

EDUCATION AS SOCIALIZATION

FORM AND CONTENT IN THE SYLLABUS OF CANADIAN PRESBYTERIAN SCHOOLS IN TRINIDAD FROM THE LATE 19TH CENTURY

Brinsley Samaroo

This paper seeks to examine the manner in which the Canadian missionaries to the Indian population in Trinidad sought to wean the minds of their wards away from, what they considered, Oriental heathenism and into the Western, Christian norm. This Presbyterian activity was motivated by the missionaries' genuinely held opinion that theirs was a sacred duty to bring non-Christians within the pale of their faith in order to create a better world. In this activity, the missionaries were fully supported by the colonial authorities since the plantocracy stood to benefit from the creation of a docile and hard-working Indian population following the example of gentle Jesus, meek and mild. Towards this end, the missionaries introduced a syllabus which stressed Christian values and drew heavily from the Canadian experience, complete with snow and ice, beavers and the healthy sport of tobogganing. The result was the socialization of generation after generation of East Indians into a Christian, Canadian ontology. The consequence of this socialization has been the migration to Canada of a considerable number of Trinidadians who were products of the Mission schools. These were not only Presbyterians or East Indians but a cross-section of the society who came from areas served by the Mission. For these people adjustment to the North had been facilitated by this Christian, Canadian socialization.

During the period 1845 to 1917, an annual average of 2,000 East Indians came to Trinidad as indentured labourers; by the end of indentureship some 144,000 had arrived in the colony.¹ One hardly needs to point out that these Asian peoples came as total strangers to a new Caribbean environment, to whose cultural milieu they had to adjust. The host society on its part looked with wonder, apprehension and, sometimes, contempt at these strangers. One governor feared revolt from the newly arrived Chinese and Indian immigrants.² Another was worried about the "debasing influence of caste and heathenism" which these people brought,³ and the pioneer Presbyterian missionary, John Morton, referred to the arrival of a fresh batch of immigrants as "a keen chilly wave from Hindustan . . . an adverse influence which has to be met and dealt with."⁴ To curb these influences and to socialize the East Indian into the

more acceptable Western, Christian cultural mould, an Irish Inspector of Schools, Patrick Keenan, recommended, in 1869, the setting up of special educational facilities for the East Indians whose moral and intellectual lives were being sadly neglected.⁵ Keenan was particularly concerned with rectifying the lack of "respect for truth and other virtues" which he discerned in the East Indian character.⁶

If Keenan was interested in curbing Oriental influences and socializing the East Indians into the Western, Christian mould, he was well in keeping with British colonial educational policy, the establishment of which had been started in the colony since 1849 when the Governor, Lord Harris, began the implementation of a system of ward schools for all of the colony's children. As Carl Campbell has pointed out, Harris' preference was not for denominational but for state schools in which the medium of instruction was to be the English language, where children of various cultural backgrounds could be brought together to be taught English values. "In short, the ward schools were supposed to integrate the labouring class on the basis of English culture."⁷ Although the government under Harris did not give aid to denominational schools, a number of them were established. By 1858, for example, one half of the 54 primary schools in the colony were built and managed by denominational boards. By the time of Keenan's arrival, the East Indian population had made virtually no attempt to take advantage of the facilities offered by the ward schools. By 1868 there were no more than three Hindu children in the colony's ward schools.⁸

East Indians resisted these multi-racial state schools for many reasons. The fear of conversion remained a constant factor from the early mission days right down to the late thirties, when an Indian missionary complained against the sending of East Indian children to state orphanages "maintained and run by Christian missions who get further chances to make conversions. These institutions are very liberally helped out of public revenues, to which the Indian community contributes more than any other community does."⁹ Again in 1938, the major Hindu organization in Trinidad accused the government of "giving very liberal and practically full financial help to these mission schools out of the common revenues of the island" thereby directly and openly conspiring with these schools in converting non-Christians "against all canons of reason and justice."¹⁰ Illiteracy in English was also a barrier to attendance in schools where the English language was the medium of

instruction; so was the fear of derision by the rest of the school population. Additionally, the constant flow of Indians into the colony during the period of indentureship served to maintain cultural solidarity among East Indians, thereby diminishing the need for significant correspondence with the non-Indian population.

This unwillingness on the part of the East Indian to enter the education/socialization medium offered by the ward schools was a cause of worry to the government as well as to the planters concerned, as both these agencies were, with the maintenance of a docile and steady labour force on the plantations. Thus it was that both these groups were more than willing to support the work of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission which was started in Trinidad in 1868. From this point it spread to Grenada in 1884, to St. Lucia and British Guiana in 1885, and in 1894 Trinidad East Indian catechists were sent to assist the Scottish Presbyterian Church in Jamaica which had recently started a mission to indentured East Indians there."¹¹ Government and planter support in cash and in kind was readily available from the very start of the missionary programme.¹² As one Canadian clergyman put it, planter support was readily available since the planter believed that "A Christian coolie is a better worker than a heathen coolie, hence investments in missions paid good dividends to the sugar estate."¹³ From 1883 the Canadian missionaries availed themselves of grants-in-aid for their school-building and maintenance programmes and this was a significant factor in the enhancement of their educational activities.¹⁴ For from a total number of 15 schools in 1878 with an enrollment of 694 children, the mission increased its schools to 61 with 8,000 pupils in 1911, and by 1956 had built 71 schools with a total enrolment of 3,000 students.

Tied in with the grants received by the missionaries from 1883 were other incentives given by a thankful colonial administration. In 1888 Governor Robinson in a message to the Legislative Council regretted the fact that so many East Indian children were not attending school. "Hitherto," he remarked, "these children have in my opinion, been sadly neglected. They came to us as aliens and strangers, utterly ignorant of our language and customs. Every effort should be made to retain them in the colony and to convert them into useful settlers and good citizens."¹⁵ The governor then suggested that the children of "indentured coolies" be exempted from paying fees in primary schools. By 1890 special Indian schools were established in which the teachers were required to know

Hindi as well as English.¹⁶ These schools were, of course, to be managed by the Canadian mission as Canadian Mission Indian (C.M.I.) Schools. With state encouragement and support, this primary school programme undertaken by the Mission was soon extended and buttressed in all directions. In 1892 a Presbyterian Theological College was founded; in 1894 a Teachers' Training College was built; and in this century four institutions of secondary education were added. At the same time the Mission built four vocational schools for girls.

With all this activity in education, one might reasonably conclude that the Canadian missionaries' primary concern in the Caribbean was the education of the East Indian immigrant. This, however, was not the view of the missionaries; for them the primary intention was evangelism and proselytization, that is, the spreading of God's word and the conversion of the Hindus and Muslims to Christianity. The senior missionaries reminded their juniors time and time again that "the primary motive in establishing schools is evangelism,"¹⁷ and that education was only secondary to the "all-important work of soul-saving - the Evangel work."¹⁸ Since parents were in the habit of preventing their children from attending Sunday school, then the week-day school must be used as the agency of spreading God's word.¹⁹ In Tunapuna (Trinidad) the effectiveness of the school as a means of socializing the East Indians into Christianity was the cause of a concerted anti-Christian movement led by the Muslims.²⁰ And for Kenneth Grant, the second missionary to arrive in the colony, the schools were to be used to reach at young people "while they are yet at a tender age and before the main traditions of their fathers possess their minds."²¹

Because of the importance which the missionaries attached to the school as their major agency of conversion, they used a variety of devices to bring the children to school and, once they were there, to hold their interest in school work. For one thing the Canadians used black children to locate and forcibly bring Indian children to school:

We asked two of the coloured pupils to try and coax the East Indians in: it is a daily work, and therefore requires to be done by someone on the ground. We hint at a reward, their eyes sparkle and they look ready to begin the chase; we promise to call back soon and see how they are succeeding.²²

On other occasions, the carrot was used instead:

All these had cakes and candy and a little present according to the days they had made . . . we find this a good plan for encouraging attendance; we have adopted the same plan in our Sabbath schools.²³

In the author's own experience, this practice continued until the 1960s by which time used Canadian Christmas cards had been added to the list. Canadian sweaters and other cold-weather clothes, toys from Toronto and a variety of Canadian magazines all assisted considerably in preparing the young Trinidadian to look forward to a white Christmas. The heavy influx of Canadian literature, all eagerly used in Presbyterian homes, made Canada a familiar place. So that by the 1940s, Canada was a premier choice for the young East Indian, eager to do higher study after graduation from a Presbyterian secondary school.

In their schools (primary and secondary), the Canadians were able to introduce a heavy input of their "hidden syllabus" by generally teaching what the State required, namely, basic literacy and numeracy skills at the primary level and in the 20th century, preparation of candidates for the Cambridge Junior and Senior examinations at the secondary level. At the same time they laced the teaching programme with examples and references derived from their own Canadian religious experience through sermons and hymns which preceded each day's school programme. In a society plagued by the general dearth of reading material, they encouraged reading through the use of material prepared by the United Church of Canada, incorporating the Canadian experience, the Trinidad way of life and the missionary successes in India. In this way, their material proved to be far more interesting than the dull and repetitive fare offered by state schools.

What specifically did this material consist of? During the 1930s and 1940s, young Presbyterians were thrilled by the adventure-filled life of Sadhu Sundar Singh, a daring young Sikh who had forsaken his religion to accept Christianity. The persecution which he underwent and his travels whilst spreading God's word in the Himalayas and in Tibet were spread through at least four books and these became very popular reading among young East Indians. Even before that, in 1921, a newly-arrived missionary wrote to the Foreign Missions Board

requesting:

Suitable materials for our young Indians, partly to offset the unwholesome influences of the literature scattered broadcast by certain sects. . . In our open-air services I have noticed that a good many young East Indians listen to the Word. They are not Christians but many of them have attended our day-schools. They are more conversant in English than in the Hindi language... Illustrated tracts and leaflets would be of great value as our people like pictures.²⁴

Sure enough such brochures, suitably illustrated, were soon sent down. One of these "From Canada to India via Trinidad" was issued to coincide with the visit to Trinidad of Rev. J.W.R. Netram in 1931. This story was accompanied by photographs of John Morton and his wife Sarah, Netram and his family, and Netram and the then famous author/missionary Dr. E. Stanley Jones. The Rev. John W. Richard Netram was the son of an indentured labourer who had come to Trinidad, had undergone conversion by John Morton (whose first name he took) and had, upon expiry of his indentureship, returned to India. Rejected by his Hindu relations, he had obtained refuge at the Presbyterian Mission at Indore in Central India. Now his son, an ordained minister, was returning to the scene of his father's labours under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church. The brochure commemorating this visit carried a banner statement, "Dr. E. Stanley Jones says: Christ is giving new moral nerve to India to live, to face life and change life." Netram himself told how India, seeking to solve her problems in her traditional way had met with utter failure. Now she was "beginning to think that possibly Christ is the way out. Hence her attention to Christ."²⁵

By 1940 a new milestone had been reached in the kind of literature being used in school and in church to socialize the East Indian into the virtues of the Christian way of life. *Tales from Trinidad* consisted, inter alia, of a number of modern-day parables based on the East Indian experience in Trinidad. These parables had one theme which was repeatedly cast in different settings. This theme was the backward, neglected life which the Hindu or Muslim was leading before he/she came into contact with the Christian missionaries. Once this contact had been made, a new day dawned, the falseness of the old was exposed, and the new convert was

now living a life of serene fulfillment. Written by a Canadian, who had apparently done some study of the Hindu scriptures, these parables freely used such scriptural references, comparing them with Biblical examples to the disadvantage of the Eastern texts. Since the Hindus or Muslims, on their part, had no parallel programme of counter-action, the Canadian influence became widespread.

There was certainly no dearth of other literature supplied from Canadian sources to the Presbyterian schools. Presbyterian teachers, whose promotion within the teaching service or selection for the Teachers' Training College depended heavily on their evangelical work, saw to it that this reading material was widely distributed. Even today many Presbyterian homes have files of tracts sent from Canada. There was, for example, *World Friends* published, from the thirties, by the Woman's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada. This monthly magazine for boys and girls sought to highlight Canadian missionary work in India, Korea and Africa, as well as church work in Canada. In addition, the United Church of Canada published the weekly *Explorer*, a "Canadian paper for Juniors" geared primarily for young Canadians. Stacks of back copies of this paper found their way into Presbyterian homes teaching about "That Busy Beaver," the importance of temperance, exploring the Bible or the beauty of winter:

Cool, remote the winter comes
With silver frost, for his hue,
Glistening frost, slim icicles,
And stars that sparkle too.²⁶

No age group was left out of this campaign to win hearts and minds through literature. Parents, teachers and teenagers could read *The Missionary Monthly* published by the Woman's Missionary Society and the United Church of Canada. This paper dealt in detail with missionary work in various countries, stories of those who had "seen the light" and had, therefore, converted to Christianity, and there was information on the latest missionary booklets on various mission stations. In the issue of August 1952, for example, an "Africa Packet" was advertised for one dollar. For this price one could obtain *Facts about Angola*, *Angola in Pictures*, *What youth and adults can do* and *Six Missionary Programs*. There were also advertisements for church requirements such as "organs,

furniture, choir gowns, windows, lighting equipment, etc.," for various types of insurance offered by Canadian firms, for banking facilities by the Dominion Bank of Canada, and for university education at Mount Allison and Toronto (Victoria College) Universities. It is hardly surprising that these two universities became, from the fifties, centres to which Trinidad Presbyterians went in large numbers. A degree from one of these universities was a virtual guarantee of a job in a Presbyterian secondary school or in the Teachers' Training College. Principals for these institutions, too, generally came from this group of graduates.

This process of education/socialization promoted by the Canadian Presbyterians was reflected, too, in the extracurricular activities followed in the schools. Female students were encouraged to join the T.G.I.T. (Trinidad Girls in Training), modelled after the C.G.I.T. (Canadian Girls in Training), whilst the boys could become members of the Trail Rangers which was precisely the name of the parallel activity in Canada. To the Canadians' credit, attempts were made to substitute local forms and names for Canadian concepts. The author clearly remembers the worthy attempt by a newly-arrived Canadian teacher/missionary to indigenize a Canadian ditty:

Where oh where is sweet little Betty?
Way down in the berry patch.
Picking berries, putting in her pocket
Way down in the berry patch.

The new version now became:

Where oh where is sweet little Dolcie?
Way down in the paw-paw patch.
Picking paw-paws putting in her pocket
Way down in the paw-paw patch.

Questions such as little Dolcie's ability to climb the paw-paw trees or to put ripe (or green) paw-paws, dripping with their heavy sap, into her pockets were not allowed to come in the way of localizing the images! By the same token, there was one zealous schoolmaster who never tired of chastising his staff for what he considered their inadequate donations to church work. "The people in Canada," he would say, "always give

one-tenth of their salaries to the Church. You all here so ungrateful you wouldn't even give half of what they give. You wouldn't even give one-fifth!" Needless to say, none of the cowed teachers dared to point out their boss's mathematical miscalculation.

This strong infusion of Canadian/Presbyterian forms and concepts into their school system, and the absence of any attempt on the part of the state to check this programme, is very understandable in the context of education in Trinidad from the mid-19th century. In the first place there was much vagueness and uncertainty regarding teaching and syllabus at all levels. Patrick Keenan had been severely critical in 1869:

In some of the schools the reading is a mere mechanical repetition of words, suggestive of no meaning, no idea, no sign of intelligence or pleasure. After years of schooling, the mind of a child under the circumstances, is still a *tabula rasa*.²⁸

Half a century later the system had not improved. A current researcher on primary education in Trinidad points out that:

The syllabus was simplistic and few teaching aids which could stimulate the powers of observation were employed. Virtually the same syllabus was taught in all the standards and the syllabus of Standard VII was simply a clumsy repetition of Standard III.²⁹

It is no wonder, then, that a Commission of Enquiry into the state of education in the Caribbean could report, in 1933, that they agreed with the commentator whose view was that primary education in the West Indies was "the least progressive" in the British Empire.³⁰

At the secondary level the situation was hardly any better. In 1916 the Principal of the Queen's Royal College told a local Commission of Enquiry that "the curriculum has been drawn up to meet the needs of a small number of clever boys rather than those of the majority of the pupils."³¹ This Commission went on to recommend that Secondary School principals should devise their own curricula bearing in mind the colony's special needs. In 1933, the Marriott/Mayhew report recommended a de-emphasis of the "Classical model" of Secondary School and the introduction of a new "Modern School" emphasizing an all-round education "calculated to create a taste and aptitude for

industrial, agricultural and commercial pursuits."³² The Moyne Commission Report, published in 1945, echoed these very sentiments with regard to secondary education.

In this near-jungle of Trinidad education, the missionaries had considerable leeway to do their own thing. In this they were not only allowed a free hand by the colonial government, but were included on the Colony's Board of Education from the time of Morton right down to the mid-20th century. In this way they had a continuous hand in the devising of educational policy for a century, and could always influence change or themselves change to accommodate state objectives. In a general sense they were buttressed by the wider community's preference for church-controlled education because of the "supposedly superior values" which that wider community ascribed to church controlled education.³³ Above all, the Canadian Mission schools possessed an all-round competence and efficiency which was hardly matched by either the state or other denominational schools. Their missionaries were highly-trained and motivated teachers who maintained rigid discipline among their local staff, who used up-to-date methods of pedagogy, and set an example by their personal hard work and dedication. Canadian mission schools also pioneered in much-needed areas of educational reform. Some six years before it was introduced to all schools, the Presbyterians had been teaching agricultural science in their San Fernando school in 1884. Indeed, this is one area in which the state took Morton's lead. In the teaching of handicraft, too, home economics and woodwork, the Presbyterians were pioneers. In the area of women's education, too, the women missionaries made very special efforts to break the seclusion into which indentured Indians had placed their women folk. When they found resistance among parents to send their children even to Indian schools, they founded residential centres where education and evangelization were combined.

Because of what they perceived as real benefits to their community, most Presbyterian East Indians strongly supported these school-based programmes of evangelization. In 1930, for example, the Presbyterian Teachers' Association took a unanimous decision that "devotion to religious work be not only the prime qualification for promotion among them, but also requisite for membership in their Association."³⁵ Requests for schools were cast in terms of the evangelical mission; from the far-off village of Rio Claro came this request for a secondary school:

The Roman Catholics are working hard here and so the Indian people in danger of getting Romanized instead of becoming Xn, therefore more workers needed here ... You will do well if you oppen [sic] a boy's College at Rio Claro.³⁶

By the third decade of this century, the results of the educational activity of the Canadian Mission were clearly discernible. In 1931, for example, whereas 83% of non-Christian Indians remained illiterate, only 50% of Christian Indians could not read or write.³⁷ A decade later Dr. Merle Davis of the United Church reported what the Mission had, in his view, achieved:

For more than two generations the Canadian Mission has carried the major load of transmitting to an alien and depressed racial group who form a large part of the population of the colony, the basic values of Christian civilization and of British traditions and culture.³⁸

By the fifties the Presbyterian East Indians were in the vanguard of the East Indian entry into the professions, business and politics.

But this tendency to socialize East Indians away from their traditional faiths was the cause of considerable friction within families as well as between communities. The abandonment of traditional faiths by Hindus or Muslims was the cause of serious dispute and discord among Hindu groups, causing the summoning of Hindu panchayats to try to dissuade the potential convert. If this failed there was social ostracism and/or public condemnation.³⁹ At the wider level, there was a concerted attempt by Hindus and Muslims to stem this socialization through the establishment of Hindu and Muslim schools, either separately or jointly.⁴⁰ Attempts by the organizers of these schools to obtain state aid were consistently refused; so were calls by the government-appointed East Indian Advisory Board to have Hindus and Muslims on the colony's Board of Education.⁴¹ It is against this background that the Sanatan Dharma protested very strongly to the Moyne Commission in 1938 about the deculturization of the East Indians. This organization complained about the refusal of the government to recognize non-Christian schools as well as discrimination in the employment of non-Christian Indians.⁴² It was not until 1948 that a non-Christian Indian (Muslim) school was recognized by the government. This opened the way for the founding of

more than 50 Hindu and Muslim schools during the 1950s.

The non-Christian Indians also responded by inviting Hindu and Muslim missionaries from India and (after 1947) from Pakistan. Not only did these missionaries preach an aggressive Hindu and Muslim theme, but they also assisted in the formation of a number of Hindu and Muslim organizations, in the promotion of mosque and temple building, and in the encouragement of East Indians to go to the East for further study. In 1926, for example, the Muslims founded the Tackveeyatul Islamic Association (Society for the Strength of Islam),⁴³ and in 1930 the Sanatan Dharma Board of Control was started.

Even among Presbyterians there was criticism of the socialization process which was going on. A Presbyterian minister and senior administrator, in summarizing these criticisms, recounts the view that Presbyterian converts became:

Neo-colonial victims and perpetrators of a system, whose motive roots they did not share. They have internalized the values, life styles and goals of their masters. Whatever benefits accrued from the educational system, there still remained the burdensome and crippling legacy of colonialism in vision, value, life and aspiration.⁴⁴

Additionally, Hamid asserts that the administration of the school system by the Church sapped the energies of the Church by tying up its courts, its leaders and workers "with the burden of administration, conflicts, disputes and problems."⁴⁵

Since the 1960s there has been a marked lessening of the socialization of the East Indian by the Canadian Mission. This has come about as a result of the confluence of a number of factors which have weakened the Mission's influence on the education system. For one thing, that decade witnessed the start of the withdrawal of Canadians from the Trinidad Mission. This meant that the flow of literature, as well as of teachers, diminished. Secondly, the era of independence (from 1962) and the take-over of the state by nationalists has witnessed increasing control of the education system, and the devising of nationally desirable educational syllabi. Thirdly, the increasing return of West Indian university graduates to the school system has meant the replacement of Canadians

by local people whose perspectives are different. So that there is no longer the derogatory treatment of Hinduism or Islam in the schools. Nor are Presbyterian schools the "Indian" schools which they used to be up to the fifties. All of these developments have initiated a lively debate among the Presbyterian hierarchy about its future in relation to the management of schools. One school of thought firmly believes that the Church should give up its educational mission and concentrate on the evangelical work. The other insists that without the leverage of control over schools the Church would decline even further. This group also fears the loss of Presbyterian values which would be a consequence of the surrender of schools to the state. Faced with serious financial problems, however, difficulty in finding new recruits to the Ministry, the increasing resurgence of Hinduism and Islam, and its own inability to change rapidly enough to meet these new circumstances, the Presbyterian Church seems to have no option but to retreat further into its theological area of work.

ENDNOTES

1. G. W. Roberts and J. Byne: "Summary statistics on indenture and associated migration affecting the West Indies 1834-1918". *Population Studies*, Vol. XX, 1966-67, p. 129.
2. CO 295/247. Gordon to Newcastle. 24 May 1869.
3. Keate to Sec. of State. 6 July 1857 cited in S. Gordon. *A century of West Indian education*. 1963, p.70.
4. S. Morton. *John Morton of Trinidad*. Toronto, 1916, p. 420.
5. *Report upon the state of education in the island of Trinidad*. Dublin, 1869, para. 140.
6. *Ibid*, para. 143.
7. C. Campbell. *Colony and nation: a short history of education in Trinidad and Tobago*. Kingston, Jamaica, 1992, p. 13.
8. CO. 295/245. Kortright to Buckingham. 6 October 1868.
9. CO 950/2. Memo to Moyne Commission from Pandit Parashu Ram Sharma. 1938.
10. CO 950/777. No. 6024. Memo of the Sanatana Dharma Board of Control to Moyne Commission. 1938, para. 28.
11. K.J. Grant. *My missionary memories*. Halifax, 1916, pp. 161-6.
12. For a good discussion of this aspect, see G. Mount "The Canadian Presbyterian mission to Trinidad, 1868-1912." *Revista Interamericana*, Vol. VII, No. 1, 1977, pp. 32f.

13. Cited by Mount, p. 39.
14. For the quantum of this increase see *Mount*, p. 36. By 1908 no less than 83 % of the cost of Presbyterian schools was being borne by the state.
15. *Trinidad Royal Gazette*. 14 Nov. 1888.
16. *Ibid*. 19 Nov. 1870.
17. Trevor Turner. "The work of the Presbyterian church of Canada in the field of secular education in Trinidad 1808-1953". M.Ed. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1968, p.8.
18. For a fuller discussion of this issue see the author's paper "Missionary methods and local responses" in B. Brereton and W. Dookeran (Ed.) *East Indians in the Caribbean*, New York, 1982, p. 106.
19. C.A. Dunn. "The Canadian Mission in British Guiana 1885-1927". M.A. History thesis. Queen's University, 1971, pp. 96-7.
20. "Importance of school-work in the Trinidad mission" by Sarah Morton. *The Presbyterian Record*. August 1900, p. 232.
21. *Grant* op. cit. p. 89.
22. *Morton*, p. 258.
23. *Ibid*, p. 264.
24. J.C. MacDonald to Dr. Mackay 13 July 1921. Missionary Correspondence No. 649. Toronto.
25. *Canada to India via Trinidad*. The United Church of Canada. 1931.
26. *The Explorer*. Oct. 18, 1953. passim.
27. *The Missionary Monthly*. Toronto. Vol. XXVII, No. 8, August 1952. passim.
28. *Keenan Report* op. cit. para. 60.
29. A. Hamel-Smith "Primary education in Trinidad, 1900-1914." Seminar Paper. St. Augustine. 1979, p. 14.
30. Marriott/Mayhew commission report 1933. Quoted in *Shirley Gordon* op. cit. p. 155.
31. Council Paper 168 of 1916. Para. 60. CO 298/105. It is interesting to note that one of the three commissioners was Rev. John Morton of the Canadian mission.
32. *Shirley Gordon*, p. 181.
33. *Hamel-Smith* op. cit. p.7.
34. *Turner* op. cit. pp. 33, 52, 765
35. Report of the *Board of Foreign Missions of the United Church*. Toronto 1931. Trinidad Report, p. 81.
36. C. Pragsingh to the mission council. 23 Nov. 1921. No. 693 in *Missionary correspondence*. Toronto.
37. Calculated from 1933 census figures. The author is grateful to Ms. Angela Hamel-Smith for this information.

38. Cited in Idris Hamid *A history of the Presbyterian Church in Trinidad*. Trinidad 1980, p. 87
39. For example E.J. Beaton (Ed.). *Tales from Trinidad* 1940, p. 47f.
40. See for examples *The East Indian Weekly* 18 August, 1928, p.2. Also 15 Nov., 1930, p.2.
41. Minutes of meeting of East Indian Advisory Board 1937 and 1939.
42. CO 950/777. No. 6024. op. cit.
43. *Ordinance* 39 of 1931.
44. *Hamid* op. cit. p. 90.
45. *Hamid*, p. 93.