges, reflecting the mercantile interests of its pupils' parents, offered French, Spanish and book keeping.[63] And elocution was also taught, thus giving St. Georges a broad based curriculum, with apparently less emphasis on the classics than a purely Grammar school would warrant. Roman Catholic parents who wanted their sons to enter the professions and who could afford it had mostly to send them off to Europe to get a sound secondary education. What St. Georges lacked in depth, it made up in breadth. Elocution was a very important matter when the annual prize giving day arrived. A youth was usually chosen, and obviously properly primed, to deliver a long laudatory speech suitably studed with Latin phrases, in praise of the governor in attendance. The governor would reply to this without saying anything significant; and the Archbishop would also make a speech. Nice things were said all round, but these speeches are not the places to look for the real achievement of the school.[64]

Keate and Warner did not of course propose the College as a Church of England institution. It would be a secular institution, more truly secular than the ward schools. Since however, the Roman Catholics had their own College in St. Georges, and the Church of England secondary school had recently collapsed,

---

63. Trinidadian, 10 Jan., 1852.

64. Until the Roman Catholic Church in Trinidad opens its archives a proper assessment of St. Georges and St. Joseph Convent cannot be made.

it seems absurd to think that Keate and Warner did not conceive of the government College as a replacement for the defunct Church of England school. Keate and Warner in fact repeatedly used the collapse of the Church of England school as the reason why the government should now act on behalf of the whole community.[65] Warner said that the failure of the Church of England school was good proof that a first rate College could not survive without government financial assistance. He obviously did not think much of what Archbishop Spaccapietra was doing at St. Georges. Keate said that from Roman Catholics he learnt that standards at St. Georges were even lower than he Keate had imagined.[66] His information he said was that "there are no teachers in it of any considerable acquirements."[67] Keate even entertained the thought that Archbishop Spaccapietra would convert St. Georges into a theological seminary training British born English speaking priests;[68] and that then he would send, or rather allow, Roman Catholic pupils to the government College for secondary education. St. Georges College, according to Keate, was fast loosing whatever English character it had. The very fact that Spaccapietra was in charge of it aroused his suspicions; the thought that St. Georges and the residence of Spaccapietra were on the same premises[69] made matters worse in

---

65. P.O.S.G., 5 Sept., 1857, Council of Government 2 Sept., 1857, Speech of Warner; also C.O. 295/195, Keate to Labrouchere, 7 Aug. 1857.

66. C.O. 295/196, Keate to Labrouchere, 6 Sept. 1857, no. 91.

67. C.O. 295/195, Keate to Labrouchere, 9 Aug., 1857, no. 75.

68. C.O. 295/196, Keate to Labrouchere, 6 Sept., 1857, no. 91.

69. C.O. 295/195, Keate to Labrouchere, 7 Aug., 1857.

the eyes of Keate. Warner and Keate did not say it loudly, but the government College was essentially a continuation of the policy of anglicising. They were hoping that boys of all European nationalities and religion would attend. In a society apparently "irremediably disunited",[70] said Keate, any institutions which brought English and non-English youths together would be beneficial. Warner hoped that in the College

> "boys of all denominations will be allowed to meet and that in the common pursuit of literature, and the common development of their faculties, they may be permitted to learn how possible it is for men to live together, striving to a common end, without dwelling on points of religious difference, and in the spirit of the most cheerful charity".[71]

But the College without touching religion, was going to inculcate English habits and English loyalties into its pupils. For years Warner had been complaining that the practice of sending young French creoles to France bred in them from an early age a love of French civilisation which made them misfits in the anglicised Trinidad he wished to create. A few sons of French creoles had even, while in France got into the French armed forces. If war should ever come between France and England, some of Her Majesty's subjects would be in the uniform of the enemy.

---

70. C.O. 295/196, Keate to Labrouchere, 6 Sept., 1857, no. 91

71. C.O. 295/196, Keate to Labrouchere, 6 Sept., 1857. no. 91., Enclosure: Printed speech of Warner to Council 2 Sept., 1857.

Or if they deserted the French side, they would never be quite trusted in the British forces. Of course, neither Keate nor Warner openly said at this stage that they wished to stop the French creoles from sending their children to Europe for education. The argument for not sending away youths to Europe at their most impressionable age was made in a more general manner which made it applicable to all youths, English and non-English. It was not that Keate or Warner was against European education, especially if it meant an English education. No education in the colony could ever be quite as good as a European education from the point of view of standards. In fact, Warner and Keate believed that the well educated man must go to Europe, but they preferred them to go, specially if they were planning to go to France, after their character had been formed in Trinidad. As Keate said he wanted to encourage the habit of parents thinking of Europe as a place to finish the education of their children rather than a place to start it.[72] The bonds of family affections would be strengthened if children spent their early years in the presence of their families in the colony. Charles Warner who himself had been educated in England from an early age, added his eloquence to his experience, to produce a moving picture of the moral damage done in separating youths from their parents.

---

72. C.O. 295/195, Keate to Labrouchere, 7 Aug., 1857, no. 75., Enclosure: Message to Council

"It is a hard trial for the parent, and perhaps a still greater evil for the child, that they are separated at a time in the life of the latter when it is most important that the growth of the body and the development of the intellectual powers should be balanced by the play of the affections, and the sanctities and charities of home. To the parent it is a sad reflection that he enters for little into the formation of the mind or character of his child -- that he is at best the father of the child and not of the future man. To the child the kindness of strangers can but ill supply the want of home. I have seen something of this in my time; and I doubt whether in afterlife the affections ever recover the early check. The heart thrown back on itself in youths learns to eat into itself".[73]

All this seems true; and Warner might even have been drawing on his own relationship with his father and on the relationship between his children in England and himself. Warner intended to make some social and political capital out of the phenomenon of the son in the metropole growing estranged from the parents in the colony. Send the son to the government College. Warner must have known that the influence of a French creole home every day, and of the Roman Catholic church every Sunday, would counteract some of the English habits learnt at the College. But the College would be more English in taste and habits and language than any College in France.

---

73. C.O. 295/196, Keate to Labrouchere, 6 Sept., 1857, no. 91., Enclosure: Printed speech of Warner to Council 2 Sept., 1857.

It was not simply a matter that English would be the language of the government College, and that its curriculum would be based on that of the English Grammar schools. This of course was important. Warner in a brilliant speech to the Council envisaged that the College would teach Latin, Greek, mathematics, geography, history, modern languages and chemistry.[74] But it was the teaching of the classics which excited his imagination. Turning his back in contempt upon the "Utilitarians" and their mania for schools giving what was called useful knowledge and mathematics,[75] he restated in his own terms the traditional arguments for a classical education as a training of the intellect and character.

> "I believe that in very early life the mind is not equal to the strain of so dry and abstract a study; that it is not safe to make the mathematics the basis of education. The object is best attained by the simultaneous development of all the intellectual faculties, the memory, the taste, the judgment, and the power of analysis; and these results seem to me to be arrived at by the system adopted at the large schools in England. The memory is strengthened, and the taste trained and chastened by learning by heart passages of that poetry, the beauty of which has stood the test of centuries, and stirred the

---

74. ibid.

75. In Warner's day at Eton very little mathematics was taught. See H.C. Maxwell Lyte, op.cit., p. 390.

hearts of generation on generation. The practice, to which at Eton we gave the name of "Derivations" -- that of tracing words from their most remote deflections up to their primal root -- exercises the powers of analysis. The rendering one language into another, the Greek into English -- a language only less rich than the Greek -- requires the exercise of the judgment, and some closeness and accuracy of thought in the selection of the happiest term among many nearly equivalent. There is, I believe, no training equal to that of the great English schools. It was said by the Great Duke, that Waterloo was won at Eton. There, too, are won the greatest victories of English statesmanship and eloquence. It is easy to multiply testimonies in favour of this system".[76]

Warner was advertising not only the great English schools, but himself, the product of the greatest of them all.

When not at their studies, said Warner, the boys at the government College might choose to keep fit by fencing. The whole paraphernalia of activity of an English Grammar School could not, however, be imported into the College as it was going to be non-residential. Warner and Keate, however, intended it in its ethos to be a kind of local version of Eton, which Warner, in a fit of loyalty for his old school, saw

---

76. C.O. 295/196, Keate to Labrouchere, 6 Sept., 1857, no. 91., Enclosure: Printed speech of Warner to the Council 2 Sept., 1857.

as "first among her co equals"[77] in producing

> "the men who, whether in the State or at the Bar, or in the field, in the House of Commons, or in Westminster Hall, or in the Crimea, are the leaders of the world".[78]

The College could not expect in a day to acquire anything quite like the traditions and the prestige of the great public schools of England. Perhaps it never would; but he hoped that in time it would become a matter of pride for a man to say "I too was at the Collegiate School of Trinidad".[79]

To drive home the English character of the College, Keate and Warner intended to build bridges between it and the English Universities. They did not mean London University which was a new and secular institution, but Oxford and Cambridge. The masters of the College would be graduates of these Universities; and they would be well paid in order to give them the respect of Trinidad society.[80] Warner suggested £700 per annum for the headmaster, and a high place in the ranking of local dignitaries. Such a man would not be subordinate to Anderson, the Inspector of schools. Anderson would not be able, as Warner put it

> "to stand before the principal of the Collegiate school fresh from the triumphs of an English University...."[81]

Warner felt unshakable pride in England's Universities; also

---

77. ibid.
78. ibid.
79. ibid.
80. ibid.
81. ibid.

in her Grammar schools; in the traditional educational institutions of the English upper classes. Every year the two leading students, would be given scholarships of the value of £150 per annum, and this would take them to an English University for three years. Keate felt that these overseas scholarships would prove so attractive that even the opponents of the College would succumb to this incentive.[82] The College would be the door to a professional training in an English University. In the mind of Warner he saw a long succession of men trained in English Universities returning to the colony to serve it, and to strengthen English habit and loyalties.

If the College was to be a cultural lever of anglicising against the French creoles, the foreigners and the Roman Catholic Church it was also intended as a social weapon against the coloured middle men, and of course the black and coloured masses. It was partly a misrepresentation for Keate and Warner to have presented the College as the belated execution of Lord Harris' plans for secondary education. Naturally they wanted to utilise the respect of the upper classes for Harris, who reported Keate, was "looked upon as one of the chief benefactors of Trinidad".[83] But Harris' plan for secondary education was more generous, though not liberal, than what Keate and Warner had in mind. Harris had in mind Superior District schools which we might take to mean intermediate schools which would provide a link between

---

82. C.O. 295/196, Keate to Labrouchere, 6 Sept., 1857, no. 91.

83. ibid.

the ward schools and the College. As the Superior District schools were to charge a moderate fee it cannot be supposed that Harris was proposing an easy passage for bright lower class children into the stream of secondary education. But the three tiered system of ward school, Superior District schools in the countryside, and a College in Port of Spain, held out more promise of something above an elementary education for a few clever country children. Keate and Warner did not propose any Superior District schools. In order to give his scheme a more liberal tinge Keate told the British government

> "In order too, not entirely to lose sight of Lord Harris' views in regard to children of superior intellect and industry distinguishing themselves in the existing middle and lower schools, as I may call them, and to offer a prize and stimulate exertion in them also as well as in the College, I propose that the government should be entrusted with the power of nominating periodically one or more of such to the College should instances occur, and should bear the whole expense of their education while they remain at it."[84]

Down to 1870 the boys given free places at the College by the Board of Education were the sons of deceased white civil servants and a Protestant Rector.[85]

---

84. C.O. 295/195, Keate to Labrouchere, 7 Aug., 1857, no. 75., Enclosure: Message to Council.

85. Shirley Gordon: Documents which have guided educational policy in the West Indies -- the Keenan report. Caribbean Quarterly vol. VIX no. 1. and 11. (1963) p. 14.

Keate and Warner dealt the lower classes a vicious blow by publicly rejecting the notion that there was any need for Superior District schools. Keate said in August 1857 that the ward schools were successful institutions; and that

> "no such desire for extended education has yet been produced would justify an attempt to establish schools of a higher order for the especial benefit of those who have distinguished themselves in the existing schools. Such a result must be the work of a far longer period of time than has elapsed since anything like organization under government control has been given to education throughout the colony."[86]

Of course Keate was not correct in implying that no organised effort in education was made at an elementary level before the coming of the ward schools. The Mico Charity day schools had at least as much organization as the ward schools. Keate was underestimating the work of the Mico Charity, the Church of England and the Roman Catholic church to suggest that because the ward schools had started only five years previously there were no lower class youths ready and eager to take advantage of secondary education. It must be remembered that at that time all the secondary schools, public and private, did

---

86. C.O. 295/195, Keate to Labrouchere, 7 Aug., 1857, no. 75.

elementary school work in their lower classes and there is no reason to believe that on academic grounds the brighter ward school pupils were not ready for entry into a secondary school. Another important fact is this: secondary schools, like elementary schools were small affairs. There is no need to wonder whether Keate could find 500 lower class youths ready to assimilate secondary education; it was a question of finding 40 or 50.

Secondary education is naturally a more expensive business than elementary education. In 1857 when the ward school system was already in a financial straight jacket, Keate offered the wards a loan from the Executive government which would be repayable out of the ward rates.[87] He insisted that the wards and the Boroughs should bear the expense of elementary education. He made one slight offer: the government would keep in hand £250 from which to help any needy ward with the salary of its teacher.[88] At a time when the ward planters were protesting against the high level of ward rates there was no question that the wards would borrow money from the Executive government to build school-houses and expand educational opportunities. Having refused to give money to the wards, Keate then put £3000 on the budget for the College. Even after deduction of the anticipated fees, the grant for one College with a projected student roll optimistically set at 50 boys in the first year was

---

87. P.O.S.G., 23 Dec., 1857, Council of Government 15 Dec., 1857.

88. C.O. 295/200, Keate to Bulwer Lytton, 9 Sept., 1858.

slightly more than the total sum which all the wards spent on elementary education.[89] The College was a double blow to the education of the lower classes; it not only shut them out on social grounds, but its coming considerably reduced the chances of the government helping the wards to expand elementary education. Keate evidently thought that already the children of the lower classes had ample educational opportunities. As he put it in September 1857

> "Persons of humble origin and small education have constant opportunities of emerging into the upper walks of life, while from the nature of the employment open to them the children of educated men are apt to sink to a lower level than is consistent with their birth. The standard of social attainment runs constant risk therefore of becoming more and more deteriorated."[90]

Keate here was surely overestimating the social mobility of black and coloured men of little education. While a section of the upper classes, mostly the wealthier whites sent their children to Europe for education, a part of the upper classes paid scant attention to the education of their children. Many of these children's future was secured without a respectable

---

89. In 1858 the expenditure on ward schools was £2105 excluding rent and incidental expenses. See C.O. 299/10, Report of Anderson for 1858. List of School masters in charge of ward schools. In 1860 total expenditure on ward schools was £3090. See C.O. 299/11, Report of Anderson for 1860.

90. C.O. 295/196, Keate to Labrouchere, 6 Sept., 1857, no. 398

level of education. They stood to inherit lands and estates; the sons might take up the business of being planters which was not generally thought to require any special studies. Some would follow their fathers into merchant houses; into family business. Education as a means of social mobility was more important to the coloureds than the whites, and indispensable to the blacks.

Warner in a speech which cannot be faulted for eloquence revealed the extent to which ascriptive factors, especially race and colour and class, rather than education determined the ranking of the people in the community. In presenting the proposals for a College to the Council he assured them that

> "it is of course not desired, nor intended that the school should receive those [whose] position in after life will be below the standard of the education which is offered."[91]

We can believe Warner when he added a few seconds later that in Trinidad

> "as in every other community, a classical education must, to the large majority be totally useless, as in no way adapted to their pursuits in after life."[92]

But why should the minority of beneficiaries exclude individuals from the lower classes? The answer is that the society would not give to the black or coloured youth with a classical

---

91.C.O. 295/196, Keate to Labrouchere, 6 Sept., 1857, no. 91., Enclosure: Printed speech of Warner to Council 2 Sept., 1857.

92. ibid.

education the same social status it would assign to a white youth with similar academic credentials. It is in this sense that the non-white youth, particularly the black youth with a classical education,would have a position in "after life"[93] below "the standard of the education which is offered".[94] Warner did not want to produce social misfits. There was, however, another way of avoiding this; and this was to change the social system.

In the 1850s and 1860s the white upper classes dreaded thie the increasing political activism of the coloured people. This was certainly so in Jamaica where the Assembly gave the coloured people a political foothold upon the destiny of the colony.[95] In Trinidad the Borough Councils of Port of Spain and San Fernando were giving the coloureds the same taste for political power as the Jamaica Assembly gave to Osbourne and Jordan and Gordon.[96] The demand for representative government was not being made only by the coloured politicians, but also by some of the white French creoles. The Port of Spain Borough Council was the arena for a perennial struggle for influence between Englishmen and white French creoles, coloureds and whites.[97] Fearful of the growing political influence of the coloureds, some of the Englishmen who had once been in favour of representative government turned their backs on this as a prospect in the 1850s. It was too dangerous. Warner and Keate saw in the political activism of the coloureds --

---

93. ibid.

94. ibid.

95. D. Hall: Free Jamaica (Yale University Press,1959) pp. 7-8 Also P. Abrahams. Jamaica An Island Mosaic (London) p. 89.

96. C. Campbell: Social and Economic Obstacles to the development of Popular Education in Post-Emancipation Jamaica 1834-1865. Journal of Caribbean History vol. 1. Nov., 1970.

97. P.O.S.G., 13 Aug., 1850, Council of Government 7 Aug., 1850. Also Trinidadian, 22 Dec., 1852, Editorial.

and no doubt also the activism of French creoles like Dr. deVerteuil -- more reason for reducing the power and privileges of the Borough Councils. In the latter months of 1857 two of the most keenly debated topics in the colony were the College and the future of the Port of Spain Borough Council. Warner in 1853 had already got the Council to raise the qualification for voting at the Borough Council elections, and for standing as a candidate.[98] In 1857 his declared intention was to abolish the Borough Council and divide Port of Spain into wards.[99] The official rationale for this was the alleged financial incompetence of the Borough Council. But Warner was distrustful of coloured politicians like Henry Jobity, Richard Ireland and Thomas Hinde.[100] It was the coloureds, not the blacks, who posed the immediate challenge to the whites -- English and French -- in post-emancipation society.

Part of the difficulty of analysing the social system of 19th century Trinidad is that there was a conspiracy of silence about the role of colour in the society. People were not afraid

---

98. C.O. 295/182, Harris to Newcastle, 7 Sept., 1853, no. 107., Enclosure: Ordinance X of 1853. The editor of the Trinidadian. complained that the number of burgesses was reduced. See Trinidadian, 1 Oct., 1853, Editorial: 5 Nov., 1853, Meeting of Port of Spain Borough Council 1 Nov., 1853.

99. P.O.S.G., 4 Nov., 1857, Council of Government 2 Nov., 1857. Warner also supported a move to abolish the salaries of the Mayors of Port of Spain and San Fernando.

100. Henry Jobity was a solicitor and the grandson of Chacon, the last Spanish Governor. See Wood, p. 203. R. Ireland and Thomas Hinde particularly the latter, were very persistent petitioners for constitutional change. See C.O. 295/186, Elliot to Grey, 23 Dec., 1854, no. 99., Enclosure: Petitions of Ireland and Hinde. Also C.O. 295/187, Elliot to Grey, 22 Feb., 1855. Enclosure: Petition of Ireland and Hinde.

of betraying their class prejudices; but colour prejudice was not to be mentioned. One gets the feeling that the colour question was only two inches below the surface of the public debate on most issues, particularly education and representative government. Of course, the thing surfaces on many occasions perhaps at the governor's ball, or at Trinity Cathedral.[101] The whites of course denied that colour discrimination existed; and could find coloured collaborators like Dr. St. Luce Philip who mistook their own limited professional acceptability for the absence of racial discrimination.[102] In the circumstances of mid 19th century Trinidad class prejudices coincided very largely with racial and colour prejudices as the basic colour classification of black, coloured and white corresponded with the social realities of lower class, middle class and upper class existence. The exceptions would only prove the rule.

Warner and Keate did not openly say that black or coloured people should be excluded from the College. They said that the lower classes should be left out; and this took care of the blacks. With the coloureds the problem was more subtle. When defining what class should benefit from the College, Keate said with one breath that it should be the middle class; then he said it should be the upper classes.[103] Warner put it in

---

101. Wood, op.cit., p. 251.

102. Wood, op.cit., p. 253.

103. C.O. 295/195, Keate to Labrouchere, 7 Aug., 1857, no. 75., Message to Council.

the negative; it was not for any boy whose parents earned their living by working with their hands.[104] The children of agricultural labourers, small farmers, petty tradesmen were out. If conceivably the son of a black school teacher would qualify on Warner's definition, then the fee of £20 per annum would eliminate him. As it seems odd to classify the black or coloured Port of Spain shopkeeper or tailor or teacher among the lower classes, we might say, taking Warner and Keate together, that these gentlemen intended the College for the upper classes and the upper middle class.

But this would let in some coloured children. As long as apartheid did not exist it was difficult to have a public College from which all the coloureds were excluded. Neither Keate nor Warner wanted to achieve this, though they certainly did not envisage or desire a College in which coloured boys predominated. The sons of respectable professional coloured men like Dr. Espinet or Dr. Philip would be acceptable. One problem of Warner and Keate was what level to set the fees which would exclude undesirables yet give respectable people, mostly white men, the opportunity of a good education for their sons at a price they could afford. There were several white civil servants, and planters and merchants too, whose social prestige was more than their cash value warranted. Warner himself in 1854 in rejecting -- unsuccessfully -- the idea of Mr. Rennie that the salaried Wardens should give a security for the ward rates in

---

104. C.O. 295/196, Keate to Labrouchere, 6 Sept., 1857, no. 91., Enclosure: Printed speech of Warner to Council 2 Sept., 1857.

their possession explained that if many respectable people were to pay all their debts they would hardly have anything left.[105] To keep up appearances some of the upper classes including Warner lived above their means; and at the slightest unfavourable turn in business would have their backs to the wall in a fight against bankruptcy. According to the editor of the Port of Spain Gazette it was partly because of the trade depression of 1854-1856 that some parents could not pay the fees for their sons at the Church of England secondary school taught by Mr. Pix.[106] Warner and Keate decided on £20 per annum as the fee for each boy, but where more than one boy was at the College the fees for each was to be reduced.[107]

When Keenan visited the College in 1869 the school after a decade had 18 coloured boys in a total of 68 students;[108] and it probably never had a higher proportion of coloureds. Where the fees had not kept out coloureds, the regulation adopted by the College Council to the effect that illegitimate children could not be students at the College drastically reduced the number of those qualified for admission. The

---

105. P.O.S.G., 26 Aug., 1854, Editorial.

106. P.O.S.G., 19 Sept., 1857, Editorial.

107. C.O. 295/196, Keate to Labrouchere, 6 Sept., 1857, no. 91, Enclosure: Printed speech of Warner to Council 2 Sept., 1857.

108. Shirley Gordon: Documents which have guided Educational Policy in the West Indies Caribbean Quarterly voo. VIX no. I and II (1963) p. 21.

coloured people who criticised this regulation were right in regarding it as a deliberate attempt[109] to close the College to many of the coloured people in the "middling" walks of life. Christian marriage was mostly a white upper class institution; and it was certainly unfair to penalise children for their parents' lapse from what Victorian morality considered to be right. As some of the coloured boys were the illegitimate children of white fathers who belonged to the upper classes the irony of the situation could hardly have been missed by the coloured politicians.

The arrangement for the College reminds us that the most consistent policy of Warner and the governors between 1834-1864, namely anglicising, was not to be achieved at the cost of confusing class and colour lines. Warner wished all the schools aided by the government and the wards to be agents in the spread of English habits and values. But the English values and habits disseminated were to be appropriate to the class of the persons receiving these values and habits. The ward schools were to anglicise the lower classes; the Model schools and Borough schools the lower middle classes; and the College the upper middle class and the upper classes. The advent of the College brought the education system directly

---

109. Wood, p. 233. The need of the coloureds for good secondary education in the colony was exemplified by the plight of three coloured youths who were sent to a tutor in England about 1857. By 1860 their parents could not pay the tutor and he appealed unsuccessfully to the Colonial Office. The youths were stranded without money and without friends. See C.O. 295/211, Rev. James Robertson to Newdastle, 10 July, 1860. (Upton School, Slough).

in line with the social system thought desirable by Keate and Warner.

There was some mention of education even above the level of the College. The College, said Keate, might become the first step,[110] in Trinidad becoming the site for a West Indian University. The British government did not even bother to reply to this part of Keate's letter. It was already disturbed at the thought of the government in Trinidad subsidising secondary education for the upper classes.[111] Perhaps Keate had heard of the proposal from a Rev. Melville, a visitor to St. Vincent, for scholarships for sons of the Vincentian upper classes to proceed to English Universities.[112] Apparently the editor of the St. Vincent Gazette taking up Melville's suggestions, had in June 1857 expanded them into a call for a West Indian University financed by contributions from the British West Indian islands and private philanthropists. It would give degrees in the professions and save the sons of the upper classes the trouble of going to England. It would be a proud day "when the first masters of ARts step from a West Indian University".[113] It was a thought in the right direction

---

110. C.O. 295/196, Keate to Labrouchere, 6 Sept., 1857, no. 91

111. C.O. 295/195, Keate to Labrouchere, 7 Aug., 1857, no. 75. On back of this is a Henry Taylor note dated 6 Sept.1857. Taylor said that government support for schools for the upper classes interferred with the "National operation of demand and supply" which, he claimed, insured through competition the best quality at the lowest price. The British government asked that fees at the College should bear a high proportion of the costs. See C.O. 295/195, Labrouchere to Keate, 16 Sept., 1857.

112. P.O.S.G., 19 Aug., 1857, Extracts from the Gazette of St. Vincent 27 June, 1857.

113. ibid.

on behalf of the wrong people.

When the College was proposed in the Council there were some fears that the Bishop of Barbados and the Archbishop of Port of Spain might be opposed to a secular College. However, this possibility was raised not by George Garcia, the only Roman Catholic on the Council but by one of the un-officials Mr. Richard Darling, who belonged to the Church of England. Garcia specifically said that Roman Catholics would support the College.[114] The decision to set up the College was passed unanimously. A few days afterwards Archbishop Spaccapietra came out against the College, and began to mobilise a Roman Catholic campaign against it.[115] Only six months after the controversial question of Spaccapietra's salary had been settled, the dust of a religious controversy was again clogging the atmosphere of the colony. The English and the French, the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church, the governor and the Archbishop had once again found another bone of contention.

The College did not open its doors until April 1859. The delay was caused by the need to recruit two masters, the headmaster and the second master from England. This would have been easier if salaries were larger and clergymen acceptable. The headmaster was being offered £700 per annum and a house; and the second master £500 and the privilege to take private pupils. As the College was to be secular, no graduate of Oxford

---

114. P.O.S.G., 5 Sept., 1857, Council of Government 2 Sept., 1857.

115. Wood, pp.232-233.

or Cambridge who had gone on to take Holy orders was acceptable. The jobs were for laymen. Keate thought that his friends in England could find him the men he wanted;[116] but having been disappointed in this expectation the patronage fell to the Colonial Office. Three candidates were specifically mentioned: Edward Clavert an M.A. from Cambridge; Horace Deighton, B.A. Cambridge and a Mr. Henry Caird. The latter settled for the second mastership. Calvert got the job of headmaster instead of Deighton because he was strongly recommended by the headmaster of Shrewbury Grammar school; because his qualifications and experience were superior to Deighton and because Deighton had not gone to a great public school.[117] As matters turned out, Deighton was given the headmastership after Calvert who was anxious to get back to England because of the death of his wife and the chance of getting a better job in England, suddenly resigned and left[118] the island in early September 1859. Because of this short stay of only 5 months, it is still commonly believed that Horace Deighton, who was still headmaster in 1870, was the first head of the College.[119]

Deighton's qualifications, although he was not a great public shcool boy, were formidable enough. He was a young man of 28 years;[120] a tall athletic figure who had played cricket

---

116. C.O. 295/201, Keate to Bulwar Bytton, 10 Oct., 1858, no. 140.
117. C.O. 295/206, Keate to Newcastle, 10 Dec., 1859, no. 192.
118. C.O. 295/206, Keate to Newcastle, 21 Nov. 1859, no. 179.
119. Wood, p. 234.
120. C.O. 295/207, Deighton to Newcastle, 1 Nov., 1859.

and rowed at Cambridge.[121] He was said to be amiable; to be able to bring the best out of boys. Since graduating from Cambridge in 1854 he had been teaching as second master at St. Johns Wood Preparatory School in London,[122] a young school which he had helped to set on its feet. At this school he had taught mostly mathematics; and this was his academic strong point. He had distinguished himself in the mathematical Tripos examination at Cambridge in 1854, and though he was knowledgeable in the classics, his referees felt that his speciality was mathematics. But Deighton had been broadening his education after leaving Cambridge: he had learnt French and German and his tutors in these subjects thought that he could teach in these areas. If only he had gone to one of the great public schools and not to Sedbergh school,[123] Deighton would have been in Keate's eyes a first class choice for the College. By the same token Deighton might not have sought after a colonial appointment at all.

Some of the initial difficulties of the College were similar to those faced by new schools of a lesser breed. Many boys were poorly grounded in elementary subjects; their attainment were often out of proportion to their years. This was

---

121. C.O. 295/202, Rev. Coleridge to Colonial Office, 7 Aug., 1858, Enclosure: REv. Campion to Rev. Coleridge 4 Nov., 1858.

122. C.O. 295/207, Deighton to Newcastle, 1 Nov., 1859, Enclosure: Thomas Markby to Newcastle, 1 Nov., 1859.

123. C.O. 295/207, Deighton to Newcastle, 1 Nov., 1859, Enclosure: Recommendation of Rev. J. Evans, Headmaster of Sedberg School.

at once reflected in the organisation of the classes in the College. It had three masters -- Calvert, Caird, and a Mr. Stuart who was recruited locally -- and Calvert divided the school into three classes,[124] ranking each of the 34 boys in a line of attainment. Class 1 which was the highest class had no boys over 14 years old; Abel Devenish in Class II was 16 years old; and John Harrigin in Class III was also 16. The average age of the 11 boys in Class I, was 11 years; that of the 9 in Class II was 12 years, and for the 14 in Class III it was 11. Thus the average age of the boys in the classes was not all that different although the work was different. The best student in the College Thomas Cadiz, the only one qualified to start Greek, was 12 years old.[125] Cadiz had been at the Grammar School of the Ecclesiastical Board where he was rated as one of the top Junior pupils.[126]

Calvert himself took charge of Class I; Caird and Stuart took care of the others. The curriculum consisted of Greek, Latin, French, Mathematics, Geography, English history and English composition. Calvert hoped to start teaching German and practical science as soon as possible. Of course, not all the boys did the same level of work in these subjects or all of the subjects. At the bottom of the school a lot of time had to be spent in teaching English history and geography,[127]

---

124. C.O. 299/10, Report of Principal, Edward Calvert 30 July, 1859.

125. ibid.

126. P.O.S.G., 5 Aug., 1854.

127. C.O. 299/10, Report of Principal, Edward Calvert 30 July, 1859.

which seems odd considering that the town schools had taught these subjects. Perhaps they had been badly taught. Only Class I and Class II did Latin, and even so they were only in the rudiments of the subject. The teaching of French presented a special problem: books were not available in sufficient supply.[128] Altogether, Calvert felt that the most important thing at this stage was to organise the boys and get them accustomed to disciplined work[129] at school and at home.

By August 1860 the number of pupils was up to 51. Deighton, the new headmaster kept the three class structure, but subdivided each class into two sections. As mathematics was Deighton's strong point he devoted a lot of time to this, and reported a good response from the boys. And since he knew German, this was added to the curriculum of Class I. Deighton himself taught all the subjects in Class I, except French, which was taught throughout the school by Caird.[130] No Spanish was taught, and there is no report of any extra curricula activities. Mr. Caird gave a lecture once a week in chemistry, and it was hoped soon to form a class in science.[131] Although Deighton was not himself foremost as a teacher of Latin and Greek, the school

---

128. It is interesting to note that in the 1860s J.J. Thomas also found it difficult to get French Grammar books in the island where French was the mother tongue of many people. He said he had "but a few school grammars and two third rate dictionaries". See J.J. Thomas The Theory and Practice of Creole Grammar. (New Beacon Books Ltd., 1969) First Published in 1869). p.V.

129. C.O. 299/10, Report of Calvert 30 July, 1859.

130. P.O.S.G., 18 Aug., 1860, Report of Horace Deighton 15 Aug., 1860.

131. ibid.

was in fact emerging along the lines of a classical school desired by Keate and Warner. It must be remembered that mathematics at a Grammar school was taught more as belonging to the Arts than as science; and its inclusion was not a departure from the classical intentions of the school. The boys were showing proficiency in French, but this should not have surprised Deighton in a colony where French was the first language of so many people. Why German and not Spanish, even before the arrival of Deighton, should have been thought of as the next modern language after French, might appear mysterious if we do not look beyond the shores of the colony. The fact is that the development of Prussia towards great power status and the world wide reputation of Prussian education[131a] was such that German was thought of as a more useful language for the sons of the British empire to acquire. There were many hundreds of Spanish speakers in the island, and millions next door in Latin America with which so much trade was conducted by Britain.

The years 1862 and 1863 brought feverish activity at the College. The age of the boys in relation to their achievement was beginning to look more logical. Class III in March 1862 now consisted almost entirely of boys between 8-10 years old. They were still doing a lot of elementary school work. It was, however, at the top of the College that the pace of the work picked up most remarkably. The explanation was that at the end

---

131a. H.C. Barnard: A History of English Education from 1760 University of London Press, 2nd ed. 1961) p. 119.

of 1862 Class I would be submitted "to the ordeal of an examination conducted by gentlemen appointed from the English Universities".[132] From this point down to 1870 and beyond preparation for this examination dominated the whole life of the College and stifled the development of its curriculum. Mr. Stuart, the editor of the Port of Spain Gazette in 1863, who was an Assistant master at the College, claimed that the case of those boys who were not good enough to win overseas exhibitions was considered

> "All that can be said on this point is, that the utmost care has been taken to make the courses of education as general and as complete as possible; the time devoted to Greek and Latin is even somewhat less than what is usual at English public schools, in order that English and other subjects may receive the utmost attention possible"[133]

This view, however, is an underestimation of the extent to which the requirements of the exhibitioners had already cramped the curriculum.

When Cambridge and Oxford Universities reorganised their programme of studies in order to form closer linkages between themselves and the newer Grammar schools of England, the College in Trinidad became the first school in the Caribbean -- indeed outside of England -- to participate in the Cambridge examinations. These were at two levels; the Senior Cambridge

---

132. P.O.S.G., 26 Mar., 1862, Report of Horace Deighton dated 1 March, 1862.

133. P.O.S.G., 15 April, 1863, Editorial.

and the Junior Cambridge;[134] the former for boys under 18 years of age, and the latter for those under 16 years of age. Here began the historic connection still existing in a modified form between the work of the colony's secondary school and the English secondary schools and Universities. Deighton and Keate were joyful at this development; but before taking part in the first Cambridge examinations in 1863 Deighton decided to give his boys a trial run. He arranged for Rev. W. Campion, Fellow and Tutor of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and one of his (Deighton's) former teachers at Cambridge, to conduct a private examination in December 1862.[135] Campion examined the English and mathematics; a Rev. E. Perowne, from the same College at Cambridge, moderated the classics. The reports of Campion and Perowne were highly favourable.[136] They ranked the four top candidates in this order -- 1. Cadiz; 2. Bowen; 3. Fabian; 4. Mitchell. Thomas Cadiz immediately became a young intellectual giant. As both Cadiz and Bowen were below the age of qualification for the overseas exhibitions they were rewarded with minor exhibitions or house scholarships of £50 each for a year on condition that they remained in school

---

134. C.O. 295/222, Keate to Newcastle, 13 April, 1863, no. 69., Enclosure: Report of Deighton 26 March, 1863.

135. ibid.

136. ibid.

to compete again the following year. In 1863 on the first entry of the College into the Cambridge examination system, Cadiz and Bowen[137], in that order won the two overseas exhibitions. Cadiz went off to Cambridge University, but Bowen, still underage, received another house scholarship. Altogether, six boys had passed the examination with Cadiz almost getting first class. At this time and down to 1870 the total number of pupils taking the Cambridge examinations in the British Empire was so small that it was possible for the examiners to grade to a fine point the performance of the best pupils in each subject. This exercise facilitated a comparison of the Trinidad candidates against the candidates in England. This very act was a source of pride; and when the results of the comparison were considered the supporters of the College could always find subjects in which creole boys in a colony had beaten English boys in the metropole. In 1863 Cadiz was ranked 2nd in Greek and 4th in mathematics.[138] It was felt by Deighton and others that if the Trinidad boys were allowed to take religious knowledge as a subject -- this being regarded obviously as a soft option -- their overall placing would be even higher.[139] Every year rivalry for the overseas exhibitions was keenly watched. Everything was done to make the examination appear on a standing higher than any other examination. The papers came sealed and addressed to the

---

137. C.O. 295/227, Keate to Newcastle, 5 April, 1864, no. 55.

138. C.O. 295/227, Keate to Newcastle, 5 April, 1864, Enclosure: Report of Deighton on 23 March, 1864.

139. ibid.

governor; no less a person than the Inspector of schools was the invigilator.

Every year the College recorded triumphs in the examinations the small number of the successful candidated detracting in no way from the pleasure of the achievement. It was almost as if 50 boys, or nearly this number, and three or four masters, had been gathered together in a rented building[140] to provide a scenario for the glory of a few exhibitioners. In the 1866 examination the College scored 100% passes: three students sat; one had passed in the third class and two in the first class.[141] No English school it was said had secured more than two first class passes. The College primarily because of the performance of a few boys in the Cambridge examination, was regarded by Church of England supporters and the government as an unparalled success.

At a time when Oxford and Cambridge were sometimes criticised in England as being out of fashion, they enjoyed an almost untold admiration from Englishmen in Trinidad. German education was excellent; Scotland had more Universities than England; but for quality Cambridge and Oxford were unsurpassed. Their large revenues

> "provide scholarships of £30 to £100 annual value; and after a student has obtained his degree, there are fellowships to be competed, which are sufficient to maintain a

---

140. The College was located in a building owned by a Mr. C.M. Vessiny on Oxford Street. See C.O. 299/10, Royal Gazette for 6 April, 1859, Notice of the Board of Education 2 April, 1859.

141. P.O.S.G., 27 March, 1867.

man, and as they usually do not entail duties or residence on the spot enable him to pursue any professional studies he may choose".[142]

If some people in England regarded such fellowship as an abuse, they were a virtue to the Editor of the Port of Spain Gazette who also taught at the College. In his mind, and in those of Englishmen in the colony, to have creole boys entering that "wise arena of intellectual competition, an English University",[143] through an examination which spanned the British Empire was a good thing for creoles and for the empire. The creoles would prove their worth; and stronger links between the scattered parts of the empire would be forged.[144] To excel in the metropole was to excel in the British Empire. When Thomas Cadiz in his first year at Cambridge won a £30 scholarship, the College gave a half holiday[145] to celebrate the feat.

---

142. P.O.S.G., 15 April, 1863

143. ibid.

144. ibid.

145. P.O.S.G., 6 July, 1865.

CHAPTER VII

THE ATTACK ON THE SCHOOLS 1857 - 1867

> "Your Excellency must recognise that it would be impossible for me to give my co-operation to this school. I find myself, on the contrary obliged to enlighten Catholics on the inevitable dangers to which they would be exposing their children in placing them there."
>
> Archbishop Spaccapietra to H. Labrouchere, 23 Sept., 1857.[1]

The year 1857 was crucial for the beginning of a serious campaign of criticism of the College and the ward schools. This continued unabated until the educational reforms of Governor Gordon between 1869 and 1870. It is important, however, to realise that the criticism of the ward schools and the College, when it emanated from Roman Catholic persons, lay and clerical -- and this is where it came from for the most part -- was only part of a larger and wider campaign against accumulated grievances which they ascribed to the legislation of a Protestant Council of Government in general, and to the evil influence of Charles Warner in particular. This larger and wider campaign of Roman Catholics got enmeshed inevitably in the political agitation in the late 1850s and early 1860s for constitutional reform;[2] for a larger number of

---

1. C.O. 295/196, Keate to Labrouchere, 24 Sept., 1857, no. 99., Enclosure: Spaccapietra to Labrouchere, 23 Sept., 1857.

2. Star of the West, 4 Sept., 1862, Editorial

unofficial members at least, and better still, for an elected Assembly. This agitation for constitutional reform came also from people who were not Roman Catholics; but some of its most prominent leaders, as in the days of Governor Elliot, were Roman Catholics. Dr. L.A. DeVerteuil, the most outstanding Roman Catholic layman, leader of the French creoles, sometimes Mayor of Port of Spain, exemplified in his person the linkages between the call for constitutional reform, for a reform of the system of education, and for general redress of the multiple grievances of the Roman Catholics

It seems worthwhile therefore to examine briefly some of the larger and wider grievances of the Roman Catholic community between 1857 and 1867. Basically, the struggle was over the claim of the Roman Catholic leaders for a larger endowment, and greater ad hoc financial support from the government;[3] and also for a proper respect for the ecclesiastical rights of the Church and the dignity of its local religious leader, the Archbishop of Port of Spain. The Roman Catholic church was not seeking parity with the Church of England in respect to grants from the government: it wanted more money than the Church of England since it was the church of the majority. The reply of Governor Keate and some other supporters of the Church of England was that most of the government revenues was contributed by Church of England property owners.[4]

---

3. C.O. 295/239, Gordon to Buckingham, 24 May, 1867, no. 72, Enclosure: Petition of Gonin relative to salaries.

4. C.O. 295/214, Keate to Newcastle, 20 Dec., 1861, no. 184.

The Roman Catholic church wanted each endowed priest to get no less than each endowed clergyman of the Church of England;[5] and also houses subsidised by the government. The reply of some supporters of the Church of England was that Roman Catholic priests, being bachelors, did not need the same amount of salaries as Church of England clergymen who may be married; and that the priests also had less need of houses to live in. The Bishop of Barbados did not regard the colony as a Roman Catholic colony: he claimed that most of the immigrants were not Roman Catholics,[6] and anyone not Roman Catholic the Bishop was minded to regard as an Anglican, actual or potential. Keate said that the native population most of whom were Roman Catholics was hardly expanding.[7] The result was that Governor Keate and the Bishop of Barbados regarded the island as open to the ecclesiastical enterprise of the Church of England.

The Bishop of Barbados repeatedly asked Governor Keate, the Council of Government and the British government, for more money to erect new parishes and to recruit new clergymen.[8]

---

5. C.O. 295/210, Walker to Newcastle, 13 Sept., 1860, no. 126. Spaccapietra had shown how strongly he felt on such questions by refusing to accept the salary of £100 p.a. for a priest at St. Anns. He wanted nothing less than £150 since this was the sum given to the ordinary endowed curate of the Church of England. See also C.O. 295/217, Keate to Newcastle, 22 May, 1862, Enclosure: Archbishop English to Keate, 12 May, 1862.

6. C.O. 295/220, The Bishop of Barbados: An Appeal (1862) op.cit.

7. According to the 1861 Census immigrants from India were increasing at a faster rate than blacks and coloured creoles. See C.O. 295/214, Keate to Newcastle, 5 Dec., 1861, no. 179.

8. C.O. 295/214, Keate to Newcastle, Oct., 1861. Also C.O. 295/202, Bishop of Barbados to Stanley 24 June, 1858. Also C.O. 295/220, The Bishop of Barbados: An Appeal (1862) op.cit.

Fortunately for the Roman Catholics, the British government showed a greater reluctance than before to yield to the pleas of the Bishop for more money.[9] Even so the Bishop of Barbados was able to use the Ecclesiastical Ordinance to get more money from the Council than the Roman Catholics.[10] The Table on the following page masks the extent to which the Church of England was favoured, for it does not include grants to build churches and manses, most of which went to the Church of England. Nor does the Table include money to repair churches and manses, money for which the Roman Catholic church hardly ever got; nor does it include certain contingencies, like house rent for Anglican clergymen.

Injustice in the distribution of government grants for church purposes formed part of the larger and wider grievances which nourished the animosity of the Roman Catholic leaders against the non-denominational ward schools and the secular College. It was hardly possible that this could be otherwise: the supporters of the ward schools and the College were often the same people who denied the right of the Roman Catholic church to larger grants. They are also in great measure the same people who in one way or another insulted the Archbishop of Port of Spain. Of course, the Archbishops from Spaccapietra to Gonin

---

9. C.O. 295/199, pp. 380-382 Lytton Bulwer to Keate, 31 July, 1858, no. 22. From about mid 1859 to November 1861 the British government refused to sanction any increase to the fixed expenditure of the Church of England.

10. In the eyes of the Bishop of Barbados and the Council of Government this Ordinance pledged the government to a policy of expansion of the Church of England. See C.O. 295/206, Keate to Newcastle, 6 Dec., 1859, no. 187, Enclosure: Report of a Council Committee on a petition from the Rector and parishioners of St. Stephen parish 26 Jan., 1859.

TABLE

Government Expenditure (£.stg) on Church of England and Roman Catholic Chruch 1857-1869.

(Excluding Grants for Buildings)

YEAR	Church of England % of total Expenditure.	Roman Catholic Church % of total Expenditure.	Total Expenditure
1857	5166(47.7)	5660 (52.3)	1 826
1858	5134(51.2)	4886 (48.8)	10020
1859	5348(52.5)	4837 (47.5)	10185
1860	5282(52.6)	4766 (47.4)	10048
1861	5284(53.5)	4595 (46.5)	9879
1862	5427(52.6)	4879 (47.4)	10306
1863	5566(58.8)	3902 (41.2)	9468
1864	5429(53.8)	4661 (46.2)	10090
1865	5490(53.0)	4869 (47.0)	10359
1866	5493(52.2)	5025 (47.8)	10518
1867	5557(53.0)	4939 (47.0)	10496
1868	5526(52.5)	4990 (47.5)	10516
1869	5355(50.8)	5178 (49.2)	10533

Compiled from C.O. 300/68-80

(1853-1870) were men who stood on their dignity while asserting what they regarded as traditional rights. They were conscious of themselves as part of an expanding international church with a tradition of greatness to recapture. Policies and postures reflecting this consciousness ran right into the traditional intransigience of Protestant Englishmen to yield to the agents of the Bishop of Rome.[11] In the colony, Governor Keate, Warner, and the Bishop of Barbados and other parts of the Church of England following, were eager, in the name of Queen and country, to appropriate for their church all the Reformation gains of Protestant England against an ultramontane Roman Catholic church. They had almost 300 years of British Parliamentary legislation to call into service;[12] and a continuing Victorian distrust, amounting to militant hostility at times,[13] against Roman Catholicism.

How was the successor of Archbishop Spaccapietra going to fare in such circumstances? Archbishop Ferdinand English who was appointed in September 1860[14] started out with some advantages Spaccapietra never had: he was a British subject, recruited in England. When he got to Trinidad towards the end

---

11. For instance on the issue of the Marriage Ordinance, Warner took up the posture of a Henry VIII. See P.O.S.G., 8 July, 1863, Debate of Council of Government; P.O.S.G., 8 Aug., 1863, Council of Government 1 Aug., 1863; P.O.S.G., 12 Aug., 1863, Council of Government 1 Aug., 1863.

12. C.O. 295/217, Keate to Newcastle, 7 May, 1862, no. 96., Enclosure: Warner to Keate 25 April 1862.

13. E.R. Norman: Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England (George Allen & Unwin, 1968) Chap. III.

14. C.O. 295/211, English to F. Rogers, 17 Nov., 1860. Between the departure of Spaccapietra and the arrival of English the person in charge of the Diocese was James Etheridge, Bishop of Toron.

of 1861, Keate and Warner were reminded of something they probably knew but did not stress: that to get an Archbishop who would fall in line with their plans they not only needed one British born, but a conciliatory man without ultramontane tendencies. Archbishop English was not such a man; he had a readiness to argue, and a brash manner of writing to Governor Keate. Apart from the injustice of the endownments to the Roman Catholic church, there were other matters that Archbishop English wished to put right. He noticed -- quite accurately -- an increased tendency to call the Roman Catholic church by another name, either the Church of Rome, or the "Romish" church in official documents. Such nomenclatures were not entirely new, but their use became more frequent. The corollary to this can be seen in some of the letters of the Bishop of Barbados: he began to call the Church of England the "English Church".[15] Clearly the implication was that the Roman Catholic church, or as some would have it, the Church of Rome, was the non-English church. There was nothing entirely new in the social assumptions and mental attitudes evoked by the use of the terms "Church of Rome" and "English Church" on the part of Church of England supporters. It was a matter of emphasis, personalities, and circumstances. By a curious twist of fate, Archbishop English found himself in Trinidad presiding over the non-English church.

---

15. C.O. 295/202, Bishop of Barbados to Stanley, 24 June, 1858. Also C.O. 295/220, Bishop of Barbados to Fortescue, May, 1862

Archbishop English asked Keate to ensure that in the future the Church over which he presided locally be designated by its proper name:[16] the Roman Catholic church. Keate passed the letter to Warner, the Attorney General, for his legal opinion. Warner gave his opinion in a few words: the Church of Rome was the proper title because that was the style used in the legislation of the British parliament.[17] Keate said that the Church of Rome was the local designation he found in use. Archbishop English was quick to point out how Keate could accept a local designation such as the Church of Rome when it was unacceptable to the Archbishop, but on the question of calling him the Archbishop of Port of Spain[18] -- also a local designation -- Keate would rather forget local designations. As for Warner Archbishop English said it loud and clear; Warner was known to be unfriendly towards the Roman Catholic church.[19] He did not think anyway much of Warner's legal precedents. Archbishop English claimed he could bring other cases where the British parliament had used the title Roman Catholic church. At any rate, the Archbishop could not understand how either Keate or Warner was better qualified than himself to say what was the official title of the church over which he presided locally. He would submit to the ruling of the British government for he was not a jot less loyal and patriotic than Warner or Keate.[20]

---

16. C.O. 295/217, Keate to Newcastle, 7 May, 1862, no. 96., Enclosure Archbishop English to Keate 21 April, 1862.
17. C.O. 295/217, Keate to Newcastle, 7 May, 1862, no. 96., Enclosure: Warner to Keate, 25 April, 1862.
18. C.O. 295/217, Keate to Newcastle, 7 May, 1862, Enclosure: Archbishop English to Keate, 29 April, 1862.
19. C.O. 295/217, Keate to Newcastle, 7 May, 1862, Enclosure: Archbishop English to Keate, 6 May, 1862.
20. ibid.

The British government gave instructions favourable to the view of Archbishop English. Keate complied; but on the other point how to style English himself, the British government had not budged.[21] The Roman Catholic religious leader was called anything else but the Archbishop of Port of Spain; sometimes he was called the Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church, or simply Archbishop English. Acting Governor Walker, produced the funniest title: he called him on one occasion "the Roman Catholic Bishop of this place".[22] Keate did not show much regret, even official, when he announced to the British government the sudden death of Archbishop English while on a tour in Grenada in September 1862.[23]

The administration of the Roman Catholic church was taken over by Abbe Cuenat until a new Archbishop could be appointed.[24] Cuenat was a Swiss, who wrote to Keate in French. He seemed easy to handle; Keate reported that they had amicable and respectful exchanges of letters.[25] Ironically Keate now saw in a foreign administrator of the Roman Catholic church, a man who did not know English, the sort of Roman Catholic leader he would like to deal with in the island. This brings us back to the point that the nationality of the Archbishop was in

---

21. C.O. 295/171, pp. 41-42 Grey to Harris, 25 Sept., 1850, no. 444.

22. C.O. 295/210, Walker to Newcastle, 13 Sept., 1860, no. 126.

23. C.O. 295/219, Keate to Newcastle, 23 Sept., 1862, no. 172.

24. C.O. 295/225, pp. 415-417 Abbe Ford to Secretary of State, 25 Feb., 1863 (Dublin)

25. C.O. 295/222, Keate to Newcastle, 16 April, 1863, Confidential.

itself not sufficient clue to how he would behave; personality counted. Abbe Ceunat's position was weakened by the fact that he was not acting Archbishop, but the administrator. Keate and Warner saw a golden opportunity to introduce a piece of legislation which struck at the known claims of the Roman Catholic church. A properly appointed Archbishop could not have stopped the passing of the Marriage Ordinance of 1863, but he most likely would have offered stronger leadership than did Cuenat. The latter wrote one or two weak letters of protest to Keate;[26] and effectively left Dr. L.A. DeVerteuil and other Roman Catholic laymen to organise the defense of the Church. When DeVerteuil reached London, apparently after visiting the Vatican, in 1863 he related to the Colonial Office the religious grievances of his Church.[27] He might have met the new Archbishop elect, Dr. Gonin. It was Gonin who completed the attack on the College which Spaccapietra began.

The main objection of Archbishop Spaccapietra to the College was that it was a secular institution. The Roman Catholic church, he said in a pastoral letter,[28] was opposed to the separation of education from religious instruction. From this point onwards to 1870 opposition on principle to secular education was kept in the forefront of the Roman Catholic campaign to effect changes in the education policy of the government. And the secular College, not the secular ward schools, was the main target of the

---

26. C.O. 295/223, Keate to Newcastle, 6 Aug., 1863, no. 126., Enclosure: Letter from Ceunat.

27. Wood, op.cit., p. 209.

28. P.O.S.G., 11 Nov., 1857, Letter from "A Collegian". P.O.S.G., 28 Nov., 1857, Letter from Thomas Hinde.

Roman Catholic campaign between 1857-1870. Indeed it was not until the coming of Governor Gordon in 1866 that the Roman Catholic Archbishop, as distinct from Roman Catholic laymen, publicly extended the objection against secular education at the College to the ward schools.

That Spaccapietra should have raised the objection was regarded in the ranks of the Church of England supporters as another example of the needless agitation which arose when a foreigner was at the helm of the Roman Catholic Church in the colony. Had not Archbishop Dr. P. Smith endorsed the secular ward schools? Some supporters of the College, including Governor Keate, reproduced[29] the farewell address of the Roman Cahtolics to Lord Harris. They could not, however, produce any statement by Dr. P. Smith to the effect that he approved on principle secular education; or that the Roman Catholic church was in favour of it. The only point they had was that Dr. P. Smith had not chosen to lead a campaign against the policy of Lord Harris. Some of the supporters of the College did not seem to have understood that the peculiar strategy of Dr. P. Smith would not affect the doctrines of the Church, which had undoubtedly always been hostile to secular education. If Dr. P. Smith had been alive in 1857 he might well have opposed the College. The mood of the Church was hardening under the influence of Pius IX; and Keate was extending the principle of secular education to secondary education.

---

29. 29. P.O.S.G., 3 Oct., 1857, Letter from "A Collegian" P.O.S.G., 11 Nov., 1857, Letter from a "Collegian."

The failure of Dr. P. Smith to protest publicly against the principle of secular education in the ward schools was obviously an embarrasment to Spaccapietra in 1857. He himself had not made a storm about the ward schools; when he was locked in a struggle with Elliot and Warner over his salary, it was not the most appropriate moment to raise a campaign against the ward schools. It was said that a Corsican Roman Catholic priest stationed at Arima condemned from the pulpit the use of English in the schools;[30] and it was admitted by all those who commented on the matter that the ward schools lacked the sympathy and the attention of the clergy, both Church of England and Roman Catholic.[31] But there was no concerted Roman Catholic campaign against the ward schools until the advent of Governor Gordon.

In objecting to secular education at the College in 1857 Spaccapietra had to say something to explain why he was not at the same time calling for changes in the ward schools. If we are to believe one of his adversaries,[32] Spaccapietra put forward the idea that while secular education at the elementary level was tolerable, it was absolutely unaccpetable when students advanced to the higher studies of secondary education. It is not clear whether Spaccapietra elaborated on this distinction; and it failed to convince the supporters of the College that the Roman Catholics were not acting inconsistently. Of course

---

30. Wood, op.cit., p. 201.

31. P.O.S.G., 4 March, 1857, Speech of Bishop of Barbados

32. P.O.S.G., 11 Nov., 1857, Letter from "A Collegian".

some Roman Catholics pointed to Ireland[33] where the Church had also objected strenously to the secular Queens Colleges while being tolerant of non-denominational elementary schools. All this meant to the supporters of the College was that Trinidad was not the only place where Roman Catholics behaved inconsistently.[34]

The Roman Catholic Church in the colony had objections on principle to secular education in both secondary and primary schools; but on grounds of expediency it was willing to push the principle more in relation to secondary schools than to elementary schools. In 1857 the Roman Catholics had two secondary schools while the Church of England had none; the Roman Catholics were anxious to retain their hold upon secondary education. The education of the upper class children, mainly French creoles, was socially and politically more vital to the perpetuation of the position of the Roman Catholic church in the colony than the education of the masses in elementary schools. From 1857-1870 the Archbishop of the Roman Catholic church was more anxious to see the destruction of the government College than to have government support for a Church of England secondary school and a Roman Catholic secondary school. The collapse of the Church of England Grammar school[35] suggested that without a government College the sons of Church of England supporters

---

33. P.O.S.G., 11 Oct. 1857, Letter from "Justitia".

34. P.O.S.G., 17 Oct., 1857, Letter from "A Collegian".

35. P.O.S.G., 26 Sept., 1855, Letter from an "Observer".

would have no public secondary school of their own. To stifle the government College was to protect the ascendancy of the Roman Catholic church in the field of secondary education.

In the field of elementary education the Roman Catholic strategy in the late 1850s and 1860s could not be as simple. There were the ward schools, and denominational schools. The Roman Catholics were not ahead of the Church of England as providers of denominational elementary schools. In fact, they were decidedly[36] behind. No Roman Catholic Archbishop could hope that Elliot, or Keate, or the Council would distribute government grants fairly to Roman Catholic and Church of England elementary schools. It was partly because the system of government aid to denominational elementary schools had worked so unjustly in favour of the Church of England schools that Dr. Smith had spoken of the proposal to have secular ward schools as a "vastly improved system".[37] The Roman Catholics could not campaign for a return to this system unless there were sturdy guarantees that it would be worked either fairly or in their favour. Their best hope was to have a friendly governor who would pass laws entrenching fair play in the distribution of the government grants. Such a governor was not available before

---

36. In 1858 the Bishop of Barbados said that the Church of England had 20 denominational elementary schools (C.O. 295/202 Bishop of Barbados to Stanley 24 June, 1858). In the same year Keate reported that the total number of denominational schools was 27 (C.O. 295/205, Keate to Newcastle, 9 Aug., 1859 no. 123.) From this it is clear that the Roman Catholics had less schools than the Church of England.

37. P.O.S.G., 10 June, 1851, Valedictory Address of Roman Catholics.

the advent of Gordon in 1866; and the possibility of sustained support for such a policy from the British government was not evident until the liberal administration of the late 1860s. Largely for these reasons the campaign against the College was only extended officially to the ward schools when Gordon had showed his sympathy to the Roman Catholics; and even then, as will be seen later, the Archbishop took no chances with the working of a policy of government assistance for denominational elementary schools. Half of the Board of Education were, the Archbishop stipulated, to be Roman Catholics, and after the funds had been split on a fixed principle between Roman Catholic and Church of England schools, the Roman Catholic half of the Board alone was to decide on the distribution of its share to its schools.[38]

As indicated in an earlier chapter, the proponents of secular education, not being true secularists, could only maintain their position on grounds of expediency. This was true of the College no less than of the ward schools supporters. Three months after proposing a secular government College, Keate made a speech at St. Georges prize-giving function in which he affirmed his belief that the best principle of education was to combine religious instruction with the general work of the school.[39] Keate might have squirmed uneasily in his seat when a pupil in returning thanks to the governor reminded the audience--

---

38. C.O. 295/239, Gordon to Buckingham, 24 May, 1867, no. 72., Enclosure: Petition of Gonin relative to ward schools and the College. 2 April, 1867.

39. P.O.S.G., 23 Dec., 1857.

under the guise of praising Keate -- that in Grenada Keate had endowed a public school in each parish "under the sole management and jurisdiction of the parish priest".[40]

The Bishop of Barbados, four Presbyterians, two Methodists and two Baptist ministers publicly gave their support to the College.[41] These persons occupied the same position as Keate and Warner: it was only the peculiar circumstances of Trinidad which condoned secular education. The Bishop of Barbados regarded the absence of religious instruction in the College as a "defect",[42] but he felt that no other scheme would work. Too much emphasis, he said, had in the past been placed on the education of the lower classes to the neglect of the upper classes.[43] He threw his weight behind the government in the dispute over the College; but as in the case of the secular ward schools, the Bishop was not happy with the arrangements for religious instructions.

The key to the attitude of the Bishop Parry towards the government policy of secular government schools is to understand that the Bishop could not easily enter into a struggle with the government. Events in the year 1857 displayed admirably the constraints upon criticism of government policies which inhibited

---

40. ibid.

41. C.O. 295/196, Keate to Labrouchere, 6 Oct., 1857, Enclosures nos. II and III.

42. C.O. 295/196, Keate to Labrouchere, 6 Oct., 1857, Enclosure: Bishop of Barbados to Keate 19 Sept., 1857.

43. ibid.

the Bishop of Barbados.[44] Early in 1857 Bishop Parry paid a visit to the island; he probably thought it a good thing to meet the new governor, Robert Keate as soon as possible. Bishop Parry also thought that this was an opportune time to voice his dissatisfaction with the system of elementary ward schools. It was nothing new under the Crown colony system of government for old grievances unredressed by one governor to be brought speedily to the attention of a new governor. Bishop Parry chose an important occasion to deliver a serious and comprehensive, though restrained, criticism of the ward schools. The editor of the Port of Spain Gazette, himself an ex teacher, felt the subject important enough to carry a fairly full report of the Bishop's speech to the clergy of the Trinidad diocese,[45] probably assembled in Trinity church, Port of Spain, on the 24 March 1857.

Bishop Parry said that he had always regarded the system of education adopted by Lord Harris as an experiment; he had given it a fair trial and found it wanting.[46] He had expected that when the government took the task, not merely of encouraging schools, but of actually conducting schools; when it ordered revenues to be appropriated for schools and imported teachers for certain schools at salaries higher than those given to many Church of England clergymen, that the results both in terms of the quality of education, and its spread over the colony would

---

44. P.O.S.G., 4 March, 1857.

45. P.O.S.G., 4 March, 1857, Editorial

46. P.O.S.G., 4 March 1857.

have been impressive. It was not. The Bishop implied that he did not like the whole idea of government schools; and he doubted whether there could ever be as good as schools run by his clergymen.[47] Standards, even intellectual standards, were lower in the ward schools, he asserted, than in the denominational Church of England schools prior to 1851. The ward schools, he said, suffered greatly from a lack of local sympathy and local supervision. Even some of the denominational schools had in the past been adversely affected by a lack of local interest from the negligence of individual clergymen. But it seems an illusion to expect local sympathy and supervision,

"in a merely secular system moving on a central spring and omitting all appeal to the deep underlying interest of our religious nature".[48]

Although there was enough in what the Bishop had said to make it clear that the lack of religious instruction within the ward schools was a defect in his eyes, he had not in fact put this defect in the forefront of his criticism. In respect to the ward schools, as in regard to the College, Bishop Parry showed that he was willing to soft pedal the lack of religious instruction; to subordinate this aspect of the government's policy to other considerations. Having made such serious criticisms of the ward school system, he did not go on to ask for a repeal

---

47. ibid.

48. ibid.

of the government's education policy. He asked his clergy to give it more support by opening complementary Infant schools which concentrated on religious instruction rather than on history or geography; and to give the ward schools some attention and sympathy.[49]

The speech created a stir among informed circles in Port of Spain. The editor of the Port of Spain Gazette now noted that the Bishop of Barbados, like Archbishop Spaccapietra, had expressed disatisfaction with the ward schools.[50] But asserted the editor -- with what truth is not known -- Archbishop Spaccapietra had not decisively said that the prevailing system could not be reformed to include religious instruction. So, said the editor, it was reforms which WERE needed, not a complete overthrow of the prevailing system.

Governor Keate was disturbed by what the Bishop of Barbados had publicly stated in Port of Spain. Apparently Bishop Parry had sent Keate a letter which repeated the same sort of criticism made before the assembled clergy. But if we are to believe Keate[51] -- for this letter itself has not been seen -- the Bishop's letter put a greater amount of emphasis upon the absense of religious instruction than the public speech to the assembled clergy. The reaction of Keate was NOTHING short of a counter-attack, not upon the Bishop personally, but upon the idea that the prevailing system was not yielding

---

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid., Editorial

51. C.O. 295/195, Keate to Labrouchere, 24 July, 1857, no. 64.

good results, and on the implication that a return to a denominational system would improve education. Nothing short of a counter-attack was necessary since in May 1857 the British government had indicated that if the prevailing system of non-denominational ward schools could be shown to have failed, a return to denominational schools, aided by the government in proportion to the numerical strength of the denomination, would be approved by the British government.[52]

Keate after only seven months in the island could not have mounted such a counter attack without assistance. If he had the help of Warner, he did not acknowledge it; but he called upon Inspector Anderson who had recently returned from leave abroad, and upon Mr. Sugars, teacher at the Boys Model school, to assist with the defense of the system. Keate said he himself had seen something of the schools in San Fernando and Port of Spain;[53] had examined the ward school teachers in June 1857 when they had assembled in Port of Spain for their annual examination, and he was generally pleased and satisfied. What was wrong with the assessment of the Bishop was that he was comparing the existing system with some imaginary standard of perfection. What the Bishop ought to do, Keate said, was to take the standard of the denominational schools in 1852, and compare that with the standard of the existing ward schools.[54] Keate took the fight into the corner of the Bishop of Barbados: in Barbados itself Keate doubted

---

52. ibid.

53. ibid.

54. ibid.

if denominational education by Church of England clergymen was of a high standard, and in Grenada, he said he knew for sure that denominational Roman Catholic and Church of England schools aided by the government were of a poor quality.[55] The prevailing system was the best for Trinidad, with its variety of races and religions, christian and non-christian; central control and supervision such as that offered by the governor, the Board of Education and Inspector Anderson, was absolutely vital.

In respect to the Bishop's suggestion that the absence of religious instruction was a major defect, Keate threw the ball back into the Bishop's court. If that was so, it was partly the fault of the clergy who had the power to provide it and thus to improve the system.[56] If it could be said that it was difficult to get pupils to attend religious instruction in the off days from school, then it was equally difficult to get them to attend schools on school days. If, as the Bishop inferred in his letter, the lack of religious instruction was the reason for parents not sending their children to the ward schools regularly, then for this very reason they ought to have sent them regularly to the clerics for religious instruction. Ample time was allowed for religious instruction under the old rules, and moreso under rules recently adopted. As the position then stood all Wednesdays, Saturdays and Sundays, were available for religious instruction; and even under a system of denominational

---

55. ibid.

56. ibid.

schools scarcely more than three out of seven days per week could be given up to religious instruction without the teaching of other subjects being adversely affected. Keate, in fact, was not really prepared to admit that less religious instruction was actually being given to children now than when the schools were all denominational.[57] Perhaps Keate was impressed with Lord Harris's idea that the ward schools would stir the intellect of the children, and thus make them more susceptible to religious instruction. Possibly he had in mind the fact that there were more clergymen in 1857 than in 1847. The evidence he actually produced was that Inspector Anderson had only found one clergyman who had turned his back completely on the schools;[58] the others gave them various degrees of attention though not enough. Anderson's conclusion was that more religious instruction was being given now than ever before; and this view, said Keate, was corroborated by Archdeacon Cummins, the local supervisor of the Church of England in the absence of the Bishop of Barbados. Archdeacon Cummins was said to be completely in favour of the prevailing system of education.[59] For good measure Keate added that the Roman Catholic priests also gave more religious instruction now than before the introduction of the education system, and this he attributed to the searching nature of government inspection of the schools. It is not clear here how this could

---

57. ibid.

58. C.O. 295/195, Keate to Labrouchere, 24 July, 1857, no. 64.

59. ibid.

be a factor unless Inspector Anderson was examining religious instruction when he visited the schools, which he ought not to have done.

Keate said that he felt strongly that as long as clergymen were paid from public funds they had a duty to support the public schools, such as the ward schools; to encourage parents to send their children to these schools. It was wrong for the endowed clergy to withhold their attention and sympathy from the ward schools, and then complain that these schools lacked local attention and sympathy. It was only, said Keate, from clerics that useful local attention and sympathy could be expected;[60] the planters generally were unconcerned with education. The Bishop might be able to get some money from a few of the planters for schools, but there was no reason to think that even with government assistance the Bishop could find in the countryside sufficient voluntary funds to build a denominational system of schools sufficient to meet the requirements of the colony.[61] The Bishop and clergy would do well to establish more denominational schools as long as the clergy did not think that more denominational schools absolved them from their duty of giving attention and support to the ward schools.

Regret was expressed in the Bishop's letter to Keate that the schools did not open and close with prayers. Keate retorted that the Bishop knew well the difficulties of finding prayers acceptable to all, especially the Roman Catholics;[62]

---

60. ibid.

61. ibid.

62. ibid.

and if such acceptable prayers could be devised, they would be so dry and meagre, and devoid of deep religious content that he, Keate, doubted their religious value. There was one practice which Inspector Anderson had discovered which Keate would recommend for general adoption wherever practicable. Anderson had found one Anglican Rector who gathered the Anglican children every morning, and had prayers before sending them off to school.[63] Presumably this Rector's house must have been in a strategic position in relation to the homes of the children and the site of the ward school.

There was one assertion of the Bishop of Barbados which Keate could not deny, namely that there were not enough ward schools to meet the needs of the people. Here Keate was on the defensive; he promised to propose in the 1858 estimates that two or three girls schools with infant departments should be started in those wards[64] which could afford it. Here Keate was assuming that the greatest need for such schools would occur within the wards which could afford to spend more money on education. The implication of the promise was that he was going to oblige one or two of the wards to get these schools started. If he approached any of the Wardens and ward auditors on this question, the response was negative, for there is no evidence that any schools of this type were founded in the wards between 1858 to 1870. Indeed, Keate had not fully met the Bishop's point that the ward school system was incapable of sufficient expansion to meet the needs of the colony for schools.

---

63. ibid.

64. ibid.

The lengthy defense of the prevailing system by Keate, plus the supporting reports of Inspector Anderson and Mr. Sugars, also multiple reports and documents on education gathered by Lord Harris, were all sent to the Bishop of Barbados at his headquarters in Bridgetown. Keate said he was sure that Bishop Parry, when he saw the pile of evidence in favour of the system, would realise that he had been misinformed by certain persons, and would wish to change his assessment of the educational result of the system.[65] If the Bishop did not make a complete volte face, he certainly restated his position with more caution and hesitation, less enthusiasm, and altogether with less hope or expectation that changes would be made along the lines sketched in his letter to Keate. In short, in the face of Keate's counterattack, the Bishop of Barbados, without really changing his opinions, displayed no desire to fight.

From his headquarters in Barbados Bishop Parry replied to Keate in early September 1857. He said that he did not want to go over the whole discussion again; he would confine his reply to a few points. He said his real quarrel was not with the standard of education in the ward schools, but with the fact that there were so few schools. He agreed that the denominational schools before 1852 were in their standards not exactly "models"[66] but

"....what they might have been with a more liberal expenditure, was never put to the test; and it would be manifestly

---

65. ibid.

66. C.O. 295/197, Bishop of Barbados to Keate, 8 Sept., 1857 (Barbados)

unjust to compare a system struggling for existence with one liberally supported out of the public funds."[67]

Having declined to compare the denominational schools before 1852 with the ward schools of 1857 in point of quality, he proceeded to compare them in point of the number of children; and found such a comparison satisfying to his position.

"In regard to the number of Schools, I venture to add that in 1850 we had in Trinidad, under the English Clergy only (besides what the Roman Catholics and others had), 46 Schools with 2040 Scholars and an average attendance of 1300. The number of Government Schools at present in the rural districts is 25, with about 1600 Scholars and an attendance of about 1000. Even if the Towns should be added, it would seem that, if the value of the School instruction now given be greater, the opportunities of receiving it are fewer, and the numbers under instruction less, though the expenditure has been greatly increased".[68]

If the Bishop was minded to push his opposition to the system he should have capitalised on the low numbers of pupils in the ward schools by going on to assert that a purely denominational system in 1857 would attract a far greater number of pupils than the ward schools. Instead he simultaneously agreed with the wisdom of Keate's suggestion that the thing to do now was to supplement the ward schools by ward schools for girls and infants, while at the same time hinting that if no ward schools were in existence, if no taxes were specifically imposed for

---

67. ibid.

68. ibid.

education, the Church of England would be able to find in the community sufficient voluntary support to back up government grants, and thus have a larger provision of education for the labouring classes.[69] If he wanted to combat Keate's main positive suggestion for expansion of the ward school system, Bishop Parry should have returned to the point which he already sensed, namely that not much more expansion could reasonably be expected out of the system of local taxes for local education. He, however, warned Keate not to expect the Church of England to provide more denominational schools to supplement the ward schools.[70] The Church could not find the money because the kind of people who would contribute voluntarily could not understand the need to do so when the government was at the level of the wards imposing taxes for education.

As for the lack of religious instruction in the schools, instead of returning to the attack started in his private letter, Bishop Parry backed off, without really changing his views.

"I would further explain that I did not object to the system pursued in Trinidad as being defective in the religious element; but, <u>waiving that objection,</u> I expressed my disappointment that the Government Schools did not sufficiently offer instruction good of the kind proposed to the population generally throughout the Island".[71]

---

69. ibid.

70. ibid.

71. ibid.

The final note, which actually came in the middle of the letter, was one of subordination of his own unchanged convictions to the evident determination of Governor Keate to maintain the existing system,. As the Bishop put it

"I have no wish, I assure Your Excellency, to see the Government School system now that it has been established, discontinued. I still think, as I stated before, that for training schools, and middle Schools, and Normal Schools here and there, it might be made very valuable; especially under such vigilant encouragement as it is likely to receive from Your Excellency and if the work cannot be done otherwise with Government Support, I would gladly see the system extended with some modification, so as to/better be adapted to the real wants of our agricultural population by the multiplication of Schools of a humbler and less ambitious character, and especially of Girls' and Infant Schools under female teachers, such as Your Excellency proposes".[72]

Eleven days after deciding to go along with Keate on the ward schools, Bishop Parry took up his pen in Barbados and wrote to Keate his support for the College, despite its defect in not giving religious instruction.[73] From this point onwards Bishop Parry stood with the government on the question of both the ward schools and the College whatever were his private opinions.

---

72. ibid.

73. C.O. 295/196, Keate to Labrouchere, 6 Oct., 1857, no. 101., Enclosure: Bishop of Barbados to Keate, 19 Sept., 1857.

He was keener to have denominational elementary schools than to have denominational secondary schools. He figured that he was ahead of the Roman Catholics in the number of denominational schools he possessed, and that the government would give more of the grants for denominational schools to his schools as in the 1830s and early 1840s; but the Bishop was not sure about the fortunes of a Church of England secondary school for many of the English proprietors from whom the Bishop would expect support in terms of money and pupils were either absentees or the kind of people who would still want to send their sons to England for education. For reasons which were the very opposite of the Bishop's, the Archbishop of Port of Spain was keener to have denominational secondary schools preferably unaided by the government, than denominational elementary schools.

Apart from their objection on the grounds of religion, Archbishop Spaccapietra and some other Roman Catholics disapproved of the proposed College on other grounds. The two most important of these objections were that the curriculum of the College was misconceived and that the College would not help youths who lived outside of Port of Spain.[74] The College took boarders, and the cost of boarding country youths in the capital was reportedly high. This objection veered round into the objection on religious grounds as the Catholics implied that the College, since it did not give religious instruction, could never become a residential school. This is an argument which

---

74. C.O. 295/196, Keate to Labrouchere, 24 Sept., 1857, no. 99., Enclosure: Anti-College petition.

was based on the assumption that a residential College must have a communal religious life within its walls. One solution was to have denominational hostels for boys at the College; if these hostels were regarded as part of the College, then the College would be becoming a boarding school. Gordon had such hostels in the back of his mind when he embarked on his new policy for secondary education. The idea, however, could never work well as it ran counter to the real objection of the Roman Catholics; that general education should not be separated from religious instruction.

Archbishop Spaccapietra and the Roman Catholic petitioners scored a major point when they told the British government that the curriculum of the College should be agricultural and commercial rather than classical.[75] The argument was that the ambition of most parents for their sons did not go beyond the planting and mercantile business. Although this could not have been true in all cases, it had a good deal of wisdom in it. In order to facilitate the handful of boys who would go on to University, the curriculum of the College was geared to entering Oxford and Cambridge Universities rather than to the needs of the colony for scientific agriculture and business expertise. If the government could not undertake the cost of a varied curriculum involving the classics, agriculture and business studies, then the case for the latter two subjects was stronger than the case for a classical curriculum.

---

75. ibid.

Keate brushed aside this critique of the curriculum as nonsensical. The planters and merchants in the Council, he asserted, ought to know what was good for their children, and they wanted a classical curriculum. The Roman Catholic petitioners, he went on to say, were only seeking to lower standards at the College;[76] and this was only to be expected since the petitioners, so he said, were mostly tradesmen and not professionals. The officials in the Colonial Office would doubtless have agreed with Keate and Warner on the point of curriculum: in England the classics, plus a modicum of mathematics and science was the staple diet of the education of the upper classes.[77]

The argument over the curriculum of the College illustrates one of the essential differences between the proposed government College and St. Georges College, and later on the College of the Immaculate Conception. The Roman Catholic secondary schools took in not only the upper classes, but they reached further down into the middle class ranks than the government College. St. Georges and later St. Mary's (College of the Immaculate Conception) had lower fees than the College.[78] The sons of not so wealthy French creoles, of respectable coloured merchants of Port of Spain found places in it. The parents of these children were sometimes cocoa planters and

---

76. C.O. 295/196, Keate to Labrouchere, 6 Oct., 1857.

77. P. Musgrave: Society and Education in England since 1800 Methuen and Co., London 1968) pp 14-16.

78. Shirley Gordon: Documents which have guided Educational Policy in the West Indies III. The Keenan Report. Caribbean Quarterly vol. VIX no. 1 and II (1963) p. 18.

and medium scale merchants. Their sons very often ended up in the family business, perhaps before completing their study at school. For them a curriculum in agriculture and commerce would be more vital than a training in the classics. In the 1850s then, the Roman Catholic College was different from the government College in that it catered for a wider social spectrum of people in the middling walks of life, and it gave a more varied course of studies than the College.[79]

It must not, however, be thought that at any time in the 19th century the Roman Catholic College, be it St. Georges or St. Mary's placed more emphasis, or gave more prestige to branches of study other than the classics. Neither St. Georges not St. Mary's had classes in practical agriculture, though the latter was to have classes in the natural sciences,[80] the study of which might have been relevant to scientific agriculture. What the Roman Catholic College had beside the classics was really commercial studies, and some extra-curricular activities, for example, music.[81] The commercial studies were ranked below the classics; it was really the work of the junior part of the College. The best products were the boys most skilled in the classics. When St. Mary's entered the Cambridge examination system and was placed in competition with the government College, the emphasis upon the classical aspect of its curriculum increased.

79, ibid., p. 12.

80. ibid., p. 18.

81. ibid.

Hence both St. Marys and the Royal College got caught up in the later 19th century in a classical curriculum which was largely irrevelant to the needs of the colony.

The acceptance of the College by the British government was largely a tribute to the power of the governor of the Crown Colony. Keate represented the opposition of the Roman Catholics as really political opposition;[82] opposition to his authority as governor, opposition to the Council and to the policy of anglicising. Having done this he had to be careful to let the British government know that only a handful of Roman Catholics were really behind the movement. And these he asserted, were unimportant people, mostly foreigners.[83] Articulate agitation in Trinidad had indeed a narrow basis because of the small size of the middle and upper classes. Both Keate and Elliot underestimated the strength of support which Spaccapietra commanded over the issues of his salary and the government College. The British government did not approve or disapprove of measures according to the degree of popular support for these measures. The policy of the governor usually prevailed, even when some injured party sent delegates directly to the Colonial Office.[84] In the case of the College, the British government subordinated its dislike for government subsidies to the education of the upper classes in order to give support to Keate. If the colony could pay for it, and the governor -- backed by the Council --

---

82. C.O. 295/196, Keate to Labrouchere, 10 Oct., 1857, Private.

83. ibid.

84. Wood, op.cit., p. 209.

clearly wanted it, then Trinidad would have a government College in spite of Archbishop Spaccapietra and the Roman Catholic petitioners.

Unfortunately the opinions of the Roman Catholic priests are clouded in mystery. Publicly they went along with their Archbishop, be he Dr. Smith, Spaccapietra or Gonin. But they could hardly have held unanimous opinions in all the controversies in which the Church was involved.[85] The governors and the English party frequently spoke as if the priesthood was basically split along lines of nationality: British born priests and foreign priests.[86] The same distinctions made between the attitude of Dr. Smith and Spaccapietra were extended to include the British born priests on the one hand, and the foreign priests on the other. Seven of the twenty five priests on the pay list of the government in 1856 were "foreigners";[87] but there were doubtless other foreign priests, who not receiving salaries from government, were left out of the calculation.[88] It seems strange that Elliot and Keate could have been so fearful of the influence of seven

---

85. Sometimes there were vague suggestions that the Roman Catholic priesthood was not only split into a foreign and English section, but that among the foreign section there was a Spanish group and a French group. See Rev. Trew to Trustees, Anti Slavery Papers. E. 1/4 1836-1842.

86. C.O. 295/196, Keate to Labrouchere, 10 Oct., 1857, Private. Also C.O. 295/222, Keate to Newcastle, 16 April, 1863, Confidential. Enclosure: Abbe Cuenat to Keate 11 April, 1863. Also C.O. 295/222, Keate to Newcastle, 15 April, 1863, no. 70.

87. C.O. 295/196, Keate to Labrouchere, 10 Oct., 1857, Private.

88. Wood says that as late as 1867 when 29 priests were working in the island, only 8 had English or Irish names. See Wood, op.cit., p. 197.

foreign Roman Catholic priests. To understand their fears the authoritarian nature of the Roman Catholic Church must be kept in mind. Spaccapietra could impose his views as the views of the Roman Catholic priests. Elliot claimed that a priest had come to him "with tears in his eyes"[89], with the story that some priests did not agree with Spaccapietra on the College. Nevertheless Spaccapietra had signed petitions against the College on behalf of the entire body of priests. There is nothing incredible in this story, and in other stories of splits in the ranks of the Roman Catholic priesthood: but it is not known how far they were true.

It is easier to get evidence of rifts between the ARchbishop of the Roman Catholic Church and Roman Catholic laymen. For the latter sometimes took to the press, though they did not feel bold enough to sign their names. In 1867 there was obviously a difference in strategy between a group of Roman Catholic laymen and Archbishop Gonin:[90] should the Roman Catholics ask for government money for their College, or should they simply shut off the government College from government support? But Roman Catholics who advocated a different policy from that of the Archbishop opened themselves to doubt by contemporaries whether they were true Roman Catholics after all. Only the Archbishop spoke for the Church, but the English party claimed to hear many different Roman Catholic voices.[91]

---

89. C.O. 295/196, Keate to Labrouchere, 10 Oct., 1857, Private.

90. Trinidad Chronicle, 4 Dec., 1866, and 11 Dec. 1866, Letters from "A Father of Family". Also Trinidad Chronicle, 18 Dec., 1866. Letter from "A Catholic".

91. C.O. 295/196, Keate to Labrouchere, 10 Oct., 1857, Private.

Spaccapietra departed[92] from the colony the same year (1859) that the government College opened in rented buildings. The working of the College furnished its Roman Catholic oponents with more objections, some very specific. This was particularly true after 1863 when the Roman Catholics got a new College of their own -- the College of the Immaculate Conception.[93] The more specific argument now concerned the numbers of pupils in the government College and the per capita cost of running the institution. The Roman Catholic opponents said that numbers were too small, and hence per capita cost too high in the government College. In 1867 Archbishop Gonin claimed that the average number of pupils over the years 1859-1865 was only 48, and that the per capita expenditure already high, would have been higher if the government had fulfilled its scholarship target and filled all vacancies on the staff.[94]

There was one ground upon which the Roman Catholics did not criticise the government College: they never challenged its academic standards. Between 1863 and 1869 the academic integrity of the College became one of the chief pillars of its defense. The annual reports of the examiners of Cambridge University in the hands of the editor of the Port of Spain Gazette, became a weapon in the defense of the College.[95]

---

92. Spaccapietra went on to be Bishop of Smyrna. According to H. Taylor he was a Cardinal by Nov., 1860. See C.O. 295/211, F. English to Rogers, 17 Nov., 1860, note of Taylor on this despatch.

93. Centenary Record of the Holy Ghost Fathers in Trinidad and St. Mary's College 1863-1963. p. 2

94. C.O. 295/239, Gordon to Buckingham, 24 May, 1867, no. 72. Enclosure: Petition of Gonin relative to the College 2 Apr., 1867.

95. P.O.S.G., 11 March, 1865; 20 Dec. 1865; 21 Dec., 1867.

In a few short years the College was regarded by Church of England supporters as an unparalled success. As if to taunt its Roman Catholic opponents, it was suggested that the results of the College in the Cambridge examination would be better if the boys were allowed to sit the religious instruction paper.[96] The clear implication was that religious instruction was a soft option at the Roman Catholic College.

Those Roman Catholics who had already criticised the classical curriculum of the College should have been aware of the disadvantages of marrying the curriculum of the colony's secondary schools to English educational institutions which functioned in a society largely dissimilar from Trinidad's. For these Roman Catholics to voice such misgivings would have been to elicit the obvious rejoinder that they were un-English, which some of them were. The point is that in the atmosphere of acrimony educational arguments devoid of consideration of religion and nationality hardly appeared to have existed. The principle of measuring educational achievement of local secondary schools against metropolitan standards was not disapproved of by the Roman Catholics. When Keate proposed the College and its overseas exhibitions in 1857 he was reminded that since the previous year the ministry of Public Instruction in France had "recognised"[97] St. Georges, and the B.Sc. degree given to one of its past pupils.

---

96. C.O. 295/227, Keate to Newcastle, 5 April, 1864, no. 55. Enclosure: Report on the College 23 March, 1864.

97. P.O.S.G., 23 Dec., 1857, Speech of pupil at St. Georges Prize Giving. The editor of the Star of the West, a Roman Catholic newspaper, spoke with pride of Trinidad boys distinguishing themselves in Catholic schools in Europe. See Star of the West 25 Sept. 1865. Editorial.

In the 1860s the Roman Catholics, and the Anglicans, the French creoles and the English, were looking respectively to France and to England for assistance with their respective secondary school. If St. Georges had been the success made out by some Roman Catholic sources, there would have been no need to organise a new Roman Catholic College. This was what Archbishop English proposed,[98] and after negotiations in Rome and France, the Holy Ghost Fathers undertook to open a new College in the colony. It is true that there was at this time a world wide move on the part of the Roman Catholic church to counter secular education, and the general secularisation of life by founding Catholic Colleges[99] wherever the political situation allowed this to be done. In this sense the impetus for the creation of the new Roman Catholic College -- St. Mary's College of the Immaculate Conception -- came partly from outside the colony; but this does not contradict the fact that St. Mary's was intended to be an active competitor to the government College. But the latter institution was in one sense already a few steps ahead of St. Mary's: St. Mary's opened its doors in August 1863; four months later the government College subjected some of its pupils to the "ordeal"[100] of a metropolitan examination.

---

98. Centenary Record of the Holy Ghost Fathers in Trinidad and of St. Mary's College 1863 - 1963. pp 1-2

99. In 1860 Pope Pius IX and President Geffrard of Haiti signed Concordat. This Concordat is said to have inaugurated a century of foreign domination of ecclesiastical affairs in Haiti. See D. Nicholls: Politics and Religion in Haiti Canadian Journal of Political Science vol. III no. III Sept. 1970 p. 403

100. P.O.S.G., 26 March, 1862, Report of Deighton 1 March, 1862.

St. Mary's, however, scored on the government College by quickly getting its own building while the College was still in rented premises. While Horace Deighton and the College were registering their first triumphs in the Cambridge examinations, St. Mary's College was moving into new buildings under the sole management of the Holy Ghost Fathers.[101] The money to put up the first building on the present St. Mary's College site came out of the pockets of Roman Catholics in the colony and abroad; and this fact strengthened their conviction that it was wrong for the government College to get £3000 per annum out of the taxpayers' money, many of whom were Roman Catholics who on conscientious grounds could not use the facilities of the College.

In 1863-1867 the resentment of many Roman Catholics over the education policy of the government cannot be divorced from their anger over the last of the great anglicising measures of the period 1834-1870.[102] This was the Marriage Ordinance of 1863, cleverly introduced at a moment when there was a vacancy in the Roman Catholic Archbishopric. The Roman Catholic fury over the Marriage Ordinance was more intense than on any other issue since emancipation. One of the reasons for this was the advent in 1862 of the newspaper called the Star of the West.[103] It was organised under the auspicies of Archbishop English, and its editors were at various times associated with the Archbishop in an ecclesiastical capacity, or as a teacher at the

101. Centenary Record, op.cit., p. 6

102. Wood, op.cit., pp. 207-209.

103. C.O. 295/224, Keate to Newcastle, 30 Sept., 1863, no. 158. The editor of the Star of the West was a Mr. Gawthorn, an ex-Anglican, and now the secretary of the Archbishop. The first issue of the newspaper with the slogan, "Equality must be our watchword" came out on 24 Feb., 1862.

Catholic College. The Star of the West became avowedly the organ of Roman Catholic discontent in the 1860s.[104] The Chronicle under the editorship of the German Otto Wenkstern was also favourable to the cause of the Roman Catholics; and the Port of Spain Gazette as usual supported the Church of England and the English community.[105]

When Archbishop Gonin assumed duties in March 1864 the Roman Catholics got a leader in the mould of Spaccapietra rather that Dr. P. Smith. Gonin was born in France, but had grown up in lands controlled by the British Crown.[106] He had lived in Mauritius and England since he was 7 years old.[107] Perhaps Keate and Warner believed Cardinal Manning's recommendation to the effect that Gonin "was of a character which would make him acceptable to the Colonial authorities".[108] Perhaps the lesson of the struggle over Spacaapietra's salary had reached Warner and Keate, for the Council of Government quickly rescinded its 1857 resolution which stipulated that the Archbishop, to receive his full salary must be "British born";[109] and allowed Gonin the privilege of being naturalised by an Ordinance of the Council.

---

104. Star of the West, 24 Feb., 1862; 4 Sept., 1862; 8 May, 1862, and 7 March, 1864.

105. In 1867 Gordon called the Port of Spain Gazette "Protestant, Conservative, English" See C.O. 295/241, Gordon to Buckingham, 24 Nov., 1867, Separate.

106. C.O. 295/225, pp. 472-473 Cardinal Manning to Newcastle, 11 July, 1863.

107. C.O. 295/225, pp 478-479. Cardinal Manning to Newcastle, 27 July, 1863.

108. ibid.

109. C.O. 295/227, Keate to Newcastle, 16 Oct., 1863, no. 165., Enclosure: Council Resolution 13 Oct., 1863.

Gonin appeared less dangerous than Spaccapietra, but it was his role to lead the Church to a more satisfying position in the colony.

With the departure of Governor Keate in July 1864, Charles Warner's fortunes began to wane. This had nothing to do with any decline in the power of his intellect or the swiftness of his tongue, although he was in his early 60's. New ideas and new men stifled his influence. Manners-Sutton who succeeded Keate resisted Warner's influence on the marriage question, and got the Council to amend the Marriage Ordinance to allow death bed marriages which carried no legal validity.[110] This was the most serious rebuff Warner had received for the last 10 years, and his enemies were quick to sense the decline of his influence.[111] Archbishop Gonin was thinking of petitioning the government on the long list of Roman Catholic grievances; the publication of Pope Pius IX Syllabus of ERRORS in December 1864 pointed in the same direction.[112] If Manners-Sutton had stayed longer as governor he would have had the historic task of representing the state in the looming negotiations with the Roman Catholic Church. With the coming of Governor Gordon in November 1868 Archbishop Gonin correctly sensed that the best moment for a new "Concordat" with the state had arrived.

---

110. Wood, op.cit., p. 210.

111. Star of the West 3 June, 1865, editorial. 10 July, 1865.

112. A reading of the Star of the West makes it clear that the Catholics were aware of the pronouncements of Pius IX. See Star of the West, 25 Jan., 1865 and 6 March, 1865.

Gordon turned out to be the Gladstone of Trinidad. Just as Gladstone in half a dozen years (1868-1874) transformed the pace of change in England, and ushered the country into a new era, so Gordon in Trinidad opened a new period. Gordon was without the charisma of Lord Harris; but he was an experienced administrator who consciously sought to make his governorship a landmark in the history of the colony.[113] He was the personal friend of Gladstone who completed the metamorphosis of the Whig into the new Liberal party. Gordon may be described as a liberal in Trinidad;[114] in religion he was a High Churchman with deep sympathies for Roman Catholicism.[115] He was determined to make his own policies; and being unhampered by a financial crisis such as HARRIS experienced, he went straight into the task of introducing changes. Reforms came with a rush between 1867 and 1870, but with no violence. The English party could not resist a Crown Colony governor who had the full backing of the British government.

In the latter months of 1866 some Roman Catholic laymen in Port of Spain were divided as to the proper demands to make upon the government. Should the Roman Catholics ask only for a grant to St. Mary's, or should they also request funds for their elementary schools? Should they seek the destruction of the government College, or only the concurrent endowment of their own

---

113. For the life of Gordon See J.K. Chapman The Career of Arthur Hamilton Gordon, First Lord Stanmore 1829-1912. (university of Toronto Press, 1964).

114. In the politics of England he regarded himself as a liberal, but no friend of democracy. See Stanmore Papers Vol. XXXVII AD. MSS. 49235. Gordon to .....(unclear).

115. Chapman, op.cit., p. 51.

College? Should they ask for a return to government assisted denominational elementary schools? A group of Port of Spain Roman Catholics styling themselves "Fathers of Families"[116] drew up a petition calling for government assistance to St. Mary's and for this school to join the Cambridge examinations system. Archbishop Gonin refused to sign this petition. Obviously, the petition simply sought equality for St. Mary's vis-a-vis the government College, without challenging the principle of secular education at either the College or the ward schools. The "Fathers of Families" were criticised for taking such an initiative without the prior approval of Archbishop Gonin;[117] and the editor of the Chronicle called for unity in the ranks of Catholics.[118] One Roman Catholic writer in supporting Gonin's refusal to sign the petition gave the impression that Gonin and the Holy Ghost Fathers had been at loggerheads over the management of St. Mary's College, and that Gonin was not happy to see St. Mary's get a government endowment which would be completely in the hands of the Holy Ghost Congregation.[119]

When Archbishop Gonin revealed his hand in April 1867 he asked for more than the "Fathers of Families". He asked for an increase in the salaries of Roman Catholic priests. Where curacies were vacant, the salary attached to the vacant curacies should go towards repairs of the Church in the parish, or to

---

116. Trinidad Chronicle, 4 Dec., 1866 and 11 Dec., 1866, Letters from a "Father of Family".

117. Trinidad Chronicle, 18 Dec., 1866, Letter from "A Catholic".

118. Trinidad Chronicle, 18 Dec., 1866, editorial

119. Trinidad Chronicle, 18 Dec., 1866, Letter from "A Catholic".

educate British subjects studying for the priesthood.[120] Under the existing arrangement such salaries reverted to the government. Gonin asked that the change be made retroactive to the last 3 years. This would give him a lump sum of £1075. Most important of all, Gonin asked for an entire reversal of the existing education policy of the government, for a return to state aided denominational elementary schools, and a withdrawal of the £3000 granted to the government College.[121] This money, he suggested, should go into a general education fund to be administered by a Board of Education composed of an equal number of Roman Catholics and Protestants. This Board should divide the grant between Roman Catholics and Protestants according to their proportion in the island; and when this was done the Board should separate into two committees, a Roman Catholic Committee and a Protestant Committee, each of which would be responsible for the allocation of its share of the grant to its schools. Gonin estimated that if the £3000 was thrown into a general fund and the fund was administered as suggested then 600-800 new elementary school places could be immediately created.[122]

Archbishop Gonin then was proposing the destruction of the government College. If the Church of England, or Mr. Deighton wanted to carry it on as a private denominational College, then

---

120. C.O. 295/239, Gordon to Buckingham, 24 May, 1867, no. 72., Enclosure: Petition of Archbishop Gonin relative to Priests' salaries.

121. ibid. Enclosure: Petitions of Gonin relative to ward schools and the College dated 2 April, 1867.

122. ibid.

they were free to do so.[123] In practical terms, the dismantling of the government College would not involve any financial loss: the school was in rented buildings. The pupils, Gonin suggested, might even be accommodated in St. Marys, or in other Colleges abroad, provided the government would pay their fees.[124] Gonin was really not against the idea that the government should assist the upper classes with the education of their children. He appeared to be offering a solution to the stagnation of elementary education by reallocating the £3000 for the government College into a general fund for schools, secondary and elementary.

As this was the first time that the Roman Catholic leadership had openly and officially called for a change in the ward school system, Archbishop Gonin went to great lengths to explain his thinking on this matter. On the argument that religious convictions were prerequisites for salvation in the future world and of good conduct in the present, Gonin insisted that religious instruction must be given in the schools.[125] Children were not impressed he said, by morality unfounded upon religious doctrines. Lower class parents, not being pious themselves, did not care about religion, and therefore did not send their children to Church on Sundays and half-holidays. The priest would or could not go the ward schools; even if they were allowed into the ward schools they would not have the time, or the manpower to cope

---

123. C.O. 295/239, Gordon to Buckingham, 24 May, 1867, no. 72., Enclosure: Petition of Archbishop Gonin relative to the College dated 2 April, 1867.

124. ibid.

125. C.O. 295/239, Gordon to Buckingham, 24 May, 1867, no. 72., Enclosure: Petition of Gonin relative to ward schools 2 April, 1867.

with the religious instruction of all the children.[126] The thing to do was to have denominational schools in which the burden of giving religious instruction would fall upon the teachers who would work under the supervision of the priests. This would raise not only the standard of religious instruction, but the general work of the schools.

Gonin rejected all the contemporary objections against a system of denominational schools. It could not be positively proved that denominational schools in the past had wasted government funds; and even if this had been so those schools were not properly organised and supervised.[127] It would not cost the government more to support a Church of England and a Roman Catholic school where it now supported only one school: all it had to do was to split its existing grant to that one ward school for the benefit of two denominational schools. No new taxation would be required if the government reallocated its grant to the College to denominational schools.

Gonin would also not accept the argument that denominational schools would breed religious strife among the lower classes.[128] Perhaps it did in Ireland, but there parents had deep religious convictions, and there was a long tradition of religious animosity. In Trinidad where the lower classes were not fanatical supporters of the churches their common social and economic bonds as workers would prevent religious strife. No child would be obliged to receive any religious instructions of which his parents disapproved.[12]

---

126. ibid.
127. ibid.
128. ibid.
129. ibid.

There was to be a conscience clause in the denominational school.

Archbishop Gonin attempted to turn the English party upon its head by cooly -- but repeatedly -- reminding Gordon that what he was proposing was the system in England and the British colonies,[130] with the exception of Mauritius. In this he was completely correct.: the policy of anglicising in education had been pursued ironically by a deliberate rejection of the denominational model of education in the metropolis. It was the Irish model of development, invented by imperial Protestant England to anglicising Ireland, which had been copied in Trinidad.

When Gonin handed his petitions to Gordon the latter was asked to treat the documents as confidential.[131] At the same time Gonin reserved the right to change his position on any of the matters raised. Gonin was prepared to negotiate; and he wished to keep the negotiations above the fury of public opinion. Gordon asked Gonin's permission to show the documents to the officers of the government:[132] C.W. WARNER, the Attorney General, J.S. Bushe the Colonial Secretary, G. Garcia, the Solicitor General W. Knox, the Chief Justice and H. Mitchell, the Agent General of Immigrants. Of course, the British government was sent the petitions themselves containing the proposals. The negotiations were to be between Gordon and Gonin; the former had the officers as his advisers and the British government as his principal. Behind Gonin was the Papacy.

---

130. ibid.

131. C.O. 295/239, Gordon to Buckingham, 24 May, 1867, no. 72.

132. ibid.

As in all such situations the Brithsh government was at a disadvantage in deciding on an independent policy because it had to rely largely on the governor's assessment of the mood of the colony. Gordon literally asked for a free hand in conducting the negotiations. Soon after receiving Gonin's petitions, Gordon revealed the framework of a plan which he said would win the support of the majority of Roman Catholics, the majority of the Council, and also the approval of Archbishop Gonin -- if the Papacy did not object. The College, said Gordon, was the greatest single cause of Roman Catholic discontent. Gordon proposed to establish a new Council of Education with equal representation for Protestants and Roman Catholics.[133] This Council of Education would be responsible for administering a new government College which would still be secular, but would have affiliated state supported denominational Colleges. These affiliated denominational Colleges would get government support in proportion to the number of their pupils, but they were to send their pupils for joint instruction in certain classes at the government College. As the denominational Colleges would be residential all the benefits of a corporate religious life would be secured; and at the same time social harmony would be promoted when the boys of different religions and nationalities meet in joint sessions at the government College.[134]

---

133. ibid.

134. ibid.

About the conditions of the ward schools Gordon was less well informed. He thought the schools were doing well in terms of the number of pupils who attended.[135] Clerics who received salaries from the government, he insisted, had the obligation of giving religious instruction to the young. He was in favour of allowing, and indeed insisting that clerics go to the ward schools on certain days to teach the children of their faith.[136]

What Gordon was proposing at this stage fell far short of the plan of Archbishop Gonin. Gordon was not proposing an entire reversal of the system of education but only to modify it by the injection of more safeguards for religious instruction. He was willing also to let the Roman Catholics use the salaries of vacant curacies for church repairs, but not for training priests who might be sent to work abroad. On the question of salaries he was cautious: the civil servants also needed to get a pay rise, and it would create difficulties to increase the salaries of priests while doing nothing for the civil servants.[137]

On the latter point the British government disagreed with Gordon. It was willing to see the Roman Catholic priests get a pay rise independently of the civil servants.[138] The Council was also given the green light to put more money into the repairs of Roman Catholic churches. As Gordon seemed uncertain about the state of the religious instruction of the ward school pupils, the British government suggested the

---

135. ibid.
136. ibid.
137. ibid.
138. C.O. 295/239, Buckingham to Gordon, 12 Oct., 1867, no. 79.

the desirability of having an inquiry into this subject by either a local Commission of Inquiry,[139] or by an experienced inspector from England. None of the above suggestions offended Gordon. Butwhen the British government rather nonchalantly suggested the abolition of the government College, and the utilization of the £3000 grant to secure a higher grade of better paid elementary school teachers,[140] Gordon was shocked. It had not occurred to him that the British Government had to be convinced that there was a need for a government supported College, or for a government initiative in secondary education.

Gordon left no stone unturned in the effort to forestall an order from the British government to abandon the government College. Archbishop Gonin, said Gordon, had confided to him that the abolition of the College would be a set back to education.[141] And there was no need to abolish the College in order to conciliate the Roman Catholics, because, said Gordon, the majority of articulate Roman Catholics did not really want to see this. What they wanted was concurrent endowment for St. Mary's College. What the British government should understand, said Gordon was that the opposition to the College had a lot to do with religious rivalries which did not concern the College at all. The call for the abolition of the College was insincere; it was being used by the more reflecting Roman Catholics as a lever in "the discussion of more important questions in another country."[142]

---

139. ibid.

140. ibid.

141. ibid. C.O. 295/243, Gordon to Buckingham, 8 Jan., 1868, no. 9.

142. ibid.

It is not clear what Gordon had in mind, though he might have been referring to the contemporary opposition of the Roman Catholics to the Queen Colleges in Ireland.

The College had exceeded academically beyond expectations; and its continued success, Gordon envisaged, would in time, bring it more support from the ranks of the Roman Catholics. It had the promise of an institution which would act as a social cement. For the present its average attendance was 51, and not 48 as Gonin had written;[143] and this was not a bad record. For the College was designed for wealthy parents and a larger proportion of these were Protestants. The College was a more exclusive school than St. Mary's: it did not take boys under 10 years as St. Mary's did; its doors were closed to all illegitimate children. And its academic and social standards were high enough for it not to want some of the recruits which St. Mary's accepted from the Boys Model school.[144]

Having argued that the Roman Catholcis did not really want the abolition of the government College, and that its abolition would be an educational disaster, Gordon drew a fearful picture of the political difficulties which would arise if the College was dropped. William Knox, the Chief Justice, would lead the unofficials into opposition to such a measure. Charles Warner, the Attorney General, would never give his consent, and even though the government could push it through

---

143. ibid.

144. ibid.

the Council by the use of its officials, the government would arouse a sea of Protestant anger without rescuing the Roman Catholic ship of discontent.[145] Gordon was exaggerating the political repercussions which would follow the abolition of the College. But he was certainly not incorrect to suggest that the Protestant community, led by prominent citizens, would have offered strenuous opposition. Our point is that such opposition was not likely to have more success than the government was willing to allow.

These were unhappy days for Charles Warner, the Attorney General. Above everybody else in the colony he was identified with the education policy which was under such heavy pressure from the Roman Catholics. When Gordon gave the officials a chance of commenting on the proposals of Gonin, Warner made the sharpest and most bitter rejoiner. What Gonin was doing he said, was to drive a social wedge between Roman Catholics and Protestants by insisting that Roman Catholics and Protestants should not sit side by side in the same school.[146] He was splitting off a Roman Catholic French oriented sector, and thus setting back the hands of the clock. Warner implied that his whole official life had been spent in unifying the colony on the basis of the spread of English habits, customs and political allegiance. Age had only confirmed Warner that this policy was right; and the secular system was an essential ingredient of this policy. If Archbishop Gonin left Roman Catholic parents

---

145. ibid.

146. C.O. 295/243, Gordon to Buckingham, 8 Jan., 1868, no. 9., Enclosure: Warner to Gordon, Dec., 1867.

to make their own decisions, they would give more support to the College. The wonder was that in the face of the religious anathemas of the Archbishop a few Roman Catholic parents had still elected to send their children to the College.[147] Academic standards, said Warner, were low at St. Marys, and parents knew this. The drawing card of St. Marys was the boarding arrangements which facilitated those parents who wished to be rid of their children. All that Warner would concede was to allow state supported denominational "hostels" in association with the secular government College. The colony would go up the wrong turning if it shifted to a denominational system of education.

Warner, Mitchell, Knox all occupied positions more stoutly in favour of the status quo than Governor Gordon.[148] A compromise was what Gordon had in mind. A complete change over to a denominational system was "impracticable."[149] If the Archbishop would not accept his plan, the favour which it would gain among the ranks of Roman Catholic laymen would silence Gonin. It was not that he was anxious to antagonise Gonin or the Roman Catholic priests. He was negotiating with Gonin, but he was not deaf to other voices from the Roman Catholic community. Gordon claimed to be on very friendly terms with the priests.

---

147. ibid.

148. C.O. 295/243, Gordon to Buckingham, 8 Jan., 1868, no. 9., Enclosure: Warner to Gordon Dec., 1867; Dr. Mitchell to Gordon Dec., 1867; and George Knox to Gordon, Dec., 1867.

149. C.O. 295/243, Gordon to Buckingham, 8 Jan., 1868, no. 9.

The problem for Gordon in late 1867 was how to proceed with his compromise proposals. There is no evidence that Archbishop Gonin was willing to accept them. Gordon was busy with other reforms. He doubtless felt the desirability of easing the negotiations by putting between himself and Gonin the opinions of a mutually acceptable third party. Gordon therefore eagerly seized upon the suggestion of the British government that the religious instruction of the ward school pupils be probed. But who was to conduct such a probe? The British government had suggested either a pair of local commissioners, one Roman Catholic and one Protestant, or an experienced inspector from England. And the subject of inquiry should be the religious instruction of the ward school pupils. Gordon decided to use both means of inquiry. He thought he was doing the clever thing. A local inquiry by a Roman Catholic commissioner and a Protestant commissioner, would he said, allay the fears of the local clerics.[150] These commissioners would report their findings to an impartial inspector from England who would carry out a wider inquiry into the whole system of education.[151]

---

150. C.O. 295/241, Gordon to Buckingham, 20 Dec., 1867, no. 156.

151. ibid.

CHAPTER VIII

THE INVESTIGATORS 1868 - 1869

> "....the duties and opportunities of a clergyman peculiarly qualify him for the government of schools." 1.
>
> Patrick Keenan, 1869.

Between 1868 and 1869 the system of education was investigated by three commissioners viz. Mr. Henry Darling, Mr. Jose Manuel Farfan and Mr. Patrick Keenan. In addition Mr. Lechmere Guppy, the new inspector of schools from June 1868, in his reports for 1868 and 1869, carried out a comprehensive review of the system; and although he was not specifically appointed to investigate the system, his role in 1868 and 1869 was more than that of a routine inspection of the schools. He too in a sense was an investigator. Of course, the fact that these investigations were carried out, and the findings of the investigators, formed part of the running criticism of the ward schools, and, in the case of Keenan, of the College as well. But all four men -- Darling, Farfan, Guppy and Keenan -- were laymen, which gives their findings a special importance as against the criticisms of clerics; and the fact that three of them viz. Darling, Farfan, Guppy were investigating the same system about the same time, and the close proximity in time in which Keenan followed with his report,

---

1. Shirley Gordon: The Keenan Report Caribbean Quarterly vol. VIII no. IV (1962) p. 13.

gave the years 1868 and 1869 a special quality as a time of intense re-assessment of the system of education before the onset of changes by Governor Gordon. For these reasons it seems useful to look at the reports of these investigators separately, but not in isolation from the ongoing criticism of the education system of the colony.

Once Gordon had decided to appoint a two man commission of inquiry into the state of religious instruction in the ward schools, it was a foregone conclusion that one would be a Roman Catholic and the other a member of the Church of England. But why Mr. Henry Darling and Mr. Jose Farfan? Gordon himself has given no specific reason for appointing these men.[2] Obviously however, it would have been senseless to appoint clerics; and unwise to appoint men who were too deeply prejudiced in favour of one denomination or the other in the eyes of the public. For instance, less public confidence could be expected in a report or reports from Charles Warner and Dr. L.A. DeVerteüil. Henry Darling was the proprietor of the Lothians estate in Naparima; he it was who had started a school ofor Indian immigrants on his estate in the late 1850s.[3] He was a keen member of the Church of England; and an unofficial in the Council of Government. He seemed to have inherited the mantle of John Losh as the

---

2. Gordon had promised however to consult with the Bishop of Barbados and the Archbishop of Port of Spain about these appointments. See. C.O. 295/241, Gordon to Buckingham, 20 Dec., 1867, no. 166.

3. C.O. 295/200, Keate to Newcastle, 31 Oct., 1860, no.152, Enclosure: Report of Mitchell for 1859. Darling in 1868 owned the Lothians and the Respurce estates. See P.O.S.G., 15 July, 1868, Council of Government 11 July, 1868, Petitions of owners of estates re -- the payment of loan for the building of the Cipero Tramroad.

unofficial in the Council who was interested in spreading religion among the masses. At the same time he does not appear to have been a fanatical Anglican. These reasons were good enough for Gordon to have appointed him. As for Jose Farfan, he seemed to have received the patronage of Gordon. He was not primarily a planter, but an engineer educated in France. Gordon employed him to build the new road from Arima to Manzanilla[4], and in May 1869 appointed him Warden of Montserrat Ward Union.[5] It also appears that Gordon had from his dabbling into the history of the island developed an interest in the saga of the Farfan family[6] -- one of the oldest Spanish families -- in the island. Jose Manuel Farfan was a younger brother of the Father Farfan who served as a priest at St. Joseph from 1824 to 1864.[7] It may also be that to soften the appearance of polarisation between the English and the French creoles, Gordon wanted a Roman Catholic commissioner who was not himself of French ancestry.

The terms of reference which Gordon gave to Darling and Farfan were "to inquire and to report upon the character and the amount of the religious instruction imparted to the pupils of the several ward schools in the island".[8] This implied that

---

4. C.O. 295/250, Gordon to Granville, 24 Feb., 1870, no. 18., Enclosure: Report of Jose Farfan 18 Jan., 1870.
5. C.O. 295/247, Gordon to Granville, 3 May, 1869, no. 53.
6. Stanmore Papers Vol. XXXVII A.D. MSS. 49235 Farfan to Gordon 23 Dec., 1870.
7. C.O. 295/228, Keate to Cardwell, 5 July, 1864, no. 95., Enclosure: Farfan to Dr. Gonin, 2 July, 1864.
8. C.O. 295/245, Kortright to Buckingham, 6 Oct., 1868, no. 162., Enclosure: Report of Henry Darling.

each commissioner was to visit all the ward schools. What in fact happened was that Darling visited 18 ward schools, and Farfan all of them. There was a misunderstanding between Governor Gordon and Darling over the question of which schools or how many schools he ought to inspect. Darling claimed that Gordon instructed him to limit his inquiry to 18 specified schools.[9] From Gordon's choice of these 18 schools, Darling inferred that the governor wanted him to question only the Church of England children, and not the Roman Catholics. What caused Darling to make such an inference was his noticing that the 18 schools were the ones which appeared to have mostly Protestant children[10], and in some cases Protestant majorities. At the same time Darling said that he thought that the schools Farfan would investigate were selected

> "on the ground .... that those pupils consisted almost exclusively, or at any rate by a large majority of children born of Roman Catholic parents".[11]

Exactly what Gordon had in mind is not clear. Of the 18 schools selected for Darling to visit only 7 had Anglican majorities according to Inspector Anderson's report[12] for 1867, and only 2 had solid Anglican majorities. Of course, what often

---

9. ibid.

10. Stanmore Papers Vo. XXXVII. AD. MSS. 49235. Darling to Gordon 30 March 1870.

11. C.O. 295/245, Kortright to Buckingham, 6 Oct., 1868, no. 162., Enclosure: Report of Henry Darling.

12. C.O. 299/18, Report of Inspector Anderson for 1867 dated 5 March, 1868.

happened was that on different days, on different weeks, majorities shifted in some of the schools from Anglicans to Roman Catholics. On the particular days when Darling visited these 18 schools, 9 had Anglican majorities, 7 Roman Catholic majorities, and 1 had an equal number, and no return was made on the condition of another. For instance Arouca and Diego Martin schools which according to Inspector Anderson's reports for 1867 and also 1866 had Catholic majorities, actually had Anglican majorities on the days Darling visited them in 1868.[13] It is not at all clear that Gordon could have selected these 18 schools with a knowledge, or a feeling, that they contained mostly Anglican children. The end result of the confusion between what Gordon was thinking and what Darling thought he meant, was that Darling did not attempt to find out the level of religious instruction possessed by Roman Catholic children. On the other hand, Farfan who went to all the schools claimed that he examined

"individually every pupil, both Catholic and Protestant that was present on the day of my visit".[14]

Another question not settled by the commission itself was whether both men should submit a joint report; or whether both should inspect the same schools at the same time; in other words

---

13. C.O. 295/245, Kortright to Buckingham, 6 Oct., 1868, no. 162., Enclosure: Report of Henry Darling

14. C.O. 295/245, Kortright to Buckingham, 6 Oct., 1868, no. 162., Enclosure: Report of Farfan.

whether they should function as a joint commission. Darling and Farfan met and agreed on a common set of questions to ask pupils and teachers;[15] and that was the end of anything like collaboration. What Gordon got from Darling and Farfan were two separate reports each of which, apart from one fact, did not take into account anything reported in the other. Probably at first it was a question of finding a time mutually convenient to both men to visit the same schools at the same time. It is noticeable that Darling, the planter, undertook his tour somewhat later, mostly in July and August 1868, than Farfan who visited between February and June 1868. Obviously Darling would want to wait until after the crop season; while Farfan would be anxious to be on his way before the rainy season. But from the religious divide in the island between Roman Catholics and Church of England supporters, and from the different recommendations, if not different conclusions, reached in the reports of Farfan and Darling, it seems obvious that each would be ideologically more comfortable in operating separately and reporting separately. Apart from personal work commitment, it would seem a natural thing in the atmosphere of 1868 for Darling and Farfan not to conduct a joint inquiry.

Darling examined 300 Protestant children, of whem 50 could say the Lord's Prayer only; 113 could say the Lord's Prayer and Creed; 129 the Lord's Prayer, Creed and the Ten Commandments and 6 who were entirely uninstructed.[16] He admitted that

---

15. ibid.

16. C.O. 295/245, Kortright to Buckingham, 6 Oct., 1868, no. 162, Enclosure: Report of Henry Darling.

generally the religious instruction given was of a limited character, and only in a few cases were children able to answer simple questions on scripture history and the New Testament. But he would by no means admit that the quality of religious instruction which the Protestant children had in 1868 was less or of a lower quality than they possessed at any time previously. Darling said he entirely agreed with the conclusions of Rev. Henry Richards, the Rector of St. Mary parish, in a letter addressed to Darling. Among the statements in the letter was one to the effect that the children

"educated under the present system are in no way inferior in religion or morals to those educated under the previous one".[17]

The children were not getting any religious instruction from clerics who visited the schools. In so far as they were getting religious instruction, they were going to the clerics, to their chapels and their homes. And generally the children went, not because the teachers encouraged them, nor because the teachers demanded proof in the form of certificates that they attended religious instruction. In fact, all the teachers had ignored Rule 20 which obliged them to get quarterly returns of the record of the children's attendance for religious instruction.[18] On the other hand, many Anglican clergymen did not know that they had a role to play in providing certificates of attendance at religious instruction to the teachers.

---

17. ibid.

18. ibid.

Clearly the teachers had concerned themselves with their side of the task viz. the teaching of secular subjects in the classroom; and the clerics had taught religion to the children who came to them at their homes and chapels. Darling did not say that this situation arose because some of the clergymen were opposed to the ward schools. It was a question that teachers and clerics did not know the rules; or had forgotten them; or that difficulties of physical communication had made the rules unworkable. The children mostly regarded time off from school on Wednesday and Saturdays as a holiday.[19] Darling's main recommendations concerned the question how to bring teacher and cleric into a closer working relationship for an increased spread of religious instruction among the pupils. Teachers, said Darling, should be required to hand the clerics of the district a list of pupils belonging to their denomination.[20] With the approval of the Inspector of schools, teachers, and clerics should work out a flexible system whereby at times other than Wednesdays and Saturdays, clerics could meet the children for religious instruction. For the most part, however, Darling was thinking of the children going to the clerics, although he did not say specifically that it was against the rules for the clerics to go to the schools. And one of the serious obstacles to the spread of religious instruction, namely the shortage of clerics, was not seriously recognised. It was only when the

---

19. ibid.

20. ibid.

clerics lived near to the school, or the homes of the children were near the chapels, that clerics could do, if they were sufficiently active, what Rev. George Lambert, a Presbyterian minister, did. He went on Thursdays, the day most convenient to him, to the Savannah Grande North School and collected all his coreligionists at the end of the school day. He then walked with them to his chapel in the neighbourhood. At this rate he got an average of 30 pupils at his chapel for the year.[21]

The government, said Darling, should do more to impress the clerics and the parents with its interest in seeing the spread of religious instruction. Anglican clergymen should be invited directly and individually to give information about the response to their teaching of religion by the children. Unless children carried certificates from the clerics they should not be allowed into the ward schools.[22] Religious instruction was in fact to become the condition for secular instruction. The ward schools should open and close with prayers and the teachers themselves should be watched more closely in the matter of their religious convictions: the teachers themselves should get certificated from their ministers to show that they attended church regularly and took communion. In a private letter to Gordon, Darling called into question the moral rectitude of the teachers. He wrote

"It strikes me that in most instances the masters have been left too long in one place. They have in many instances

---

21. ibid.

22. ibid.

become far too much mixed up with the neighbourhood in which they reside and in many cases their moral example is not what it should be".[23]

Darling said that like Rev. Henry Richards he was against compulsory attendance at the schools; but he seemed willing to compel attendance of teachers and pupils on religious instruction as a pre-condition for the former earning a living and the latter learning to read.

What Darling did not want was any change in the principle of government non-denominational schools supported by the ward rates. He felt that the prevailing system had a social value far more desirable than a denominational system. He wrote privately to Gordon in September 1868:

"Under the present system various classes are brought together thus softening lines which under a denominational system would become more and more marked".[24]

Behind the dread of the multiplication of Roman Catholic denominational schools was the old fear that foreign Roman Catholic priests would through the schools spread non-English habits and inhibit the spread of the English language. In his private letter to Gordon, but not in his official report, Darling related an experience he had at Cedros school.

" I examined one Protestant boy who only spoke English, on asking him to repeat the Lord's Prayer he did so in French

---

23. Stanmore Papers Vol. XXXVII. A.D. MSS. 49235. Darling to Gordon 3 or 5 Sept., 1868.

24. ibid.

and on questioning him as to why he did not repeat it in English he said that the Priest of the District who has no knowledge of English instructed him to say it in French!"[25]

This boy said Darling, was totally ignorant of what he was saying; and so too were other boys who had been given religious instruction by this particular priest.

Darling agreed with the analysis of Rev. Richards who wrote

"Although not partial to a system of instruction purely secular I am nevertheless of opinion that circumstanced as we are, it is the only one calculated to suite us....".[26]

Darling said that he had complete confidence in the judgment of Rev. Richards, who had experienced both the denominational system and the existing ward schools. He was willing to go along with Richards' opinion to the effect that

"As a rule the masters are more intelligent and better trained, the schools are better furnished with books and all other requisites for the work.....".[27]

Farfan produced a more startling revelation of the lack of religious instruction. He examined all the children and apparently at each school he separated Protestants from Roman Catholics when making the examination. His finding, however, did not suggest any marked difference between these groups.

---

25. ibid.

26. C.O. 295/245, Kortright to Buckingham, 6 Oct., 1868, no. 162., Enclosure: Report of Darling.

27. ibid.

All were badly in need of more religious instruction of a superior quality. Almost all the pupils could say their prayers, at least the Lord's Prayer; but they usually did not understand a single word of what they repeated. Even some grown-up children who could read and write

"said their prayers more like parrots than Christians, and when asked who is our Saviour Jesus Christ, could not give a proper answer. Some said He was Moses, others the Virgin Mary, St. Peter, Adam and some said He was Eve; much less could they say why the Saviour came down on Earth." [28]

This state of things, said Farfan, was the result of children getting religious instruction from their ignorant parents. In cases where children had been instructed by Roman Catholic priests and Anglican clergymen, they showed greater understanding of what they had learnt. It was not the clerics who were to be blamed, but the system of education which removed children from clerical influence and supervision during normal school hours.[29] The system had created a gap between teacher and cleric, school and church; most of the clerics did not even know that they were supposed to provide the teachers with certificates of the children's attendance at religious instruction. Almost all of the clerics never went to the ward

---

28. C.O. 295/245, Kortright to Buckingham, 6 Oct., 1868, no. 162., Enclosure: Report of Farfan.

29. ibid.

schools to give instruction. There was only one case to the opposite effect: the Roman Catholic priest at Arima sometimes went to the Arima ward school to teach religion.[30] It is to be noted here that Mr. G. Cesair, the teacher was a Roman Catholic. Most of the teachers of the ward schools were Protestants, although most of the children were Roman Catholics.

Farfan felt that the wider social and religious discrimination by the English and the Church of England against the non-English people and the Roman Catholic church had reached the ward schools.[31] He did not offer any explanation how it came about that a majority of the ward school teachers were Protestants, with English sounding names. It may be that the Board of Education and Inspector Anderson had been quietly controlling the number of Roman Catholics seeking to enter the teacher Training school. Perhaps the situation was partly a reflection of the smaller number of Roman Catholic denominational elementary schools in the late 1830s and 1840s. Anyway, Farfan did not like the situation. A Protestant teacher who was English in habits and taste, and who was obliged to teach in only the English language, could easily become an agent of active anglicising. Farfan complained that

"It is also customary in many of the Schools to call the Protestant religion "English" and the Catholic "French". I have heard a school master say to a pupil "How can you be a Protestant, you speak French". In one of the Schools when I

---

30. ibid.

31. ibid.

requested that Catholic pupils to be separated from the Protestant that I might examine them separately, the master gave the order "French on one side, and English on the other". This is most objectionable for it gives the idea to these pupils who speak nothing but English that they must necessarily be Protestant and that "Protestant" is the synonym of "English"; and as they have the loyal idea of wishing to be considered true born Englishmen, this would lead them to suppose that they should be Protestants".[32]

It was not only that the system of education did not provide religious instruction of good quality, but it was prejudidal to the religious interest of Roman Catholicism, and the cultural habits of the non-English people. Farfan wanted deeper changes than Darling. The idea of Darling and Rev. Richards that the schools should be opened and closed with prayers could not be made to work, said Farfan, because Roman Catholics and Protestants had different versions of the Lord's Prayer, and at any rate Roman Catholics objected to having joint worship with non-Roman Catholics.[33] If the government was interested in seeing the spread of religion and morality; if lasting improvements were to be made in the education system, it had to be converted into a denominational system.

According to Inspector Anderson's report for 1867 there were 6 schools which had only Roman Catholic children. Only at

---

32. ibid.

33. ibid.

Erin did the Anglicans come close to having a school entirely of Anglican pupils.[34] Where all the pupils were of one denomination it would be easy, said Farfan, to convert to a denominational system: appoint a teacher of the same denomination as the pupils and allow him to give religious instruction under the superintendence of a cleric of that particular denomination.[35] If and when a religious minority arose in such a school, the government should decide what to do. In schools where pupils were divided between Anglicans and Roman Catholics the school should still become denominational. This was to be done in richer wards by breaking down the ward school into two denominational schools. The richer wards would then be called on to support two denominational schools instead of one non-denominational school. In poor wards which could not afford two schools, the existing ward school was to be discontinued, and the ward funds usually alloted to it split between Protestants and Roman Catholics according to their numbers in the ward.[36] With this money each denomination could then seek to establish its own school with supporting funds from its co-religionists. Farfan envisaged that supporting denominational funds would come from parents who were at present sending their children to denominational schools, although they paid ward

---

34. C.O. 299/18, Report of Inspector Anderson for 1867 dated 5 Mar., 1868. Erin had 34 Church of England pupils and 1 Roman Catholic pupil.

35. C.O. 295/245, Kortright to Buckingham, 6 Oct., 1868, no. 162., Enclosure: Report of Farfan.

36. ibid.

rates to support the ward school which they found objectionable on conscientious grounds.

The reports and recommendations of Darling and Farfan unmistakably leave the impression that each would have taken the same attitude, made the same sort of suggestions, even if he had never conducted a survey. Each commissioner after all took up the attitude and remedies which his particular church tended to favour at that time. The Archbishop of Port of Spain in 1868 wanted a complete change from ward schools to denominational schools assisted by the government.[37] It was the Roman Catholic Archbishop, priests and laymen, who made the most biting criticism of the lack of religious instruction and morality among the pupils of the ward schools. Farfan's report fell squarely in line with the attitude of his church. The Church of England was in a more equivocal position as is usually the case with people admitting abuses yet asking for only moderate changes. The opinions of Bishop Parry on the reform of elementary education at this stage is not clearly stated; but there is no reason to believe that after backing down from his stand for denominational education in 1857[38] he would, under a pro-Roman Catholic governor, be willing to see a denominational system in 1868. The position of Rev. Henry Richards, Rector of St. Mary parish, seems to be the sort of

---

37. C.O. 295/239, Gordon to Buckingham, 24 May, 1867, no. 72., Enclosure: Petitions of Gonin relative to ward schools and the College.

38. C.O. 295/197, Bishop of Barbados to Keate, 8 Sept., 1857 (Barbados)

position the Bishop of Barbados may have been occupying in 1868; tighten up the system, make it yield all its capacity to give religious instruction, but do not change to a denominational system. Such an attitude does not mean that on principle the Church of England did not favour religious education in denominational schools to every other system. Both the Roman Catholic church and the Church of England were prepared between 1834 and 1870 to put principle or expediency in the forefront of their arguments according to which of them promised more gains or greater security in a given situation. The call of Darling to reform, not to overthrow the system, was in general the position of the Church of England, clergymen and leading laymen, in 1868.

When Gordon got the reports of Farfan and Darling he did not have to act immediately, for the larger scale inquiry by an expert from England was still to come. Before the expert arrived, however, the new Inspector of schools, Mr. Lechmere Guppy, entered the scene with his own investigation and recommendations. Lechmere Guppy was a son of Robert Guppy, an English sugar planter from Naparima, a man who was Mayor of the town of San Fernando for about thirteen years. Lechmere Guppy began his career in the civil service as a junior clerk in the Colonial Secretary's Office, and then became a confidential clerk to the Colonial Secretary, and also Clerk of the Council of Government.[39]

---

39. Daniel Hart: Trinidad and the other West Indian Islands and Colonies. (The Chronicle Publishing Office, 1866) p. 180. Also C.O. 295/243 Gordon to Buckingham 25 Feb., 1868, no. 29. Enclosure: L. Guppy to Gordon 17 Feb., 1868.

He had less formal education than his predecessor, but more talent and intelligence. He was one of a handful of amateurs who took an interest in the natural history of the island; its birds, flowers and geographical structure. He was a member of the Scientific Association of the island, and in January 1864 he gave a lecture to this group on the shell deposit on the St. Joseph road near to Port of Spain.[40] From 1873 he compiled the Trinidad Almanac, an annual publication full of information of a miscellaneous character. Guppy's Almanac continued to be a regular source of dry information to about 1890 when the task of compiling the manual was taken over by J. Collens.[41]

Guppy came into office at a time when the education system was under strong pressure for change. It is clear from the later development of this thoughts that Guppy was a fanatical believer in the value of government schools as against denominational schools.[42] In fact in the 1890s he held views which appears to border on those of an agnostic.[43] But in 1868 and 1869 he had not gone so far in the adoption of a secular world view. He was convinced that the secular systems of Lord Harris only needed to be tightened up, not thrown out. Of course

---

40. P.O.S.G., 13 Jan., 1864. J. Collens said in 1866 that Guppy was an authority on the shells of the colony. See J.H. Collens: Guide to Trinidad, A Handbook for the use of Tourists and Visitors (1866). p. 61.

41. T.F. Everslay: The Trinidad Reviewer (1899) p. 229.

42. See Guppy's comment on a printed page inserted in his own copy of J. A. Froude: The English in the West Indies; or the Bow of Ulysses. (1st ed., 1887). This copy is in the U.W.I. library, St. Augustine, Trinidad

43. ibid., See Guppy's comments on pages 43; 161 and 294.

it is possible to think that in 1868 and 1869 Guppy, a rather young man for the job of Inspector of schools, was only defending his new job; but later on he showed a willingness to question the policy of the government, which from the time of Governor Irvine encouraged denominational schools at the expense of government schools.[44]

It was not a blind defense of the education system that Guppy offered in 1868 and 1869 after making his first tours of inspection. In fact he seemed to be far too critical of it for the liking of some people. For 16 years Alexander Anderson's reports on education had been so dry and complacent that Guppy's first report in 1868 brought a minor storm of protest on his head.[45] His 1868 report was a comprehenseive document written after a tour of the ward schools. Prehaps it was not the intention to discredit the work of his predecessor; perhaps he was only buying insurance against being blamed later on for the poor state of the schools. A new Inspector would not in the atmosphere of criticism against the schools, and on the eve of the arrival of a metropolitan expert to probe the schools, fail to see the unwisdom of a complacent report. Guppy made a detailed report on the ramshakle condition of the schoolhouses, most of which were rented buildings; he upbraided the teachers for low standards of teaching and for inattention

---

44. Eric Williams: op.cit., pp 208 - 209 Guppy resigned from the inspectorate in 1890 largely because of the Education Ordinance of 1890.

45. P.O.S.G., 12 June, 1869, Letter from "Epimetheus". Also P.O.S.G., 10 July, 1869, Letter from "Aristarchus" P.O.S.G., 31 July, 1869, Letter from "Aristides".

to the rules of the Board of Education. He promised to get the Board of Education to make more and tighter rules, and to recommend the dismissal of those teachers who did not mend their careless ways. Obviously a new regime had begun for the teachers. Guppy was accused of being ignorant about education and of trying to frighten the teachers into submission.[46]

While Darling was inspecting some of the schools to ascertain the state of religious instruction, Lechmere Guppy was having his first close look at the ward schools. He was concerned least of all with the amount of religious instruction which the children had. By the time he compiled his 1868 report he would have seen the Darling and Farfan reports, or at least have heard of their major ideas. Guppy did not concern himself with the question whether the children in 1868 had more religious knowledge than the children in 1848. He was entirely opposed to the idea that religious instruction should be compulsory for the pupils of the ward schools. The most that the government should be called upon to do was to provide "every just facility to the religious teachers of every denomination".[47] In this respect Guppy said that he would recommend that the Board of Education inform the clerics that they could use the schoolhouses on Wednesdays and Saturdays for the prupose of imparting religious instruction. Although

---

46. ibid.

47. C.O. 299/19, Report of Inspector Guppy for 1868 dated 9 Feb., 1869.

there was no existing rule which said that this could or could not be done, Guppy was of the impression that the government was not opposed to this happening; and he said that whenever application was made for the use of the schoolhouse the Board of Education consented.[48] Guppy wanted to make it known to the clerics that they could go to the children; they would not have to wait for the children to come to them. He also felt that all teachers had a duty to help the clerics within the bounds of new rules which he had submitted to the Board of Education. If the clerics went to the schools they would most likely discover that the children attended their religious classes almost as regularly as they attended secular teaching.

Lechmere Guppy was opposed to the Roman Catholic call for denominational schools. Probably he was already in 1868 -- as he showed himself to be in the later 19th century -- fearful of the cultural influence of foreign Roman Catholic priests. Probably he already believed as he believed in the later 19th century that "whoever has the control of Education has the control of the people."[49] But in 1868, in an official report he naturally put his ideas in a milder mould. He said he could not offer any plan

"Which would be at once acceptable to the Clergy and suitable to a country where almost every religious denomination is represented".[50]

---

48. ibid.

49. See Guppy's comment on printed page inserted in his own copy of J. Froude: The English in the West Indies.op.cit.

50. C.O. 299/19, Report of Guppy for 1868 dated 2 Feb., 1869.

His dislike for denominational schools in 1868 was apparently based on the need for religious tolerance in a multi-religious society; on the social need to spread the use of the English language, and in the firm conviction that the intellectual standards of the ward schools was higher than that of the existing denominational schools. When denominational schools existed near to ward schools, the purpose of the former was, Guppy felt, to compete with the ward schools rather than enlarge the number of children going to school in the area. Guppy said that he noticed that in such a competition parents who removed their chidlren from the ward school to the denominational school, usually sent them back to the ward school, when they realised the inferior character of the denominational school.[51] In fact Guppy felt that if clerics did not put pressure on parents they would probably always choose the ward schools whenever a choice was necessary. He was implying that parents, even Roman Catholics, if left to themselves would not be making any objections to the ward schools on the ground that they did not offer religious instruction. In the opposition to the ward schools Guppy definitely saw the clerics as the chief mischief makers.

In Guppy's estimation the ward school system had succeeded beyond reasonable hope in the last 16 years.[52] If the ward schools in 1868 were compared with the denominational schools of 1852 all the advantages in terms of number of children

---

51. ibid.

52. ibid.

educated and the quality of education, would fall on the side of the ward schools. Guppy did not enter into a detailed examination of the class attainment of the ward schools; and into the amount of knowledge and intelligence of the average school leaver. He was concerned with the broad moral and intellectual impact of the ward schools since 1852 vis-a-vis the denominational schools of 1852 and before. Through the contact of school goers with the larger non-white labouring community, civilisation had been spreading in the countryside. As he put it

"An evidence of this is the difference of demeanor and mode of life exhibited by the inhabitants in districts where there are schools and those in places where there are none. In the latter they are rude and barbarous: in the former comparatively well behaved and orderly, and possessed of a greater desire to conform to the manners and avail themselves of the conveniences of civilised life."[53]

The wards schools, said Guppy, had also contributed heavily to the spread of the use of the English language in remote districts where it was previously unknown. The importance of the English language was so compelling that the government had a positive duty to promote it through the schools. The English language was

"the language in which the laws are written, which is the vehicle of the most important transactions, and which is moreover

---

53. ibid.

the current language of the greater portion of the higher classes and of the employers of labour."[54]

Of course denominational schools which sought government assistance could be made to teach the English language as a condition for receiving these grants. The opponents of denominational education very often imagined that it must necessarily be accompanied by the same lack of government attention, by the same absence of strict rules as in the 1830s and 1840s. By this means they managed to associate it with confusion in language teaching; confusion in the siting of schools; confusion in intellectual standards. With strong government supervision a denominational system need not be as confused as Guppy thought it would be. And what Guppy would think of as undesirable confusion somebody else might see as useful flexibility.

What was needed was drastic improvements in the prevailing system, said Guppy.[55] His own criticisms were so serious that one wonders how Guppy could have seen the ward schools as successful institutions unless he was comparing them only with the denominational schools of 1852 or 1868, and not with an ideal standard established in his mind. Most of the buildings in which teachers and pupils met were in a wretched condition. Nineteen of the 30 ward schools were in hired buildings. Nine of these 19 were pronounced defective by Guppy and all

---

54. ibid.

55. ibid.

were in a state of disrepair. Of the eleven schoolhouses which were the property of the wards, only 3 were said not to be in need of repair, and 2 of these were new structures erected in 1868. In the words of Guppy

"Few indeed, if any, were in good order; but in one case the buildings were so ruinous that during a shower it was hard to find dry places in the schoolroom for the pupils. In other cases the schoolrooms were dirty, the floors full of holes, the walls decayed and the furniture deficient, imperfect or broken. In very many cases the buildings were unsuitable even had they been in fair order, and it was evident that the school had been going on in a make-shift manner from year to year, without any effort having been made towards attaining a better condition of things".[56]

Guppy felt strongly that all the wards should build their own schoolhouses with loans from the Executive government to be repaid from the ward rates. Except in relative inaccessible places like Maracas, Caura, and Erin, all the schoolhouses should be constructed with iron framework. Guppy in December 1868 provided the government with a drawing showing the way in which he would like to see the schools designed.[57] He preferred to see the teachers quarters on the same floor as the schoolroom, but without any direct access between the

---

56. ibid.

57. C.O. 299/19, Report of Guppy dated 30 Dec., 1868.

schoolroom and such quarters. No doubt, Guppy did not want to tempt the teachers to leave their classes to attend to domestic affairs or simply to sleep. He insisted that all the new schoolhouses should have wide verandahs, and eaves projecting beyond the verandahs. This was not to increase accommodation, but to prevent rain from being blown into the classroom.

Not only were buildings in a delapidated condition, but the teachers were pronounced to be inefficient, and the schools badly in need of organisation. Pirate editions of the Irish reading books, with misprints and pagination different from the Standard Books, had crept into the schools.[58] Guppy ordered a new set of books of the standard edition from the Irish Education Board. The rules for the internal regulation of the schools were not stuck up on the wall of the schools. Guppy supplied the schools with these rules and asked that they be stuck up. The teachers were not keeping the class enrollment book on any uniform method. Guppy did not criticise specifically the organisation of the schools into classes but he could hardly have been satisfied with this. In fact, he called for an expert school organiser to be sent from Ireland.[59] This person would spend a year touring the schools and remaining at each for a period sufficient to train the teacher in the school methods of the Irish Education Board and to organise the school properly.

---

58. C.O. 299/19, Report of Guppy for 1868 dated 2 Feb., 1869.

59. ibid.

position on the list.[61] Guppy implied that the rule about the annual examination of teachers had not been adhered to strictly, and that teachers who had no special love for teaching had been thus allowed to escape the detection of the Board of Education. Altogether, Guppy's report on the teachers suggested that Anderson had been too indulgent with them.

The low quality of the teachers Guppy traced back to the condition of the Teacher Training school. The trouble was not with Mr. Tronchin, the teacher. The school lacked sufficient books; it did not have a library. The recruits were

"not always .....derived from the classes which should have furnished them. They have often been men too far advanced in life to receive a proper training; and the profession of teaching has not always been chosen from preference."[62]

Guppy felt that the solution was to implement one of Lord Harris' unused ideas: convert the Teacher Training school into a boarding school, and take younger recruits, especially those from the Boys Model school. As Guppy said

"the effect of this would probably be to lessen the number of needy persons out of employment who seek the Normal School as a last resort..... The boarding of the students at the school itself would present other advantages. Their whole conduct would be under the eye of the Superintendent, they would be taught regular and orderly habits, and their

---

61. ibid.

62. ibid.

time for study would be much enlarged."[63]

Guppy did not have any solution to the problem of how to increase the number of ward schools. Nor did he have a plan for the education of the Indian immigrant children. Port of Spain clearly needed more schools but that was a matter for the Borough Council. About a half of the children in the island were beyond the reach of the existing ward schools. Places like Cocorite, Caroni, Cimeronero, Claxton Bay, Erin, Manazanilla, Moruga and Tunure, and many others, could use a school right away. If the system in Switzerland could be adopted in Trinidad, the number of schools would rise three or four times. In Switzerland, there was a legal obligation to provide a school wherever 20 children could be gathered.[64] Guppy, however, knew that the wards would not be able to afford this sort of expansion. And in the island this sort of expansion was not easy to arrange successfully. Even if the money could be found to open new schools in the above mentioned places, children would not respond with a sufficient high level of attendance for prolonged periods. The island needed roads to link homes and schools, and to bring communities together. Perhaps, said Guppy, it might be better to spend money on building an infrastructure of roads before establishing schools in remote areas which neither children nor the Inspector could reach without difficulty. In fact, Guppy, like Darling, and

---

63. ibid.

64. ibid.

all the others who wanted to see only a system of non-denominational ward schools paid for by the local rates, seem to have been incapable of suggesting how the ward school system was to get the funds needed for expansion. It may well be that what they had in mind -- at least in part -- was to see the existing ward schools more fully utilised in the first place; to see them rise above the 35 pupil per ward school recorded by Anderson and Guppy. But even this had a snag in it: if Guppy's description of the physical condition of the schools was correct, then in reality there was hardly any room in these schools for a greatly increased attendance, unless standard of attainment was to be further lowered.

Guppy could not have been happy with the results of Patrick Keenan's investigation into the education system. The very atmosphere of doubt and uncertainty about the future of the system in 1868 and 1869 was, to Guppy, injurious to the schools. The debate and the probings by Farfan and Darling had, so Guppy claimed, shaken confidence in the continuation of the schools.[65.] Guppy was, in fact, proposing to improve the system at the very moment when others wanted to destroy it. What particularly put Guppy in a delicate position was that Gordon, to whom he was ultimately responsible, was known to be amenable to changes in the direction of denominational schools. Hence when Guppy proposed what apparently was an elaborate

---

65. ibid.

Code of Regulations to cover, not just the internal running of the school but the organisation of the whole system, he was anxious to make it known that this Code would not inhibit changes, but might be the basis for changes.[66] He could not appear inflexible; he was the servant of Gordon and the Board of Education.

Guppy's reform programme was in fact hindered by the impending inquiry of Keenan. This Code of Regulations for instance was shelved by the Board of Education[67] until it was clear what Keenan had in mind. Guppy, in 1869 could only seek to improve the teaching service within the framework of the old rules. By the time he compiled his 1869 report Guppy must have seen or heard of the contents of Keenan's report. There was only one part of Keenan's report which was reflected in Guppy's 1869 report. This was the use of monitors in the schools; Guppy seemed ready to adopt some of Keenan's ideas on this subject as part of his own reform programme. The existing school rules had envisaged the use of paid monitors in every school with a large attendance. Guppy gave instructions that more monitors should be used, and that some of them should be prepared by extra lessions to enter the Teacher Training school.[68] He also introduced more paid monitors into the Boys Model school; and a three year course of study was prescribed for them.

---

66. ibid.

67. C.O. 299/20, Report of Guppy for 1869 dated 22 March, 1870.

68. ibid.

These monitors were now regarded as part of the Teacher Training school; as the junior division of that school; the adult recruits -- only three in December 1868 -- comprising the senior division. As there were 8 monitors in the Teacher Training school, it seems that a shift of emphasis away from the training of adults as teachers towards the training of youths had begun.[69] But Guppy, unlike Keenan, was not prepared to recommend the abolition of the Teacher Training school.

Gordon's choice of a metropolitan education expert fell on one of his friends, Mr. Ottiwell Waterfield, headmaster of a school at Sheen, and sometime Fellow of Kings College, Cambridge, and an ex-master at Eton.[70] Such a man would be much more knowledgeable about secondary education than primary education; and most likely he would be a member of the Church of England. Waterfield said he was busy and could only come in December 1868 and January 1869. Henry Taylor in the Colonial Office thought he would be an excellent choice for the job.[71] But by the time the Colonial Office began seriously to go about appointing a commissioner, the time Waterfield had specified had gone by. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Granville, decided to ask the Privy Council Committee on Education in England to get one of its inspectors to undertake

---

69. ibid.

70. C.O. 295/246, Gordon to Rogers, 27 Oct., 1868. Also C.O. 295/241, Buckingham to Gordon 29 Jan., 1868, no. 113. Note of H. Taylor on this despatch dated 11 Jan., 1868.

71. ibid. Note of H. Taylor on this despatch dated 28 Oct., 1868. In Jan., 1868, however, Taylor had expressed the opinion that Waterfield had no special qualification in respect of elementary education. See C.O. 295/241, Buckingham to Gordon, 29 Jan., 1868, no. 113 Note of H. Taylor on this despatch dated 11 Jan, 1868.

the job. But then Henry Taylor felt that it would not be easy to get such a person at short notice; and persons of such high qualifications would expect more remuneration than the British government and Gordon would want to pay. One of the Inspectors in Ireland would be able to handle the job; and it was suggested that to the extent that the system of education in Trinidad resembled the Irish system, it might be wise to get an Inspector from Ireland.[72] Henry Taylor thought that it would be wise to mention to the Board of Education in Ireland that the majority of people in the island were Roman Catholics. It was the Secretary of State for the Colonies who first suggested Patrick Keenan, or a Mr. Rogers, or a Mr. Robinson.[73] Perhaps the decisive factor in the choice of Keenan was the fact that he was a Roman Catholic; perhaps it was simply that he was one of the two chiefs of inspection in Ireland. The other Mr. W.A. Hunter was a Presbyterian.[74] Keenan made it easier for the Colonial Office by agreeing to go at once and by not haggling about remuneration.

Perhaps the choice of Keenan, a Roman Catholic threw fears in the mind of the supporters of the Church of England and the supporters of the prevailing education system. His high position in the Irish Education system, and his long experience as an inspector probably stifled the voice of those

---

72. C.O. 295/246, Note of W. Monsell on draft of a letter to the Privy Council Committee on Education dated Dec., 1868.

73. C.O. 295/246, Note of Granville on draft of a letter to the Privy Council Committee on Education dated Dec., 1868.

74. Akenson, p. 281.

who would under other circumstannes, have objected publicly to his appointment on grounds that he was a Roman Catholic. Peter Latrobe in 1838 the only previous inspector to be sent down by the British government, had been a Moravian; which at least meant that he was not a Roman Catholic. As it turned out Latrobe had a strong anti-Roman Catholic prejudice.[75] His mission in 1838 was not as vital as Keenan's in 1869. Latrobe came essentially to check on the use of the British subsidy for building schools and incidentally to make recommendations. Keenan came at the height of a struggle between Roman Catholics and Anglicans over matters ranging beyond education, and apparently his recommendations were to be the basis for changes. After a generation of struggle to make the Church of England and English culture supreme, the proponents of the anglicising policy now found themselves in February 1869 faced with a governor friendly to Roman Catholicism and a Roman Catholic expert in education.

When Keenan arrived in February 1869 he was shown the petitions of Archbishop Gonin in 1867, and he read the reports of Farfan and Darling. After two months of travelling and observation, the job was completed. It makes sense to discuss first his findings and recommendations in respect to elementary education; for here his report was the follow-up of those of Farfan and Darling. The burden of this part of Keenan's report was that standards were deplorably, intolerably low; not simply

---

75. Latrobe: Report on Negro Education in the Windward and Leeward Islands pp. 118-119.

in religious knowledge, but in all subjects; not only pupils needed higher standards but teachers as well.[76] The remedy was to put the management of elementary schools squarely in the hands of these who cared; these would be local managers -- lay or clerical -- who would give constant supervision to the schools; see to it that teachers did their duty, and that parents realised their responsibility to send their chidlren regularly to school.[77] The experiment of state enterprise in education had, said Keenan, failed miserably; schools disorganised and tumbling down, attendance shockingly low, the schools disorganised and disoriented and the teachers easy going, careless, disenchanted and demoralised. For this state of affairs Keenan blamed the secular state system as misconceived; it was over centralised with power resting in the hands of the administrative machinery in Port of Spain: the governor, the Board of Education and the Inspector of schools. If the Wardens, said Keenan, were originally intended to be the local managers of the schools, they had either never played this role, or had long relinquished it. In Keenan's mind the initiative in educational development belonged to private enterprise which should operate within a framework of rules laid down by the state. The best form of this private enterprise was clerical; the initiative of clerics who were peculiarly qualified by their "duties and opportunities"[78]

---

76. Shirley Gordon: The Keenan Report. Caribbean Quarterly. Vol. VIII no. IV (1962) pp. 4-7.

77. ibid., p. 13

78. ibid.

to be school managers. While Keenan spoke of local managers -- lay or clerical -- he envisaged and preferred all the managers to be ministers of religion.

Keenan suggested a formula for the conversion of the existing ward schools into denominational schools, and for the recognition of new denominational schools by the government. The management of the ward schools should be vested in the cleric of the same religion as the majority of pupils; but in areas where there was a sizeable religious minority, a cleric or a prominent layman of the same religion as that minority should be allowed the right to establish a school.[79] In regard to areas where there were no ward schools at that time, the cleric or prominent layman who first applied to the Board of Education to establish a school, should be recognised as the manager. All schools getting government assistance should be bound by a conscience clause protecting the right of parents to determine the religion of their children, and the right of clerics to visit their co-religionists in schools conducted by clerics of another faith.

Under the Harris education system the financing of the schools was localised and their administration centralised. Those who paid the teachers were not observing their performance, and those who observed their performance -- occasionally -- were not paying for what they saw. The result, Keenan implied, was irresponsibility by local and central government. Naturally, the existing governor was not to be blamed; nor the existing

---

79. ibid., pp. 13-14.

Inspector of schools who had assumed office in June of the previous year. Keenan would have liked to see the management of the schools almost completely localised and their financing almost completely centralised. To ask the wards to finance elementary education entirely was to withhold funds from education.[80] Keenan wanted the locally managed denominational school to break away completely from the rule of local taxes for local purposes, and to find their major support from central government funds augmented by moderate school fees.

This utter conviction of the importance of local management, and the strong belief that clerics made the best local managers, was nothing new to Keenan. He took this position before he arrived in Trinidad, and after he had departed; he said it in his reports in Ireland in the 1850s, and he repeated it a decade after his visit to the colony, when he was conducting an inquiry into the education system of Malta. Keenan wrote in 1855 in relation to education in Ireland

"Want of local superintendence induces apathy on the part of the teacher -- he has no one to say a friendly word to him, to advise him in time of difficulty, or to sustain him in combats with the prejudices of the parents; and the government Inspector crosses that threashold of his door scarcely ever more than three times a year".[81]

---

80. ibid., p. 5

81. P.P. House of Commons, 1856 (2142-11) Vol. XXVII pt. 11. Twenty Second Report of the Commissioners on National Education in Ireland (for 1855) p. 100.

And he immediately followed this up with the strong statement that

"The natural and legitimate manager of a school is the clergyman -- no matter what his creed, he is a man of education the didactic element enters into his own fortunes, and he has a professional sympathy with those who teach , as well as instinctive love for those who are taught."[82]

In 1879 Keenan, now upgraded to the post of Resident Commissioner of Education in Ireland, pronounced the judgement that "the fundamental defect of the Maltese system of education is the total absence of local control of the schools."[83] And in anticipation of the objection that he was planning to hand over the schools to priests and to deprive the government of its rightful role in education, Keenan made a remark, probably not without significance for his position in Trinidad a decade earlier

"I do not, even remotely, sympathise with any objection which simply applies to priests as a class, any more than I would to nobles, lawyers, doctors, merchants, or private gentlemen; but my answer to any such objection would be that priests by vocation, are pre-eminently teachers, and therefore, fit and proper persons to look after schools. Furthermore, I would reply to such an objection that the only power which the state really wants to hold in its own hands is the power of requiring that every locality shall be provided with adequate school

---

82. ibid.

83. P. Keenan: Report upon the Education System of Malta (Dublin, 1879) p. 48

accommodation, and of seeing that the secular results of instruction are entirely satisfactory. If a system of payment for those secular results be, even in part, determined upon the State will I believe, have conserved as much control over education as it ought to desire, especially as the Government can lay down the most rigid conditions with respect to the suitability of the schoolhouses, the adequacy of the school appliances, the qualifications of the teachers, and the scope and details of the system of secular instruction".[84]

In and outside of Trinidad then Keenan maintained a fairly high degree of consistency on the questions of the absolute need for local management, and the role of clerics and government in education. One of the outstanding qualities of Keenan's analysis and recommendations for elementary education is that they were almost entirely pedagogical. He did not start from the political and social assumptions that Trinidad must be anglicised; and that the schools should be a means to this end. His concern was about the quality of education; the standard of pupils and teachers and the direction of the curriculum. If he reached a conclusion which appeared to have sharp political implications -- denominational Roman Catholic schools as well as denominational Church of England schools -- he did not get to this point via any but pedagogical arguments. The middle term of his argument was the need for local supervision; and if he was asked why that supervision could not come from a layman or a committee of laymen he would answer either that only a

---

84. ibid.

few such men were interested in education; or that clerics would make the best school managers.

Keenan was not free from the old myth of negro laziness; he felt that the youths of the country should be taught the love of work; to think of it as honourable.[85] All this is thoroughly in line with the Victorian presumption that the lower classes needed to be made to work hard for their moral good. However ungenerous were the social motives from which Europeans recommended "industrial instruction", it remains a valid criticism that the curriculum of the ward schools did not teach, or even introduce children to any agricultural skills or even needlework. Keenan was right that the schools could usefully add workshops and school gardens.[86] But their activities should not be pushed at the expense of literary subjects which were the only route to any education above the level of the elementary schools. To the extent that Keenan wanted the teachers to pay more attention to arithmetic and "industrial instruction"[87] than to reading and writing, he was betraying some class and race prejudice against the lower class children: literary studies were the lever for advanced education and social mobility. Keenan showed no desire to have even a few elementary school children pass on to the secondary schools. He seems completely unaware of the sense of frustration which many parents had; and which discouraged them from sending their

---

85. S. Gordon: The Keenan Report op.cit., p. 10

86. ibid.

87. ibid.

children to school. In his class assumptions about the way the education system should work Keenan did not say anything which would have caused dismay to the upper classes.

Where Keenan keenly disappointed the people in favour of anglicising the colony was in his refusal to see Trinidad as a community in which the English language alone should be spoken. He accepted the desirability of making English the official language of the colony; the language which all should speak and understand. But he did not see it as the only language which should be spoken.[88] The schools should not suppress Spanish and French, but should use them as means to teach English. Where Spanish or French was the home language of the children, the teachers should not disregard them and attempt to teach English without reference to French or Spanish idioms.[89] They should use the children's knowledge of French and Spanish to aid comprehension of the English language.

In Ireland in the 1850s Keenan had vigorously defended the claims of the Irish language; he called for it to be taught in the schools, and for it to be made the vehicle for the teaching of the English language.[90] Although his enthusiasm for the Irish language seemed to have waned[91] in the 1870s and 1880s, when he visited Malta in 1879 he called for the teaching of Maltese, and for the English language to be taught through the use of

---

88. ibid. p. 9

89. ibid.

90. P.P. House of Commons, 1857-1858 (2344) Vol. XX. Twenty Third Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (1856) Appendix pp. 142-144.

91. Akenson, p. 381.

Maltese.[92] Keenan understood the imperial necessity to make English the official language of the entire British Empire, but his pedagogical reasoning would not allow him to sanction the complete suppression of the first language of the people to be taught English.

His recommendation that in Trinidad the English language should be taught by utilising the Spanish and French idioms assumed that the average teacher was sufficiently at home with creole French and ungramatical Spanish to slip from these languages to English. Probably this assumption was correct in respect to creole French. Almost the whole community except a few "Englishmen" spoke and understood creole French. On pedagogical grounds Keenan's scheme made sense; but it appeared to be making English a second language to be learnt in the wake of whatever language the child already knew, or could speak at the time of coming to school. The English party would never accept this: Keenan's suggestion was never adopted generally in the schools of the later 19th century.

Keenan extended his pedagogical arguments to the government Teacher Training school with devastating effect. He concluded that this institution was completely disorganised and inadequate for the training of teachers; and recommended its abolition.[93] In his analysis of the Teacher training school

---

92. P. Keenan: Report upon the Education System of Malta op.cit. pp. 91-92.

93. S. Gordon: The Keenan Report op.cit., pp 10-11.

Keenan was right: the few students were grown men who had failed at some previous occupation before turning to teaching. Their standard of education in entering the school was low, and since the Superintendent of the school only taught the trainees two days a week, what the trainees learnt at the school was pitiably small. Most of their time and energies were spent in teaching the Model school -- 4 days a week, for which they got paid a sum between £10 to £35 p.a. The training school was just a cheap way of providing staff for the Boys Model school of Port of Spain. The normal dilemma of every teacher training school, viz the proportion of time which should be spent on literary subjects, or the art of teaching, was avoided at the institution by not teaching psychology, teaching methods or school organization. In short the trainers taught the Model school after their own light; and in turn were taught literary subjects in an haphazard manner by the Superintendent of the school. Keenan saw no good in reorganising the Training School. It should be abolished.[94]

Here Keenan went wrong for his alternative proposal for training teachers could hardly produce better teachers. He suggested the pupil teacher system as the essential foundation for the training of teachers. Whatever vogue this system had elsewhere its drawback was that a boy or girl of 12 or 14 years old was hardly in a position to say whether he or she was really interested in teaching. If the existing schools were as bad

---

94. ibid.

as Keenan said then they could not effectively be converted into training schools by associating young pupil teachers with the head teacher who would prepare them for annual examinations to be conducted by the Inspector of schools.

It was a cheap way of training teachers for the expense of a Teacher training school would be avoided; and some head teachers would have their work increased without any compensation. After 5 years of teaching practice and annual examinations there would be no guarantee of a superior product than would emerge from a properly organised teacher training college. The pupil teacher system appears reasonable as a way of supplementing the work of a training school; but not as a substitute for such a school.

To keep all teachers on their toes, Keenan suggested an annual examination for all teachers.[95] It is difficult to see how the teacher could devote his energies to his pupils if he himself, after qualifying as a teacher, had to face an annual examination to move up into a higher grade or to get more pay. This proposal reflected a profound distrust of the elementary school teacher even after he had met the qualifications laid down by the education authorities. Completely in line with this thinking was the allied proposal that the pay of the teacher should depend largely upon the results of pupils as ascertained by examinations conducted by the Inspector of schools.[96]

---

95. ibid., p. 12

96. ibid., pp. 14-15.

as Keenan said then they could not effectively be converted into training schools by associating young pupil teachers with the head teacher who would prepare them for annual examinations to be conducted by the Inspector of schools.

It was a cheap way of training teachers for the expense of a Teacher training school would be avoided; and some head teachers would have their work increased without any compensation. After 5 years of teaching practice and annual examinations there would be no guarantee of a superior product than would emerge from a properly organised teacher training college. The pupil teacher system appears reasonable as a way of supplementing the work of a training school; but not as a substitute for such a school.

To keep all teachers on their toes, Keenan suggested an annual examination for all teachers.[95] It is difficult to see how the teacher could devote his energies to his pupils if he himself, after qualifying as a teacher, had to face an annual examination to move up into a higher grade or to get more pay. This proposal reflected a profound distrust of the elementary school teacher even after he had met the qualifications laid down by the education authorities. Completely in line with this thinking was the allied proposal that the pay of the teacher should depend largely upon the results of pupils as ascertained by examinations conducted by the Inspector of schools.[96]

---

95. ibid., p. 12

96. ibid., pp. 14-15.

This was proposed partly as a measure of economy; and it is a good illustration of the importation of contemporary metropolitan education policies into the colonies. In the contemporary reorganisation of the elementary education in England teachers were to be paid by results;[97] if elementary education was not efficient it was going to be cheap. Teachers who now had to look to attendance, face regular examinations of themselves and their pupils obviously were being put under great pressure. As will be observed later the first impact of thepayment by result system was to reduce the salaries of existing teachers.

The text books used in the ward schools were those produced for the schools of Ireland. Keenan knew these books thoroughly; and he had high praise for them as vehicles of the English language; as means of introducing young minds to good English prose and verse.[98] But they were replete with the scenery of the Irish countryside; and as such largely unintelligible to children of a different environment. Keenan called for textbooks which would build lessons around the local scenery and local experiences of rural Trinidad children; but he would retain excerpts of the prose and verse of the Irish school books. It was an excellent idea; but nobody at that time took up the challenge of locally written elementary school books. Again as

---

97. In 1866 the British government had suggested that this system be adopted in Ireland. Shortly before or after his visit to Trinidad, Keenan was asked to draw up a scheme of payments by results for the Powis Commission. See Akenson, p. 317.

98. S. Gordon: The Keenan Report op.cit., pp 7-8.

in relation to the methods of teaching English, the need for local clerical management and the abolition of the teacher training school, Keenan showed that his primary concern was with pedagogical progress.

When Keenan turned his attention to secondary education he reported on only two schools, viz. St. Mary's and the government College. Doubtless, he visited St. Joseph Convent, but this was a girls school and it was not in the maelstrom of public debate about the future of secondary education. The struggle was directly between St. Mary's and the Queens Collegiate school. Keenan did not make as strong and sweeping recommendations as in respect to the ward schools. The political and social tensions generated by loyalties and animosities towards these two schools were so strong that Keenan hesitated to stick out his neck. After pages of analysis of the work of the two schools his only positive recommendation modified by the term "if possible"[99] was that St. Mary's should receive government support. At the same time he implied that it was unwise for the Queens Collegiate School to devote so much time and energy upon preparation for the Cambridge examinations; and that it would be better for that College and the community if it became a Protestant boarding college.

The tameness of Keenan's recommendations on secondary education sprang from the fact that he could not argue that academic standard at either of the Colleges were low. And at the same time he hesitated to recommend changes on political

---

99. S. Gordon: Documents which have guided Educational policy op.cit., p. 22.

grounds. St. Mary's was worthy of government support because it was doing excellent work and was well appreciated by the community.[100] Keenan did not argue that Roman Catholics paid taxes and ought to have their secondary schools supported by government. He doubtless believed this; but he sought to make his stand on pedagogical grounds. In doing this he could not avoid making direct comparisons between the Colleges in a way in which he never did between denominational elementary schools and the ward schools.[101] He seemed to be saying that the Colleges were different; but each was doing well in what it was attempting to do. He preferred what St. Mary's was trying to do.

To Keenan the Queen Collegiate school was a Cambridge examination factory working overtime producing a narrow range of products but of a high standard.[102] It was understaffed, inconveniently housed in a rented building near a noisy street. The teachers taught well what they had decided to teach; but the curriculum was too narrowly classical.[103] There was no attempt to teach any science subjects and no extra curricular activities; no games; no music, no drama, no art. The boys were driven hard at the classics, and in the attempt to win scholarships, a few boys had taken the Cambridge examinations

---

100. ibid., p. 21

101. ibid., pp. 21-22

102. ibid., pp. 15-16.

103. ibid., p. 16.

more than once. The school Keenan felt was too closely dominated by the requirements of the Cambridge examinations. To be a better school it needed a wider curriculum and a more relaxed pace. Keenan did not say this but the pressure on the pupils at the Collegiate school arose, not merely from the requirements of the Cambridge examiners, but from the social and political struggles in which the school was caught. To justify its existence the Collegiate school had to produce good examination results; the Roman Catholics should never be able to accuse the school of low academic standards. They did not; neither did Keenan.

St. Mary's taught a small amount of natural science to some students. It had a wider curriculum than the Queen Collegiate school because it provided for three distinct streams of education: the junior classes which did a kind of extended elementary school syllabus; the commercial school, and the classical school.[104] The core of St. Mary's was the classical school; it was those studies which made it a secondary school. Only 8 boys were doing the strictly vocational commercial course; the work of the junior classes or the preparatory school could not have given St. Mary's its standing in the community. It is clear that both St. Mary's and the Queen Collegiate school were at heart, classical schools. But St. Mary's offered other subjects as well; not all the boys had to do the classics. Not having to face the "ordeal" of the Cambridge examinations the pace of the

---

104. ibid., pp. 17-19

activities was determined by the interest of the staff; and this was a more leisurely pace; a more humane range of activities including music and drama and religious instruction[105], and all the lessons in human relationship which can spring from a group of pupils and teachers living and studying together. St. Mary's had the look of an established school; it had proper buildings with well ventilated class rooms, a refectory, dormitories and recreational facilities.

The teaching at St. Mary's was excellent Keenan concluded. He did not have the ready made measuring rod of passes in the Cambridge examinations, but he approved of what he saw and heard. The teaching was done in French, and this was the first language of half of the teachers and most of the pupils. As the managers of the school, the Holy Ghost Fathers, also spoke French as their first language, and the ceremonials of the school were based on French models[106], the whole atmosphere of St. Mary's was that of a French school. English was taught as another language. As in the case of the elementary schools Keenan believed that English should be made the universal language of the colony. He had, however, pedagogical reservations on any scheme to disregard the home language of the pupils and teach solely in English. He discovered that 48 of the pupils at St. Mary's came from French families; 33 from Spanish and 30 from English.[107] On the assumption that the level of language

---

105. ibid., p. 18.

106. ibid., p.19.

107. ibid., p. 20.

competence of the pupils corresponded with the origins of their families Keenan concluded that there was a case for French as the teaching language of the school. Whether the boys from Spanish families were equally at home with French is another matter. But at any rate, the boys from English families were in the minority; probably the most decisive factor was that the teachers and school managers were most competent in French. Keenan reported that the teachers and the managers were anxious to do more teaching in English; but it is difficult to understand how Keenan and the St. Mary's teachers and managers hoped to make the College "more English"[108] but "without being less French".[109] Granted that it would take time to give the English language a larger place in the life of the school. The school after all, was only 6 years old, and it had to be French under the circumstances of its origin. In future, however, it could not hope to be more English, but no less French, unless of course, there was no intention of changing the basic French character of the school; or of meeting the wishes of those who wanted to see all schools contribute to the spread of English habits and customs.

As the Roman Catholic adherents out-numbered Protestant adherents among the upper and middle classes it was not surprising that St. Mary's was a larger school than the Queen Collegiate. In addition, it took younger students and it offered boarding facilities. Keenan, like many Roman Catholic contemporaries,

---

108. ibid.

109. ibid.

made too much of the difference in the number of pupils who went to St. Mary's and the Queen Collegiate school. Surely the most striking feature was the small support which each school drew from the community. The Queen Collegiate school got a smaller support, but with 111 pupils, St. Mary was not a flourishing school either. If contemporaries were not so engrossed with direct comparisons between the two colleges they might have seen that the real need was for an expansion of secondary school places, and for means of subsidising access to secondary schools from a wider cross-section of the population. Keenan made no recommendation for increasing secondary school places though he wanted lower school fees. Nor did he propose any plan for linking the elementary schools with the secondary schools even through the narrow passage way of a few scholarships.

Keenan instead of proposing means of expanding secondary education suggested that there was a case for erecting a West Indian University upon the base of the secondary schools of the British Caribbean.[110] As Trinidad was the largest of the Crown colonies, Keenan envisaged that Trinidad would take the initiative in bringing about this West Indian University. The most startling aspect of this proposal was that this University was not to be affiliated to any other university. It was to be an independent degree granting organisation from

---

110. ibid., p. 22.

the start. But it was not to teach, only to examine; it would have a "seat"[111] in one of the islands where the professors would reside, but there was to be no buildings, no lecture rooms; no direct confrontation of students and professors. The islands would develop their own Colleges -- whether these would be separate from the normal secondary colleges or be extensions of them is not clear -- which would teach courses laid down by the professors. The professors would then mark the examination scripts and the Senate confer the degrees. The University would be administratively decentralised with the Board of Education in each island carrying out the administrative functions of the Senate in the particular island. Naturally, it would start with Arts courses and then quickly add the professional studies of law, medicine, and engineering. It would only cost, Keenan guessed, £5000 p.a. to run this institution.[112] If this sum was spread among the British Caribbean islands, the contribution of each island would be within its means. If the West Indian University did not materialise Trinidad should still attempt to develop University type arts courses in "college or seminaries".[113]

It is doubtful whether £5000 p.a. could run a University with Arts and professional courses. At any rate, the islands would have to teach those courses at the level of local

---

111. ibid., p. 23

112. ibid.

113. ibid., p. 24.

"colleges or seminaries" and hence their contribution to University education would be higher than their share of the £5000 overhead. The British government was already uneasy about West Indian governments subsidising the secondary education of the upper classes,[114] and it would not listen kindly to a proposal now to subsidise their University education. What was wrong with the proposal for a West Indian University in the mid 19th century was that it would be a superstructure without any proper foundation. The governments had not yet organised elementary education much less to provide for a majority of children at that stage, and the secondary schools were too small and too restricted socially for a West Indian University to be of any benefit to the vast majority of people who paid most of the taxes. At that stage of post emancipation society it was unreasonable to develop University education at the expense of secondary and elementary education. This was what a West Indian University would mean; for the governments would not, and perhaps, could not finance educational expansion at all three levels simultaneously. Already in Trinidad the £3000 p.a. for the Queen Collegiate school had between 1857 and 1869 reduced considerably the chances of the central government putting any more funds into elementary education. The best strategy would be to make it possible for students in the colonies to study for external degrees of metropolitan

---

114. S. Gordon, Documents op.cit., p. 11

Universities, and to develop the overseas scholarship system for the better products of the secondary schools. Even this would only be reasonable if there was a greater measure of democratisation of access to educational facilities above the level of the elementary schools. Some kind of metropolitan tutelage in education was inevitable in the mid 19th century, and it is significant that Keenan did not recommend the discontinuation of the Cambridge examinations. He was not familiar with the details of these examinations, but he accepted the quality as high, though he was willing to argue that there were other legitimate educational goals for which a secondary school should strive.[115] If St. Mary's was admitted into a public system of secondary education it too would have to face the "ordeal" of the Cambridge examinations.

That Keenan should have used pedagogical arguments to reach virtually the same conclusions as the local Roman Catholics could not but strengthen the position of those who called for changes in the education system. If there is need to isolate the most important service which Keenan rendered to education, unhesitatingly it could be said that he introduced pedagogical arguments into the struggle to shape an education system for the colony. Since 1834 the arguments on behalf of rival systems had been highly politicised; or at any rate, the pedagogical reasons for policies had been de-emphasised or not even mentioned. Those who asked for changes on political

---

115. ibid., p. 15.

grounds might also have had pedagogical reasons in their minds but nobody -- neither the government, the churches, nor the public -- put the case for changes on predominantly pedgogical grounds. The Roman Catholics were delighted to hear from an outsider -- admittedly another Roman Catholic -- that they could ask for a denominational system of elementary education and secondary education without claiming it as their political right.

Whether the supporters of the Church of England and of the prevailing education system did not feel that Keenan had simply hidden his Roman Catholic sentiments under the cloth of educational theory is another matter. True it was that he nowhere put the need for religious instruction in the forefront of his arguments; particularly in respect to the ward schools he did not argue like the local Roman Catholics. On the question of the College, his analysis resembled more closely those of at least one wing of the Roman Catholics who really wanted government funds for St. Mary's and not the destruction of the government College.[116] Yet even in respect to secondary education Keenan did not put the need for religious instruction to be linked with other aspects of teaching as the basis for his arguments. He did not press the justice of listening to the voice of the majority of taxpayers who were Roman Catholics.

---

116. R. Seeseran suggests from a reading of S.P. Casey: Centum Centenary of the Archdiocese of Port of Spain B.W.I. 1850-1950. (P.O.S.G. 1950) p. 11 that some Catholics in Trinidad disagreed with Keenan and that the Papacy rebuked him. See R. Seeseram: The Keenan Report. U.W.I. umpublished seminar paper. 9 Dec., 1972.

Nevertheless when all is said and done, there can be no doubt that Keenan's educational philosophy was distilled from his religious beliefs as a Roman Catholic. If he put forward the same educational philosophy consistently in and outside of Trinidad, his enemies were entitled to argue that this was only because he was consistently a Roman Catholic.

CHAPTER IX

THE NEW EDUCATION POLICY 1869-1870

> Five and twenty or thirty years ago, the conduct of England towards her colonies was generous and liberal, but above all it was masked by the desire to anglicize -- to print her own stamp on all her subjects -- to introduce her laws and institutions wherever she ruled. She has now realized the impolicy of such a course when she has to deal with an established civilization and another race....."[1].
>
> Gordon's speech at Couva Nov., 1869.

When the Keenan report reached Gordon, his administration because of measures undertaken or mooted since his arrival in December, 1866, had already encountered the displeasure and opposition of the supporters of the Church of England and the anglicising process, so long exemplified in the person and policies of Charles Warner. There was a marked absence of good relations between Governor Gordon and his Attorney General. The enemies of Warner rejoiced to find in Gordon a governor who meant to think out his own policies and to implement them whatever were the views of the Attorney General.[2] After the governorship of New Brunswick where his powers had been severely restricted by an elected assembly, Gordon no friend to popular government, delighted to find himself the master of the fate of a Crown Colony.[3] This power he was not willing to relinquish

---

1. The Review, 20 Nov., 1869

2. Stanmore Papers. Vol. XXXVII. AD. MSS. 49235 N. Pantin to Gordon 26 Sept. 1867 and Wenkstern to Gordon 8 Oct., 1867.

3. Stanmore Papers Vol. LI. AD. MSS. 49249 Diary Entry 24 Nov. 1866. Also Chapman op.cit. p. 45.

to, or to share with, Charles Warner. Noticeably in 1867 and 1868 Gordon continued and extended the practice, begun by Manners-Sutton, of consulting the heads of departments about matters concerning their departments. Warner was not consulted about everything as in the days of Keate. In fact, it was now Warner's turn to complain that matters which fell within his competence as Attorney General were being handled by other persons.[4] When Gordon asked Mr. N. Pantin, a magistrate in Couva, to comment on a draft of laws to amend the criminal law, Warner objected to it in a private letter to Gordon.[5] Such practices, he said, lowered him in the opinion of the community, they gave the impression that he was incompetent or unwilling to carry out the policies of the governor. When on New Years' Day, 1868, Warner was bidding Mrs. Gordon the compliments of the season, he was surprised to hear Gordon add "and I am sure you do so very sincerely".[6] Warner in a sensitive letter to Gordon put great meaning upon the remark, and sought to draw Gordon out into the open: it was known among people who cared about these things, that the governor and the Attorney General did not see eye to eye on matters of policy.[7]

Between Nov. 1866 and Oct. 1869 the policies which most nettled Warner, the supporters of the Church of England, and those who wanted to anglicise the colony, were those which

---

4. Stanmore Papers Vol. XXXVII. AD. MSS. 49235 Warner to Gordon 16 Jan., 1868.
5. ibid.
6. Stanmore Papers Vol. XXXVII AD. MSS. 49235 Warner to Gordon 2 Jan. 1868.
7. Wood, op.cit., p. 293.

sought to call a halt to the deliberate policy of anglicising and to open the Crown lands to legitimate settlement by planters and villagers. The settlement of the Montserrat Ward Union was not in itself an anti-anglicising measure. It was not a measure which specifically favoured any religious or cultural group; it had more to do with the struggle of individuals against individuals, of class against class, than of Roman Catholics against Protestants, or of English people against non-English people.[8] Disagreement with Gordon's Crown land policy arose partly because some people exaggerated the intention, or the actual extent to which Gordon's programme of opening lands in the Montserrat area facilitated the purchase of land by small farmers and peasants. The settlement of the area was designed to serve the interest of the existing and future plantations.[9]

Gordon's administration saw the beginning of serious discussions about increasing the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church. A plan was presented to the British government in

---

8. C.O. 295/244, Kortright to Buckingham, 30 July, 1868, no. 136, Enclosure: Petition of J. Cumming. Also C.O. 295/246 Gordon to Rogers, 28 Sept., 1868 (Aberdeen).

9. Neither Chapman nor Wood has put emphasis on this. A distinction should be made between Gordon's legislation for the purchase of Crown lands which was indeed a liberal innovation, and the actual settlement of Montserrat down to 1870. An examination of the latter shows that the needs of the plantations, actual or prospective, not the needs of small Negro farmers or peasants, dictated the settlement. It is worth noticing that Gordon himself -- if judgement is to be made from the relative paucity of comments about his Crown lands policy in his large private correspondence -- did not regard his land reforms on the same level of achievement as his reforms in education. See Chapman, op.cit., pp 68-83; Wood, op.cit., 270-275.

December 1867 which commited the government[10] to building residences for all Roman Catholic priests in their parishes, and to keep these houses in good repairs. Until such times £50 p.a. as house rent should be given to those priests who had no residence provided for them in their parishes. Such a measure would mean that the total sum expended on the churches would be increased, unless there was a reduction in the endowment of the Church of England. There were such plans afoot, because fair treatment for the Roman Catholics demanded, not simply that they be given an equal sum of money as that bestowed on the Church of England, but that they be given more money than the Church of England. The contemporary discussion in England about the disestablishment of the Church of England in England and Ireland reverberated in the colony. Gordon who was a deeply religious person[11] never entertained, like some dissenting ministers, the idea of complete withdrawal of all government aid for religion: to him that would mean the possibility that churches would cease to function in many remote parts of the island.[12] The problem was to devise a formula which would redistribute government aid to the two endowed churches in such a way as to give the Roman catholic church more than the

---

10. C.O. 295/241, Gordon to Buckingham, 24 Dec., 1867, no. 162.

11. Paul Knaplund: Gladstone-Gordon Correspondence 1851-1896. Selections from the Private Correspondence of a British Prime Minister and a colonial Governor (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society New Series Vol. 51, Part IV 1961) p. 6.

12. Stanmore Papers Vol. XXXVII. AD. MSS. 49235 Draft Reply of Gordon to Letter of eight Dissenting Ministers to Gordon 21 Dec., 1868.

the Church of England, but without substantially increasing government expenditure on churches. Since the principle of not taking away grants from living incumbents was mutually respected, it was not easy to re-route grants from the Church of England to the Roman Catholic church unless vacancies occurred in the Church of England establishment. This partly explained the determination of Gordon to withdraw the £500 p.a. accorded to the Anglican Archdeacon of Trinidad when the incumbent, Rev. Cummins died in September 1869.[13] Bishop Parry argued that it was inconsistent and damaging to the Church of England for the British government to sanction a policy of reduced endowment of the Church ofEngland by the colonial government at the same time that it was withdrawing imperial funds,[14] which since 1825 had sustained the West Indian Bishoprics. Membership of the Church of England, the Bishop alleged, was growing at a faster rate than membership of the Roman Catholic church, and with the coming of heathen immigrants the Church of England had a job of missionary work to do among them.[15] As long as the Roman Catholic church had a resident Archbishop in the colony, the Church of England, said Bishop Parry, would need someone of the status of an Archdeacon on the spot.[16] What was more the Bishop now produced a compilation

---

13. C.O. 295/248, Gordon to Granville, 9 Nov., 1869, no. 142.

14. C.O. 295/249, Bishop of Barbados to Granville, 25 Nov., 1869 (Barbados).

15. ibid.

16. Stanmore Papers Vol. XXXVII AD. MSS. 49235. Bishop Coadjuter of Barbados to Gordon 16 Oct., 1869 (Barbados).

of the amount and value of sugar and cocoa made by Roman Catholics and Church of England proprietors. When taken together the Church of England proprietors were alleged to be making a more valuable contribution to the economy.[17] A petition signed by many English people in favour of the continuation of the Archdeacon's salary was presented to the Council of Government with the full support of Bishop Parry, but it failed to move either Gordon or the British government. Clearly an assault was intended upon the Ecclesiastical Ordinance of 1844. Bishop Parry warned Gordon that lay members of the Church of England felt strongly that this legislation should not be touched.[18] The Bishop was still maintaining the view that this Ordinance could not reasonably be the ground for any complain from Roman Catholics. As he put it

"both the English and the French Churches were publicly recognised and endowed before the passing of the Ecclesiastical Ordinance of December 2nd 1844. That Ordinance therefore neither established nor endowed the Church of England in Trinidad".[19]

---

17. C.O. 295/249, Bishop of Barbados to Granville, 25 Nov., 1869, (Barbados). Enclosure: List showing production of sugar, cocoa, rum and molasses by Roman Catholic and Protestant proprietors. Gordon replied that the Bishop's statistics were inaccurate and misleading; and he produced his own statistics which showed that the Roman Catholics had a preponderance of property if the value of houses held in in the towns was included. See C.O. 295/248, Gordon to Granville, 9 Dec., 1869, no. 158., Enclosure: Statement of Properties owned by Roman Catholics.

18. Stanmore Papers Vol. XXXVII. AD. MSS. 49235. Bishop Coajutor of Barbados to Gordon 16 Oct., 1869 (Barbados).

19. ibid.

In 1870 Gordon got the Council of Government and the British government to abolish the Ecclesiastical Ordinance; but the intention to do this was already apparent in 1868 and 1869. Before his education reform of late 1869 and 1870 Gordon had already fallen foul of the Church of England in the colony.

The innovation, however, which before the inauguration of his education reforms, brought him most strongly into collision with the Church of England was the stationing of Roman Catholic nuns at the Leper Asylum in 1868.[20] If Protestant clerics had been stationed at the Leper Asylum on the same terms as the Dominican Sisters, the Roman Catholic community would have cried foul play. They had a keen eye for all those public institutions where any special favours were granted to Protestant clergymen. Dr. DeVerteuil, a close friend of Archbishop Gonin, from his seat in the Council of Government called for the cessation of the practice of Rev. Wall preaching to all the inmates of the Lunatic Asylum, irrespective of their religious affiliation.[21] There were Roman Catholics there, said DeVerteuil, and Wall had no right to offer them spiritual guidance. Protestants felt the same way about the Protestant lepers whom they claimed were now under the spiritual control of the Roman Catholic Church.[22] The Protestants probably felt--

---

20. Chapman, op.cit., pp 88-89. Wood, op.cit., pp 280-282.

21. P.O.S.G., 4 March, 1868, Council of Government 2 March, 1868.

22. Gordon said that the arrangement was made for the few Catholics to be attended by their own clergy. See C.O. 295/246, Gordon to Rogers, 15 Sept., 1868 (Aberdeen.)

and certainly the Church of England clergymen -- that if public institutions were to be under the spiritual guidance of anyone denomination, then it should be the Church of England, the established church of the nation which exercised political authority in the colony. In the bitter rivalries of the Roman Catholic and Church of England there was no room for humanitarian reforms which gave either church an advantage over the other. Even the victims of insanity and leprosy had become the objects of denominational proselytising. Perhaps this should not be surprising: the job of the clerics is usually easier whenever or wherever he has a captive audience. The campaign to convert all schools into denominational schools -- whatever its merits or demerits -- was at bottom a plan to facilitate the spread of religious instruction by capturing the audience.

Gordon rode the storm of protest from the Protestants, and towards the end of 1869 busied himself with his plans for education. His first reactions to the Keenan Report was to dismiss the idea of a West Indian University and also of night schools as impractical;[23] to agree in broad terms with Keenan's proposal for denominational elementary schools, but to disagree with his recommendations for secondary education.[24] His main qualification on the proposal for denominational elementary schools was his idea that in districts where the religious majority tended to shift between Protestantism and Roman

---

23. C.O. 295/248, Gordon to Granville, 8 Sept., 1869, no. 119.

24, ibid.

Catholicism, the school should be state owned and controlled, with clerics having the right to enter the school to give religious instruction to their co-religionists.[25] The British government agreed with this qualification; and this meant that in respect to elementary school reforms, Keenan, the British government and Gordon stood broadly on the same ground.

Like Gordon, the British government felt that a West Indian University was not a feasible proposition.[26] The only reason it offered was that enough students would not be forthcoming to justify such an institution. It was better to send the best pupils to England for University education; and to further the expansion of such opportunities. Gordon was invited to study the Gilchrist Education scheme in the Windward Islands, and to plan for Trinidad's inclusion in it.[27]

Gordon in late 1869 showed Archbishop Gonin his plan for the reform of elementary education. The Archbishop did not like the idea of the retention of government schools in certain districts. But he welcomed the scheme as an improvement upon the existing system.[28] He felt that this new system would result in a higher standard of attainment in both religious and secular instruction, while he saw the rivalry of

---

25. ibid.
26. C.O. 295/248, Granville to Gordon, 12 Nov., 1869, no. 129
27. ibid. The Gilchrist scholarships were founded by Dr. Gilchrist in 1841, but only extended to the West Indies in the 1870s. Scholarships to the value of £100 p.a. tenable for three years at London University were awarded on the results of the London Matriculation examination. See N.E. Cameron: Gilchrist Scholarships in the Caribbean. (Guiana Graphic, Guyana, 1962.
28. Stanmore Papers Vol. XXXVII. AD. MSS. 49235 Archbishop Gonin to Gordon 17 Dec., 1869.

the local school managers as a positive factor in bringing about more schools and a higher level of attendance. What pleased him most was the proposal to have denominational schools aided by government in which the teacher, subject to a conscience clause protecting the religion of minorities, would be free to teach religion.[29] As long as the teachers themselves were not allowed to give religious instruction in the school room, the great bulk of the children would remain out of the reach of sound religious instruction. Gordon was given permission to make public, if he so desired, the letter of Gonin approving of the reforms in elementary education.

Gordon also gave Charles Warner the chance of commenting on the plan to reform elementary education. What was wrong with it, said Warner, was that it failed to see that denominational schools had already been given a trial and found wanting.[30] Secular education in the ward schools was still what the situation of the colony required. Denominational schools he predicted

"will eventually become Hotbeds of proselytism, already bitter enough. And there would be little security for the continuance of the schools, after the stimulus of opposition to the ward schools to which they will owe their establishment, shall have ceased with the withdrawal of the ward schools under the 4th Resolution".[31]

---

29. ibid.

30. Stanmore Papers Vol. XXXVII. AD. MSS. 49235 Warner to Gordon 11 Nov., 1869.

31. ibid.

Clearly Warner thought that denominational schools would replace the ward schools and then become stagnant. This reply from Warner was a hint to Gordon that he might not get any real assistance from his Attorney General in the implementation of reforms for elementary education.

The legal revolution in the system of elementary education was accomplished between November 1869 and March 1870. It came in two forms: legislation by the Council of Government and new rules by a new Board of Education. Gordon took personal charge of the business of getting the legislation through the Council. In the drafting of the measure he had the assistance, not of the Attorney General, but of George Garcia, the acting Chief Justice, and of the first coloured man to be an official, Maxwell Philip, the new Solicitor General. Both Garcia and Philip were Roman Catholics. On grounds of conscience Warner refused to help Gordon in drafting the legislation.[32] And along with two unofficials, Dr. De Boissiere and Mr. Monro Pasea--the latter of whom Otto Wenkstern, editor of the Chronicle and self appointed spy to Gordon,[33] called the puppet of Warner -- he voted against the establishment of denominational schools, the essential part of the changes. Warner, however, did not

---

32. C.O. 295/248, Gordon to Granville, 23 Oct., 1869, no. 130.

33. Stanmore Papers Vol. XXXVII AD. MSS. 49235. Otto Wenkstern to Gordon 4 Oct., 1867; 19 Feb., 1869. Also Stanmore Papers Vol. XXVI AD. MSS. 49224 Gordon to Madeleine 24 Sept. 1869. Before he died in the fever epidemic of Sept., 1869 Wenkstern who conducted an extensive correspondence with Gordon, put all of Gordon's letters to him in an envelope addressed to Gordon. The envelope fell into the hands, said Gordon, of a "blackguard named McKenzie" who tried to blackmail Gordon. The latter expected that his letters would be leaked to the press. Unfortunately for us, Gordon's letters to Otto Wenkstern have apparently been lost.

make a speech to support his vote. It would appear that Warner had got Gordon's and the Colonial Office's permission to vote against the policy.[34] He was, however, in no position to rally the Council or the community in November and December of 1869. The scandal of the Adelaide Mijores case threatened to sweep Warner from public office and public esteem.[35] The essential facts of this case were that Warner had used his power and influence to borrow on interest the capital of an estate of an ex-client, then deceased. The legacy belonged to two illegitimate children whose interests were to be guarded by two civil servants left as executors.[36] It was these men whom Warner persuaded to lend him the money on condition that interest was paid until the son achieved his majority, and the daughter got married or became of age. Warner, who lived above his means, did not pay the interest regularly; and failed to repay the principal when called upon to do so by the daughter, now married.[37] She (Señora Adelaida Mijares) sent a petition to the British government asking for redress of her grievances. Had it not been for this threat to his reputation, Warner might have gone further in opposing Gordon in the Council. As it happened his opposition in the Council was tame; Gordon had Warner's career -- so Warner must have thought -- in his hands from November 1869 to the end of his governorship in July 1870.

---

34. C.O. 295/248, Gordon to Granville, 23 Oct., 1869, Confidential.

35. C.O. 295/248, Gordon to Granville, 9 Dec., 1869, no. 160.

36. ibid., Enclosure: Multiple letters. Also Wood, pp. 291-294 Chapman, 95-97.

37. ibid.

The policy of Gordon embodied in a number of resolutions was carried by the Council of Government with surprising ease. They passed by a large majority of 10 to 3, with 1 member absent. Even Gordon himself seemed surprised at the lack of rancour in the speeches and his large majority.[38] He was probably unwise to attribute this to the reasonableness of his scheme in the eyes of even its opponents. It was probably not so much its fairness or impartiality as the structure of the government which made some of the Englishmen present, officials and unofficials, vote for the new education policy. At any rate, it is to be noted that at this stage the Council had more Roman Catholics in it than at any previous time. Mr. Scott Bushe, the Colonial Secretary and Henry Mitchell, the Agent General of Immigration, who were members of the Church of England, and who now switched support from the prevailing education system to the new policy of Gordon, were reacting to the tremendous power of the governor in a Crown Colony system. The Colonial Secretary was usually too close to the governor to oppose his policies and be his clerk as well; and Henry Mitchell received so much patronage from Gordon for his sons[39] that he could be depended upon to support Gordon. The amendments to the resolution were few in number and of no great significance.

---

38. C.O. 295/248, Gordon to Granville, 24 Dec., 1869, no. 165.

39. One son Robert Mitchell was appointed Commissioner to settle the Montserrat Ward Union. See C.O. 295/249, Gordon to Buckingham, 8 June, 1867. Another son Charles Mitchell was appointed warden to Toco Ward Union at the age of 25. See C.O. 295/240, Gordon to Buckingham, 7 Sept., 1867, no. 112. In March 1868 Gordon wrote to a female relative in Scotland that the Mitchell boys were nice fellows; brave, simple and good companions for Arthur, presumably Gordon's son. See Stanmore Papers Vol. XXVI. AD. MSS. 49224. Gordon to Mary, 9 March, 1868.

The significant points in the new policy for elementary education were as follows. The government promised to aid denominational schools controlled by a manager or a committee of managers and approved by the Board of Education.[40] The manager was given power to appoint and dismiss teachers subject to the approval of the Board of Education. The latter would be the authority to test and grade teachers; fix the school fees if any; and to determine the minimum average attendance for the survival of the school as a government assisted institution. All the schools both denominational and ward schools were to admit children irrespective of their religion; and ministers of religion had the right to enter these schools to give religious instruction to their coreligionists.[41] Whenever a denominational school, old or new, could provide for all the children of a district, the ward school in that district would be discontinued. Should the denominational school go out of existence, the ward school would be restarted.

Gordon appointed a large Board of Education,[42] and it separated into committees which worked out the details of a battery of regulations.[43] Some regulations applied only to the denominational assisted schools; others only to the ward schools. All the schools were to teach in English and there were to be three categories of instructors: teachers, work mistresses and

---

40. C.O. 295/248, Gordon to Granville, 24 Dec., 1869, no. 165., Enclosure: Resolutions on elementary education.

41. ibid.

42. C.O. 295/250, Gordon to Granville, 24 Feb., 1870, no. 19., The Board had 29 members.

43. C.O. 295/248, Gordon to Granville, 24 Dec., 1869, no. 165.

monitors. All teachers would have to present themselves for examination once a year unless they already possessed a first class teachers certificate.[44] Monitors who were to be paid small sums by the Board of Education were required to prepare themselves for the Board's examinations. Work mistresses need not have the Board's certificate of competence since they were required only to teach the girls needlework. In cases where they helped with junior classes they should possess certificates from the Board of Education.[45] The regulations regarding certification were particularly severe on teachers of ward schools. Any such teacher who failed to get even a third class pass after the second attempt would be dismissed.[46] All ward school teachers were to present themselves for examination on January 1871.

No ward school teacher was himself to give religious instruction. In the case of denominational schools the teacher might do so; in both denominational and ward schools no religious instruction was to be carried on at the same time that secular lessons were in progress. All schools were to keep a register of children and their religious affiliation; and whenever a child attended religious instruction in a religion other than the one for which he was registered, the teachers should notify the Board of Education.[47]

---

44. C.O. 295/250, Gordon to Granville, 6 Mar., 1870, no. 39., Enclosure: Rules for elementary schools.
45. ibid.
46. ibid.
47. ibid.

All teachers were to be paid a basic wage which was fixed according to the class of certificate they possessed. They could top up their income by earning result fees which were calculated according to the number of pupils "passed"[48] in the different classes; also result fees could be earned on the basis of the managers report on the level of attendance in the schools. Altogether the teachers total income would be controlled by three different authorities: the Board of Education which awarded certificates; the inspector who tested the proficiency of the pupils; and the local managers or managers who checked the level of attendance.

To finance the new education policy in elementary education, Gordon proposed an Education Tax, which apparently was to be calculated on the basis of the wards. A proportionate reduction of the ward rates was envisaged whenever this Education Tax was levied.[49] If the Education Tax along with the ward rates, was insufficient, then the central government would provide funds. The details of the Education tax were not worked out, and it was only proposed, not immediately implemented. For the moment it would appear that the new education policy was to be paid for out of the normal ward rates. The government was planning to pay the salaries of all the ward school teachers and three quarters of the salaries of teachers in denominational schools would be met by the government.[50] If William Burnley was in the Council he would have raised the question of the cost of the new education policy; the religious aspect of the new

---

48. ibid.

49. C.O. 295/248, Gordon to Granville, 24 Dec., 1869, no. 165. Enclosure: Resolutions on elementary education.

50. ibid.

policy completely swamped considerations of its financial implications; and it is not even clear if the government expected to meet a substantially higher education bill in the short run. Payment by result might have been thought of as an economy measure; this was the major rationale in contemporary England.[51] But in Trinidad where so little money was spent on elementary education, the scheme was accepted more in the hope of encouraging efficiency of teachers, than in the determination to retrench expenditure. The spirit of the new policy was expansive, to have more schools. But for the present the main mechanism of expansion was the incorporation of denominational schools within the framework of public provision. In doing this Gordon and the Council of Government concentrated on the religious and political implications rather than on the financial significance.

By and large Gordon had followed the path of Keenan's thinking in elementary education. He had not, however, taken the whole stock of Keenan's recommendations. Gordon did not envisage the immediate conversion of all the ward schools into denominational schools, although his plan allowed for this to be done when certain conditions were met. He felt that parental response would determine if, and at what rate, denominational schools replaced ward schools.[52] Denominational school managers were not given as much power as Keenan would have liked to see

---

51. Curtis, op.cit., pp. 258-260

52. C.O. 295/251, Gordon to Granville, 10 May, 1870, no. 67., Enclosure: Speech by Gordon to the Council.

them wield. The financing of the schools was not completely divorced from the financial capacity of the wards. There were also departures from the details of Keenan's recommendation on payment by result for the teachers. So too Gordon had a different view of the composition of the Board of Education. Gordon preserved the right of the governor to appoint whomsoever he wished to the Board of Education. Keenan wanted the Board to be composed of an equal number of Roman Catholics and Protestants each of whom represented the interest of his church.[53] The Archbishop of Port of Spain and the Bishop of Barbados were to put up a list of names from which the governor was to select Board members. Gordon felt that there might be persons worthy of a place on the Board who might not make the lists of the Bishops. At any rate he wished to appoint a large Board to stifle opposition and suspicion by offering seats even to those persons who were unsympathetic to the new policy. He intended however, to have a smaller Executive Committee of the Board which would entrench the principle of equal representation for Roman Catholics and Protestants.[54] By these strategies Gordon thought he could meet both the religious and political requirements of the situation.

Although Gordon had followed Keenan substantially, he called more upon the name of Lord Harris, than upon Keenan, to justify the new policy in elementary education. Gordon frankly

---

53. Shirley Gordon: The Keenan Report. Caribbean Quarterly Vol. VIII no. 4 1962. pp. 15-16.

54. C.O. 295/251, Gordon to Granville, 10 May, 1870, no. 67.

admitted that he was attempting to capitalise upon the fund of good will which the public had for Harris.[55] He was conscious that people tended to compare him with Harris; and now he was changing the Harris system of education. Gordon sought to do the impossible: to give the impression that he was not criticising the Harris scheme, nor proposing any changes with which Harris would not have agreed.[56] Of course, there was a basis for doing this; the point is that Council members and the public at large were entitled not to be convinced by the arguments of Gordon. The weak point in the armour of those who proposed secular education has already been indicated: that by and large they were not truly "secularists", but advocated secular education as a policy necessary on social and political grounds, and not on pedagogical grounds. This was the chink in Harris' armour which Gordon now tried to exploit: Harris, he said, really favoured the combination of secular and religious instruction:[57] Harris, he said, had sought the co-operation of the clerics for his secular scheme; Harris was even willing, said Gordon, to give government aid to denominational schools which only gave secular instruction. Of course there were no such schools. Gordon argued that Harris was strongly in favour of local supervision, but it was not true that the clerics were to be on these local committees of supervision. Clerics

---

55. C.O. 295/248, Gordon to Granville, 24 Nov., 1869, no. 147

56. ibid.

57. C.O. 295/248, Gordon to Granville, 24 Nov., 1869, no. 147. Enclosure: Gordon's Message to Council, 19 Nov., 1869.

could not be members of the local Municipal Councils from which Harris envisaged the local education committees would develop. Gordon was now welcoming the fact that local supervision would mean denominational schools; he felt that the clerics, with or without the support of the state, would be educating the young; and it was best to formalise their efforts and give it the desired direction by government supervision.[58]

Gordon was in fact changing the Harris scheme. In the short run the proposals appeared to be more of a compromise than a fundamental change. The ward schools giving only secular education were still there; a dual system, secular ward schools and denominational schools had now come into existence. But the rationale for secular schools had been completely undermined; and they were only retained as a practical measure, because in the short run there was nothing to take their place. The so-called dual system provided its own mechanism for its conversion into a completely denominational system: ward schools might be closed when denominational schools were created to fill the gap.[59] The philosophical implications of the changes were that private persons and intermediate bodies, not the government, had the main duty of bringing new schools into existence. Harris had reserved this role for the government.

Apart from using the name of Harris, Gordon strove hard to represent his educational reforms as a compromise. He had

---

58. ibid.

59. C.O. 295/248, Gordon to Granville, 24 Dec., 1869, no. 165., Enclosure: Resolutions on elementary education.

not capitulated to those mostly Roman Catholics, who favoured a completely denominational system with the churches effectively in control of the schools; nor had he listened to the voices of those who believed that education was the responsibility solely of the state.[60] In this sense Gordon believed that he was not acting arbitrarily, but was using his power and influence to reconcile competing interests and socia groups in the colony. He was not claiming, he said, theoretical perfection for his scheme; his position was that it was fair, and impartial, and that it would actually improve education.[61]

Of course not everybody believed this. Outside of the Council of Government the opposition to Gordon's reforms in elementary education took a much sharper turn than inside the Council. The leadership of the movement was assumed by Andre B. Knox, the only son of the late Chief Justice, George Knox.[62] Knox the father and first creole Chief Justice had won the love and admiration of a wide cross section of the middle and upper classes. His son Andre inherited some of this admiration for his father. What Andre had done with his life is not clear. He sprang into the limelight apparently from nowhere: Gordon was right in saying that until recently Andre Knox had taken no part in public affairs.[63] Perhaps this had something to do

---

60. C.O. 295/248, Gordon to Granville, 24 Nov., 1869, no. 147., Enclosure: Message to Council 19 Nov., 1869.

61. C.O. 295/251, Gordon to Granville, 10 May, 1870, no. 67., Enclosure: Speech of Gordon.

62. Chapman, p. 61.

63. C.O. 295/250, Gordon to Granville, 8 April, 1870, No. 53.

with the fact that he was said to visit Europe often, though he frequently resided in the island where his wife and children were permanently based.[64] Gordon said that Knox first ventured into public affairs in the last two years when he began to write anonymous but "acknowledged"[65] letters to the press, in which he attacked Gordon and accused him of "falsehood, trickery, corruption and tyranny".[66] In addition Knox had associated himself with a short-lived newspaper which specialised in making what Gordon and his lawyers regarded as libellous attacks on the governor. Andre then graduated to open opposition to Gordon over the question of the reform of elementary education; but clearly before this juncture Knox had developed a distaste for Gordon in person and for his policies in general. In the words of the editor of the Port of Spain Gazette which sympathised with the movement against Gordon's education reforms, Knox had come out of retirement[67] to offer leadership.

The ineffectiveness of the movement again illustrates the difficulty of political opposition in a Crown colony system. Andre Knox obtained the use of the Town Hall for a meeting in early January 1870. The Mayor of Port of Spain was then Maxwell Philip, a coloured lawyer. Unfortunately, for Knox and the movement, Philip was friendly to Gordon's policy and had only in September 1869 accepted a seat in the Council as an unofficial member.

---

64. ibid.
65. ibid.
66. ibid.
67. P.O.S.G., 15 Jan., 1870, Editorial.

Philip soon found himself suddenly elevated to the post of Solicitor General when the death of George Knox, Andre's father, caused a reshuffling of the top legal posts.[68] Philip as Solicitor General chose to support Gordon's reforms in elementary education: he was a Roman Catholic. Because Philip was the Mayor and Knox and Gordon were opponents, any further use of the Town Hall and the Princess Building was denied to Knox and his group.[69] Knox called the next meeting at Greyfrairs Church on Frederick Street, a church which because of the ministry of the Rev. Alexander Kennedy in the 1830s and the 1840s, had a tradition as a venue for radical meetings in opposition to the government. This Scottish Dissent Church became the venue for further meetings. Gordon interpreted Knox's use of Greyfrairs Church as an attempt to discourage Roman Catholic opponents from attending the meetings.[70] As was usual in the face of limited political agitation, the governor dismissed his opponents as a handful of unimportant people, with the exception of Knox. However, a leading figure of the movement in Port of Spain was Dr. Richard Mercer whom Gordon had dismissed from the office of Superintendent of the colonial hospital. Dr. Mercer chaired two public meetings. The man whom Gordon made the villain of the piece was a small cocoa planter of French descent.[71] His name was Henry Buillouin, and he had a cocoa estate in Santa Cruz. If Gordon was right, Buillouin was in debt to Andre Knox; and was merely a camp follower, though a

---

68. C.O. 295/248, Gordon to Granville, 9 Oct., 1869, no. 129.
69. P.O.S.G., 12 Jan., 1870.
70. C.O. 295/250, Gordon to Granville, 10 March, 1870, no. 25.
71. C.O. 295/250, Gordon to Granville, 10 March, 1870, no. 25.

dangerous one, if the police reports of the speeches he made in his district are to be trusted.[72] In making Buillouin the villain even Gordon reflected partly the traditional tendency of governors to blame the French element for political agitation in the colony.

The opposition to Gordon's policy in elementary education had more support than Gordon confessed to the British government. Two unofficials of the Council, Mr. Monro Pesea and Dr. J.V. De Boissiere attended one of the meetings, and consented to serve on the committee which was to coordinate the activities of the movement.[73] In the imitation of the Education League in England -- an organisation which favoured compulsory secular education -- Knox and his friends formed themselves into an Education League. Dr. Mercer became President; T.A. Finlayson became the Treasurer; and Andre Knox was selected Secretary which was the key post in the organisation.[74] Some Port of Spain merchants gave the organisation their sympathy; they allowed the League to leave petitions at their stores for those who wanted to sign them. At a meeting in late February 1870 some teachers were present,[75] and two ministers of the gospel, viz. Rev. Brodie, a Presbyterian,

---

72. C.O. 295/250, Gordon to Granville, 10 March, 1870, no. 25., Enclosure: L. Fraser to Gordon 1 Feb. 1870.

73. P.O.S.G., 9 March, 1870.

74. ibid.

75. ibid. At the Santa Cruz meeting in January three teachers were present. See C.O. 295/250, Gordon to Granville, 10 March, 1870, no. 25, Enclosure: L. Fraser to Gordon 1 Feb., 1870.

and Rev. Law, a Baptist. Gordon in July 1870, after the movement had faded, informed his friend and patron Gladstone the Prime Minister of England, that the opponents had been

"a mere handful of rabid secularists who were intolerant of the slightest deviation from their ideal".[76]

In March of the same year he had written to his friend John Lefevre

"My education reforms progress most beautifully notwithstanding a noisy though small opposition to them".[77]

It is not difficult to believe that the League had more sympathisers than active supporters, for it stood for the principles of the old English party; and this party which was still strong in 1865 had not altogether disappeared in the short space of four years of Gordon's administration. Charles Warner was naturally the old hero of the League; and although he could not make public speeches on its behalf, he attended at least one meeting in Greyfrairs Church. His appearance was greeted by a hearty round of applause which drowned the voice of the Rev. Brodie who was making a speech.[78] Warner stayed about half an hour at the meeting. It was clear where his sympathies stood.

If Warner had been an active participant in the League the Resolutions which it passed in mid January 1870 could hardly have been so poorly drawn. The League was obviously more prepared to emit emotions than to utilise all the old arguments on behalf of

---

76. P. Knaplund, Gladstone - Gordon Correspondence op.cit. p. 51

77. Stanmore Papers Vol. XXVI AD. MSS. 49224. Gordon to Sir John Leferve? 10 March, 1870.

78. P.O.S.G., 9 March, 1870.

the secular scheme of education. Political protest meetings if they were held in the sophisticated atmosphere of Port of Spain and were directed against the policy of the governor tended to be lame affairs. This was partly because speakers felt that they had to say that they were against policies but not the maker of these policies. It was the same predicament which turned the Port of Spain meeting on behalf of the dismissed Dr. Saturnin into a triumph for Governor Gordon.[79] In the case of the meetings of the Education League in Greyfrairs Church the speakers attempted to make Keenan, and not Gordon, the object of attack.[80] They said that they were protesting against the Keenan recommendations when obviously what they were opposing was the current education policies of Gordon. In the Crown colony system government, not politics, was legitimate.

The Education League attempted to take the issue to the people; to hold open air meetings outside of Port of Spain. The police kept a close watch on these meetings, and listened sufficiently to give Gordon reports of the speeches. Buillouin, using the language of the common people, French creole,[81] was said to have employed violent language at the first of these meetings at Santa Cruz; and to have misrepresented the government's policy by alleging that all the schools would be closed and the people driven back into the cane fields.[82] If the residents of Santa Cruz, who nine years previously had asked Inspector Anderson to bring back a native of the district as teacher of the

---

79. C.O. 295/241, Gordon to Buckingham, 24 Dec., 1867, no. 163
80. P.O.S.G., 15 Jan., 1870, Editorial
81. C.O. 295/250, Gordon to Granville, 8 April, 1870, no. 53
82. ibid.

ward school in Santa Cruz -- if any of these people were in Buillouin's audience, they might very well have been deeply disturbed by the story that the government was against the education of poor people. According to the evidence of a Mr. Ferdinand DeCrency, a resident proprietor of Santa Cruz who attended the meeting, the people were excited by the speeches of Buillouin and a Mr. Louis John Marie.[83] One woman, Rose Miguel, a labourer on Mr. DeCrency's estate, reportedly asked if the thing to do was to take up their cutlasses.[84] The meeting, said DeCrency, left the audience with bitter feelings for Gordon in person and for his policies in general. According to DeCrency the intention stated at the Santa Cruz meeting was to hold other meetings at San Juan, and another at Diego Martin, where a Roman Catholic priest was said to have crossed swords with the speakers of the League.[85] Another meeting was carded for St. Joseph, but Knox failed to turn up.[86] Perhaps Knox was getting the

---

83. C.O. 295/250, Gordon to Granville, 8 April, 1870, no. 53., Enclosure: Ferdinand deCrency to L.D. O'Conner (Crown Solicitor) 5 April, 1870.

84. ibid.

85. This was probably Fr. Joseph Jounin who was murdered in May 1870 under mysterious circumstances. Three men, including a wealthy coloured proprietor, Nicholas Bruton, who owned considerable property in Diego Martin were tried for the murder, but acquitted. This particular priest had quarreled in May 1866 with Mr. Henry Louis Jobity, the coloured stipendiary magistrate in Mayaro. Apparently the quarrels caused a minor riot in Mayaro See C.O. 295/235, Rushworth to Cardwell, 4 June, 1866, no. 67., Enclosures: Multiples Letters. Gordon in Feb., 1868 in arguing for the reinstatement of Jobity as a magistrate remarked that Fr. Jounin had caused trouble wherever he was stationed. See C.O. 295/243, Gordon to Buckingham, 10 Feb., 1868.

86. C.O. 295/250, Gordon to Granville, 8 April, 1870, no. 53.

messages Gordon sent to him indirectly through his brother-in-law, Mr. A.P. Marrayat, an unofficial of the Council. Gordon wanted Knox to recognise the possible serious consequences of arousing the passions of the people; he wanted Knox to confine his opposition "within more legitimate limits",[87] which really meant confining it to petitions to the Council of Government, or the British government. Throughout February 1870 Knox and Gordon exchanged brief letters in which Knox accused Gordon of insults and misrepresentation, and Gordon refused to accept the point that he had done any such thing. Knox eventually asked the British government for redress, a move which proved unavailing. Knox reportedly sought legal advice in England with a view to prosecuting Gordon for libel and defamation of character.[88] According to Gordon, Knox had to look for a lawyer outside of the colony because no respectable local lawyer would take the case. No action was brought. As Gordon put it to a friend in March 1870

"It is difficult to imagine that he will proceed, yet on the other hand it is impossible to say what a vindictive creole with a slight dash of colour will not do".[89]

This suggestion that the son of the late Chief Justice had a dash of colour in his racial make-up takes us back to the curious attitude Lord Harris had taken in June 1847 when asked to comment on George Knox's application for the Chief Justiceship.

---

87. ibid.

88. ibid.

89. Stanmore Papers Vol. XIX AD. MSS. 49217 Gordon to Sir Roundel Palmer 10 March, 1870.

Even while saying that Knox's private life was beyond reproach he kept hinting that all was not well with his morals.[90] Perhaps Andre was an illegitimate son. Perhaps this slight dash of colour was what made him acceptable as a speaker in the heavily coloured community of Santa Cruz and at the same time the Secretary of the Education League in Port of Spain. At any rate, Gordon did not seem to have been unduly excited by the doings of Andre Knox. Gordon regarded him as a wealthy and talented, but a rather foolish and vain man.[91] Buillouin, not Knox, was the danger in Gordon's mind.

The surprising thing about the areas in which the League chose to hold its public meetings outside of Port of Spain was that they were largely Roman Catholic areas. Buillouin had an estate in Santa Cruz, but why San Juan and Diego Martin? It might be that Buillouin and Knox were counting on the sympathy of fellow cocoa planters or on cocoa workers; or perhaps coloured persons living in these areas were regarded as potential supporters of the movement. Of course, it could be that these were the most logical areas outside of Port of Spain to hold the meetings. The locale for the next meeting was to be Arouca, but it is not clear whether a meeting was actually held. The police, however, were ready to eavesdrop on the speakers. Mr. James Hobson, a stipendiary magistrate at Arouca, used the occasion of the opening of a judicial session to warn those present in his court

---

90. C.O. 295/157, Harris to Grey, 2 June, 1847, no. 44.

91. C.O. 295/250, Gordon to Granville, 8 April, 1870. no. 53.

of a deliberate campaign of misrepresentation of the new laws on education. He explained the objectives of the new laws on education and warned the labourers to

"keep aloof from political agitators. Pursue your industrial occupations".[92]

They were, Hobson said, to make the most of the protection and encouragement which the laws of the country provided and leave "philosophical discussions to those who had little else to amuse them".[93]

After March 1870 there is no mention of further activities of Mr. Knox or the Education League. In May 1870 Gordon announced to the British government that all active opposition was at an end.[94] But if Gordon was right in thinking all along that a great deal of the opposition arose from dislike for him as a person then presumably the departure of Gordon was a prerequisite to the dissolution of animosities aroused by the League.

On the question of the reform of secondary education there was a clear difference between Keenan and Gordon; and the British government made it easier for Gordon by giving him a free hand. Keenan wanted to have denominational secondary schools, and if the West Indian University did not materialise,

---

92. P.O.S.G., 16 Feb., 1870.

93. ibid.

94. C.O. 295/251, Gordon to Granville, 10 May, 1870, no. 67

an institution, in fact a Board of Education, which would only organise examinations for the denominational schools.[95] Gordon insisted that this institution above the denominational schools should itself be a school; a central secondary government College which would both teach and examine its own pupils, and also pupils from the denominational secondary schools.[96] He was convinced that there was a need for a government initiative in secondary education; and this initiative should include a government College superior to the denominational schools; it should be superior because its role was to set standards for the denominational schools, and because of this it should help to teach them. This was basically the lines of his thinking on secondary education since 1867.[97]

After his determined defense in January 1868 of the need for a secular government College setting high standards,[98] Gordon was not going to abandon this idea in 1870 because of the Keenan report in 1869. In Gordon's mind the question was always a question of the conditions under which the government would assist the Roman Catholic College; never a question of the abolition of the government secular College. From 1867 he had in mind some loose ideas which called for an association of the Roman Catholic College, with such a government secular

---

95. Shirley Gordon: The Keenan Report op.cit., p. 24.

96. C.O. 295/248, Gordon to Granville, 8 Sept., 1869, no. 119.

97. Stanmore Papers Vol. XXXVII AD. MSS. 49235. Manning to Gordon March?1867.

98. C.O. 295/243, Gordon to Buckingham, 8 Jan., 1868, no. 9.

College, as the condition for government aid and recognition.[99] One of the problems would be the precise nature of the association between the Roman Catholic College, or any other College for that matter, and the secular government College. Gordon would have liked the link to be in the nature of mutual classes for students of the government College and the Roman Catholic or other denominational College, in subjects which were not overtly religious. It was such a plan that Gordon submitted to his friend Cardinal Manning from early 1867. Manning's reply was kind and understanding, even equivocal. For he seemed not to be ruling out completely the possibility that the classics, mathematics, law, medicine, and physics might be taught to combined Roman Catholic and non-Roman Catholic classes;[100] also he seemed to be saying that it was possible to have a common degree granting authority for Roman Catholics and others. But at the same time he was firm in ruling out what he called "a system of mixed education".[101] The papacy would not allow it. He continued

"The example of all Government systems of Education as in the Universities of Prussia, France, Bavaria, and the like make the Holy See very firm in desclaiming all mixed systems".[102]

Manning advised Gordon that the best way to settle the problem was to divide government grants between Roman Catholics and Protestants according to their strength of numbers.[103]

---

99. Stanmore Papers Vol. XXXVII AD. MSS. 49235 Henry Manning to Gordon March? 1867.

100. ibid.

101. ibid.

102. ibid.

103. ibid.

Gordon probably contacted Cardinal Manning again, but although he used the name of Manning to suggest that in a small island it was permissable for Roman Catholics and non-Roman Catholics to combine for certain classes,[104] there was no doubt at all that Manning preferred separate education at all levels for Roman Catholics. Manning knew his theology but he was not animated by the local prejudices and religious rivalries which had rent Trinidad society for so long.

Gordon first presented his reforms for secondary education to the Council of Government on the 7th March 1870. By this time the opposition of the Education League to his reforms in elementary education was on the wane. It was with the recent public meeting of the League in the back of his mind that Gordon congratulated the Roman Catholics on remaining calm, and on patiently awaiting the redress of grievances over secondary education.[105] But it was clear that Gordon's plan in March 1870 could not redress all the grievances of the Roman Catholics. Early in March 1870 Gordon had shown the plan to Fr. Corbet, the principal of St. Mary's. Corbet told Gordon that the conditions under which St. Mary's was to be affiliated to the new Royal College were unsatisfactory.[106] Nevertheless Gordon proceeded to seek the Council's endorsement of certain resolutions embodying the new plan and the affiliation clauses which were unsatisfactory to Fr. Gorbet. The major features of this plan was the establishment of a new government

---

104. C.O. 295/251, Gordon to Granville, 6 June, 1870, Enclosure: Speech at the opening of Queen's Royal College 3 June, 1870.

105. P.O.S.G., 12 March, 1870, Council of Government 7 March, 1870 Message to Gordon.

106. Centenary Record, op.cit., p. 18.

secular College to be called the Queens Royal College under the management of a College Council appointed by the governor.[107] The endowment to the Queens Collegiate School was to be transferred to this new College, and the teachers of this new College were to be paid by the government. Four instead of two overseas exhibitions were now to be granted, and the College Council had the power to give scholarships to the Royal College to deserving students from the elementary schools. As usual sons of deceased civil servants were to be given free places at the College.[108] Probably to save on expenses, the principal of the College was given the responsibility of heading the Teacher Training School.

The most controversial feature concerned the relationship between this new College and the Catholic College, and any other denominational College to be established in the future. Affiliation to the Royal College was to be the indispensable prerequisite before which government grants to a denominational College were made. Students of the affiliated denominational College who were above a certain age would have to sit the entrance examination of the Royal College;[109] if successful they would actually be considered students of the Royal College. Studentship at the Royal College would involve them in further examinations by the teachers of the Royal College, and apparently such examinations would cover primarily those subjects which such students from

---

107. C.O. 295/250, Gordon to Granville, 10 March, 1870, Enclosure: Resolutions on Secondary Education.

108. ibid.

109. ibid. The age was later fixed at 9.

the denominational College would study in joint classes with the students at the secular Royal College. In other words the students of St. Mary's who were also students of the Royal College would actually have to leave the premises of St. Mary's and journey to the Royal College at least on certain days, to common classes in the classics, mathematics, natural science and modern languages. The only exception to this requirement would arise if the College Council thought that the denominational College had reached a sufficiently high standard of instruction in these subjects;[110] in such a case the students of the denominational College need not go to the Royal College.

In return for affiliation money grants were offered to the affiliated denominational school. The salary of the principal would be paid; and other grants would depend upon the number of students in the denominational College who had become students of the Royal College; upon their attendance at the Royal College and their performance at the examinations.[111] In secondary education, the denominational College, not the teacher, was to be endowed according to results.

Gordon in the Council meeting of the 7th March, 1870 chose to argue the need for a government secular College and the need for affiliation to it on the part of St. Mary's and other future denominational schools, in this way. The success of the Queen's Collegiate school as an institution of learning was largely due to the academic attainments of its principal

---

110. ibid.

111. ibid.

and staff. Only the government could by offering a high salary and the status of secure civil servants, attract teaching staff of a high character from England;[112] men who would be employed in the metropolis in schools of a similar ranking. There was nothing which Gordon said before he left the colony to indicate that he was moved by Keenan's questioning of the educational value of the curriculum of the Queens Collegiate school. To Gordon the Queens Collegiate school was an unqualified success except in so far as it had failed to attract the patronage of a sizeable number of Roman Catholics. To this extent it had not served its original purpose of bringing English and non-English youths together in the class room.[113]

This latter failing was in fact Gordon's reason for insisting that affiliation should extend to joint classes in certain subjects except where the College Council deemed otherwise. Logically Gordon should not have allowed any loopholes through which these joint classes might not take place. Probably he thought that it would be a long time before St. Mary's College would reach a sufficiently high standard in these subjects -- classics, mathematics, physics and modern languages -- as to merit exemption from the joint classes. Probably the known opposition of Fr. Corbet made Gordon offer a possible way out of the requirement to attend joint classes. Gordon's theory was that at the level of the working classes there was more social contact, through agricultural labour, between children of different national and cultural background, that at the level

---

112. P.O.S.G., 12 March, 1870, Council of Government 7 March, 1870, Message of Gordon.

113. ibid.

of the children of the upper classes. Even without going to school

"the daily events of life force the children of the same village or neighbourhood together....."[114]

But this was not so, said Gordon, in the case of the children of the upper classes.[115] As "future fellow citizens" they needed to meet in school, for outside of the schoolroom there was a social divide between the English and non-English sections of the upper class community. It might have been that all Gordon wanted was to see greater understanding grow out of the contact of English and non-English boys at the Royal School; if the French creole boys for instance developed a greater respect for English civilisation, so much the better Gordon may have thought. As the Royal College was obviously going to be a very English institution even if as Gordon hoped, some of St. Mary's staff joined it, there would be less likelihood of English boys being captivated by French creole culture. If Gordon was liberal he was English enough not to feel that there was anything wrong with seeking to spread English civilisation. He was not prepared however to push the spread of English culture in the colony at the expense of all other consideration.

It is not at all surprising to detect a mood of greater cooperation on the part of Charles Warner, in Gordon's reforms in secondary education. Gordon's refusal in October or November 1869 to accept Warner's resignation as Attorney General had put

---

114. ibid.

115. ibid.

the latter further in the debt of the governor.[116] In March 1870 Warner's career, and if not his career, his pension rested, it may easily have appeared to him, in the hands of Gordon.[117] Apart from these events, however, it is possible to find in Gordon's proposals for reform in secondary education some common ground with Warner's thinking since 1857. There was after all, still going to be a secular government College allied to the English education system through the Cambridge examinations and the overseas exhibitions. The curriculum of the College was not changed. Moreover, Gordon had seen the need to bring English and non-English youths together in the same class room, even if Gordon only wanted to promote mutual understanding whereas Warner was intent on anglicising. True it was that now the government was aiding denominational secondary schools, but the very act of affiliation, not to mention the terms of the affiliation, implied that St. Mary's and other denominational schools to be affiliated in the future, were inferior institutions to the Royal College. When Warner said that the Queen's Royal College scheme was an improvement on the Queen's Collegiate School he may very well have been

---

116. C.O. 295/254, Gordon to Colonial Office, 17 Nov., 1870. Gordon said that in October or November 1869 Warner tendered his resignation on the ground of policy difference between himself and Gordon. But, said Gordon, the real reason was Warner's knowledge that the Adelaide Mijares case had reached the British government.

117. C.O. 295/254, Gordon to the Colonial Office, 17 Nov., 1870. Even in March 1870 Gordon had only accepted Warner's resignation provisionally, in an effort to save Warner's full pension. See C.O. 295/250, Gordon to Granville, 24 March, 1870. no. 34. Gordon actually left the governorship before the start of the inquiry into Warner's conduct in the Adelaide Mijares case. See also Chapman, pp. 96-97.

expressing sincere thoughts. On the 25th March 1870 when Scott-Bushe the Colonial Secretary moved the motion for the debate on Gordon's resolutions embodying the changes in secondary education, Charles Warner seconded[118] the motion.

There was no question that the debate on the resolutions would be a victory for the governor. The same dynamics of support for the governor which came into play in respect to his reforms in elementary education, were reactivated on the subject of secondary education. If Warner was happier over the secondary education reforms, Dr. L.A. DeVerteuil was unhappy. Gordon himself acknowledged that there was a feeling abroad that he had tricked the Roman Catholics[119] into believing that the reforms of secondary education would be more favourable to them than the measure actually presented. Dr. DeVerteuil, who had helped to bring the Holy Ghost Fathers to the island,[120] now mirrowed the objections of Fr. Corbet, the principal of St. Mary's and other Roman Catholics to the details of affiliation and to the fact of affiliation. DeVerteuil said that either the Queens Collegiate school ought to be abolished entirely, or St. Mary's College should be given as much aid from the government, and as good teachers as the new Royal College.[121] An inferior quality, he implied, was being stamped upon St. Mary's by the fact and conditions of affiliation. He moved an amendment which would have made it obligatory upon the governor to appoint an equal

---

118. P.O.S.G., 2 April, 1870, Council of Government 25 March, 1870.

119. C.O. 295/251, Gordon to Granville, 10 May, 1870, no. 67., Enclosure Speech of Gordon in Council.

120. Centenary Record, p. 3.

121. C.O. 295/250, Gordon to Granville, 8 April, 1870., Enclosure: Debates in Council on Education Resolutions 25 April, 1870....

number of Roman Catholics and Protestants to the College Council;[122] in other words if the scheme was going to be implemented -- and he could hardly doubt that it would pass the Council -- he wanted at least to have adequate representation on the Council which controlled the Royal College. His amendment was lost by 6 votes to 4 votes. Maxwell Philip, the coloured Roman Catholic Solicitor General, supported Gordon. Gordon, said Philip had appointed a satisfactory Board of Education for elementary education, and he could be trusted to do the same with the College Council.[123] Gordon, when the College Council was eventually appointed, did in fact appoint an equal number of Roman Catholics and Protestants; but this was not the same thing as having this requirement entrenched in the law. Gordon was not going to be governor forever. Philip in fact regurgitated Gordon's argument about the need to bring Roman Catholic and Protestant pupils together in a College, and that at any rate the government could not afford two first rate Colleges. Forgetting the relative religious and cultural homogeneity of France, he pointed out that in Paris pupils from different Colleges often went outside of their College to attend certain courses.[124] Philip, as a coloured official and a Roman Catholic, was in an even more difficult position than George Garcia had been in 1857. To survive in official life he had sometimes to agree to measures which his

---

122. ibid.

123. ibid.

124. ibid.

coloured and Roman Catholic friends disagreed with. But in a sense this was nothing unique: many other officials, before and after Philip, had their real opinions twisted by the tremendous power of a governor in a Crown colony system. This is why Charles Warner, a man of strong determination, had seen the wisdom of leading the governor rather than having the governor develop policies which would put him as Attorney General in difficulties. He could not lead Gordon, though he would have survived the policy differences over education and other matters and continued to be Attorney General, if the British government had not seen in the circumstances of the Adelaide Mijares case good reason to call[125] for his resignation.

The Roman Catholic authorities, that is, Archbishop Gonin and Fr. Corbet, were slow to indicate positively their willingness to affiliate St. Mary's to the Queens Royal College. Time was running out for Gordon who was anxious to get his measures completed before leaving for a new job elsewhere. On the 10th March 1870, Gordon wrote separately to two friends in England telling them virtually the same thing: his education policy was proceeding well but there was opposition, and worse the danger that his policies would be reversed soon after he departed. To Sir Roundel Palmer he confessed

"I have had great difficulty with Secondary Education but at last by the aid of a Central College with affiliated

---

125. C.O. 295/252, Longden to Kimberley, 3 Oct., 1870, no. 159.

schools I have made out a workable plan ..... I leave this place with much regret but I have no wish to incur the grave responsibility of deciding to stay. I had better go where I am sent. But I fear the mortar is hardly dry, and that the house which I have built will fall if its props and scaffolding are suddenly removed. I have not been here long enough to give solidity to my new institutions."[126]

Two weeks later Gordon wrote the same though in his private diary, using the same methaphor: the education structure could tumble on his departure for the mortar was not yet dry.[127]

Gordon's most difficult task at this stage was to work out a formula of affiliation which would be acceptable to Archbishop Gonin and Fr. Corbet. He was thinking of changing the formula of affiliation to make it non-obligatory for St. Mary's College to send pupils to the Royal College for joint classes; but he was only going to do this if St. Mary's affiliated itself. Gordon made new overtures to Fr. Corbet which the latter recorded thus:

"In the latest proposal of the Governor two degrees of affiliation to the Royal College are put forward: the first degree which was the only one allowed in the original plan, consists in bringing together Catholics and Protestants at the Royal College in the same classes. The second degree leaves the pupils in their respective Colleges, and obliges them only to

---

126. Stanmore Papers Vol. IX AD. MSS. 49217 Gordon to Sir Roundel Palmer 10 March 1870.

127. Stanmore Papers Vol. LI AD MSS. 49249. Diary Entry 24 March 1870.

sit annually for the same examinations, to be conducted by an examining body consisting of Catholics and Protestants. In order to obtain a Government grant it is absolutely necessary to be affiliated on one or other degree to the new Royal College.[128]

This was the more flexible formula which the Roman Catholic authorities hoped to get. Even so, Gordon was obliged to bring forward his Education Ordinance which entrenched in legislation the whole schemes of education, including this more flexible formula of affiliation, and to open the new Queen's Royal College before the Roman Catholic authorities had actually agreed to affiliate St. Mary's to the Queen's Royal College. The inauguration ceremony of the Queen's Royal College took place on the 3rd June 1870 at the Princess Building. Gordon invited Fr. Corbet and the staff of St. Mary's and they came. In his speech on the occasion Gordon said that he regarded the presence of Fr. Corbet and the staff of St. Mary's as a sign of good will;[129] as a portent of affiliation. Another good sign said Gordon was the fact that Fr. Corbet confided that he was about to alter the courses at St. Mary's to bring them closer to those studied at the Royal College. But Gordon and those who heard this announcement should have guessed that this reorganisation at St. Mary's was meant to indicate that Fr. Corbet was not going to accept any but the lowest degree of affiliation viz. submission only to the examination of the Royal College. Probably Gordon knew this without saying it, for at the same time he recognised that the bonds of affiliation were elastic. He was hoping, however, that

---

128. Centenary Record, pp. 18 - 19

129. C.O. 295/251, Gordon to Granville, 6 Jun. 1870, Enclosure: Gordon's speech.

joint classes would materialise. Cardinal Manning, an eminent authority on the education philosophy of the Catholic church, had, so Gordon said, agreed that in a small island Catholics and non-Catholics could have joint instruction in certain subjects.[130] Gordon said that he knew of a College in Mauritius which gave joint instruction to Roman Catholics and non-Roman Catholics. This reference might have been a subtle pricking of Archbishop Gonin who, it is said, had himself gone to this College as a boy in Mauritius. In addition he had, so Gordon said, seen in the United States of America and in Germany, Roman Catholic and non-Catholic children learning side by side.[131] Probably as a measure of reconciliation Gordon expressed the hope that in the future some of the staff at St. Mary's would be employed at the Royal College. In the same vein was his suggestion that probably the Protestants would establish their own denominational secondary school and then affiliate it to the Royal College. Such a development never occured before the affiliation formula had broken down completely. Nor has there been any development towards the adoption of another suggestion of Gordon: that the Eastern languages,[132] meaning the languages of the Indian and Chinese immigrants, should at some future stage form part of the curriculum of the Royal College.

There were Roman Catholics in 1870 who felt that Gordon's proposal for affiliation should not have been accepted, and that Fr. Corbet and the St. Mary's staff should not have gone to the

---

130. ibid.
131. ibid.
132. ibid.

opening ceremony of the Royal College.[133] These views found expression in the Star of the West the organ of the Roman Catholics. The Roman Catholics had certainly got less than what they expected, but the condition on which the Roman Catholic authorities accepted affiliation did not, strictly speaking, breech any of the religious principles governing the education of Catholic children. Gordon left the island about three weeks after the opening of the Royal College, and before St. Mary's had been affiliated. In a letter to his friend and patron William Gladstone, the Prime Minister of England, Gordon obviously regarded his education feforms as the most important of all that he had done in the colony. He regretted that he could not stay to finalise his education scheme and to supervise its working. As he related half triumphantly to Gladstone

"It had been the most troublesome and tedious work I ever undertook, but it has resulted in success, though as the permanence of that success depends on the tact and temper with which, in its early stages, the experiment is practically carried out, I cannot be very sanguine as to the future".[134]

Gordon also expressed fears to Henry Taylor of the Colonial Office that his education scheme would not survive in Trinidad Taylor assured him that it was in no danger of collapse. Gordon, said Taylor, had done more good for the colony than any other governor.[135] St. Mary's accepted affiliation in October 1870;[136]

---

133. Centenary Record, pp. 23 - 24.

134. P. Knaplund, Gladstone - Gordon Correspondence op.cit., p. 51.

135. Stanmore Papers Vol. 1. AD. MSS. 49199 H. Taylor to Gordon 10 Aug., 1870.

136. Centenary Record, pp. 21-23.

and a formula was worked out whereby the government's assistance towards the salary of the principal and the various capitation grants amounted to £1000 p.a. Until 1876 a definite schedule of these capitation grants was not agreed upon; every year the government juggled the capitation grants in order to ensure that, whatever the number of St. Mary's students who were members of the Royal College, whatever their performance in the examinations of the Royal College, the capitation grants and the allowance to the principal's salary would amount to £1000 p.a. From 1876 down to 1894 the definite formula was that the capitation grant would be £10 p.a. for each child up to a total of fifty children.[137]

137. ibid., p. 23.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

In the post emancipation period, the policies in education attempted by the British government and moreso by the Trinidad government, formed an integral part of a deliberate effort to strengthen English civilisation in the colony. Over the same period Spanish law was replaced substantially by English civil and criminal law, and the Spanish form of municipal government, the Cabildo, was abolished in Port of Spain, in favour of an English type Borough Council. The Roman Catholic Church, the church of the non-English sector of the population, was held in check by a policy of government aid to churches and schools which discriminated in favour of the chapels and schools of the Church of England. The Church of England was in fact established by the Ecclesiastical Ordinance of 1844 which was only abolished in 1870. The policy of the government towards the churches, no less than its policy towards schools and the legal institutions of the island, was all part of the fundamental policy of spreading English civilisation.

Since the Roman Catholic Church was the church of the majority among whom were to be numbered some wealthy and well educated French creoles, the Trinidad government, which was controlled by Englishmen, sought to devise anti-Roman Catholic policies in matters of schools, churches and laws, which appeared

to have a basis in reason. The arguments for English laws seemed most eminently reasonable: they would create a better investment climate and further the development of the plantation economy -- the only feasible kind of economy for a tropical colony such as Trinidad. A lower financial endowment to the priests of the Roman Catholic Church was justified on the ground that this church took special fees, and that the priests were celibate and could live on smaller salaries than married clergymen of the Church of England. The policy of aiding only secular government schools, elementary and secondary, between 1849 and 1869, was justified on the ground that in a racially and religiously divided society where government resources available to help schools were small, such aid should only be given to schools which could or would accept pupils of all religious creeds. The argument was that in aiding only secular government schools the government was acting impartially.

In the specific context in mid - 19th century Trinidad in which this policy of aiding only secular government schools was developed, the policy was impartial only in its means and not in its ends. To give aid to no denominational school might seem a fair way of proceeding in the face of great denominational rivalries. But the government would have found it very difficult to devise fair criteria of aid to Church of England and Roman Catholic denominational schools which would have kept down the growth of Roman Catholic denominational schools. Clearly between 1834 and 1866 the government was opposed to the growth of Roman Catholic denominational schools because the

Roman Catholic Church with its French or Spanish speaking priests and its non-English cultural orientation was regarded as an obstacle to the spread of English civilisation. Not wishing to encourage Roman Catholic denominational schools and wishing to appear fair, the government after 1849 aided only secular government schools. But these schools were expected to be agents in the spread of English culture; their official language was English. Against the background of the movement to anglicise the laws of the colony, in the face of numerous laws which reinforced the cultural connection with England, it was not reasonable to expect that the non-English section of the population and the members of the Roman Catholic Church would have seen the policy of secular government schools as a fair policy. In its intention it was a part of the general movement to anglicise the culture of the island. The Roman Catholic church had a deep commitment to education based on religion. The Roman Catholic Church in the island as part of an international organisation which had in other places to encounter Protestant governments, also saw clearly that English Protestant governments only resorted to secular education, wherever and whenever the Roman Catholic Church commanded the allegiance of the majority of people. In the other British West Indian islands, colonial governments assisted denominational schools whenever the Roman Catholic Church was in a minority.

In the case of the government secondary school, Queens

Collegiate College, it is clear that the government under the influence of Charles Warner, the Attorney General and leading Anglophile, saw it as an important instrument of spreading English culture among the upper classes. Its curriculum was influenced by those of the great English secondary schools, and through a system of overseas scholarships to Cambridge University, a solid bridge between the school and higher education in England was built. There was nothing to stop the sons of well to do French creoles from attending the College -- except their parents' consciences -- but if they did, they could expect to be exposed to an English type of education.

The anglicising policy of the Trinidad government can only be said to have had a limited success. It was most successful in those areas where the co-operation of the people at large was unnecessary. It was easier to legislate away Spanish law and the Cabildo than to kill the Negro Carnival, or to stifle the Roman Catholic church. The secular government schools in the short run and moreso in the long run, did help to spread a knowledge of the English language; but in the 1870s and far into the later 19th century, the language of the masses was still French patois, not English.

The policy of importing annually, thousands of Indians to work as indentured labourers while it helped to further the development of the plantation system -- which was one aim of introducing English law -- also militated against the success of other aspects of the anglicising programme. The Indians spoke various Indian languages not English; their religion

was either Islam or Hinduism. They were reluctant to become christians, and did not want to send their chidlren to school. When some allowed their children to attend school, it was to special Indian schools organised by plantation managers or the Presbyterian Church.

If at the level of the working classes the influx of Indians made it difficult to anglicise the people, at the level of the upper classes the revival of the economic fortunes of the cocoa industry, in which many French creoles had investments, made it more unjustifiable in the late 1860s to exclude them from office in the government. In the 1860s also the desire of the British government to dis-establish the Church of England in the colonies and to withdraw expensive military establishments from the West Indies, made it easier and wiser to widen the basis of rule within the Crown Colony government. The colony would obviously be safer from revolts from below and from foreign invasions if big landowners, though Roman Catholic in religion and non-English in their cultural oreintation, were drawn into a partnership with the big English landowners on the Council of Government. Such an adjustment of local power and influence would, of course, not diminish the paramount power of the British government over the affairs of the colony.

Arthur Gordon was the governor who sensing the mood of the British government, and the local need to conciliate the Roman Catholics and the non-English people, initiated policies which put a brake on the deliberate efforts to anglicise the

colony. In this process Charles Warner, the darling of the Anglophiles and the man most responsible for the deliberate policy of anglicising, lost the office of Attorney General. It is important, however, to realise that Gordon was not rejecting English culture: he was just refusing to sponsor its deliberate diffusion at the expense of good community relations. And he could afford this policy better than previous governors because of the extent to which the laws of the island had already been anglicised before his arrival.

Education in the schools made progress over the period 1834 to 1870. In 1870 there were more schools, more teachers, more pupils and more concern for education than in 1834. A few pupils benefited sufficiently from the elementary schools to enter the teaching service. The best example of this process was J.J. Thomas, the author of Froudacity. Most pupils left school with a mere smattering of the subjects taught and without a strong hold on literacy. This was partly the fault of their parents, but it was also due to the failure of the government and the upper classes to conceive of elementary education as a vehicle for social mobility of the labouring classes.

Not enough was done for any kind of education. School buildings were mostly ill-suited; average attendance of pupils was low, but if all the children of a district attempted to attend the schools in that district there would have been no place to put them. Hardly anybody would dare express in print the view that children should not get some exposure to formal education.

But most of the upper classes still felt that it was wrong to over-educate the children of the labouring classes. It made such children ill disposed to do agricultural labour. Although the presence of the Indian indentured workers made the upper classes unwilling to press the idea of industrial schools, in other words schools which habituated children to practical agricultural work, there were not in the community any generous ideas about the education of the lower classes. On the whole education did not escape very far from the class and race divisions of the society, and from the Victorian social assumptions of the policy makers. When the College was founded in 1859, the range of government schools coincided with the class divisions of the society: the ward schools were for the lower classes who were predominantly black; the Borough Council schools were for the middle classes largely coloured, and the College was for the white upper classes.

The system of marrying the finances of the ward schools to the ward rates appealed to the parochialism of the big landowners, and hence they did not protest loudly the financing of the ward schools. The failure of the government and wardens to give a higher priority to education over the other ward expenditures, meant the stagnation of the ward schools even where ward revenues expanded. Unaided denominational schools slightly outnumbered the ward schools in 1869, thus making it easier for Roman Catholic priests to attack successfully the secular ward school system. If the government was going to be the major providers of the schools for the people, and if there was to be

an expanding school system, either a special education tax would have to be levied in the wards, or the financing of the schools would have to be separated from the wards and tied to the general revenues of the colony. In the 1870 revision of elementary education, the government put on a special Education Rate within the wards, but at the same time it seemed to be acknowledging that the government alone could not provide schools for the people. Hence the decision to admit denominational schools within the ambit of the public school system. The outcome of this was the so-called dual system: secular government schools within the wards financed from the Education Rate and denominational schools subsidised from the general revenues.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

MANUSCRIPTS

Public Records Office

C.O. 295/84 - 254	In - Letters to the Secretary of State 1830 - 1870
C.O. 296/9 - 30	Copies of Out - Letters from the Secretary of State 1830 - 1872.
C.O. 297/1 - 8	Ordinances passed in Trinidad 1832 - 1871.
C.O. 298/8 - 35	Sessional Papers of the Council, Trinidad 1829 - 1870.
C.O. 299/1 - 20	Government of Trinidad Gazettes 1833-1870.
C.O. 300/48 - 81	Blue Books 1834 - 1870.
C.O. 241/31	Assembly of St. Kitts 1836 - 1841
C.O. 325/40	Roman Catholic Churches in the colonies 1833 - 1851.

British Museum

Stanmore Papers:	Collection of private papers of Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon, 1st Lord Stanmore (1829-1912) 1841 - 1912, Vols. 1 - LXVII (AD. MSS 49199 - 49276).

Gloucester County Records Office

Bragge Bathurst Papers. DX 13/1 - 29	Collection of Letters of Ralph Woodford to his friend and patron, Charles Bragge Bathurst.

Rhodes House Library, (Oxford)

Anti-Slavery Papers, E 1/4; E 1/13 — Mico Charity Records.

E.W. Daniel — A History of Trinidad de Barlovento in Spanish Times 2 Vols. (unpublished typescript, 1946).

Port of Spain Borough Council, Trinidad.

Minute Book of the Cabildo 1832 - 1836.

Minute Book of the Cabildo 1836 - 1845.

Church Missionary Archives, (London)' — Correspondence between C.M.S. London and missionaries in Trinidad.

London Missionary Society Archives, (London) — Correspondence between L.M.S. and missionaries in Jamaica.

Printed Materials.

Newspapers

Port of Spain Gazette

Star of the West

San Fernando Gazette

Trinidadian

Trinidad Chronicle

Trinidad Sentinel

Trinidad Spectator

Trinidad Standard

Trinidad Guardian

Almanacs

The Demarara and Essequibo Vade - Mecum; containing the Principal Laws and Regulations of the United Colony and a Variety of Miscellaneous Articles of Local Importance, (Georgetown 1825. Printed and published by A. Stevenson at the Guiana Chronicle Office).

Trinidad Almanac, 1832

Mills Trinidad Almanac and Pocket Register, 1840 (Port of Spain 1840).

Parliamentary Papers

P.P. House of Commons, 1826 - 1827, (478)XXIII Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into Land Titles in Trinidad.

P.P. House of Commons, 1826-1827, (551)XXIII Report of the Commissioners of Legal Inquiry in the colony of Trinidad.

P.P. House of Commons, 1826-1827, (479)XXIII Trinidad Negroes. Extracts from the Minutes of Evidence taken by the Council of Trinidad for inquiry into the Negro Character.

P.P. House of Commons, 1831-1832, (212) XXXI Papers Relative to the Legislative Council in Trinidad.

P.P. House of Commons, 1842, XIII. Report of Select Committee on the West Indies.

P.P. House of Commons, 1856, (2142 - LI) Vol. XXVII pt. II Twenty Second Report of the Commissioners on National Education in Ireland,(for 1855).

P.P. House of Commons, 1857-1858, (2304) Vol. XX. Twenty Third Report of Commissioners on National Education in Ireland, (1856).

P.P. House of Commons, 1826,(16) Vol. XVII. 325., Papers Relating to the Island of Trinidad.

BOOKS

J. Adamson — English Education 1789-1902 (University Press, Cambridge, 1930).

D.H. Akenson — The Irish Education Experiment: The National System of Education in the 19th century. (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1970).

F. Augier & S. Gordon et al. — The making of the West Indies (Longmans, London 1960).

J.C. Beckett — The Making of Modern Ireland (1603-1923). (Faber and Faber, London 1960).

H.B. Binns — A Century of Education, Being the Centenary History of the British and Foreign School Society 1808 - 1908 (Dent & Co., London 1908).

C. Black — History of Jamaica (Collins Clear Type Press, 2nd ed., London and Glasgow 1961).

P.G. Borde — Histoire de L'LLe de La Trinidad Sous le Gouvernement Espagnol 2 vols. (Paris 1882).

E. Brathwaite — The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica 1770 - 1820 (Clarendon Press, Oxford 1971).

H. Breen — St. Lucia: Historical, Statistical and Descriptive (Longmans & Co., London 1844).

E.C. Butler — The Life and Times of Bishop Ullathorne 1806 - 1889. 2 vols. (Burns, Oates & Co., London 1926).

W. Burnley — Observations on the Present Condition of the Island of Trinidad and the Actual State of the Experiment of Negro Emancipation (Longmans & Co., London 1844)

H. Capadose — Sixteen Years in the West Indies 2 vols. (T.C. Newby, London 1845).

A.C. Carmichael — Domestic Manners and Social Condition of the White, Coloured and Negro Population of the West Indies 2 vols. (Whittaker, Teacher & Co., London 1833).

G. Carmichael — The History of the West Indian islands of Trinidad and Tobago (Alvin Redman Ltd., London 1961).

J.K. Chapman — The Career of Arthur Hamilton Gordon, First Lord Stanmore 1829-1912 (University of Toronto Press, Toronto 1964).

J. Collens — Guide to Trinidad, A Handbook for the use of Tourists and Visitors (1866).

H.N. Coleridge — Six Months in the West Indies (William Tegg, London 1825).

I.M. Cumpston — Indians Overseas in British Territories 1834-1854 (Oxford University Press, London 1953).

P. Curtin — Two Jamaicas: the Role of Ideas in a Tropical colony 1830-1865 (Greenwood Press, New York, 1968.)

S.J. Curtis — History of Education in Great Britain (University Tutorial Press, London 1948).

Centenary Record of the Holy Ghost Fathers in Trinidad and of St. Mary's College 1863 - 1963 (Port of Spain 1963).

C. Day — Five Years Residence in the West Indies 2 vols. (Colburn & Co., London 1852).

J. Davy — The West Indies before and since Slave Emancipation (W & F G. Cash, London 1854)

L.A.A. DeVerteuil — Trinidad: its Geography, Natural Resources, Administration, Present Condition and Prospect (Ward and Lock 1st ed., London 1858).

A. Fremantle — The Papal Enclyclicals in their Historical Context (New American Library of Canada Ltd., 1956).

J.A. Froude — The English in the West Indies or The Bow of Ulysses (1st ed., 1887).

W.H. Gamble — Trinidad: Historical and Descriptive; Being a Narrative of Nine Years Residence in the Island (Yates & Alexander, London 1866

S. Gordon — A Century of West Indian Education (Longmans, London 1963).

S. Gordon — Reports and Repercussions in West Indian Education 1835-1933 (Ginn and Co., London 1968).

D. Hall — Free Jamaica (Yale University Press, New Haven 1959).

A. Halliday — The West Indies: The Natural and Physical History of the Windward and Leeward colonies (London 1837).

D. Hart — Trinidad and the Other West Indian islands (The Chronicle Publishing Office, Trinidad 1866).

E.L. Joseph — History of Trinidad (A.K. Newman & Co. London 1838).

D. Keir — The Constitutional History of Modern Britain 1485-1937 (Adams and Charles Black, London 1950).

P. Knaplund — James Stephen and the British Colonial System 1813-1847 (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison 1953).

P. Knaplund (ed) — Gladstone - Gordon Correspondence 1851-1896. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series LI p. IV. (Philadelphia 1961).

P. Keenan — Report upon the Education System of Malta (A. Thom, Dublin 1879).

C. Kingsley — At Last: A Christmas in the West Indies (New York 1871). 2 vols.

K.S. Latourette — Christianity in a Revolutionary Age 2 vols. (Eyre & Spottiswoode, London 1959).

K.O. Laurence — Immigration into the West Indies in the 19th century (Caribbean Universities Press, Barbados 1971).

H.C. Maxwell Lyte — A History of Eton College 1440-1910 (Macmillan & Co., 4th ed., London 1911).

W.L. Mathieson — The Sugar Colonies and Governor Eyre 1849-1866 (Longmans & Co., London 1936).

J. Millette — The Genesis of Crown Colony government. Trinidad 1783-1810 (Moko Enterprises Ltd., Curepe 1970).

W.P. Morrell — British Colonial Policy in the Age of Peel and Russell (Frank Cass, London 1966).

S.E. Morton (ed) — John Morton of Trinidad: Journals, letters and papers. (Toronto 1916).

P. Musgrave — Society and Education in England since 1800 (Methuen & Co., London 1968).

E.R. Norman — Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England (Allen and Unwin Ltd., London 1968).

C. Ottley — The Story of Port of Spain (Published by the Author, Port of Spain 1962).

R. Oliver & J. Page — A Short History of Africa (Penguin, 1962).

C. Reis — A History of the Constitution or Government of Trinidad 2 vols. (Private at Author's Press, Trinidad 1929).

L. Radzinowicz — A History of English Criminal Law and its administration from 1750 4 vols. (Stevens and Son Ltd., London 1948).

H. Silver — The Concept of popular Education. A study of ideas and social movements in the early nineteenth century (MacGibbon and Kee, London 1965).

J.J. Thomas — The Theory and Practice of Creole Grammar (The Chronicle Publishing Office, Port of Spain 1889).

J.J. Thomas — Froudacity. West Indian Fables by James Anthony Froude, explained by J.J. Thomas (T. Fisher Unwin, London 1889).

E.B. Underhill — The West Indies; Their Social and Religious Condition (Colchester, London 1862).

D. Wood — Trinidad in Transition. The Years after Slavery. (Oxford University Press, London 1968).

R.S.A. Warner — Sir Thomas Warner, Pioneer of the West Indies. A Chronicle of his family (West India Committee, London 1933).

W. Ward — Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman 2 vols. (Longmans, Green & Co., 1897).

E. Williams — History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago (PNM Publishing Co. Port of Spain 1962).

G. Young & Handcock (ed) — English Historical Documents 1833-1874 (Eyre and Spottiswoode, London 1956).

S. Hodgson — Truths from the West Indies (London, 1838).

P. Latrobe — Report on Negro Education in Jamaica 1837.

P. Latrobe — Report on Negro Education in British Guiana and Trinidad 1838.

P. Latrobe — Report on Negro Education in the Windward and Leeward islands 1838.

ARTICLES AND PAMPHLETS

N. Cameron — Gilchrist Scholarships in the Caribbean (Guiana Graphic 1962).

C. Campbell — Denominationalism and the Mico Charity schools in Jamaica 1835-1842. Caribbean Studies, Vol.X no.IV. Jan., 1971

C. Campbell — Social and Economic obstacles to the development of popular education in post-emancipation Jamaica 1834-1865. The Journal of Caribbean History, vol. 1 Nov., 1970.

C. Campbell — The Development of Vocational training in Jamaica: First steps. Caribbean Quarterly, vol. II. no. I and II. March and June 1965.

C. Campbell — Towards an Imperial Policy for the Education of Negroes in the West Indies after Emancipation. The Jamaica Historical Review, vol. VII. 1967.

T.F. Everslay — The Trinidad Reviewer, (1899).

S. Gordon — Documents which have guided educational policy in the West Indies - The Keenan Report Caribbean Quarterly, Vol. VIX. no. I and II, (1963).

S. Gordon — The Keenan Report: The Elementary school system in Trinidad. Caribbean Quarterly, Vol. VIII. no. IV. 1962.

H. Johnson — Immigration and the Sugar Industry in Trinidad during the last quarter of the 19th century. The Journal of Caribbean History, Vol. III. Nov., 1971.

K.O. Laurence — The Settlement of Free Negroes in Trinidad before Emancipation. Caribbean Quarterly, Vol. IX. no. I. and II. 1963.

K.O. Laurence — The Evolution of Long term labour contracts in Trinidad and British Guyana 1834-1863. Jamaica Historical Review, Vol. V. May 1965.

A. Pearce — Carnival in 19th century Trinidad. Caribbean Quarterly, Vol. IV no. III and IV. March 1956 and June 1956 (Double Issue).

T. Parry — A General View of the Present State of the Diocese of Barbados in a letter from the Lord Bishop of Barbados to the S.P.G. (London May 1854).

M. Schuler — Akan Slave Rebellions in the British Caribbean. Savacou, Vol. I. no. I. June 1970.

E. Williams — The British West Indian Slave Trade after its Abolition in 1807. Journal of Negro History, Vol. XXVII. April 1942 no. II.

Theses and Unpublished Papers

T. Barron — James Stephen, the Development of the Colonial Office and the administration of three Crown colonies: Trinidad, Sierra Leone and Ceylon. (Ph.d London, 1969)

C. Campbell — The Development of Primary Education in Jamaica 1835-1865 (U.W.I., 1963).

K.O. Laurence — Immigration into Trinidad and British Guiana 1834-1871 (Ph.d Cambridge University, 1958).

A.P. Maingot — The Nineenth Century: A discussion of the relative position of the French Creole group in Trinidad (Ph.d University of Puerto Rico, 1962).

J. Noel — Spanish Colonial Administration and the Socio-Economic Foundations of Trinidad 1777-1797 (Ph.d Cambridge University, 1966).

B. Samaroo — The Canadian Presbyterian Mission to Trinidad. Unpublished Paper delivered at the Fourth Conference of Caribbean Historians. U.W.I. Mona, April, 1972.

R. Seesaran — The Keenan Report. Unpublished postgraduate seminar paper. U.W.I. St. Augustine, Dec., 1972.

APPENDIX 1.

EXPENDITURE ON CHURCHES 1834 - 1870

(EXCLUDING EXPENDITURE ON BUILDINGS)

YEAR	TOTAL REVENUE	TOTAL EXPENDITURE	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH
1834	£41411	£ 35154	£ 860	£ 2488
1835	42430	31950	662	2766
1836*				
1837*				
1838**	67174	67174	1293	2481
1839	60667	55511	1256	2707
1840	70344	57988	1064	2755
1841	75163	64468	1302	3236
1842	64435	65814	1434	3404
1843	67228	76444	2359	3408
1844	76400	76343	3388	3398
1845	79760	82799	3555	3954
1846	85528	89694	3861	4180
1847***	81125	124658	4412	4555
1848	79458	73620	5091	5370
1849	97134	70519	4535	4587
1850	88661	77402	4709	4690
1851	95733	106316	4696	4719
1852	111591	110944	4786	4724
1853	146379	118272	4908	4744
1854	101647	101017	5052	4488
1855	72323	80657	5239	4053

1856	93213	80305	5060	3822
1857	142325	107636	5166	5660
1858	145392	174023	5134	4886
1859	167103	187047	5348	4837
1860	174861	187221	5282	4766
1861	171730	188841	5284	4595
1862	199372	196059	5427	4879
1863	184378	188982	5566	3902
1864	207473	193157	5429	4661
1865	220313	222285	5490	4869
1866	226218	203429	5493	5025
1867	215813	214715	5557	4939
1868	214484	199113	5526	4990
1869	244056	234291	5355	5178
1870	233585	241148	5044	5148

---

* The non-existence of Blue Books for 1836 and 1837 is probably related to the fact that Major Ford, the colonial Treasurer had misappropriated public funds.

** The figures for 1838 are more suspect than usual. They seem to reflect the accounting confusion subsequent to the discovery of Major Ford's misappropriation of the funds.

*** The sudden increase in expenditure in 1847 is due to the cost of certain Public Buildings and immigration.

Compiled from the Blue Books C.O. 300/48-81.

APPENDIX II

C.O. 295/178, Harris to Pakington, 8 Nov., 1852, No. 67

I have the honor to forward for your consideration an Ordinance No.13,1852 entitled "An Ordinance for amending & consolidating the Law with regard to the powers & duties of such Wardens".

The origin and history of this law are that on assuming this Government, I found that there was no fixed territorial division of the Island which could be employed for administrative purposes and no measure established by which the obligations incumbent on a proprietory body could be called forth in their several localities.

In consequence, in the year 1847 three ordinances were passed, the

(1st) To divide the Island into Divisions, Counties, Districts and Wards.

(2nd) To establish Wards on the principle laid down in the ordinance I now forward

(3rd) To establish municipalities in districts of counties.

This last ordinance though still on the statute book has never been acted on, as I resolved from the first not to establish any municipalities, but to wait until a desire should be evinced by the inhabitants, to take advantage of the boon offered them; as yet no instance of this kind has occurred.

In consequence of the utter prostration of the Colony in the year 1848 I thought it inexpedient to attempt the Wardens ordinance and in 1849 it was found necessary to make some alterations in its provisions and a fresh ordinance was

passed to last for three years that is to the end of this year.

Wardens were appointed and assessment roles completed and the law was brought into full operation on the first of January 1850 and has therefore been on trial nearly three years.

The Council are unanimously of the opinion that the law should be perpetuated, and in consequence the Ordinance which I now forward has been passed.

Before I call your attention to the alterations which it has been deemed advisable to make in the present law, I propose to make a few observations on its object and its working.

The objects I had in view were not only to facilitate the general administration and to form Wards for local purposes, but also amongst others to effect a material change in the system of finance which had borne in the most partial and unjust manner on the only industry of the Colony which could command capital, and which was thus forced to lavish it in a hopeless effort to support its position.

This injustice was promoted by the revenue of the Island being collected almost entirely through the Customs first by a very high tariff and second by an export duty.

The result was of course that the planter was impeded in his competition with other producers by the latter; and that, though he did not consume all the articles imported, he had to pay the duty on them through the exorbitant wages which he was obliged to pay, and which the laborer the chief consumer of the exports was enabled to demand from the scarcity of labor.

I had already effected some change by reducing the tariff and establishing a duty on rum to replace the deficiency, which has succeeded beyond my expectations, and I next endeavoured to reduce the fiscal injustice by abolishing the export duty, and by throwing those expenses such as schools, roads, local police etc., which ought fairly to be borne by local funds, and which had previously been borne by the general funds, on the rates to be raised in the Wards.

The export duty was gradually diminished, year by year, and was totally abolished at the end of last year.

Another object was to improve the roads which throughout the Island were for the most part utterly neglected and in many districts impassable.

Again an organised system of instruction was wanting and was urgently required.

A fixed provision for the aged and destitute was required also medical aid and sanitary supervision more especially in the rural districts.

But the object which I had most in view was to improve the industrious and moral habits of the inhabitants.

It was evident to me that if they were ever to be raised in the scale of civilization it was necessary at once to make a most resolute and continued exertion to force upon them practically the truth that now that the rights of free persons had been granted to them they must fulfil the obligations incumbent on them.

To hope to accomplish this by awaiting the effects of religious teaching and school instruction, or of that portion

of education promoted by the general law would have been useless, and merely to lose time which could never be recovered.

The only certain method was to require the small proprietory, already very numerous and daily becoming more so, to fulfil their duties and to contribute a fair portion to the public expenses, the whole burthen of which had previously borne, except in the case of a road rate for the most part unpaid, on the larger proprietors.

The able despatches of Governor Barkly will show you, Sir, the barbarous state in which a large portion of the population of British Guiana has fallen; on a smaller scale the same causes were producing exactly similar results in this Colony, but I hope that an effectual remedy has been applied to the disease, though it cannot as yet be expected to have made great progress.

All the objects which I have mentioned have already been partially, in some cases certainly to a very minute extent, obtained.

The facilities afforded to the administration of affairs is very great.

The finances have not suffered though the Ward rates have in many instances not been paid very punctually.

The roads have been materially improved, medical men have been established in some districts.

A system of instruction has been adopted and a normal and model school established and Ward schools will be universally formed as soon as masters can be provided.

The wants of the infirm, aged, and destitute are better provided for but nothing has as yet been effected in the way of sanitary improvement.

To anyone acquainted with this country four years ago the change which has taken place from the increased quantity of land in cultivation for the purpose of producing the larger description of vegetables such as yams, sweet potatoes, etc. is not marked.

The boundaries and extent of properties are being defined: the necessity of this was lately evident from the following instance; a surveyor while running the lines of a large estate which contained a considerable quantity of forest land, in order to settle the Ward rate, found within its boundaries 50 families with 218 acres in cultivation of whom nothing had been previously known and who are in a state of complete barbarism.

I have then at all events reason to think that the principle on which I proposed to legislate was correct.

It has been urged that the rates bear too heavily on the smaller proprietors, but I cannot allow the correctness of this assertion and would challenge the closest investigation of the point.

It has even been stated that the provision grounds of the laborers alone have to bear the tax, and that in consequence a great number have been ruined.

This is utterly untrue. A great number of acres have apparently changed hands since the law came into operation but this has been occasioned in consequence of its affording great facilities for procurring perfect titles, and the sales

of many large estates have thus taken place.

Moreover, it was not to be expected that a population totally unaccustomed to restraint or control and devoid of all business habits, and in which each had been allowed to do what he liked best, should at once become either very willing to pay, or very exact in the date of payment and it has been necessary to issue an immense number of warrants, and to advertize the sale of a great number of small properties but the rate has in most instances been paid before the day of sale, and the sales have been comparatively very small.

To show what can be done on provision grounds here I will mention one case which I know of, in which a net return at the rate of £10 per acre on an average of three years has been cleared, after paying the expenses of cultivation, the rate and deducting 6 percent as interest, for the purchase money and other sums expended on permanent improvement.

The only favourable point in this case was the proprietor being skilled in cultivation, but the land was not at all a favourable specimen of the soil of the country. I have been informed of other cases in which much larger profits have been procurred.

Doubtless when man will not reside in these parts of the country, which should be cultivated, and prefer, as is the case with a large portion of the negro population to escape from the precints of civilization and endeavour to cultivate the barren sides of mountains from which the soil and the crop are frequently washed away by the rains, and where more than half their day must be expended in fetching water from the

valley they must find it difficult to subsist.

But I must confess that although the difficulties which I expected to find in bringing the law into operation have been most fully realized, they have not been caused so much by any organised opposition or even from a general indisposition to pay the rate, though that in a measure exists, as from the want of punctuality, habits of procrastination and irregularity in habits of business especially where money is concerned, which is general to all classes of the community.

In consequence the amount of trouble and labor required to settle the accounts, collect the rates and direct the works in the forty one wards which at present exist would scarcely be credited in England.

There are difficulties which can only be thoroughly overcome by time, supposing also that care and attention be constantly applied.

The changes which have been adopted in the ordinance which I have now the honor to enclose are:

1st In the 24 Section, all pasture lands are included at the same value of £10 as other cultivated lands, for there appeared no valid reason for estimating them at a lower rate and these were grounds for supposing that through the lower estimate attempts were made to avoid the higher rate.

2nd In the 29 Sect. all portions less than an acre on which there is a house are for the future to be valued with the house, instead of being rated as a full acre.

3rd The 33 Section has been added which empowers the Warden to require a correct return of his lands from any

proprietor.

4th By the 45 Sec. a percentage is required of defaultors in addition to the rate for the purpose of defraying the expense of recovery, and by the 49th Sec. its distribution is fixed.

5th By the 48 Sec. it is required that at the sales of property, the purchaser should pay the purchase money at once, this provision is very much required to prevent fraudulent purchases.

6th The Sections from 56 to 62 have been introduced for the first time and provide for the election of auditors.

I had proposed the election of such officers by the rate payers in my original plan but the Council at the time was not prepared to adopt it.

I did not feel disposed to push the matter, as I felt convinced that the necessity of such officers would soon be felt, and they have now been unanimously called for.

7th In Section 64 in addition to a fixed portion of the rate for roads, another portion has been fixed for contribution to the general Police.

It has been found as difficult to enable anything like a fair adjustment for this purpose, that it was deemed most expedient to fix it in the manner proposed in this section.

APPENDIX III

C.O. 295/243, Gordon to Buckingham, 8 Jan., 1868, No. 9.
Enclosure: Warner to Gordon, 7 Dec., 1867.

The petition of the Roman Catholic Archbishop proposes

1. That the grant to the Queen's Collegiate School shall be withdrawn, and

2. That the denominational System of Education shall be adopted in this Colony, and the funds hitherto applied to the support of the Queen's Collegiate School be distributed between Her Majesty's Roman Catholic and Protestant Subjects in proportion to their respective numbers.

In support of the first proposal the Archbishop asserts that the Collegiate School has not prospered after more than seven years existence, that the expense is too great in proportion to the number of Pupils receiving instruction at the school; and that the experience of the last seven years has proved beyond doubt that the great bulk of the population have no wish whatever to avail themselves of the school for the Education of their children.

These assertions are I submit justly subject to great modifications. The scheme of the school was accepted, now some ten years ago, with perfect unanimity by all parties. In the discussion in Council the Solicitor General himself a Roman Catholic and understood to express the opinion of the Roman Catholic Body, not only did not oppose the scheme, but stated that if the proposed School were better than that established by the Roman Catholic Archbishop, the Roman Catholics would have no objection to it.

The probable number of pupils was assumed by the more sanguine promoters of the scheme at 100, by others who anticipated the possibility of religious opposition from the Roman Catholic Clergy at 50. The number of pupils has nearly always, and sometimes, considerably, exceeded the lower number. In the first term of the present year the number was 57 and the diminition during the latter part of the year is owing to the recent epidemic. The average since the commencement including even the first year is 51. If the proportion which the number bears to the extent of the class which alone requires for its children the higher Education of the Collegiate School be regarded, there is no reason for regret or despondency, whilst if the intensity of the opposition of the Roman Catholic Clergy to the School be also taken into consideration the lower number is evidence of a very great success.

To Her Majesty's Protestant Subjects of all classes the School gives a satisfaction which would be complete, if their Roman Catholic fellow subjects were permitted to partake more largely in the advantages which it offers. That class of the Community which is called the coloured class appeals with pride to the success of the pupils in the Cambridge Local Examinations, as evidence that a mixture of African blood does not involve any intellectual inferiority.

With regard to the expense, even the Archbishop's figures do not satisfy me that the cost is more than commensurate with the good obtained from it.

The moral results which must arise in the course of time from raising the standard of Education and from throwing from year to year into the mass of the community some five or six highly instructed and disciplined young men are advantages which ought not to be given up on slight considerations. That the great bulk of the population have no wish whatever to avail themselves of the school I entirely deny. The fact that of the present pupils some fourteen or fifteen are Roman Catholics, and that of this number some nine or ten have been removed to the Collegiate School from the Roman Catholic College is undeniable. This fact alone proves that the tendency of the Roman Catholic laity is in favour of the school. And the instances, some within my own personal knowledge, in which the most stringent religious influences have been brought to bear on Roman Catholic Parents in order to induce them not to send their children to the Collegiate School or to withdraw them from it, show that this tendency is not checked without difficulty. Undoubtedly these religious influences are, as it will be said most conscientiously exercised. But it is scarcely fair to put forward the success of such influences as an argument. There are few Roman Catholic children, not because their parents do not wish, but because their Clergy will not allow their parents to send them to the school. But whatever arguments the Archbishop may advance against the present system, his opposition in fact rests upon the determination of the Roman Catholic Clergy not to accept and so far as in them lies not to permit their laity to accept any but a strictly denominational Education.

But is this determination to be recognized as a sufficient reason for the infliction by the Government of a serious disappointment, if I may not use the term injustice, on the Protestant inhabitants and those Roman Catholics who accept the present system? The Archbishop relies on the Roman Catholics being a majority. They may be a majority in numbers, but painful as it is to challenge such comparisons, I deny that the majority of Property and Intelligence is with the Roman Catholics. And I venture to impress on Your Excellency that as the Establishment of the Collegiate School was the most popular measure of any Government within my recollection (even beyond that of Lord Harris establishment of Normal and Ward Schools) so will its withdrawal be regarded with bitter dissatisfaction by a very large and respectable portion of the Queen's subjects. It may appear a trivial remark to those who are accustomed to larger political considerations but the Queen's permission that the Collegiate School should be called "The Queen's Collegiate School" was received in the Colony not merely as a grace but as a pledge for the continuance of the system to which she thus gave her sanction.

I do not know whether the Archbishop would insist on a withdrawal of the funds now given in support of the Collegiate School if unaccompanied by their transfer to the denominational system. But grevious as the first measure would be, the establishment of a denominational system by the Government would be fraught with still greater evils. It would be a return to a system which it was hoped would be checked by the Collegiate School. No one can have lived long in this Colony

without observing how from year to year the lines of religious distinction have been drawn broader and deeper, and how the Roman Catholic Clergy labour more and more diligently to withdraw their laity from all intercourse with members of a different communion. It can be no part of the duty of Government to encourage or promote such divisions; yet these divisions could not be more efficaciously encouraged or promoted by the Government than by giving its sanction and support to the Denominational System.

It must be recollected that Denominational Education in this island so far as regards the Roman Catholics implies an Education conduct almost entirely by foreign Priests and very largely in a foreign language, and consequently foreign in its tone of thought and its associations.

It is not necessary to follow out the Archbishop's scheme in its details. But I cannot imagine any scheme more likely to promote discord between individuals and denominations than that of "leaving to a mixed body of Roman Catholics and Protestants the division of funds between Roman Catholics and Protestants in proportion to their respective numbers." How are these proportions to be ascertained? Is the denominational system to include or exclude a provision for the Education of the Indian Immigrants? But supposing the Indian Immigrants to be excluded (on what ground consistent with the principle of denominational education I do not see) the proposed distribution would necessarily sacrifice one great advantage of the present system which the Archbishop forgets or undervalues: the usual exhibitions to an University in Great Britain. And in lieu of one Central School organized and controlled by the Government, would be substituted several

schools, of altogether a lower type of teachers and Education, totally disconnected from any eventual training in Great Britain and as I construe the Archbishop's silence on this point, totally unchecked in the application of its funds and in its system or modes of training by any control or inspection of Government. That this deterioration of the schools is no improbable suggestion may be proved by facts connected with the present Roman Catholic College.

There are murmurs from Roman Catholics which do not reach the ear of the Archbishop and which are not consistent with his statement that the Roman Catholic College has met with the full patronage of the public. Many members of the Roman Catholic community are, within my own knowledge , not so content as the Archbishop supposes - and this absence of an entire contentment is proved by the fact of Roman Catholic children being still pupils at the Queen's Collegiate School - and by the withdrawal in more than one instance of children from the Roman Catholic College.

The value of such testimony and its weight as an argument against the Archbishop's scheme is to be measured by the character and intensity of the influence against which every act of withdrawal is in fact a protest. If the objections to the Queen's Collegiate School were not rooted in a determined repudiation of all education not strictly denominational, such objections might be met by affiliating to the Queen's Collegiate School, Houses or Halls supported or recognized by the Archbishop as well as those of other denominations. Under such a system the pupils would receive religious instruction

as part of their domestic training as the Halls or Houses of which they might be inmates - and would attend the classes of the Central College for purely secular instruction. Nor would there be any objection to these Halls or Houses receiving a subsidy from the Government beyond the objection, that such a subsidy would in fact be given in diminition of the necessary charges of Board and Lodging and in relief of the parents of the children.

Such a scheme would certainly meet the disadvantage pointed out by the Archbishop under which parents living in the country now labour. It is undeniable also that very many parents send their children to the Archbishop's College because they prefer to be relieved for portions of the year, from the personal care and management of their children. To this feeling is to be attributed in a great degree the success such as it had been of the Roman Catholic College.

Your Excellency will perhaps excuse the egotism which renders distasteful to me any attempt to overthrow the scheme, in the designing and promotion of which I was permitted to take so large a share. But I have other and better objections. The result of the Archbishop's scheme must be to promote the division of the youth and future manhood of the Colony into two classes - one English and the other foreign - differing in race - religion - mental structure and social habits - and bringing to the common business of life in lieu of those feelings which spring from early association - an entire ignorance one of the other and trained and engrained habits of aversion and distrust.