

CHINESE INDENTURED LABOURERS IN BRITISH GUIANA
(1838 – 1900): AN EXPLORATION OF COLONIAL TEXT

by

ALICIA ALISON ALI
B.A., York University, 1996

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

In

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
(Department of History)

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

August 2001

© Alicia Alison Ali, 2001

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the head of my department or by his or her representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of History

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

Date August 20, 2001

ABSTRACT

During the post-emancipation period of British Guiana (1838-1900) Chinese indentured servants were imported into the colony for the purpose of working on sugar plantations. It is argued in this paper that colonial literature constructed two competing themes regarding Chinese identity in British Guiana. Using colonial discourse analysis, specifically Foucault, Said and Bhabha, this thesis explores how Clementi's narrative represented the Chinese immigrant as an "ideal immigrant" who embraced the sugar plantation of British Guiana, while Kirke's memoirs portray an "exotic immigrant" in need of constant vigilance. Although the writings of Clementi and Kirke attempt to organize, order and assert power over the colonized space of British Guiana, these two authors reveal tension and ambivalence between the colonized Chinese subject and the dominant colonial discourse.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-----|
| Abstract..... | ii |
| Table of Contents..... | iii |
| Acknowledgements..... | iv |
| Overview..... | 1 |
| Methodology..... | 2 |
| Existing Approaches to the Study of Slavery and the Plantation System..... | 4 |
| The Social Structure of Plantation British Guiana Before Emancipation..... | 13 |
| The Emancipation Movement in Britain..... | 17 |
| The Pull of British Guiana – The Emergence of Indentured Immigrants..... | 18 |
| Chinese Indentured Labourers..... | 19 |
| The Push in Qing China..... | 20 |
| The Chinese Coolie Trade to British Guiana..... | 21 |
| Indentureship Within British Guiana..... | 23 |
| Cecil Clementi's <u>Chinese in British Guiana</u> | 23 |
| Henry Kirke's <u>Twenty-Five Years in British Guiana</u> | 31 |
| Conclusion..... | 34 |
| Bibliography..... | 36 |

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis has benefited from the help and support of a number of people. I'd particularly like to thank my advisor Dr. Glen Peterson for his patience, encouragement and constructive insights. I must also thank Dr. Diana Lary for her guidance and initial enthusiasm for the project. I would also like to thank my family and friends including Steven Clarke, Kelly Curtis, and Susan and Jeremy Garman for all of their love and support. This paper is dedicated to Amanda and Andrew Latiff and the memory of my mom.

Overview

This paper explores how colonial narrative constructed identity during the post-emancipation period in British Guiana (1833-1900)¹. Specifically, it seeks to compare and contrast Cecil Clementi's *The Chinese in British Guiana*² and Henry Kirke's *Twenty-five Years in British Guiana, 1872-1897*³. My purpose in this paper is:

- 1) to examine how the above colonial authors "imagined" the Chinese immigrant community
- 2) to explore how notions of inclusions and exclusions within colonial discourse classified and subjugated the Chinese community
- 3) to demonstrate how the construction of a Chinese identity within British Guiana assisted in redefining the colonizer/colonized relationship.

The thesis, thus, employs colonial discourse theory to enhance understanding of how colonial writings constructed both the colonizers and the colonized subjects.

It is argued in the thesis that colonial literature constructed two competing themes regarding Chinese identity in British Guiana. The first theme was created around the notions of the "Chinese as respectable". This theme, most developed in Clementi's *The Chinese in British Guiana*, portrays the Chinese immigrants as having achieved respectability because of their *en masse* adoption of colonial behaviour, manners and values, as demonstrated by their conversion to Christianity and the pursuit of British education for children. Clementi's account depicts the Chinese indentured labourers as representing a 'model minority' cultivated within the new plantation society. On the other hand, Clementi's model minority is undermined by Kirke's account of the Chinese community, which reveals the limitations of colonial authority. Kirke's narrative develops the theme of the "Chinese as exotic" through issues of body, food, and language. According to Kirke, although the Chinese had attained "respectability", they were still

¹ For purposes of this paper, "British Guiana" refers to the historical period between 1831 and 1966.

² Clementi, Cecil. *The Chinese in British Guiana*. Georgetown: Argosy, 1915.

³ Kirke, Henry. *Twenty-five Years in British Guiana*. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company, 1898.

"exotic". Clementi and Kirke's ambivalence towards the Chinese community reveals the process by which the Chinese community was portrayed as "almost the same, but not quite"⁴.

In short, the British Guiana colonial office was caught in an irreconcilable conflict between representing itself as nurturing, while seeking to maintain the exploitative system of indentured immigration. Clementi and Kirke illustrate how colonial officials within the colony struggled to redefine both the moral mission of the plantation and their positions of power within the system during the post-emancipation period.

Methodology

The study is divided into ten sections. Section one through seven provides the reader with a historical overview as to when, why and how Chinese labourers entered post-slavery British Guiana. Sections eight, nine and ten delineate the writings of Clementi and Kirke to expose their deep implication in imperialism and the colonial process.

The first section critiques four competing paradigms that have evolved to explain colonial society in anglophone Caribbean. The paper explores debates that concern the following theoretical frameworks:

- 1) the Plantation Model
- 2) Marxism
- 3) Cultural Pluralism
- 4) Social Stratification.

The above models attempt to describe how colonialism ordered relationships in Caribbean society. However, this paper seeks to approach this problem by first addressing the issue of sources. The author employs colonial discourse theory to first ask how colonial texts/sources constructed the world of British Guiana. Drawing upon the works of Foucault and Bhabha, the paper explores the power and subtleties of representation in colonial British Guiana.

⁴ Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994) 86.

The second section is an account of slavery in British Guiana. Best described in terms of an isosceles triangle, the apex of plantation society consisted of European/Whites, followed by a small middle section, composed of people of colour, and, at the base, the African and Amerindian slaves. As an institution of European colonialism, slavery sought to organize and control the economic, political, social, and cultural structures of British Guiana. The thesis examines the various strategies employed by imperial discourse to construct the colonized subject as inferior to the European colonizer. The author argues that, although imperial discourse insisted that the master ruled over the slave, both were ultimately entangled in each other's lives.

Although the plantation system depended on imported slave labour, by the late eighteenth century, the slave trade and the institution of slavery came under intense scrutiny. The thesis briefly describes the rise of anti-slavery sentiments in Britain and the emergence of an abolition movement. The paper also explores emancipation as a process involving slaves, abolitionists, and the imperial government.

The section "The Pull of British Guiana" identifies the various changes that created an immigration demand in the colony during the immediate post-emancipation period. The abolition of slavery raised fundamental questions about what system of economic organization and set of social relations would replace those that previously existed. The study traces the conditions that enabled the planters of British Guiana, confronted with the loss of subservient labour, to persuade the imperial authorities to sanction the importation of indentured servants.

While the West Indies experienced a "pull" for labourers, foreign and domestic turmoil during the mid-Qing dynasty created an emigration "push" away from China. Events, such as the opium wars and internal rebellions created conditions of poverty that prompted many Chinese men and some Chinese women to leave Qing China for far away plantations.

As in the case of slave trade, abuse and exploitation were predominant in the coolie trade. For the purpose of this paper, the coolie trade is understood as the traffic of indentured/cheap Chinese labour to British colonies. Part eight locates the coolie trade to British Guiana within the context of the international trade. It discusses how many Chinese indentured servants were transported to British Guiana, when they were shipped, and under what conditions. Finally, the thesis describes why the coolie trade to British Guiana ceased.

It is intended that the above sections will provide the reader with an understanding of the complex circumstances that culminated in the importation of Chinese labourers to British Guiana. The final part of the thesis investigates the specific writings of Clementi and Kirke. After situating the authors within the context of the colonial agenda, the thesis draws attention to the ways in which Clementi and Kirke think, speak, and write about the Chinese in British Guiana. Using colonial discourse theory, it is argued that Clementi's and Kirke's construction of Chinese identity highlights the inherent vulnerability of colonial discourse in the post-emancipation period of the colony.

Existing Approaches to the Study of Slavery and the Plantation System

In his essay, "Plantation-America", Charles Wagley situates the Caribbean within a wider culture sphere, which he calls Plantation-America, which represents both a spatial region and a type of society, and moves beyond political, linguistic, or geographically defined units. However, as a point of reference, Wagley describes Plantation-America as extending

spatially from about midway up the coast of Brazil into the Guianas, along the Caribbean coast, throughout the Caribbean itself, and into the United States. It is characteristically coastal: not until the nineteenth century did the way of life of the Plantation culture sphere penetrate far into the mainland interior, and then only in Brazil and the United States. This area has an environment which is characteristically tropical (except in the southern United States) and lowland⁵.

⁵ Charles Wagley, "Plantation America: A Culture Sphere" In Vera Rubin, Ed., *Caribbean Studies: A Symposium* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1960) 5.

According to Wagley, plantation-American culture is woven together by five features that include monocrop cultivation under the plantation system, rigid class lines, multi-racial societies, weak community cohesion, small peasant properties involved in subsistence and cash-crop production, and a matrifocal type family form⁶. Sugar production predominated, and was maintained through the institution of the system of slavery and indentureship and through socio-economic divisions between landowner and slave. Although immigration, through the slave trade and indentureship, created a multi-racial society, "Caucasoid features", held the highest value⁷.

Thompson's "The Plantation as a Social System" argues that the plantation acts to systematize entire social orders. As a settlement institution, the plantation system imports a new labouring population when the local native societies cannot be coerced into participating in it. Every institution in the society is involved in the support of the plantation system, which both "demands and dictates". Individual members acquire particular beliefs and follow prescribed ways of participating; the authority of the planter is paramount, expressed through rules and punitive measures. Because of its orientation towards the metropolitan market, the colonial state power is crucial to its maintenance⁸.

"The Plantation as a Socio-cultural Type" by Mintz also advances the idea of common developmental characteristics. Both Mintz and Wolf describe the plantation system in terms of four conditions: general, initiating, operational, and cultural. General conditions are the preconditions of plantation development. Initiating conditions are the specific conditions that permit the establishment of a plantation, operational conditions permit the continued operation of

⁶ Wagley, 9.

⁷ Wagley, 7.

⁸ Edgar Thompson, "The Plantation as a Social System" In The Research Institute for the Study of Man and the Pan American Union, *Plantation Systems of the New World* (Joint Publication, Washington 1959) 27.

the plantation system, and cultural conditions are "the cultural practices and behavioural patterns which incarnate the plantation in its operation"⁹.

Beckford and Best, who view Caribbean societies as underdeveloped dependencies of Western capitalism, develop the plantation model of Wagley and Mintz. Beckford's plantation system "refers to the totality of institutional arrangements surrounding the production and marketing of plantation crops"¹⁰. As colonial fragments dedicated to wealth extraction, the plantations represented a type of settlement institution, which imported labour into a new territory for the production of a staple export crop. Ultimately, the plantation was an instrument of colonization and regarded as a source of wealth for the colonizing power. In the post-emancipation period, ex-slaves attempted to achieve mobility within the institution through independent peasant cultivation, and through education. However, the educational system itself was the creation of colonial power and culture, and former slaves who assimilated metropolitan culture became essentially "black Europeans"¹¹. Thus, the plantation fostered a society with a psychological dependence on the outside world and on the mother country.

Critics of the plantation model, such as Denis Bern, question the notion of the plantation acting as a total system during slavery. They argue that the idea of "black Europeans" denies the colonial subject agency and power, and the model fails to explain the relationship between the multiracial character of plantation societies in the post-emancipation period and the plantation¹².

A second theoretical perspective draws upon Marxist notions of class, race, and culture. Williams' *Capitalism and Slavery* questioned the economic forces that led to the abandonment of slavery in the nineteenth century, arguing that the plantation system provided a significant

⁹ Sidney Mintz, "The Plantation as a Socio-cultural Type" In The Research Institute for the Study of Man and the Pan American Union (1959) 46.

¹⁰ George Beckford, *Persistent Poverty: Underdevelopment in Plantation Economies of the Third World* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972) 6.

¹¹ Beckford, 39.

¹² Denis Benn, "The theory of Plantation Economy and Society: A Methodological Critique," *Journal of Commonwealth Comparative Politics*, xii 3 (1974): 256-258.

amount of surplus, which allowed England a self-sustained industrialism during the eighteenth century, but that the rise of industrial capital over merchant capital in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries reduced the economic significance of the West Indian plantation system¹³. He contended that the racial distinction between European and African before emancipation or between European and Asian after emancipation was fundamentally an economic distinction between those who owned property and those who did not¹⁴.

In *A History of the Guyanese Working People, 1881-1905*, Rodney developed the Marxist tradition, arguing that, after emancipation, ex-slaves did not become "peasants", but rather "plantation-workers"¹⁵, thus marking the rise of a conscious working class. While estate owners desired indentured labourers, former slaves formed task gangs that moved from estate to estate and "negotiated with management to have some control over wages, conditions, and duration of work"¹⁶. However, as Rodney reports, while the white-dominated plantation society reluctantly agreed to accommodate some Indian demands for land, this was at the expense of Creole Africans

Politically, the planter class succeeded in interposing another set of landowners between itself and its traditional villagized African antagonists of the post-emancipation era¹⁷.

Thus, former slaves perceived their interest as different from those of the indentured labourers. The dominant colonial classes, not only demarcated themselves from the subordinate classes, but also maintained their hegemony over them through ensuring their exclusion from positions of power and privilege, and also through their use of vocabularies that accentuated distinctions.

The theses of Williams and Rodney have generated criticism. Engerman and Thomas argue that West Indian plantations did not provide the critical surplus capital that propelled England into self-sustained industrialism in the eighteenth century, and that, in fact, the colonies

¹³ Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944).

¹⁴ Eric Williams, "Race Relations in Caribbean Society" In Vera Rubin Ed., *Caribbean Studies: A Symposium*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1960) 54.

¹⁵ Walter Rodney, *A History of the Guyanese Working People, 1881-1905* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981): 218.

¹⁶ Rodney (1981) 43.

¹⁷ Rodney (1981) 182.

were a net loss to the Britain¹⁸. Also, critics of Marxist scholarship oppose the notion that human behavior, is determined by economic interest alone. Tannebaum argues that Williams' analysis of Caribbean race relations seeks to keep the categories of "black" and "white" static"¹⁹. Dupuy's critique of Rodney's *A History of the Guyanese Working People, 1881-1905* also takes issue with the categories of "white" and "black", arguing that the designation of "white" denied "class and cultural differences among the Europeans", and "black" deprived the various African ethnic groups of their individualism²⁰.

A third model of Caribbean society emerged from the 1956 writings of Furnivall. Furnivall's *Colonial Policy and Practice: A Comparative Study of Burma and the Netherlands India*, asserted that, although colonial domination imposed a forced union on the colonized people, the society lacked a common social life and that groups were held together by the "market place, in buying and selling"²¹:

...There is a plural society, with different sections of the community living side by side, but separately, within the same political unit²².

In *The Plural Society in the British West Indies* M.G. Smith revised Furnivall's plural society thesis, introducing the idea of cultural pluralism. This stressed that members of colonial societies were internally distinct, due to fundamental differences in their institutional practices, which included "kinship, education, property, economy, recreation, and class sodalities"²³. Despres also advocates the use of the plural model, as it "avoids reducing the phenomena of

¹⁸ Stanley Engerman, "The Slave Trade and British capital formation in the eighteenth century: A comment on the Williams Thesis," *Business History Review* 46 (1972): 441-442.

¹⁹ Tannenbaum, 61.

²⁰ Alex Dupuy, "Race and Class in the Postcolonial Caribbean: The Views of Walter Rodney," *Latin American Perspectives* 89:23 (1996): 114.

²¹ Furnivall, 304.

²² J.S. Furnivall. *Colonial Policy and Practice: A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India* (New York: New York University Press, 1956) 304.

²³ M.G. Smith, *The Plural Society in the British West Indies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965) 82.

culture to the analytical level of a constant", and pointed to the political polarization and violence that emerged in Guyana along racial lines after 1955²⁴.

Lloyd Braithwaite and Raymond Smith criticize the theory of cultural pluralism, stating that both Furnivall and M.G. Smith obscure the important fact that "no society can exist without a minimum sharing of common values"²⁵. Instead, Braithwaite proposes a model of social stratification. According to Braithwaite the idea of "institutions" requires that both the European and subordinate cultures are essentially homogeneous. This thesis treats differences of culture among the ethnic sections as subcultures co-existing within a society integrated around a common system of shared values. This process of integration is based on Edward Brathwaite's idea of creolization,

The notion of an historically affected socio-cultural continuum within which (as in the case of Jamaica) there are four inter-related and sometimes overlapping orientations...These four orientations may be designated as European, Euro-Creole, Afro-Creole (or folk), and creole-Creole or West Indian²⁶.

Raymond Smith argues that

the Negro, White and Coloured groups were bound together through their common participation in the social, economic, and political life of the country and through a sharing of certain values and cultural forms, notably the evolution of 'English' Christianity²⁷.

The stratification model proposes that segments of British Guiana shared certain institutions but each subgroup interpreted these institutions differently. Ultimately, the subcultures of the subordinate groups were devalued because of European cultural hegemony.

Rex's *Race and Ethnicity* proposes reintroducing the role of race relations within models to explain the nature of colonial societies. He points to institutions of booty capitalism, such as slave plantations, as providing the basic framework within which one ethnic group exploits

²⁴ Leo Despres, "Anthropological Theory, Cultural Pluralism, and the Study of Complex Societies," *Current Anthropology* 9:1 (1968): 15.

²⁵ Lloyd Braithwaite, "Social Stratification and Cultural Pluralism" In Michael Horowitz Ed., *Peoples and Cultures of the Caribbean: An Anthropological Reader* (New York: The Natural History Press, 1971) 99.

²⁶ Edward Brathwaite, *Contradictory Omens: Cultural Diversity and Integration in the Caribbean* (Mona: Savacou Publications, 1974) 25.

²⁷ Raymond Smith, *British Guiana* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962) 105.

another²⁸. Cultural differences become boundary markers between those who have and those who do not have social, legal, and political rights²⁹.

Moore and Lai have attempted to reconstruct the daily nineteenth-century Chinese immigrant life. In *Race, Power and Social Segmentation in Colonial Society* and *Cultural Power, Resistance and Pluralism* Moore argues that “composite colonial societies cannot realistically be grouped together as plural or class stratified”, but represent two points along the same line³⁰. The European planter class used several methods, including the system of laws, designed to regulate the system of indenture to maintain control and subjugate the non-white subordinate majority³¹.

Moore's *Cultural Power, Resistance and Pluralism* examines the manner in which elite classes tried to create a consensus of values through culture, arguing that the British colonials in British Guiana attempted to recreate and impose Victorian metropolitan culture. What emerged was a Euro-West Indian Creole culture that borrowed institutional structures from the metropolitan and also evolved to meet specific needs of the colony. This was held up as superior to the African and Amerindian cultures³². According to Moore, the Chinese immigrants were unable to preserve their traditional culture in British Guiana because of their small numbers, scattered around the coastal belts, their infrequent arrival that prevented strong cultural links with China, and the shortage of female Chinese women³³. In his view, the Chinese made the most significant cultural accommodation to “the host society”, and their conversion to Christianity was due to the intense elite cultural pressure³⁴.

²⁸ John Rex, *Race and Ethnicity* (England: Open University Press, 1986) 35.

²⁹ John Rex, “The Role of Class Analysis” In John Rex and David Mason eds., *Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations* (Cambridge University Press, 1986) 70.

³⁰ Brian Moore, *Race, Power and Social Segmentation in Colonial Society* (New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1987) 27-29.

³¹ Moore (1987) 215.

³² Brian Moore, *Cultural Power, Resistance and Pluralism* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995) 304.

³³ Moore (1995) 293.

³⁴ Moore (1995), 277-304.

Lai's *Indentured Labor, Caribbean Sugar* argues that the system of indenture sought to introduce inexpensive and servile labour into the colony to frustrate former slaves in their attempts to establish wages, such that the plantocracy viewed indentured servants as "a weapon in the class struggle against the newly freed Blacks"³⁵. Indeed, before 1870, the system was designed to reduce indentured servants "to mere objects, abstract units of production, rather than to groom them for citizenship and assimilation into a new society"³⁶. Yet by the 1890s, the Chinese community, in comparison to the East Indian community, had experienced a more complete process of creolization accelerated by adoption of Christianity and interracial liaisons³⁷. Unlike Moore who explored Chinese cultural assimilation/accommodation based upon the emulation of British culture, Lai argues that the Chinese community adopted a creole culture, which includes both African and European traditions.

This paper asks why accommodation/assimilation is important, and whether questions of identity are part of a culturally determined mode of imperialist discourse. The question the paper asks is whether, when the issue of social relationship is explored using the above methodologies along with colonial texts, one uncovers Chinese identity in the post-emancipation period, or Chinese identity through the gaze of the colonizer. The paper seeks to rethink the post-emancipation period through active reading of colonial narratives.

My reading of colonial discourse builds upon Foucault's notion of discourse as a system of statements imposed by dominant groups within which the "real" world is determined. Discourse shapes how individuals come to "know" themselves and each other. Therefore, those

³⁵ Walton Look Lai, *Indentured Labor, Caribbean Sugar* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993) xviii.

³⁶ Lai 52.

³⁷ Lai 204-221.

who maintain control over knowing have power over those who do not. For Foucault, subjectivity is constructed within a specific historical, social and cultural system of knowledge³⁸.

Edward Said has extensively elaborated the relationship between knowledge and power in his discussions of Orientalism. Said's *Orientalism* argues that Orientalism, as a discourse, is based "upon an ontological and epistemological distinction between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'"³⁹. Orientalism serves as a "Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient"⁴⁰. Thus, those who write about the 'Orient' control what is known and how it is known. Within the colonial agenda, the colonizers seek control over the colonized by imposing specific values and knowledge upon the colonial space.

Colonial discourse theory seeks to understand colonialism, both as a set of political and economic relations as well as a signifying system. Through acts of inclusion and exclusion, colonial discourse constructs a reality which represents the superiority of the colonizer and the inferiority of the colonized. The duty of the imperial power is to reproduce itself in the colony and bring civilization to the colony.

Bhabha questions Said's assumption that the identities and positioning of colonizer and colonized exist in stable terms, which are absolutely distinct from, and necessarily in conflict with each other. Instead, Bhabha asserts that the colonial relationship is structured (on both sides) by forms of multiple and contradictory beliefs. As Bhabha argues, the mimicking of the colonizer's cultural habits, assumptions, institutions, and values, by the colonized creates ambivalence within colonial discourse. Ambivalence refers to the idea that the colonizers never truly want their colonized subjects to be exactly like themselves, because mimicry by the colonized can lead to mockery, which is threatening to colonial authority⁴¹.

³⁸ Michel Foucault, "Orders of Discourse: Inaugural Lecture Delivered at the College de France," *Social Science Information* 10:2 (1971): 7-30.

³⁹ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979) 2.

⁴⁰ Said, 3.

⁴¹ Bhabha, 86-88.

This paper seeks to review the works of two colonial writers, Clementi and Kirke, with a view to exploring how the two authors perceived the Chinese community. It seeks to identify criteria used by Clementi and Kirke to determine Chinese identity in post-emancipation Guiana, and to understand how inclusion and exclusion reveal the limitations of colonial authority.

The Social Structure of Plantation British Guiana Before Emancipation

In search of the mythical city of El Dorado, Dutch, French and British explorers arrived in the Guianas in the late 1550s and early 1600s. Even though the Dutch founded the settlement in what is now Guyana in 1581, the three Dutch colonies of Essequibo, Berbice, and Demerara were in 1803 annexed by the British. They were placed under one government, under the name of British Guiana, in 1831. Although coffee and cotton grew alongside sugar between 1817 and 1825, after 1831 focus was placed solely on sugar production⁴².

Before emancipation, the plantocracy, mainly English, Scottish, and Irish immigrants, believed that the success of sugar estates was dependent upon the slave trade, which provided a secure supply of labour. Within this system, the planters controlled the political, economic, and judicial institutions of the colony, while slaves fashioned lifestyles based on patterns of accommodation and resistance. By the late eighteenth century British Guiana slave society was a complex social organization, with cleavages of race, colour, and gender corresponding with economic, judicial, political, and social power within the colony. The social structure involved mutually interdependent groups of African and European peoples. Slaves represented the largest

⁴² Alan Adamson, *Sugar Without Slaves: the Political Economy of British Guiana, 1838-1904* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972) 26.

proportion of the plantation population⁴³, with the colonies of Demerara and Essequibo consisting of 69,467 slaves, 6,360 free coloured and free blacks, and 3,006 whites in 1829⁴⁴.

Planters restricted slave mobility, controlled their labour and subjected them to constant and extreme coercion. The slaves were not a homogeneous group, and life experiences depended on plantation versus town, male-female, African versus Creole, and age. Slave category was based on occupation, which was determined by intelligence, reliability, and physical dexterity⁴⁵. Distinctions were made between domestic slaves, skilled slaves, and field slaves. This occupational hierarchy accorded status and authority among the slaves.

Plantation slaves lived in their masters' homes, under direct control of the white mistress of the house⁴⁶. Slaves with European ancestry formed the bulk of household slaves⁴⁷, who included butlers, coachmen, stable crew, cooks, storekeepers, maids, cleaning and washerwomen, and childcare attendants⁴⁸. They received better food, and luxury items, such as candles and sugar⁴⁹, but gave up some of the independence of field slaves who lived in small cramped quarters adjacent to the sugar fields⁵⁰. Urban domestic slaves were often hired out as seamstresses, washerwomen, or housemaids⁵¹, or were sent by their owners to sell goods. Others

⁴³ During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the word "servant" and "slave" were often used to describe both servile European and African labourers. However, with the expansion of sugar economy in the British West Indies and the slave trade, slave labour was narrowed in meaning and applied only to those individuals of African origin and menial occupation. Stanley Engerman, "Servants to slaves to servants: Contract Labour and European Expansion", *Colonialism and Migration: Indentured Labour Before and After Slavery*. P.C. Emmer Ed., (Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1986) 264.

⁴⁴ William Green, *British Slave Emancipation: The Sugar Colonies and the Great Experiment 1830-1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976) 13.

⁴⁵ Green, 22.

⁴⁶ Orlando Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery: An Analysis of the Origins, Development and Structure of Negro Slavery Society in Jamaica* (Great Britain: MacGibbon & Kee, 1967) 58.

⁴⁷ Green, 23.

⁴⁸ Patterson (1967) 62.

⁴⁹ Green, 23.

⁵⁰ Barbara Bush, "Toward Emancipation: Slave Women and Resistance to Coercive Labour Regimes in the British West Indian Colonies, 1790-1838" In David Richardson Ed., *Abolition and its Aftermath: The Historical Context, 1790-1916* (Great Britain: Frank Cass, 1985) 31.

⁵¹ Higman, 230.

worked under the system of self-hire, whereby they made fixed periodic payments to their owners⁵². Slave hucksters sold their goods on the main streets or public markets⁵³.

On the plantation, field slaves (male and female) were organized into regimented work gangs, and worked on average of 280 days per year, under the supervision of a 'slave driver'. Those slaves unable to work in the fields did a variety of chores, such as carrying water and supervising young labourers⁵⁴. Slaves with certain skills such as carpentry or rum distilling were valued more than others, because the sugar business was more dependent on them⁵⁵.

Slaves formed many family types⁵⁶, and continued to maintain networks, which were formed during the voyage to the colony⁵⁷. They were granted plots of land on which to grow subsistence crops, and some of this produce was sold in Sunday markets⁵⁸. Attempts to recreate African cultural traditions formed an integral part of slave identity, even though notions of European-African superiority-inferiority prevented the retention of full African cultures. The process of intermixture changed both European and African cultural traditions⁵⁹. For example, the Creole language, used for communication within the slave community, was English-based, but followed African language grammar and rules⁶⁰.

"Free people of colour" occupied a position between the dominant whites and the black slaves⁶¹. These were ex-slaves who were granted legal freedom (manumission) either by deed granted by a slaveowner as a "gift"; through self-purchase, or through a slaveowner's death

⁵² Higman, 237.

⁵³ Higman, 240.

⁵⁴ Bush, 28.

⁵⁵ B.W. Higman, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807-1834* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1984) 170.

⁵⁶ Marietta Morrissey, *Slave Women in the New World: Gender Stratification in the Caribbean* (Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1989) 88.

⁵⁷ Michael Craton, *Empire, Enslavement, and Freedom in the Caribbean* (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 1997) 150.

⁵⁸ Craton, 155.

⁵⁹ E.K. Braithwaite, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971) 11.

⁶⁰ Craton, 151.

⁶¹ Green, 11.

will⁶². The category of free person also included children from interracial relationships. These children were generally the product of European men and African or Creole women. Miscegenation violated colonial notions of racial slavery, which depended on the maintenance of racial and cultural purity between colonizer and colonized. Concerned with preserving racial differences, English colonial officials employed a complicated and rigid racial code to accommodate the various combinations of racial mixture⁶³. In spite of their insistence of racial differences, interracial children reminded their colonial white fathers of the many ways in which colonizer and colonized were both alike and different.

Free people of colour "occupied an insecure middle ground between the dominant whites and the servile blacks"⁶⁴. All persons of colour were subjected to a variety of civil and political restrictions. They were excluded from juries, they were not allowed to vote for assemblymen, nor could they be elected to the colonial assemblies⁶⁵.

In the plantation-dominated British Guiana, power rested in the hands of European colonists who represented a small minority⁶⁶. In the colony, high government officials, planters and attorneys held the most power. Administrators, such as the Governor, were imperial government appointees and, consequently, they were usually temporary residents of the colony. Resident managers and overseers, who were in charge of the daily operations of the plantation and the management of slaves, were only slightly less influential. The last segment of the white colonial group consisted of the merchants, professionals, clergy and junior government officials⁶⁷.

Although they were diverse in origin, wealth and occupation, white colonists shared a common desire to return "home" to Britain to live on revenues from their plantations. The ideal

⁶² Higman, 383.

⁶³ Green, 11.

⁶⁴ Green, 11.

⁶⁵ Green, 17.

⁶⁶ Moore (1987), 52-61.

of being a temporary resident influenced the internal structure of the European community in two ways. First, British born colonists enjoyed greater prestige within British Guiana than local born Europeans⁶⁸. Secondly, a Euro-West Indian Creole culture emerged as colonial agents struggled to replicate the dominant metropolitan culture, but was forced to alter the culture in order to meet the specific needs of the colony⁶⁹. This Euro-West Indian Creole culture became part of a colonial discourse, which privileged the colonizer's assumptions, beliefs and attitudes within the colony. In order to maintain power, colonial discourse and practices actively perpetuated a violent binary hierarchy of colonizer over the colonized, whites over blacks, civilized over barbarian, and the metropolis over the colony.

But the social relations were not static. Revolts, such as the Demerara Slave Revolts in 1823, demonstrated slaves' ability to plan and protest against imperial authority⁷⁰. Colonial dichotomies, such as ruler/ruled, white/black, civilized/savage, were, indeed, continually subverted and reformulated. Although slavery defined slaves as property, daily contact and dependence upon slaves compelled slaveowners to acknowledge slaves as human beings, and the plantation system remained "fragile" and "contradictory"⁷¹.

The Emancipation Movement in Britain

Although John Lok introduced the first group of Africans to England in 1555, the earliest recorded bill of sale of slaves in England occurred in 1621. From 1650s onwards, as the slave trade flourished the importation of slaves into England steadily increased⁷². In the latter mid eighteenth century, however, theological considerations and new arguments concerning

⁶⁷ Moore (1987), 52-61.

⁶⁸ Moore (1987), 52.

⁶⁹ Orlando Patterson, "Context and Choice in Ethnic Allegiance: A Theoretical Framework and Caribbean Case Study" In N. Glazer and D.P. Moynihan, eds., *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1974) 305-349.

⁷⁰ Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982) 267-290.

⁷¹ Franklin W. Knight. *The Caribbean: The Genesis of a Fragmented Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990) 154.

benevolence and the fundamental rights of man resulted in anti-slavery sentiments⁷³ and condemnation of slavery as an evil⁷⁴ that went against liberty and freedom⁷⁵. Narratives by black slaves such as Equiano challenged the moral and philosophical reasons underpinning slavery, and Philosophers, including Montesquieu, denounced slavery as incompatible with Christian doctrine⁷⁶. Despite pressure put on Parliament by planters, the slave trade was finally abolished. The Act granting complete emancipation in the British West Indies was passed on August 1, 1838⁷⁷.

The Pull of British Guiana - The Emergence of Indentured Immigrants/Labourers

The abolition of slavery was a crisis for the plantation owners, and had a bearing on the indentured labour system that emerged in British Guiana during the post emancipation period that was central to the discourse among colonial authors regarding the Chinese immigrant community. The notions of inclusions and exclusions and the construction of a Chinese identity within British Guiana, which assisted in redefining the colonizer/colonized relationship, is related to this period.

Many newly freed slaves in British Guiana attempted to remove themselves from the plantations to establish households and form free villages. However, drained land was scarce and expensive and, due to the need for money, former slaves had no alternative but to accept to work daily on the sugar estates for low wages, while paying high rent⁷⁸. Although planters prevented slaves from completely divorcing themselves from the estates, they complained that

⁷² Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: Black People in Britain Since 1504* (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1984) 4-32.

⁷³ Roger Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760-1810* (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1975) 96-97.

⁷⁴ David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966) 295.

⁷⁵ James Walvin, *England, Slaves and Freedom, 1776-1838* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1986) 44-45.

⁷⁶ Davis, 394.

⁷⁷ Adamson, 31.

⁷⁸ Douglas Hall, "Flight from the Estate Reconsidered: The British West Indies, 1838-1842," *Journal of Caribbean Studies* Vol. 10/11 (1978): 16-24.

former slave labourers were unreliable, inefficient, and insufficient, and turned to the idea of indentured immigrants as replacement labourers.

Between 1834 and 1867, British Guiana received an additional 14,060 indentured labourers primarily from West Africa (Sierra Leone and Liberia). Besides African labour, planters experimented with various kinds of European immigration schemes. Between 1834-1838, British Guiana planters were able to attract over 1,000 contract labourers from the British Isles, France, Germany, Malta, and Madeira into the colony. In search of labourers, planters also turned to India and China. East Indian indentured labourers constituted the largest group of migrants introduced into nineteenth-century British Guiana. From 1839 to 1918, British Guiana received an official 239, 909 indentured servants from India⁷⁹.

Chinese Indentured Labourers

In comparison to other migrants introduced during the post-slavery period, the Chinese formed a small minority. Between 1853 and 1879, thirty-nine ships transported a total of 13,533 Chinese labourers to the colony⁸⁰. As a result of various immigration schemes, British Guiana emerged as a multi-racial multi-ethnic plantation society.

In addition to abolition of slavery, the Sugar Duties Act passed by the British Parliament in 1846 created a second source of crisis for the West India sugar industry, as it reduced preferential duties on sugar, such that, by 1874, all sugar was entering Britain free of duty. This ended protection for the West Indian unrefined sugar known as muscovado⁸¹.

During this period of economic dislocation, a series of amalgamations among West Indian merchant houses replaced small individual planters, and, in British Guiana, the number of

⁷⁹ Moore (1987) 42-45.

⁸⁰ Moore (1987) 42-45.

⁸¹ Phillip Curtin, "Sugar Duties and West Indian Prosperity," *Journal of Economic History* (Spring 1954): 159.

all estates declined from 404 in 1838 to 135 in 1870⁸². The establishment of large estates and sugar factories such as those by McConnell and Co., brought more acreage under cultivation and altered the character of the plantation system, and the consolidation of estates under non-resident merchant ownership after 1846 introduced commercial approach to estate production⁸³. With the introduction of the steam engine, and with improved capital and technological innovation, British Guiana emerged as the premier sugar-producing county in the British West Indies⁸⁴.

Thus, introduction of indentured servants, combined with capital investments in the sugar industry, enabled the plantations of British Guiana to, not only survive, but also to thrive. It is the way the Chinese labourers during this post emancipation period were characterized by colonial writers such as Cecil Clementi and Henry Kirke that this paper explores.

The Push in Qing China

Although official Qing policy forbade the emigration of its subjects, the region's ports, such as Wenzhou, and Chaozhou continued to support interregional and overseas trade⁸⁵. Primarily a male activity, emigrants leaving to trade or to supplement the family income, expected to return to their families and natal villages to perform rites and rituals⁸⁶. However, the arrival at various southern Chinese ports of European traders, intent on establishing trade relations, led to the emergence of a new pattern of long-distance out-migration away from the region.

The Portuguese arrived in 1514, the Spanish in 1575, the Dutch in 1604, and the British in 1635. The Qing dynasty (1644-1911) attempted to restrict Europeans to designated areas. During Emperor Qianlong's reign (1736-95), the Canton System (1760-1842), whereby

⁸² Richard Lobell, "Patterns of Investment and Sources of Credit in the British West Indian Sugar Industry, 1838-1897," *Journal of Caribbean History* Vol.4 (1972): 32.

⁸³ Lobell, 32.

⁸⁴ Lobell, 33.

⁸⁵ Susan Naquin and Evelyn Rawski, *Chinese Society in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987) 168.

Europeans were only permitted to trade on a temporary basis in a designated area was implemented⁸⁷. However overseas trade, especially British demand for Chinese silks, porcelain and tea proved extraordinary⁸⁸. With the Chinese loss of the opium wars and the subsequent Treaty of Nanking (1842), that ceded the island of Hong Kong to Britain, Western traders were finally permitted to trade and reside the ports of Guangzhou, Xiamen, Fuzhou, Ningbo, and Shanghai⁸⁹.

In the meantime, domestic unrest due to long-term domestic economic and political problems, including a population explosion between 1800 and 1850, led to socio-economic tensions that acted as a "Push" factor to the Chinese people to opt for long distance migration. Between 1847 and 1874 approximately 1.5 million Chinese emigrated, of which 17,185 went to the British Caribbean⁹⁰. It can be seen from the above that, while coolie trade and the need for indentured labourers in British Guiana acted as the "Pull" factor, the socio-economic circumstances in Qing China acted as the "Push" factor.

The Chinese Coolie Trade to British Guiana

The Chinese coolie trade, which occurred between 1845 and 1874, was intended to replace the African slave trade with contract Chinese labourers⁹¹, and the newly opened treaty ports allowed foreign merchants to operate the coolie agency system. Foreign merchants paid

⁸⁶ Wang Gungwu, *The Chinese Overseas: From Earthbound China to the Quest for Autonomy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000) 39-64.

⁸⁷ Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1990) 120.

⁸⁸ Lloyd Eastman, *Family, Fields, and Ancestors: Constancy and Change in China's Social and Economic History, 1550-1949* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988) 128.

⁸⁹ Spence, 159-160.

⁹⁰ P.C. Emmer, "Immigration into the Caribbean: The Introduction of Chinese and East Indian Indentured Labourers Between 1839-1917" In P.C. Emmer, Ed. *Colonialism and Migration: Indentured Labour Before and After Slavery* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1986) 67.

⁹¹ Robert Irick, *Ch'ing Policy Toward the Coolie Trade 1847-1878* (San Francisco: Chinese Material Center, 1982) pp.2-3.

brokers commission on the number of labourers supplied, set up receiving stations, and arranged for overseas shipment⁹².

As a result of competition among European interests for labourers and the profits to be made, many subordinate brokers used force to procure individuals for the trade. They often used deceptive information about contracts and work conditions to lure emigrants to the barracoons and to make them agree to contracts. Unemployed labourers were often deceived about job opportunities in the coastal areas and lured to receiving stations, confined, and shipped abroad against their will. Gambling games designed to encourage individuals to wager their freedom also proved effective. Some labourers were sold to agents referred to as 'crimps' by family members and/or friends⁹³.

At the receiving stations, labourers were locked away in poorly ventilated and cramped conditions until embarkment, and were required to pay for their own room and board from the advancement they received from the broker after their contracts were signed. Violence was also used to ensure that labourers responded "yes" to working abroad, if questioned by any officials⁹⁴. During the passage, labourers were overcrowded and confined below decks, and many were flogged, kicked, or struck arbitrarily. Mutiny and drowning in shipwrecks also resulted in death en route⁹⁵.

Despite attempts to regulate the abuses, the coolie system persisted. Between the years 1868 and 1872, news about the conditions/treatment of labourers succeeded in arousing international public opinion against the coolie trade. Parallels were drawn between the coolie trade and the slave trade, as stories of abuse, brutality and death before and during the voyages

⁹² Wang Sing-Wu, *The Organization of Chinese Emigration 1848-1888* (San Francisco: Chinese Material Center, Inc., 1978), pp.47-56.

⁹³ Wang, 56-64.

⁹⁴ Yen, 59-60.

⁹⁵ Wang, 165-208.

reached the international press ⁹⁶. Concerned about growing anti-coolie trade sentiments within their own countries, Britain and the United States also feared that anger directed towards the coolie trade could erupt into anti-foreign sentiments within the Qing Empire. Aware of the anti-coolie trade climate, the Qing government renewed anti-coolie measures in several provinces, and local Qing authorities used all available methods to punish coolie brokers, and to cut off the supply of coolies. Unable to procure labourers the abolition of the coolie trade ban came into effect on March 27, 1874⁹⁷. The British West India Emigration Agency was finally closed down on June 4, 1875, in the wake of growing public opinion against abuses occurring within the international coolie trade.

Indentureship Within British Guiana

Between 1852 and 1884, fifty coolie ships landed a total of 17,904 Chinese labourers into the British West Indies. Thirty-nine ships brought 13,633 indentured labourers into British Guiana⁹⁸. Encouraged by the practice of providing emigrants with a stipend for any accompanying wives, between 1853 and 1879, approximately 1,998 females entered the colony⁹⁹.

Upon their arrival in the colony, Chinese labourers were assigned to various plantations to fulfill their terms of the contract. The actual contracts of indenture varied. In 1853, all labourers were required to complete five years of indentureship. In 1859, the contracts were amended to allow labourers to buy themselves out of indenture after three years of service. In 1860, the period of indenture was reduced to only one year. However in 1862, all contracts returned to the full five years of work¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁶ Yen, 116-117.

⁹⁷ Yen, 120-122.

⁹⁸ Lai, 18-40.

⁹⁹ Lai, 69.

How Colonial Narrative Constructed Identity During Post-Emancipation British Guiana (1833-1900):

A Comparison of Cecil Clementi's *The Chinese in British Guiana* and Henry Kirke's *Twenty-five Years in British Guiana, 1872-1897*

Cecil Clementi's *The Chinese in British Guiana*

Born on September 1, 1875, Cecil Clementi was the eldest son of Captain Montagu Clementi and Isabel Collard. He belonged to the First Bengal Calvary and later served as Colonel and Judge Advocate-General in India, and distinguished himself as a colonial administrator and traveler. Clementi was posted to Hong Kong in 1899, where he served as land and police magistrate between 1903-1906. In 1907, he journeyed from Andijian to Kowloon, and published a *Summary of Geographical Observations* (1911). He was appointed Colonial Secretary of British Guiana from 1913 until 1922. In 1915, he made an exploratory journey into the colony's interior, mapping a route from Kaieteur Falls to the summit of Mount Roraima, near the Brazil-Venezuela border. His account was published in *Geographical Journal*, and recorded in Mrs. Clementi's *Through British Guiana to the Summit of Roraima* (1920). As colonial secretary, Clementi published one of the few studies concerned with recording the early Chinese immigrant experience. *The Chinese in British Guiana* (1915) was written to encourage the growth of British sponsored emigration from China into the colony.

Cecil Clementi's *The Chinese in British Guiana* offers a unique point of entry into the process of constructing identity during the post-slavery period. Acting as the Colonial Secretary of British Guiana and writing on behalf of the empire, Clementi's account represents a system of statements within which the colonial world of British Guiana was imagined and re-imagined. As part of a larger post-emancipation imperial discourse, certain unarticulated rules, proscriptions, and assumptions dictated what statements Clementi could include or exclude concerning the

¹⁰⁰ Lai, 60.

Chinese immigrants. This thesis draws deliberate attention to the manner in which rules, proscriptions, and assumptions organized social reproduction within the colonial relationship.

This thesis argues that Clementi's *The Chinese in British Guiana* contributed to a larger imperial discourse that sought to:

- 1) distance itself from the horrors of the slave trade and slavery
- 2) continue the commercial exploitation of nineteenth-century West Indian society
- 3) define and justify indentureship as both a moral and civilizing mission
- 4) re-assert the colonizer/colonized relationship (Clementi's narrative constructed the Chinese immigrant as an "ideal" immigrant who embraced the sugar plantation of British Guiana).

In *The Chinese in British Guiana*, which was submitted to the British Colonial Office, Clementi argued that, as labourers and settlers, the Chinese immigrants had an innate ability to prosper:

One of the most striking features of Chinese immigration into British Guiana is the success which has attended some of the immigrants, who are now among the prominent residents in the Colony. All of them are self-made men and owe the positions they have achieved to the industry, shrewdness, pertinacity and audacity in business enterprise, which are the common heritage of their race...[I'm able] to give an account of a half-a-dozen of the most notable of these Chinese families, whose record is ...valuable as showing the rewards, which in this Colony await those who know how to make the most of their opportunities¹⁰¹.

The image of sugar plantations being cultivated by "successful" Chinese labourers, who were industrious, by nature, was not a new theme in colonial literature. Indeed, William Layman, a captain of the Royal Navy who had served in both the East and West Indies, submitted a plan to the Colonial Office in 1802 to substitute Chinese labourers for African slaves¹⁰². Laymen argued that the Chinese would be superior workers because they were "inured to a hot climate, and were habitually industrious, sober, peaceable, frugal, and eminently skilled in the culture and preparation of every article of tropical produce"¹⁰³. Layman calculated that

¹⁰¹ Clementi, 333.

¹⁰² The *Fortitude* arrived in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, on October 12, 1806 with 192 Chinese labourers. By 1807, only twenty-four individuals lived on the plantation, seven had died, and the rest were housed in special settlements. In July of the same year, sixty-one Chinese labourers returned to Bengal or China. Between 1809 and 1820, official accounts record that no more than thirty emigrants remained on the island. B.W. Higman. "The Chinese in Trinidad, 1806-1838", *Caribbean Studies* 12:3 (1972): 21-44.

¹⁰³ Higman (1972), 22.

100 Chinese workers could easily produce the same quantity of sugar as 250 African slaves. Proponents of the substitution plan argued that the Chinese labourer would thrive in the tropics, unlike the African slave who was lazy by nature.

It was further argued that, as the Chinese community developed, the industrious among them would "form a material part of the population, distinct from the slaves, and from their general character of subordination. They would always be disposed to resist and discourage attempts at insurrection"¹⁰⁴. Apart from acting as replacement labourers, they would also act as a barrier between the local white colonial elite and their former slaves. However, due to the continuation of the slave trade, the idea of importing more Chinese labourers was not actively pursued.

The anticipated end of the slave trade, however, led West India planters to review the subject of Chinese coolie-emigration. In 1811, a Committee of the British House of Commons, appointed to consider "the practicability and expedience of supplying our West India colonies with free labourers from the East," reported:

- (1) that there prevailed amongst the male population of China a great disposition to emigrate; but that they almost universally emigrated with the intention of returning to their own country, and that a considerable number did actually return
- (2) that the Chinese Emigrants had uniformly conducted themselves with greatest propriety and order, and had been peculiarly instrumental in promoting the improvement of those countries to which they had emigrated
- (3) that such emigration, however, was contrary to the laws of China; although its existence implied that those laws were not strictly enforced¹⁰⁵.

The Committee agreed that the West Indies would benefit from "the introduction of a class of free people so distinguished by their orderly and industrious habits"¹⁰⁶.

The above sentiments were later reiterated by James White, the emigration agent for British Guiana in Calcutta, who traveled to Guangdong and Fujian to investigate the feasibility

¹⁰⁴ Higman (1972), 22-23.

¹⁰⁵ Clementi, 2.

¹⁰⁶ Clementi, 3.

of importing labourers to the British West Indies. White reported that the Chinese were "strong, active and intelligent, disposed to work and to make money"¹⁰⁷.

Reconceptualized within the context of nineteenth-century colonial relations, Clementi continued to portray the Chinese labourer as a "successful" immigrant. Specifically, *The Chinese in British Guiana* connected "success" with the degree of "respectability" achieved by the Chinese immigrant. After the abolition of slavery rendered all peoples in the colony legally free, the concept of "respectability" emerged as a salient marker that ordered colonial relations. Respectability built upon the notion that "whites were, by definition, respectable"¹⁰⁸. To be considered respectable, immigrants needed to emulate British culture, behavior, manners and values. Thus,

A white person, excluding the Portuguese who were not 'sociologically white' in this period, would have to do something very shocking to lose his respectable status. With non-whites, on the other hand, the onus was on them to prove their respectability¹⁰⁹.

To be considered respectable, all non-British peoples needed to demonstrate a command of European manners and culture. For Clementi, "to make the most of their opportunities," meant that the Chinese indentured servants both accepted and adopted British culture and mannerisms as part of their personal belief system¹¹⁰.

As an example of immigrant success, Clementi records the life of John Ho-A-Shoo who entered the colony in 1875 as an indentured immigrant.

Ho Shau...was born at San-wui in the province of Kuangtung in or about the year 1852, and landed in Georgetown from the Corona on the 23rd February, 1874, as an indentured immigrant. He was sent to Plantation Bel Air to serve the term of his contract; and while there, he not only embraced Christianity, but became so earnest a believer that he went abroad with the Reverend Lau Fuk, a minister sent to this Colony by an American Society of Plymouth Brethren, endeavouring to make converts...he was instrumental in inducing many of his countrymen to become Christians. After completing his term of indenture, Ho A-Shoo went to Hyde Park...where he served as a shopman. He was thus engaged for several years; and having accumulated a small sum of money, he went to Plantation Versailles on the left bank of the river,

¹⁰⁷ Clementi, 24.

¹⁰⁸ Bridget Bereton, *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad 1870-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) 211.

¹⁰⁹ Bereton, 211.

¹¹⁰ Clementi, 333.

and there started a small shop of his own, which must have done well, for next we find him at Plantation Dunoon on the Demerara River, then the sugar estate. Under his able management the business prospered and Ho A-Shoo was on the high road to success. He had a full measure of Chinese enterprise: and it was therefore, without much difficulty that the manager of the Barima Gold Mines persuaded him to open another business at Arakaka in the year 1894...the business once started, turned out to be a veritable gold mine; and, encouraged by this success, Ho A-shoo immediately set about opening shops in other gold-bearing districts, and, being almost the first in the field, he reaped a rich harvest¹¹¹.

Ho A-shoo represents an "ideal" immigrant who not only completed the required term of indenture, but also remained involved in the sugar plantations and converted to Christianity. Clementi upheld Ho A-shoo's active participation in converting other Chinese immigrants as further proof that the colony of British Guiana was both economically and spiritually rich. In Clementi's portrayal of the plantation, the estate is tied to a moral and civilizing mission, which the immigrant readily accepts. In addition, Ho A-shoo demonstrated allegiance to the local elite culture by practicing a monogamous marriage and encouraging his children to obtain a British education:

He had while a young man, married Miss Wong Fung-kiu, who bore him eight children. The eldest, A-sin, a daughter, was born in 1886 at Plantation Dunoon. At the age of ten she became a pupil at Trinity School, where, she remained for two years, after which she attended the Ursuline Convent from 1898 to 1905, when having passed the Cambridge senior examination, she accompanied her father to England and became a student at Nuneham College, Cambridge...In 1911, she became a Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, and a year later a Licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons. She also obtained the Dublin University's diploma for public health and is a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons¹¹².

Clementi also writes about a brother Hung-yan who was at the time also studying at the University of Edinburgh as an agricultural student¹¹³. The education of both sons and daughters brought equal praise in Clementi's work.

Another aspect of the colonial conception of "successful" Chinese is illustrated by Clementi's history of the Chinese village known as the Hopetown Settlement (1865-1914), which was started by Wu Tai-kam, a Chinese, born in Singapore. From England, the Church of Missionary Society paid for his passage to British Guiana to serve as the first missionary among

¹¹¹ Clementi, 333-334.

¹¹² Clementi, 335.

the Chinese. Shortly after his arrival, in July 1864, Wu Tai-kam succeeded in forming a small congregation of Chinese Christians, and quickly gained a reputation among the colonial elite as a man deeply devoted to the mission of creating a Christian community and as the unofficial leader of the Chinese community. Impressed by Wu Tai-Kam's efforts in the Chinese community, Governor Hincks encouraged him to petition the Court of Policy for a grant of Crown Land in order to establish a permanent Chinese community, arguing that the settlement would encourage immigrants who had completed their indenture to remain in the colony. Despite planter class opposition, in 1865 the British Guiana's Court of Policy adopted the proposal to establish a village of Chinese Christians on a suitable tract of crown land¹¹⁴. According to Clementi the Hopetown settlement exceeded initial expectations:

By December 1865, about 170 persons had settled there, all actively employed ...These settlers were selected from among an unusually fine set of Chinese immigrants...who were indentured originally to Plantation Skeldon. They were mostly Christian converts. A store was opened at Hopetown and a shop at Georgetown at the former of which at the latter, charcoal, singles, and the various products of the industry settlers were sold...Governor Hincks reported to the Colonial Office on the 18th December, 1865, that the project...was an "acknowledged success"¹¹⁵.

The settlement eventually disintegrated due to a sex scandal and sudden departure of Wu Tai-kam, and as a result of flooding that made cultivation difficult¹¹⁶.

The Chinese in British Guiana represents an attempt to organize, order and assert power over the colonized space of British Guiana. Writing about Ho A-shoo and the Hopetown Settlement, Clementi becomes the authority over the Chinese experience in the colony. Through his gaze, both the individual and the community is defined. Clementi as author is able to conceal and exclude knowledge about the Chinese community that contradicted or challenged imperial hegemony. In this manner, colonial discourse operates as an instrument of colonial power.

¹¹³ Clementi, 335-336.

¹¹⁴ Clementi, 287.

¹¹⁵ Clementi, 290-291.

¹¹⁶ Clementi, 195.

One of Clementi's concealment is his lack of detail regarding the system of indenture. *The Chinese in British Guiana* claims that the Chinese in the colony were excellent plantation workers, however, his report secrets the oppressive labour practices built into the system. Although the term "indentured servant" suggests a contractual arrangement (a civil contract), in reality, any violations of the terms of contract were subject to penal sanctions (either fine or imprisonment by local magistrates). As in the times of slavery, the partiality of the magistrates towards the planter class made justice difficult to obtain for the indentured servant. In light of these conditions, most labourers were forced to endure long and arduous hours of plantation work.

Turning specifically to the theme of "Chinese as respectable", Clementi denies all evidence, which might discount the moral and civilizing mission of the plantation. Although Clementi argued that the Chinese community embraced Christianity, he assumes that the adoption of Christianity meant the complete abandonment of Chinese cosmology. Clementi's work is silent on how the immigrants accommodated Christianity to their own culture. Although many Chinese labourers adopted the Anglican faith, religious activities and texts were conducted in a Chinese dialect. The lack of Chinese sources makes it difficult to ascertain how many viewed the Anglican faith as necessary for improved living conditions. How the community might have maintained their Chinese traditions and practices remains concealed.

While Clementi demonstrated how the Chinese community adopted the local Victorian culture, the text excludes issues concerning cultural accommodation with other immigrant groups. For example, in Clementi's account, all Chinese men married Chinese women. However, the colony experienced a shortage of Chinese women. Unlike areas of Southeast Asia, the distance and cost of travel did not allow for the importation of young women by the community. This would leave Chinese men with the choice of bachelorhood or marrying/co-habiting with non-Chinese women.

In fact, Clementi's work omits all references of Chinese labourers interacting with former slaves, Amerindians, Portuguese, or East Indians. The only relationship that holds importance is that of the colonizer and colonized. Implicit in this binary relationship is isolation. Clementi's writings reflect the colonial desire to keep all colonized subjects alienated from one another. However, the demise of Hopetown and the fall of Wu Tai Kam, who had an affair with a colored woman, locate the underlying weakness within the policy of isolation.

As part of a colonial discourse, *The Chinese in British Guiana* is never as consistent and confident as Clementi implies. His assertions of an ideal Chinese community prospering within a moral plantation society are ultimately revealed as false by Clementi's own conclusions. Clementi is forced to admit

Why then, have the attempts so far to introduce Chinese immigrants into this colony failed of success? For, although there is little doubt that from the point of view of the planters the Chinese immigration into British Guiana was not a failure, and that the estates' authorities were well repaid in the work done on sugar plantations for the cost of importing Chinese labourers, nevertheless an experiment, which during the course of twenty-seven years introduces 14,000 immigrants with the results that thirty-two years later no less than 3,000 remain, must from the point of view of colonization be pronounced to have failed¹¹⁷.

If the plantation was indeed a place in which an individual could make the "most of an opportunity" where had all the Chinese indentured servants gone?

Henry Kirke's *Twenty-five Years in British Guiana*

Henry Kirke's *Twenty-five Years in British Guiana* constructs an alternative narrative about the early Chinese community in the colony. Born in 1842. Kirke's recollections of British Guiana draw from his experiences as Sheriff of Demerara from 1872 to 1897. Intended for popular consumption in Britain, Kirke's memoirs record the life and habits of peoples living in the colony of British Guiana. Like Clementi, Kirke's account about the early Chinese

¹¹⁷ Clementi, 356-357.

community reveals tension and ambivalence between the colonized Chinese subject and the dominant discourse.

Contrary to Clementi's assertions of "good Chinese agricultural labourers," Kirke wrote,

owing to the duplicity of the Chinese government and the rascality of the native sub-agents, instead of agricultural labourers, the emigrant ships were in many cases filled up with the off scouring of Canton-gaol-birds, sturdy beggars, loafers, and vagabonds¹¹⁸.

Moreover, Kirke reveals that many Chinese immigrants deserted the plantations. In contrast to Clementi's "Chinese as model minority", Kirke's illustrates how some labourers attempted to resist the controls of the planter class:

Some joined...their countrymen, who had settled on one of the numerous creeks...others took to peddling, rum smuggling, illicit distillation, keeping gambling houses and brothels; whilst the worst among them returned to their former occupations of burglary, robbery, and petty larceny¹¹⁹.

Kirke connects the high rate of desertion among the Chinese to their lack of moral character.

As opposed to Clementi's account, whereby group cohesion is built on the Anglican faith and the absorption of British culture and manners, Kirke's description suggests a Chinese community united in defiance of the plantation regime. The community's lawless behavior suggests that the Chinese immigrants may ultimately be beyond the control of colonial authority.

Kirke's *Twenty-Five Years in British Guiana* is also instructive because colonial notions of race, class, colour, and caste informs his stories. His colonial discourse represents the Chinese as "exotic", a theme that included the body, food, and language. For instance Kirke states,

The Chinese are so much alike in features that it is difficult to distinguish one man from another; so when they deserted from the estates it was difficult to identify and address them¹²⁰.

Kirke's insistence that all Chinese looked alike, but were indistinguishable to the European eye, emphasized the biological difference between the colonized and the colonizer. By constructing the "Chinese as exotic", the reader is never allowed to forget that, although the colonized subjects behaved as "proper Englishmen", they were still biologically "Chinese Englishmen".

¹¹⁸ Henry Kirke, *Twenty-five Years in British Guiana* (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company, 1898) 207.

¹¹⁹ Kirke, 207

¹²⁰ Kirke, 216.

Consequently, the construction of the "Chinese as exotic" always threatened the degree of European civilization that a Chinese might have achieved. For example,

I dined and slept at the house of a Chinese gentleman...He was a pleasant, jovial person, and as he understood some English we were able to converse together. He gave me an excellent dinner-tannia soup, roast capon, cold tea, and excellent brandy (Hennessy's XXX). His wife was a jolly, moon-faced woman, with enormous jade earrings, and his children were fat as butter. Thanking him for his hospitality, I expressed as a wish that the next time I dined with him young roast dog might be one of the dishes. He seemed rather angry at the suggestions. "No good Chinees eat bow-wow; bad Chineeman, he eat bow-wow"¹²¹.

Although the Chinese man served acceptable soup accompanied by an appropriate drink, Kirke ensures that the reader never feels that he and the Chinese family are equals. After sharing a meal with the unnamed Chinese family, Kirke's reference to eating dog on his next visit was an attempt to return the Chinese host back to the inferior position of a colonized subject. Hence, Kirke's construction of the "Chinese as exotic" re-inserts the fundamental binary structure of colonized/colonizer back into the imperial discourse. The hierarchical relationship between Kirke and the unnamed Chinese man is also reinforced through language and text. "No good Chinees eat bow-wow, bad Chinees, he eat bow-wow" is the only place in which the Chinese immigrant speaks in Kirke's narrative. Although the Chinese man is attempting to demonstrate his mastery of the imperial culture, within the text he is subjected to ridicule because he is unable to express himself in the Queen's/Kirke's English. For Kirke, there is a desire to maintain the separation between white civilized and non-white savage. To Kirke, the idea that a non-white is capable of adopting British markers of respectability is ridiculous:

One of the most touching incidents of colonial life is the universal use of the word "home" amongst all classes of the community, when speaking of England. A colonist ...always says he is "going home". In his conversations he always talks of "home" "When I was last at home." "They do these things differently at home." "What's the news from home?"...This assumes a somewhat ludicrous aspect when you hear these phrases from the mouths of black and coloured people, who, in many cases, have never even visited any parts of Europe¹²².

Desperate, Kirke feels the need to justify to himself and his readers back home why he is eating in the home of a wealthy colonized subject. In other words, in Kirke's narrative, there is an

¹²¹ Kirke, 216.

urgent need to mask the inevitable dependence of the colonizer upon the existence of the colonial other.

In spite of his own misgivings about the Chinese community in British Guiana, Kirke anxiously amends his observations by stating,

I think it is only fair to say that the present Chinese inhabitants of British Guiana are most worthy, law-abiding people, giving little trouble to police or magistrate; industrious, truthful, and honest, they make most excellent citizens. A Chinaman will try to overreach you in a bargain, but once the bargain is made he will always stick to it with the utmost fidelity. Many of the Chinese have become Christians, and excellent converts they are. They have built and maintain churches of their own in Georgetown and New Amsterdam, pay their catechists, and are always ready to subscribe to any Christian charity. I am no great believer in missionary enterprise; I am sure every honest Christian in the colony will confess that the attempt to convert the Hindoo and Mahomedan immigrants to Christianity has been an utter failure. But although a captious critic, I am bound to confess that the Chinese converts, in my opinion, are earnest, believing Christians¹²³.

Considering his other comments about the Chinese labourer, how can Kirke reach the above conclusions? For Kirke, the Chinese labourer in comparison to the East Indian indentured servant is far more accepting of colonial rule, manners, and social conventions.

Conclusion

It can be concluded that, in order to justify the importation of Chinese indentured servants for the plantations, after emancipation, colonial narratives masked the underlying exploitation of the immigrants with projections of the plantation as a colonial space ideal for civilizing the colonized subject. While Clementi constructed an idealized indentured labourer who not only survived, but also thrived within the plantation society, Kirke's narrative reveals uncertainty about the Chinese immigrant. Kirke remains suspicious of all attempts made by the Chinese labourer to emulate the colonizing culture. For Kirke, the exotic Chinese worker must

¹²² Kirke, 52.

¹²³ Kirke, 212.

always be carefully policed and watched. As in the times of slavery, the interdependence between colonizer/colonized during colonial encounters created many ambiguous spaces.

What can we conclude about the early Chinese community living in British Guiana? I initially began this project with this simple question. But like all simple questions, the answer proved to be much more complex. Without source materials from the Chinese labourers themselves (which I have found none to date), the academic task of revisiting and interrogating the colonial past relies solely on colonial archives. As Said suggest, imperial textuality itself is deeply involved in the project of imagining, translating, containing and managing the colonial "other". Thus, colonial textuality produces "the other/ the Chinese/ the colony of British Guiana" as colonials.

Nevertheless, this project uncovers a discourse uncertain about the colonial project. For Bhabha, the above ambivalence reveals the degree to which the colonizers' identity is in fact fractured and destabilized by the colonized other. Clementi and Kirke's mixed modes of representation concerning the Chinese in British Guiana expose the colonial project as one fraught by anxieties and fears.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adamson, Alan. *Sugar Without Slaves: The Political Economy of British Guiana, 1838-1904*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972.
- Anstey, Roger. *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760-1810*. New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1975.
- Beckford, George. *Persistent Poverty: Underdevelopment in Plantation Economies of the Third World*. London: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Bell, Wendell and Walter Freeman Eds. *Ethnicity and Nation-Building: Comparative, International and Historical perspectives*. Beverly Hill: Sage Publication, 1974.
- Benn, Denis. "The Theory of Plantation Economy and Society: A Methodological Critique." *Journal of Commonwealth Comparative Politics*, xii 3 (1974): 256-258.
- Bereton, Bridget. *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad, 1870-1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- Bhabha, Homi. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Braithwaite, Lloyd. "Social Stratification and Cultural Pluralism". In Horowitz, Michael Ed. *Peoples and Cultures of the Caribbean: An Anthropological Reader*. New York: The Natural History Press, 1971.
- Brathwaite, E.K. *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Bush, Barbara. "Toward Emancipation: Slave Women and Resistance to Coercive Labour Regimes in the British West Indian Colonies, 1790-1838". In Richardson, David Ed. *Abolition and its Aftermath: The Historical Context, 1790-1916* (Great Britain: Frank Cass, 1985).
- Clementi, Cecil. *The Chinese in British Guiana*. Georgetown: Argosy, 1915.
- Craton, Michael, James Walvin and David Wright, Eds. *Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation: Black Slaves and the British Empire*. London: Longman Group Limited, 1976.
- Craton, Michael, James Walvin and David Wright. "Emancipation". In Craton, Michael, James Walvin and David Wright, Eds. (1976).
- Craton, Michael, James Walvin and David Wright. "Abolition". In Craton, Michael, James Walvin and David Wright, Eds. (1976).
- Craton, Michael. *Empire, Enslavement, and Freedom in the Caribbean*. Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 1997.
- Craton, Michael. *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982.

Curtin, Phillip. "Sugar Duties and West Indian Prosperity." *Journal of Economic History* (Spring 1954):159.

Davis, David Brion. *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966.

Despres, Leo. "Anthropological Theory, Cultural Pluralism, and the Study of Complex Societies." *Current Anthropology* 9:1 (1968), p.15.

Despres, Leo. *Cultural Pluralism and Nationalist Politics in British Guiana*. Chicago: Ran McNally Ress, 1967.

Dupuy, Alex. "Race and Class in the Postcolonial Caribbean: The Views of Walter Rodney." *Latin American Perspectives* 89:23 (1996): 114.

Eastman, Lloyd. *Family, Fields and Ancestors: Constancy and Change in China's Social and Economic History, 1550-1949*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Emmer, P.C. "Immigration into the Caribbean: The Introduction of Chinese and East Indian Indentured Labourers Between 1839-1917". In Emmer, P.C., Ed. *Colonialism and Migration: Indentured Labour Before and After Slavery*. (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1986) 67.

Emmer, P.C. Ed. *Colonialism and Migration: Indentured Labour Before and After Slavery*. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1986.

Engerman, Stanley. "Servants to Slaves to Servants: Contract Labour and European Expansion". In" Emmer, P.C. Ed. *Colonialism and Migration: Indentured Labour Before and After Slavery*. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1986

Engerman, Stanley. "The Slave Trade and British Capital Formation in the Eighteenth Century: A Comment on the Williams Thesis." *Business History Review* vol. 46 (1972): 441- 442.

Foucault, Michel. "Orders of Discourse: Inaugural Lecture Delivered at the College de France." *Social Science Information*. 10:2 (1971): 7-30.

Fryer, Peter. *Staying Power: Black People in Britain Since 1504*. New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1984.

Furnivall, J.S. *Colonial Policy and Practice: A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India*. New York: New York University Press, 1956.

Glazer, N and D.P. Moynihan Eds. *Ethnicity: Theory an Experience*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974.

Green, William. *British Slave Emancipation: The Sugar Colonies and the Great Experiment 1830-1865*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.

Hall, Douglas. "Flight from the Estate Reconsidered: The British West Indies, 1838-1842." *Journal of Caribbean Studies* 10:11 (1978): 16-24.

Higman, B. W. *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807-1834*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1984.

Higman, B.W. "The Chinese in Trinidad, 1806-1838." *Journal of Caribbean Studies* 12:3 (1972): 21-44

Horowitz, Michael, Ed. *Peoples and Cultures of the Caribbean: An Anthropological Reader*. New York: The Natural History Press, 1971.

Irick, Robert. *Ch'ing Policy Toward the Coolie Trade, 1847-1878*. San Francisco: Chinese Material Center, 1982.

Kirke, Henry. *Twenty-five Years in British Guiana*. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company, 1898.

Knight, Franklin W. *The Caribbean: The Genesis of a Fragmented Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Lai, Walton Look. *Indentured Labor, Caribbean Sugar*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1993.

Lobell, Richard. "Patterns of Investment and Sources of Credit in the British West Indian Sugar Industry, 1838-1897." *Journal of Caribbean History* 4 (1972): 32.

Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat, *L'Esprit des Lois*. London edition bk XI, chap. 6. ed. J.V. Prichard and trans. by Thomas Nugent, 1878.

Mintz Sidney. "The Plantation as a Socio-cultural Type". In The Research Institute for the Study of Man and the Pan American Union. *Plantation Systems of the New World* (A Joint Publication). Washington D.C. 1959. 46.

Moore, Brian. *Cultural Power, Resistance and Pluralism*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995.

Moore, Brian. *Race, Power and Social Segmentation in Colonial Society*. New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1987.

Naquin, Susan and Evelyn Rawski. *Chinese Society in the Eighteenth Century* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987.

Patterson, Orlando. "Context and Choice in Ethnic Allegiance: A Theoretical Framework and Caribbean Case Study". In N. Glazer and D.P. Moynihan, Eds. *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1974, pp.305-349.

Patterson, Orlando. *The Sociological of Slavery: An Analysis of the Origins, Development and Structure of Negro Slave Society in Jamaica*. Great Britain: MacGibbon & Kee, 1967.

Rex, John and David Mason Eds. *Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Rex, John. "The Role of Class Analysis". In Rex, John and David Mason Eds. *Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations*. Cambridge University Press, 1986. 70.

Rex, John. *Race and Ethnicity*. England: open University Press, 1986.

Richardson, David Ed. *Abolition and its Aftermath: The Historical Context, 1790-1916*. Great Britain: Frank Cass Publishers, 1985.

Rodney, Walter. *A History of the Guyanese Working Class People, 1881-1905*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1981.

Rubin, Vera, Ed. *Caribbean Studies: A Symposium*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1960.

Smith, M.G. *The Plural Society in the British West Indies*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965.

Smith, Raymond. *British Guiana*. London: Oxford University Press, 1962.

Smith, Raymond. *Kinship and Class in the West Indies: a Genealogical Study of Jamaica and Guyana*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Spence, Jonathan. *Search for Modern China*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1990.

Tannenbaum, Frank. "Discussion". In Rubin Vera Ed. *Caribbean Studies: A Symposium*. Seattle: University of Washington, 1960, p.61.

The Research Institute for the Study of Man and the Pan American Union. *Plantation Systems of the New World* (Joint Publication, Washington 1959).

Thompson, Edgar. "The Plantation as a Social System". In *Plantation Systems of the New World: (A Joint Publication of the Research Institute for the Study of Man and the Pan American Union)* Washington 1959, p.27.

Wagley, Charles. "Plantation America: A Culture Sphere". In *Caribbean Studies: A Symposium*. Vera Rubin, Ed., Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1960, p.5.

Walvin, James. *England, Slaves and Freedom, 1776-1838*. London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1986.

Wang, Gungwu. *The Chinese Overseas: From Earthbound China to the Quest for Autonomy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Wang, Sing-Wu. *The Organization of Chinese Emigration 1848-1888*. San Francisco: Chinese Material Center, Inc., 1978.

Williams, Eric. "Race Relations in Caribbean Society". In Vera Rubin Ed., *Caribbean Studies: A Symposium*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1960. 54.

Williams, Eric. *Capitalism and Slavery*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944.

Yen, Ching-Hwang. *Coolies and Mandarins: China's Protection of Overseas Chinese During the Late Ch'ing Period (1851-1911)*. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1985.