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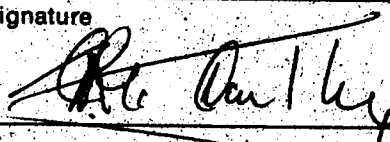

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE IMPERIALIST MOTIVE IN THE INTRODUCTION OF POPULAR EDUCATION IN BARBADOS, 1833-1876

by

(C) Cameron R. McCarthy

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

in

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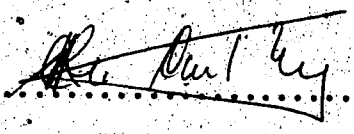

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.....
Supervisor

.....

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Date December 14, 1982

This thesis is dedicated

to the Barbados Union of Teachers

and to Kai who showed us

the way.

ABSTRACT

Popular education in Barbados was set in motion by the Imperial Government's Negro Education Grant to her Negro colonies in the 1830s, and had more or less reached a stage of consolidation by the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Two central questions emerge from the literature which discusses these educational developments in nineteenth century Barbados: was educational expansion from metropolitan centres in Imperial England to her dependent colony after the abolition of slavery in 1833 motivated by a benign desire on the part of Imperial administrators to "Christianise" and "civilise" the black "natives" emerging from slavery . . . to, as it were, bring them within the comforting fold of liberal democracy; or was British educational expansion in the island colony, exclusively a product of imperialist machination, imperialist interests in domination pure and simple . . . the imperialist plot?

The period 1833-1876 in Barbadian educational history lends little credence to the liberal Whiggish notion of Hoyos (1978), Goodridge, S. (1981) and others of a humane or benevolent Imperial power principally concerned with the moral necessity of Christianising and civilising. Neither, for that matter, is there conclusive evidence during the period of an Imperial administration unremittingly and rigidly preoccupied with an inflexible domination of her demographically black colony. Indeed, upon scrupulous examination, it will be found that, historical events were less straightforward, more complex, and that nineteenth century educational developments in Barbados were constructed within the context of a shifting terrain of

socio-economic and political class struggles in the colony and the metropole in which the pattern of domination/subordination was often one of give and take, gains and losses, assertions and retreats of the various parties involved. Contemporary sociological and historical works on the Caribbean too often present a picture of passive, reactive societies populated by silent, helpless, masses at the mercy of foreign events, benign or malevolent. The power of indigenous classes to act, and to act decisively and successfully in their own interests is often ignored. Conflict, what Karl Marx in the Critique of Political Economy described as the motive force of human societies, is either not seen as significant in shaping West Indian historical events, or when perceived to be important, is conceptualised in terms of a one-sided humiliation of dependent societies and subordinated groups (Lewis, 1968; Best, 1968).

In the forthgoing thesis, the "Imperialist Motive in the Introduction of Popular Education in Barbados," the author seeks to present a more interactive view of the internal workings of nineteenth century Barbadian society and its external connections with Britain and the impact of external and internal structures on Imperial involvement in popular education developments in the island. This approach also involves abandoning the liberal notion of education as a neutral exercise of learning and cogitating in congenial institutions, such as the school and university, for the more dynamic concept of education as a site of political struggle.

This principal assertion of this thesis is that the Imperial Government, Great Britain, was responsible for establishing education

for Barbadian masses at the time of the Emancipation of the slaves in 1833. The British Government continued to influence and manipulate education arrangements in Barbados throughout the nineteenth century through a network of institutions of imperial domination: the Church of England, the British Parliament, the Colonial Office and the local facsimiles of these on the Barbadian landscape. Often the impact of Imperial domination on local education was expressed, less in terms of direct manipulation, and more in terms of the automation of the structural logic of a system of dominance and dependence, metropole and periphery. For example, in the late 1840s, when the British Government decided to introduce its Sugar Duties Equalisation Act, thereby demolishing the West Indian Sugar monopoly in the British sugar market, the local economy went into a tail-spin. Economic and social hardships created during this depression period led to a significant decline in education provision and school enrolments in the island.

Nevertheless, British influence was also quite direct, as the Imperial Government stated its guidelines for school curricula and the structure of educational systems in its Negro colonies, by means of circular despatches from the Colonial Office, British Parliamentary edict, and Imperial visitations of school inspectors like Latrobe, Sterling and Savage. Here again, the British position was not a static one and its agenda of educational objectives, "social control," "secular education," "economy," "efficiency" and "accountability" were consistently altered and modified according to the changing economic, socio-political demands of the time.

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[redacted] thesis represents a culmination of effort that began approximately 10 years ago sitting in on discussion groups in High School at Combermere, when in those adolescent days it was important to pull things apart. It is with this sense of personal history that I wish to thank those school friends who started this inquiry into the origins of the Barbadian educational system.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

There is a tendency in the literature on education in Barbados (Hoyos, 1978; Goodridge S., 1981) to unhinge the educational system from its experiential and "real" context of society. The historical development of the Barbadian educational system as it has been so reconstituted, has been presented, stripped bare of the component central to its emergence -- socio-political conflict. There has been, for example, a sedulous effort to avoid relating socio-economic variables such as ethnicity, class and power to the educational process. This failure to relate education to the dynamic process of real politic has been also manifested in a corresponding disinterest in macro-issues of "development" and "dependency". Justification for this seems to rest with the fact that this approach allows for the isolation of specific problems related to education as an institutional entity and that this in turn facilitates closer examination of the "practical" problems of education -- the classroom, the curriculum and so on. This is described as the "pragmatic" approach (Williamson, 1979).[1] At the same time, it preserves a positivistic, logico-deductive, methodological tradition of "neutrality" and "objectivity" handed down from generation to generation in western social science disciplines (Karabel and Halsey, 1977).[2]

Consistent with this approach, the history of education in Barbados has been restated in such a manner that particular political

struggles which had a profound impact on education provision and content, such as the 1816 slave revolt, are ignored or given a diluted treatment. The emergence of popular education (here defined as education for the masses) in the island has been attributed, almost entirely, to the philanthropy and the benevolence of various non-conformist and Church of England missionaries (Hoyos, 1978; Rooke, 1978) and the recognition on the part of the colonial power and its agents of the need to provide cognitive skills for the Negro masses emerging from slavery (Dookhan, 1975).[3]

"The Imperialist Motive in the Introduction of Popular Education in Barbados" is an attempt to present a radically different interpretation and follow a radically different approach, in that the author thinks it is necessary to examine the subject of the emergence of popular education in Barbados within the context of political economy. What follows hereafter is, therefore, an attempt to restore a macro-perspective to the debate over the origin and emergence of Barbadian education during the historical period 1833-1876. Within this conceptual framework, education is seen in the context of a deeper structural relationship of Barbados' political and economic institutions with those of the metropolitan power, England. This relationship, it will be argued, was a product of British colonial and imperialist domination. When one talks about education in colonial Barbados therefore, one is talking about education for dependency. The institutional environment of Barbados, of which education is a part, reflected this dependency syndrome.

The period 1833-1876 in the social history of Barbados is dominated by the emergence, "progress" and consolidation of popular

education. Central to this development is the phenomenon of British Imperial involvement in the provision and funding of education for the colony's masses. Why did the Imperial Government consider it necessary, "urgently necessary," to get involved in education in Barbados in 1833, particularly when it is considered that, for two centuries before this, the Imperial Government was conspicuously disinterested in the welfare of the Barbadian masses? Why, and indeed on what terms, did the Barbadian planter/mercantile elite concede the "necessary encumbrance" of education for the subordinated classes, given their notorious contempt for any ameliorative intervention on the plantations? How was the drama of the tensions over education played out, externally between the colony and the metropole, and internally between the emerging social classes?

These questions are somewhat complex and it is consequently impossible to provide finite answers. It will be argued, in part, that British intervention in Barbadian education between 1833 and 1876 reflected intensifying class conflict in Britain, and the rapid growth of British centred capitalism and imperialism. Such developments provoked dynamic alterations within the colonial arrangement of metropole to periphery: a rapidly industrialising Britain in the nineteenth century meant that the days of the sugar monopoly enjoyed by the Barbadian planters in the colony were numbered; this development, in turn, rendered the institution of slavery obsolete. These events would demand new and creative responses on the part of the Imperial administration and the local oligarchy. Education was only one aspect, but a pivotal one, of a more comprehensive approach to the changing

relationship between the mother country and the colonies.

In more specific terms, the writer will argue that British intervention in education for the Barbadian masses in 1833 was motivated by (i) Imperial suspicion of the "intrinsic barbarity" of the ex-slaves — hence the corresponding desire to control and discipline the labouring masses just emerging from slavery. This desire for control was manifested for example, in the 1833 debates of the House of Commons over the Negro Education Grant (Campbell, 1967). (ii) a desire to cultivate a working class type in the colonies favourably oriented to the "trades" — agriculture and industry. (iii) a desire to introduce a measure of institutional sophistication to meet the demands of an increasingly complex socio-economic system emerging in the colony.

Internal social organisation, in which there was planter hegemony, acted as a constraint on the pace and style of Imperial education for Barbados.

MARXIAN POLITICAL ECONOMY AND METHOD AND EDUCATION

Adherents of the structure-functional tradition in social science inquiry proceed from the methodological position that in order to understand society, one must begin with an examination of the functional relationship of the parts to the societal whole (Hoogvelt, 1978). If one is a student of economics, then, it is necessary to look at the economy in terms of the household, the firm, prices and markets. In political science, the emphasis is on the functional relationship of the political party, the pressure group, etc. to the body politic. This approach when transferred to sociology of education

insists on the discussion of education as an institutional entity, with a further micro-emphasis on the school and the classroom. As Carnoy (Apple, 1982:79) observes:

> Traditional views of education and society emphasize the role that education plays in altering individual characteristics and the position of that individual in the economy, social structure and polity. The focus of such views is on an institution (the school) and its relationship to the individual youth.

Marxian political economy starts out from the opposite direction, i.e. at the level of society as a whole and examines the impact of the whole on the component parts. Indeed, Marx asserted in his Critique of Political Economy (1859):

> In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material production forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of a society, the real foundation on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which corresponds definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political, and intellectual life process. . . . It is not the consciousness of men that determined their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determined their consciousness (Apple, 1982:80).

Within this framework, society is conceived of as a social whole composed of (i) an economic substructure and (ii) a superstructure. The economic substructure consists of the sum total of society's productive relations, including not only man's relations to the productive forces but the social relations or "rules of the game" that define one's class position within the social system. The "forces" of production are essentially dynamic. They consist of the "means of production": land, labour, capital and technology, each of which is constantly

changing in quantity and quality as a consequence of the activities of exchange and interaction between man and man, and man and the objects of his environment.

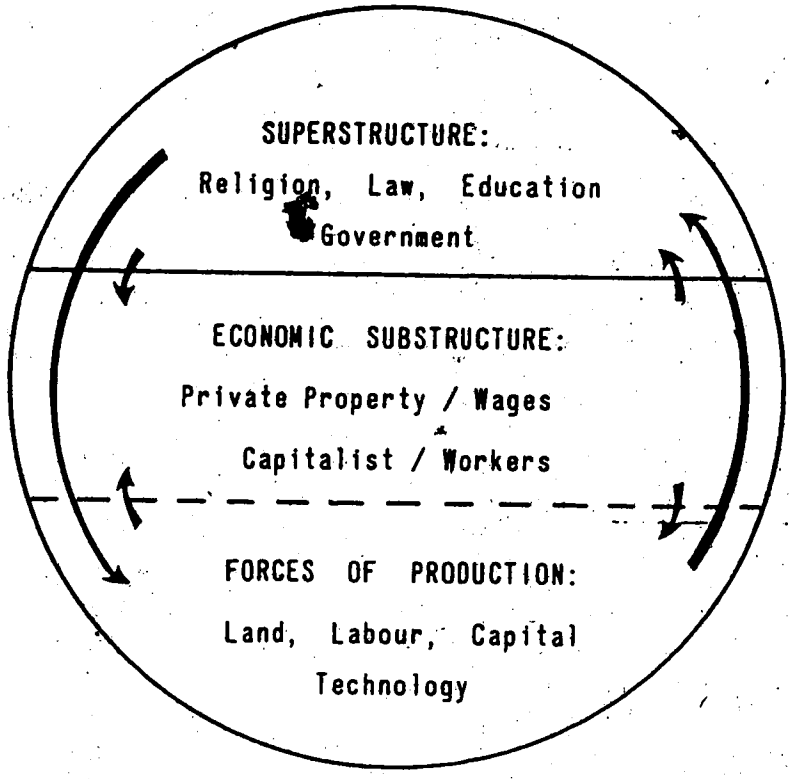
In the course of production men enter into, what Karl Marx (1959) described as socially "definite relations" which are "independent" of their will, "relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of the material productive forces of a given society" (Aron, 1968:198). These "rules of the game" regulate two types of relations: property relations and human relations. Property relations exist between men and things and human relations exist between men and men. It is the sum total of these relations which regulate the economic substructure. These "rules of the game," therefore, concern conditions of ownership of the means of production; they define the position of social groups or classes in the system of production, distribution and exchange of a given society.

Somewhat superimposed, but "dialectically" related to the economic substructure, is the superstructure which includes all those institutions which fall into the "political-legal category and the ideological ones" (Wong, 1979). According to Wong (1979:4):

> These institutions in general reflect tendencies in the underlying economic base and support the continuation of the status quo in the economic substructure.

Figure 1 provides a schematic summary of Marx's model of society.

Figure 1. The Social Whole as an Interactive Model



MARXIAN POLITICAL ECONOMY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Marxian political economy is principally concerned with an analysis of social change. The productive forces, social relations and ideological apparatus of society are not only seen as constantly in motion but constantly conflicting and interacting. As the forces of production develop, the rate of production increases, making the existing social organisation no longer compatible with the forces of production. To put the matter in somewhat more straightforward terms, there are two essential components to the Marxian theoretical model of

social change: (a) social change takes place when the rapidly expanding "productive forces" or the productive capacity, as derived from the social organisation of labour, scientific knowledge, technological equipment and the harnessing of the natural and physical resources, conflict with the existing social relations of production — the relations of property ownership as expressed in social class formation. This state of affairs provokes class conflict and revolution, ultimately resulting in (a) transformation at the level of economic substructure, (b) the superstructural order of political, economic and social institutions and ideas are altered in sympathetic relation to the transformation taking place in the economic base of society. And, as Julia Wong (1979:4-5), asserts:

> This results in changes being introduced in the social relations of production to remove any fetters to the expansion of production. Elements in the superstructure which impede this full development are also modified or removed, so that as the economy changes, the other spheres of social conduct which make up the superstructure change in consequence.

It is however misleading to hold the view that there is an "automatic" effect or impact of economy on the superstructure in a unilinear direction. The economy is not the only, nor necessarily always the most active element in social change. The relationship between the economy and the superstructure is not mechanical. As Engels maintained, social change is not solely determined by changes in the substructure but it is also affected by specific socio-cultural forms and conditions existing at particular periods of the historical development of human societies:

> According to the materialist conception of history, the ultimate determining element in history is the production and reproduction of real life. More than this, neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. If, therefore, somebody twists this into saying that the economic element is the only determining one, he transforms that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, senseless phrase. The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure -- political forms of the class struggle and its consequences, constitutions established by the victorious class after a successful battle, etc. -- juridical forms -- and even the reflexes of all these actual struggles in the brains of the participants: political, legal philosophical theories, religious ideas and their further development into systems of dogmas — also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their form (Marx and Engels, 1942:475).

THE IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION, ECONOMY AND THE IMPERIAL/COLONIAL STATE

Neither Marx, Engels nor Lenin discussed education in any detail. However, the implications of the Marxian political economy framework for the analysis of how education systems work have been picked up and developed upon by Neo-Marxist writers -- Althusser, Poulantzas, Bowles and Gintis, Kelly and Apple. It must be pointed out that their conceptual formulations are not at all homogeneous. Methodologically, they vary from structuralist to Marxian phenomenological perspectives on education. Nevertheless, collectively, this "new" political economy approach advances a number of methodological emphases which are relevant to the on-going discussion of British Imperial involvement in education in the colonial setting:

(i) there is an emphasis on conflict as the motive force in all human societies.

(ii) there is an emphasis on the discussion of society in terms of an on-going contradiction between the economic substructure and its political/ ideological superstructure.

(iii) analysis of education is situated within the larger social framework.

(iv) the state is accorded a primary role in the educational arrangement, both in terms of mediating the demands of the economy and also in terms of the management of social class tensions over issues of access to and the determination of those whose knowledge gets into and becomes dominant in the educational system.

These analytical approaches have enormous demystifying potential in a discussion of education in colonial Barbados and will be pursued in somewhat greater detail later in the chapter in the discussion of the current state of sociology of education discourse on education.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH TO "THE IMPERIALIST MOTIVE"

Adherents of the logico-deductive, methodological tradition in sociology of education inquiry hold fast to the view that the theories one attempts to introduce to the intellectual community and the reading public at large, should be validated by the results of testing. Only "observation and experiment," the watch words of the positivism of Comte and Durkheim, (Keat and Urry, 1975) can establish the credibility and validity of social science inquiry. To explain, we must be able to prove through hypothesis testing. It is, however, impossible to "prove" or "disprove" that Imperial involvement in the introduction of popular education in Barbados during the period 1833-1876 contributed

to the maintenance of Imperial domination of the colony and was calculated at the continued social control of the labour power of the black masses emerging from slavery. Such a perspective can only be arrived at through an interpretation of history. Accordingly, in the discussion of the "Imperialist Motive" (herein defined as the political rationale of the British Government as manifested in the various communiques, letters, despatches, policy papers, parliamentary Acts, Bills, etc.) in the emergence of education in Barbados, the author intends to generate a number of observations around the principal theme, i.e. the "Imperialist Motive," as a central current in the history of education in Barbados between 1833 and 1876. This central theme generates in turn a number of sub-themes -- social control, efficiency, economy, relevance and accountability. These themes reflect political and social changes that take place as the colonial Barbadian socio-cultural and economic reality acts back on the Imperial Government policy formulations. Macro-concepts of dependency, imperialism and colonialism provide the broad theoretical contours for the discussion of education in colonial Barbados. These concepts will be defined and their implications for the education discourse will be outlined. Of particular significance are the variables of social class and ethnicity, their expression in terms of political and economic power and their impact on the colonial institutional environment of which education was only one dimension. Some attempt will also be made to map out the institutional environment viz the colonial state apparatus, the church, the militia, etc.

The actual discussion of colonial education is broken down into three chronological periods: (i) 1627-1833, (ii) 1833-1860, and

(iii) 1860-1876. These periods are paralleled by three broad thematic concerns in Imperial policy formulation: (i) education for social control, (ii) secular education, (iii) efficiency, accountability. There is a high degree of overlap between one theme and another and between the various preoccupations of local and metropolitan administrators. For example, the issue of accountability is a recurring theme throughout the period. The Imperial Government sent its inspectors out to the West Indies in 1835 and 1837 (Sterling and Latrobe respectively) to report on the feasibility of continued allocations to colonial education in the area. In the 1860s the Imperial Government introduced the Crown Colony system of Government to ensure, among other things, an increased efficiency in local administration. But it was in 1876 that the colonial Governor, Pope Hennessy, introduced the most comprehensive idea for regulating local administrations. This took the form of "Confederation" -- a federal programme for streamlining the legal, auditing, and policing branches of the governments of Barbados and the Windward islands.

The focus of the forthgoing analysis of the "Imperialist Motive in the Introduction of Popular Education in Barbados," is derived in some degree from a reinterpretation of primary sources -- reports, legal documents, circular dispatches issued from the colonial office, newspaper editorials and historical accounts of the period (1833-76) under discussion. In addition an important part of this approach to the subject of the "Imperialist Motive," will be an analysis of the structural relationship of colonial Barbadian society to the metropole. It is the contention here that only when this structural relationship

is properly analysed and explained can the question of the "Imperialist Motive" in popular education be understood.

Chapter I outlines the methodological/theoretical ground for the discussion of the "Imperialist Motive" which follows. Also presented is a review of the literature on education in Barbados and an assessment of the present state of the discourse over education in sociology of education.

Chapter II analyses the economic history of Barbados from 1627 to 1833. Issues such as the impact of the sugar revolution, slavery, the rise of the planter class, the rise and decline of sugar, are treated concisely but in a critical and analytical manner.

Chapter III maps out the social class and institutional environment in pre-emancipation Barbados. Attention is given to mobility struggles and the interlocking relationship between social class and the institutional arrangements.

Chapter IV traces the origins and emergence of popular education in Barbados between 1627-1833, drawing special attention to the social class and colour dynamics as they played themselves out in the educational setting. Parallels with the emergence of popular education in England are drawn.

Chapter V covers the immediate post-emancipation period 1833-1860. In this period, the British government initiated direct funding for education in the region with the Negro Education Grant of £30,000 per annum, for the furtherance of "religious and moral education." The impact of this shift in Imperial policy from disinterest prior to mancipation, to actual financial participation in local education in

the post-emancipation period is discussed in some detail. By the mid-1840s, the Negro Education Grant was discontinued and the colonial legislatures were requested by the home government to take over responsibility for funding and administration of education in the various territories. The latter sections of the chapter discuss the increasingly dominant hold the planter class developed over education; the ongoing conflicts between the British policy interest in secularising local education and the planters' preoccupation with social control objectives; the thorny issue of educational opportunity (who had access to what types of schooling?); and the responses of the Negro masses to education provision.

Chapter VI -- the period 1860-76, reviewed in this chapter is dominated by themes of efficiency, accountability and economy. These are dealt with in terms of the intensifying conflict between the Imperial Government's interest in "up-grading" and orientating the local education system towards the long term goals of economy or "self sufficiency" (within, of course, metropolitan-periphery relations) and the planters' short term interest in "practical education" to maintain the steady flow of Negroes into agricultural labour. The period culminates in the Mitchinson Report of 1875. This report was prepared by an education committee appointed by the Barbadian Planter Assembly to review the state of education in the island and make recommendations. Much attention is given in the chapter to the perpetuation of social class and colour biases in education arising out of both the observations and the recommendations of the 1875 education committee.

AN APPRAISAL OF THE LITERATURE

The literature referred to in the thesis can be broken down into three broad areas: (i) Historical education documents, i.e. circular despatches, reports and legal documents, diaries and accounts of travels to the island. (ii) Historical analyses of education (Lewis, 1968; Parris, 1974; Dookhan, 1975; and Hoyos, 1978, inter alia) and histories of education (Goodridge, R., 1965; Gordon, 1975; Davis, 1976; Goodridge, S., 1981). There are also a number of pamphlets, journals and newspaper articles and books such as William Green's British Slave Emancipation (1976) which give brief but analytical glimpses of colonial education in Barbados that can be included in this category. (iii) Works written on sociology of education theory and social science theory and methodology (Keat and Urry, 1975; Carnoy, 1977; Karabel and Halsey, 1977; Hurn, 1978; Apple, 1979; K. Wong, 1979; Williamson, 1979; and Apple, 1982). Also to be included in this category are broader social theory works such as: Marxism Communism and Western Society edited by C.D. Kernig (1972), Ankie Hoogvelt's (1978) The Sociology of Developing Societies, Andre Gunder Frank (1968), George Beckford (1972) and Lloyd Best (1968) and The International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences edited by David Shills (1968) and twentieth century publications of the ground breaking works of Adam Smith (1776), Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, John Stuart Mill's (1848) Principles of Political Economy and Karl Marx (1859) Critique of Political Economy.

The Historical Documents

These documents are the "primary sources" of information for the thesis. As primary sources, they provide an "unpolluted" form of information in that they are free of secondary analysis and interpretation. Most of this body of literature, i.e. circular despatches from the Colonial Office, Acts, laws, Committee minutes and reports and other historical documents are derived from three principal sources: the Barbados Archives, Shirley Gordon's A Century of West Indian Education, and Gordon and Augier's Sources of West Indian History.

First published in 1963, Gordon's A Century of West Indian Education is a landmark in historical studies of education in the Anglophone Caribbean. In this work, Gordon presents in concise form, some of the major concerns of such documents as the 1833 Emancipation (Negro Education Grant Amendment) Act, the Sterling Report of 1835 (on education in the British colonial territories of the Caribbean), the Mitchinson (Barbados) Report of 1875, the Brèe (Barbados) Report of 1894, and Marriot-Mayhew Report (Royal Commission on Education in the Caribbean) of 1933. Her terse but lucid comments indicate what she considers to be the dominant themes of these documents. The book is eminently useful, in that these crucial documents are often inaccessible to Caribbean researchers, unless they can afford a trip to England where these documents are housed mainly in the British Museum and the Public Records Office. In addition to this, because significant segments of the actual content of the documents are presented by Gordon, the researcher has a fair degree of freedom to draw independent conclusions.

These documents are very important fragments in the history of Barbadian and Anglophone Caribbean education. They indicate significant shifts in Imperial policy and ideology. Whereas in the case of the Negro Education Grant of 1835, the Imperial Government emphasised that popular education in the Negro colonies should be "religious and moral education," by the 1840's the emphasis had changed to that of secularisation of education as indicated in the circular despatch on "curriculum for the colonies" issued from the Colonial Office on January 26, 1847. The circular indicated, inter alia, that the "lesson books (for Colonial schools in the Caribbean) should also set forth the relations of wages, capital and labour and the influence of local and general government on personal security, independence and order" (Gordon, 1975:58). As indicated here, and contrary to the notion conveyed even in the radical school, the Imperial policy was never a static one of "domination" but was at times quite subtle, perceptive and responsive to changing times and events.

Sources of West Indian History was first published in 1962. It follows a similar pattern as A Century of West Indian Education, but attempts a survey of colonial documents relevant to the general, social, political and economic history of the British West Indies. This is indicated in the broad topics under which the documents are presented viz "Economic Life," "Government and Politics," "Religion and Education before Emancipation," "Social Conditions Since Emancipation," and "Attempts at Unification 1831-1958."

The Histories and Historical Analyses of Education

The historical analyses (Lewis, 1968; Dookhan, 1975; Hoyos, 1978; et. al.) deal with the education history of Barbados somewhat flippantly and at times in passim. For instance, Lewis (1968) discusses education in Barbados by way of illustrating some of the social aspects of class and colour. He focuses on particular features of education such as the Common Entrance Examination for entry into secondary schools of Barbados and the fact that the island's leadership has been educated in English Universities at Oxford or Cambridge. Of these analyses, Hoyos (1978) is the most extensive. He dedicates a whole chapter to "Education and the Church." Though eminently useful, the work is preoccupied with an emphasis on drawing bold portraits of pioneering Anglican clergymen: Coleridge, Rawle, and Mitchinson. Class and colour issues are neatly avoided.

The histories of education (Goodridge, R., 1965; Davis, 1976 and Goodridge, S., 1982) read like church histories. However, Rudolph Goodridge's work is insightful on issues of race, class and the planter's attitudes to education for the Negro masses. Macro-issues of imperialism, colonialism, and dependency are simply ignored. These histories are for the most part written within the Whiggish tradition of histories of education, in that they deal with education as an institution with its own particular history; a history that becomes, furthermore, progressively more enlightened and enlightening and liberal in its development. Collectively, these works do not deal with class conflict as a major determinant of educational realities in Barbadian history. Neither is there any emphasis or analysis of the structural

relationship of the Barbadian economy and polity to Great Britain and what this implied for education in the colonial setting. The major value of these works lay in their historical record and documentation of education provision in Barbados.

Of much more significance is the work of Glenfield Parris (1974) Race, Inequality and Underdevelopment in Barbados (1627-1973), in which he attempts to detail patterns of internal and external inequality that have characterised the historical development of Barbados. He also argues that Barbados' state of underdevelopment and the highly dependent and reactive nature of its economy to the vicissitudes of metropolitan economics is a function of this international structure of inequality. Consistent with this approach, Parris (1974:285) sees nineteenth century education in the colony as reflecting existing patterns of internal and external inequality, and he argues:

> Education in the nineteenth century therefore hardly served to provide the working class with the security or mobility, with which it is usually associated in modern times. On the contrary, it was emigration that became the single most important source of mobility for Barbadians in their society of origin and provided the basis for the emergence of the black middle class.

Works on Sociology of Education Theory

The works of Keats and Urry (1975), Halsey and Karabel (1977), Hurn (1978), and Apple (1982) are almost encyclopaedic in their presentation of the major trends in social theory and sociology of education thinking. They suffer though, from being somewhat ethnocentric and culture-bound. Hence, Hurn's presentation of the Neo-Marxist and functionalist conceptions of the historical emergence of

education, emphasises the fact that the emergence of institutional education for the masses in the developed west corresponded with the growth of productive forces and productive capacities of these countries (in this case, the U.S.A.). But the fact is that while the organising centre of these developments, taking the U.S.A. as an example, was local and internal to that country, in dependent societies such as colonial Barbados, this was not the case. The organising and activating forces of the Barbados system of popular education during the period 1833-1876 were externally located.

The colonial Barbados educational system, in terms of structure, content and personnel, borrowed heavily from the metropolitan system. And in its day to day activities, it continued to reflect this dependency as the following autobiographical vignette of one of Barbadian colonial elementary schools indicates, at a micro-level:

> The school inspector was an Englishman and the school was supposed to be of Anglican persuasion. . . . Twice a term, the inspector visited the schools to record the attendance and give intelligence tests. On such occasions, the teachers and boys all seemed frightened, and the headteacher who seldom laughed, would smile for the length of the inspector's visit (George Lamming, 1975:35).

There is a profound need for a radical sociology of education theory relevant to dependent societies.

The functional and Radical Paradigms -- Differing Interpretations of the Emergence and Maintenance of Schooling

> On the one hand we have a functional model stressing the positive and, indeed, the essential functions of schooling in an increasingly complex and meritocratic society. Schools teach cognitive skills...The radical paradigm, by contrast denies that the main functions of schools are to provide cognitive skills -- or to sort out the most talented from the least able (Hurn, 1979:53-54).

Before we attempt to assess the relevance or viability of current sociology of education theory in the analysis of the emergence of popular education in Barbados, it is necessary to look at the basic assumptions in the theory.

The broad field of sociology of education has been predicated upon the particular educational "problems" of a handful of developed societies. This has meant a particular path of conceptualisation, theorisation and methodological approaches to research. It has meant, for example, that western sociology of education has been stained by ethnocentrism, a manifestation of the particular historical experience and the role this kind of research has been called upon to play in problem-solving in western educational systems. Floud and Halsey (1958) and Karabel and Halsey (1977), for instance, draw attention to the steady co-optation of social science and social scientists by vested interests and the state in various developed countries from the turn of the twentieth century. As an example, they make reference to the impact of Fabian socialism on "the political arithmetic" approaches of liberal/progressive British sociologists.[4]

Western sociology of education theory is not homogeneous, it is by now generally accepted, that there are two competing paradigmatic trends in the literature, namely the functional paradigm and the radical (Neo-Marxist) paradigm.[5] These schools of thought are not as dichotomous as they might appear to be, and in fact have some methodological and conceptual similarities.

The Functional Paradigm

The adherents of the dominant school of thought in western sociology of education (particularly in terms of the incorporation of theories of education into policy making, curriculum, and the planning mentality of educators of both the developed and developing worlds) have built their tradition upon an empiricist, logico-deductive scientific method which can be historically traced to the agonising debates over issues of epistemology, scientific method, and measurement of the rationalist and enlightenment periods of Eurocentric "theoretical philosophy" (Russel, 1945).[6] The rationalism and empiricism of Locke and Hume and the positivism of Comte have influenced profoundly the dominant functional paradigm. The functionalist/meritocratic model took firm shape in the 1950s. It gave rise to studies which focused on cross-national analysis of social mobility rates (Lipset and Bendix, 1966). The adherents of this model (Inkeles, Davis, Wrong, Blau, Lipset and Bendix), according to Heyneman (1979:3):

> wanted to discover the extent to which social mobility varied in countries at different stages of industrialization or with different values and different class structures.

There are three main assertions underpinning the functionalist theory of the emergence and maintenance of schooling. They argue that: (i) schooling represents an adaptive response of the institutional framework of society to the demands of technological complexity and sophistication and the needs of its human members. (ii) schooling increases social equality via equality of educational opportunity.

(iii) the learning process, the central activity of schooling, is a neutral and value free exercise in which knowledge, skills and values are transmitted unpolluted by vested, human interests.

The Adaptive Capacity of Schooling

The governing motif in the functionalist paradigm is that the emergence, growth and maintenance of schooling in Western societies derive from a consensus (of needs). Schooling is seen as adaptive and responsive to the changing needs of the consensus. As these needs change, education changes accordingly. Schooling is seen, therefore, as part of the rational progress of human societies from atomistic chaos and primitive disorder or at least inadequacy (the Hobbesian world where life is somewhat "nasty, brutish and short") to a greater institutional complexity, sophistication and harmony. Traditional social values of particularism and ascription are replaced by an emphasis on universalism and achievement as the basis of role allocation. According to Hurn (1979:62):

> Industrialization and urbanization weakened the foundations of the [traditional] system. They undermined the tradition of passing on occupations by destroying many existing occupations and creating new occupations for which parents and communities were ill-equipped to prepare their children. The early industrial revolution in textile production (using the example of U.S.A.) effectively destroyed the livelihood of thousands of spinners and weavers. The huge urban migration meant that a large percentage of children of farmers would not be farmers themselves.

As the mechanism of role allocation changes from ascription to achievement, educational institutions play a central role in (i) imparting cognitive skills and the new values necessary for support

and participation in the new technological and increasingly complex society; (ii) the process of selection and allocation to roles in society.

The functionalists assert that schooling has contributed to economic growth (Schultz, 1960). The technological growth and ultimately the economic growth of modern society reflected and continues to reflect the adaptive capacity of schooling. The skills and values necessary for modernisation are taught. Schooling thus nurtures the vital "human capital" necessary for propelling society forward.

Social Equality Via Equality of Educational Opportunity -- Meritocratic Ideology

Another major assertion of the paradigm adherents of the functionalist view of schooling is that increased education serves to redress social inequality. The inherent rationality and fairness of schooling and its selecting and sorting process gives everyone (with talent) a fair chance. Through the expansion of education provision, talents from all social classes can be exposed. Modern society therefore can be distinguished from pre-modern society by the fact that the values of "achievement," "universalism," "rationality" have replaced "ascription," "diffuseness" and "particularism," as Talcott Parsons a la Max Weber, suggests, as the "pattern variables" of the modern age. The role allocation function in modern society rests on "achievement" and rational selection, to which process, schooling is central and indispensable. Since in this scientific age, everyone has access to education, then one can achieve and in achieving have access to society's rewards. By this meritocratic thesis one does not have

to be wealthy at birth to be ultimately rich in life. Schooling, therefore, is a locus for the promotion of individual and social mobility. Cross and Swartzbaum content, for instance, that:

> The ideal type of industrial society is one where educational attainment is the main criterion for filling occupational roles and where equality of educational opportunity prevails (Cross and Swartzbaum, "Social Mobility and Secondary School Selection in Trinidad and Tobago" in Sociology of Education -- a Caribbean Reader, ed. Ganga Persaud, 1976:192).

The Value-free Nature of Schooling

Functionalists see schooling as a neutral exercise. Knowledge, and therefore the educational/learning process, is "value-free." They find their epistemological sanctuary in the almost axiomatic claim that education viz learning is a fact-gathering process. Participants learn about the world, free of ideological or political prejudices. Learning is therefore conceptualised as being predominantly a cognitive process. Also, the affective domain of the learning process in modern society is seen as resting upon a cosmopolitan value system. Knowledge acquisition is a functional and pragmatic event and not an ideological one:

> The functional paradigm sees modern society as an "expert" society: one that depends pre-eminently on rational knowledge for economic growth, requiring more and more highly trained individuals to fill the majority of occupational positions. Schools perform two crucial functions in this view of society. The research activities of universities and colleges produce the new knowledge that underpins economic growth and social progress. And extensive schooling both equips individuals with specialised skills and provides a general foundation of cognitive knowledge and intellectual sophistication to permit the acquisition of more specialized knowledge (Hurn, 1979:33).

The Radical (Neo-Marxist) Paradigm

The radical paradigm is often referred to as "revisionist" because of its adherents' radical reinterpretation of the educational process. Althusser, Bordieu, Katz, Bowles, Gintis, Carnoy and more latterly Apple have, within the last two decades or so, mounted a devastating critique of the consensus model of schooling, drawing attention to the conflict-ridden nature of human societies, the competitive nature of capitalism and its manifestations in terms of whose knowledge gets into the schools. This political economy approach lays claim to a Marxist tradition and sees schooling essentially as an epi-phenomenon — mirroring the economic system and social stratification of given societies (Bowles and Gintis, 1976).

The Conflict Motive

While the functional paradigm emphasises consensus and equilibrium, the Marxist paradigm focuses on conflict as the centr[redacted]eature in the emergence and maintenance of education for the masses. The Neo-Marxists assert that the major function of formal education in the capitalist society is not one of imparting cognitive skills or rational sorting and selection of talent. Instead, they argue, the educational system plays a vital role in maintaining social control and reproducing class hierarchies. In this paradigm, an attempt is made to relate the origin and growth of modern education to the emergence of capitalist production:

> A review of educational history hardly supports the optimistic pronouncements of liberal educational theory. The politics of education are better understood in terms of the need for social control in an unequal and rapidly changing economic order (Bowles and Gintis, 1976:27)

The basic skills of the three Rs and other rudimentary knowledge, discipline and obedience to authority were instilled in the masses, in order to equip them for their incorporation into a definite system of capitalist production and peripheral capitalist social relations. In support of this contention, Bill Williamson (1979:94) quotes the nineteenth century Tsarist economist I.I. Yanzhul as making the following admonition to his government:

> In order to make proper use of the fruits of technical genius, every country must prepare not only technicians, but the entire population to the new conditions generated by machine production. . . . Work with machines demands order, precision, accuracy, quickness of mind, i.e. qualities which, of course, are very rarely found in an uneducated person.

The Autonomy of Capital/Schools as Channeling Colonies

The Neo-Marxists emphasise the subordination of schooling to the autonomous demands of capital. Schools in this context are "channeling colonies" preparing students for their various locations in the occupational hierarchies in society. Schooling does not lead to equality in the society at large, the Neo-Marxists argue, but in fact reinforces inequality. Martin Carnoy (1974:9) makes this point forcefully:

> There is no evidence that mass education distributed largely on the basis of parents' education and income (the way it is now in most capitalist societies) equalizes the distribution of income and wealth. Increasing the average level of schooling in the population without altering the class distribution of

> schooling maintains the present income structure. Because wealthy children get access to the higher levels of schooling while poor children get much less schooling, there is no reason to believe that giving everybody access to school should make much difference in who gets what in society.

The Neo-Marxists argue further that a "correspondence principle" or neat fit exists between schooling and the occupational hierarchy, between social class stratification and the division of labour. The reproduction of social class differentials is assured in an educational system in which, from the inception students are tracked according to their different social class backgrounds. These different "rules of the game" result in different socialising processes; working class children are taught compliance and obedience while the children of the upper class elites are taught to internalise values of self control, assertion and independence. Bowles and Gintis assert:

> The educational system helps integrate youth into the economic system, we believe, through a structural correspondence between its social relations and those of production. The structure of social relations in education not only inures the student to the discipline of the work place, but develops the type of personal demeanor, modes of self-presentation, self image and social class identifications which are crucial ingredients of job adequacy. Specifically, the social relationships of education — the relationships between administrators and teachers, teachers and students, students and students, and students and their work — replicate the hierarchical division of labour (1976:131).

Limitations and Relevance

It can be argued that these theoretical positions advanced by social scientists of developed countries have limited power in terms of

explaining the relationship between socio-economic variables viz class, ethnicity, etc. and education in the third world and Barbados in particular. Neither do they sufficiently address larger macro-issues of dependency and imperialism which constitute an indispensable part of the historical development of these societies. What is particularly interesting is the fact that advocates of the "radical approach," while being highly critical of the structure-functionalist theory of schooling, have sought to validate their theoretical conclusions by invoking the same principles of measurement and evaluation of schooling as do the functionalists. The Neo-Marxists have sought to draw their support from major empirical (empiricist) studies, reports and secondary analyses of data compiled on the effects of socio-economic variables on education (Coleman et al, 1966; the Plowden Report, 1967; and Jencks, 1972). Much of Bowles and Gintis' work in Schooling in Capitalist America involves a re-run of the empirical measurements of the classroom, values and S.E.S. data through hypothesis testing and logico-deductive methods of Edwards (1975) and Meyer (1972).

The fact is that, as pointed out before, the evidence for theories of schooling advanced by contemporary western sociologists of education has been drawn almost entirely from the empirical observations of social phenomena in developed industrialised societies. Constraints of finance, logistics and cultural differences have militated against the development of in-depth studies of education in dependent societies. There is consequently a tendency to put forward a sociology of education "under western eyes" to use the language of the novelist, Joseph Conrad. Generalisations emerging from Western schools of thought have not

received "universal testing" and are therefore less than universal in validity. Indeed the few studies that have been done on developing countries have tended to reveal findings which challenge assumptions held by western sociologists. Currie in Uganda (1974), Pope and Jones (1974), Murphee in Zimbabwe (1973) and Heyneman and Currie in Uganda (1979), challenge both the evolutionary convergence theories that assume a linear advance of modernising societies towards greater equality of educational opportunity -- and social mobility -- (the meritocratic thesis) as well as the conceptual delimitations of social class and socio-economic status, the measures/indicators used for evaluating the same, and the impact of these S.E.S. variables on schooling as advanced by the radical school. Heyneman (1979:8) puts it quite bluntly:

> The evidence from Africa is the most deviant from what would be expected given the findings from industrialised societies . . .

Both functionalist and Neo-Marxist methodological and conceptual approaches have some difficulties in negotiating society as structure and the impact of the latter on schooling. The functionalist analysis of education proceeds from a theoretical position that (a) ignores the presence of "different groups in society, (except in the limiting sense of normative disarray) seeking power to realise their interests and to shape the form of social institutions to suit their own purpose " (Williamson, 1979:4-5).

(b) If such differential groups are acknowledged, they are viewed as unproblematic and are seen as existing as a consequence of differential abilities (I.Q. based) and achievements. Society, by this logic, is differentiated but functionally so.

Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. More's, "Some Principles of Stratification" published in Bendix and Lipset's Class Status and Power (1966), for example, advance the following rationalisation of differentiated groups in society:

> The main functional necessity explaining the universal presence of stratification is precisely the requirement faced by any society of placing and motivating individuals in the social structure. As a functioning mechanism a society must somehow distribute its members in social positions and induce them to perform the duties of these positions (Davis and More in Class Status and Power, edited by Bendix and Lipset, 1966:47).

In the case of the Neo-Marxist political economy approach, it has been argued by Heyneman (1979), Apple (1982) et al. that the "orthodox" Neo-Marxist approach is too mechanistic (base/superstructure model). School merely reflects the economy in a "deterministic" way. David Hogan argues for example that:

> Bowles and Gintis insist that schools systematically vary in what they call the social relations of education, and in the normative orientation toward work that schools generate. Bowles and Gintis claim that the major aspects of educational organization replicate the relationships of dominance and subordinancy in the economic sphere (Hogan, "Education and Class Formation" in Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education, edited by Michael Apple, 1982:56).

Despite these limitations, there are some basic assertions of both schools of thought, insofar as they have universal implications and applicability that are germane to the ongoing discussion of the emergence of popular education in Barbados. It is impossible to gainsay the central contentions of the functionalist view of schooling, that schooling serves the purpose of imparting cognitive skills necessary for a technological age as well as their supporting contention that education does have a selecting and sorting function. The

Neo-Marxist view that schooling is concerned with social control and social reproduction is equally valid. In many respects, these two apparently dichotomous bodies of theory represent two sides of the same coin. It seems that it is the inescapable logic of all human societies that their institutional environments (the institution of education included) are oriented towards stability, continuity and change over time.

What divides the functionalists and the Neo-Marxists is a disinclination in the case of the former, and inclination in the case of the latter, to relate education to the deeper substructural reality of the prevailing material order and the social relations of production of given societies. This process brings education explicitly within the realm of real politic. The education process is consequently seen in dynamic relation to such factors as class, power and the international dimensions of these. In this regard the functional paradigm adherents underplay the political function of education. Education is presented within the logic of this paradigm as an eminently "neutral" exercise of a "value-free" transmission of knowledge from one generation to the next. The Neo-Marxist paradigm however, explicitly seeks to deny this neutrality and to show how because of the political economy it could not be otherwise.

The essence of the Neo-Marxist assertion about education -- the idea of class conflict as the motivating factor in determining education realities, has far greater merit in a discussion of the emergence of education in Barbados than the consensus model. Indeed the modern history of Barbados is one in which the society has been fashioned by conflict. From colonial times, a rigid structure of dominance and

subordination has emerged. Yet, as has been indicated before, it is the functional paradigm that has informed existing histories of education on Barbados and it is the functional paradigm that has been incorporated into educational planning. But even this phenomenon can be explained within a conflict model, in that, intellectual production in the Caribbean as a whole reflects the structural dependency of the region in relation to metropolitan centres.

Some Recent Trends -- Education Economy and the State

Some exciting, new "developments" have been taking place within the radical assessment of education and society. These developments are centred around the role that the state, via education, plays in the social and the economic reproduction process. One of the prime movers in this discourse, Martin Carnoy, contends, "the most interesting debate today among Marxists revolves around the role of the State." He goes on to explain the rationale for studying the state:

> for practical reasons, any study of the educational system can not be separated from some explicit or implicit analysis of the purpose and functioning of the government sector. Since power is expressed at least in part through a society's political system, any attempt to develop a model of educational change should have behind it a carefully thought out theory of the functioning of government -- what we shall refer to as a "theory of the State " (Carnoy, "Education Economy and the State," in Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education, edited by Michael Apple, 1982:82).

The structure-functionalist, unlike the Neo-Marxists, contend that the institutional complexity and sophistication of modern society resolves issues of conflict through what Talcott Parsons calls "tension

management." Society, within this framework of reference, is subdivided into political, economic, social and cultural spheres. Embodied in each sphere are particular institutions which respond to, regulate and adjudicate social, political and economic demands made by individuals in society. Thus in the economic sphere, the market place is the principal institution which regulates demand for goods and services — the worker can obtain food, clothing, shelter, etc., by selling his labour power for a particular price or wage; the entrepreneur can have his need for capital satisfied through the pricing mechanism and the profit nexus of the market place. So, too, in the political sphere, demands for political participation are resolved by democratic institutions such as the trade union, pressure group, political party, the electoral system and so on. The central regulatory institution in the political sphere and in society is the state. It is conceptualised as operating, over and above all other institutions, as a "neutral" arbiter, treating social demands on merit. Changes within society are achieved through consensus, as expressed in the democratic vote. Education as a function of the state in most Western democracies is also reflective of this consensus model; change is secured through common agreement rather than super-imposition or domination. This consensus in education is expressed in the guiding principles of equality of educational opportunity, common curricula, standardised tests and measures (Coleman, 1966).

Adherents of the radical paradigm have advanced a different model of society, and more particularly, a different model of the state. Building upon the classical works of Lenin, State and Revolution (1917),

and Marx's Critique of Political Economy (1859), they make two principal assertions about the function of the state:

(i) the state is not a "neutral" institution but is dominated by class interest.

(ii) the state, via education, plays a central role in reproducing existing economic relations and relations of dominance.

Marx argued in The 18th Brumaire, that the capitalist state emerged as a response to the necessity for mediating class conflict and maintaining order. He contended further that the state was an expression of class domination. Lenin would later call the state the "executive arm of the bourgeoisie." Engels (1968:155-157) summarises the classical Marxist position:

> But in order that these antagonisms, classes with conflicting economic interests shall not consume themselves and society in a fruitless struggle, a power, apparently standing above society, has become necessary to moderate the conflict and keep it within the bounds of 'order' and this power, arisen out of society, but placing itself above it and increasingly alienating itself from it, is the state. . . . As the state arose from the need to keep class antagonisms in check, but also arose in the thick of the fight between the classes, it is normally the state of the most powerful, economically ruling class, which by its means becomes also the politically ruling class, and so acquires new means of holding down and exploiting the oppressed class.

Louis Althusser, the twentieth century French, Marxist philosopher, has pushed this analysis of the state a step further by contending that the state plays a vital role in the reproductive process. In his theoretical formulation, the locus of the reproductive process is shifted from the base to the superstructure. Althusser expands upon the classical Marxist view of the reproduction, by suggesting that the reproduction of the division of labour under capitalist development

occurs outside the production process itself. According to Althusser, it is the ideological apparatuses of the state, the schools and the educational system which provide the contexts for social reproduction. Unlike the social formations characterised by slavery and serfdom, the reproduction of labour skills is "decreasingly provided on the 'spot,'" argued Althusser, "but is achieved more and more outside production: by the capitalist education system, and by other instances and institutions " (Althusser, 1971:132).

Bowles and Gintis (1976), having taken up Althusser's analysis have argued that more important than the use of brute force, the military, the manipulation of economic rewards in the labour process or the legal mechanism, it is the educational system which ensures the hegemony of the dominant classes, it is the educational system which provides the mechanism and the context for the reproduction of social consciousness that legitimises dominant groups. For Bowles and Gintis, this is not achieved through the conscious intentions of the teachers and the administrators involved in the learning process, but through what they call the "close correspondence between the social relations which govern close interaction in the workplace and the social relations of education" (1976:12). Bowles (1978) identifies the relationship between education and the state in the capitalist system in more specific terms than did Marx, Engels or Lenin:

> In this interpretation, the state serves to reproduce the social relations which define the position of the capitalist class and other dominant groups of the society. State policies, and the structure of the state itself are severely limited by the prevailing economic structure and its class relations. The economic structure itself is influenced by the state, ordinarily in ways which increase the power and income of the politically powerful groups.

> The educational system, as an important influence on political life, ideology and the development of labour power as an input into the production process, is one of the main instruments of the state. The 'output' of the school is the reproduction or transformation of social relations (Bowles, 1978:784).

In defining the social class limitations of the state, Bowles goes beyond, and in fact contradicts the prior theoretical formulations of Karl Marx. He argues that the state is not so much an institution totally and solely controlled by one dominant class, but it constitutes instead, a site for the expression of class antagonisms and represents at particular points in history, differences in the balance of class forces. In this context, all classes impact on the state in varying degrees and manage to secure responses that redound to their particular interests. There are classes which have dominant sway, but not absolutely. Accordingly, Bowles suggests:

> The rejection of the most abstract two-class model of capitalist society and recognition of the indeterminacy added by the concept of class alliances suggests a heightened importance of political and ideological aspects of social change. Equally important, a multi-class analysis invites a reconsideration of the state as 'a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.' The state, in the formulation presented here, may also be an arena in which class alliances are formed and in which no single class can use the state solely as its own political instruments. The multiplicity of class relations, the structural limits on state policy, and the attendant problematic nature of class power in the state also remind us not to assume that a given state policy reflects the conscious and successful implementation of the class interest of any single class (Ibid:784-785).

It is at this point that the debate becomes sharply relevant to a discussion of the operation of the state apparatus in the Barbadian colonial setting. In the nineteenth century, the Barbadian state was in a process of emergence. In the external sphere, it represented a

comprador institution through which British Imperial demands were mediated to the colony. However, on the local landscape, the financial sponsorship of the state came from one class -- the dominant planter/ mercantile class. This latter relationship constituted a conatraint or break upon the impact of Imperial policies and sanctions for the island. This planter dominance was reflected, for example, in the fact that prior to emancipation and for some time afterwards, the planters refused to grant the state apparatus enough moneys to pursue a decent social welfare policy, in spite of the fact that the Imperial Government continued to insist on ameliorative changes for the black masses in her colonies.[7] However, at various points of colonial history, such as the 1816 slave revolt, the suppressed black masses made powerful demands on the political system in general, and the state apparatus in particular, which could not be ignored. Indeed, it was just two years after the 1816 revolt that the first school for blacks was established. Significant concessions were made towards the free coloured section of the population in 1821 and later in 1831. They were granted the right to give evidence in court, the right to vote, and by the 1840s, the coloured section had its first coloured spokesman in the Barbados House of Assembly, in Samuel Jackman Prescod.

In this regard, it is of special significance that by 1846, the planter Assembly would support, financially, public education for the Barbadian masses. It was by then evident, too, that education became the locus of the social control function of the state. In addition, whereas prior to emancipation, the process of reproduction of the division of labour was restricted to the site of production, i.e. the slave plantation, after emancipation, it would be public education

which increasingly functioned as the locus for the social reproduction process.

Cultural Diffusion vs. Imperialism: Two Different Approaches to Europe's Expansion in the Third World

Martin Carnoy (1974:15) advances the following hypothesis:

> We hypothesize that the spread of schooling was carried out in the context of imperialism and colonialism — in the spread of mercantilism and capitalism — and it cannot be separated from this context.

Carnoy's hypothesis represents a "radical" perspective on the issue of Europe's expansion in the third world and its relationship to the emergence of education in the colonies that draws upon a Marxist Leninist tradition of development theory, beginning with Marx himself, through to Lenin, Paul Baran and more latterly, Andre Gunder Frank. Needless to say, within the structure functionalist framework of reference, Carnoy's hypothesis would be considered untenable. The diffusionist and neo-evolutionary theory advanced by the functionalist school echoes a long tradition in Western sociology of development and evolution of human societies, beginning with the dichotomous framework found in Tonnies' "Gemmeinschaft" and "Gesellschaft," Durkheim's "mechanical" and "organic" societies, Weber's "communal" and "associative" types, and Talcott Parson's "pattern variables." In their theoretical formulations (Lipsett, Bendix et al), the functionalists see capitalism as exerting a modernising and positive influence on the traditional societies of the third world. Imperialism is seen as somewhat antithetical to capitalism and certainly not as an extension of

tendencies towards domination which the Neo-Marxist contend are vital aspects of capitalist accumulation and expansion.

The locus of disagreement between the two schools of thought over the issue of European expansion revolves around the issue of "Contact" between European and non-Western societies from the sixteenth century onwards. In the structure functionalist formulation, the introduction of schooling in the colonies, for instance, is seen almost as a "mission civilsatrice," as an "evolutionary universal" (Parsons). Malinowski (1947:141) argues:

> In the widest sense the course of education transforms the immature, unequipped and untutored young animal into a social being, a tribesman, or a citizen who emerges with abilities to think, to act, and to respond in co-operation with other human beings.

In the Dynamics of Cultural Change (1945:72), this functionalist anthropologist perceives contact between Europe and Africa, not so much in terms of a uni-directional filtration of European cultural assertion but more in terms of a reciprocity of "common measures" and "common interests, what Marvin Harris (1968) calls the "likelihood of . . . beneficial adjustments." Closely related to this idea of "the reciprocity of interests," Malinowski advances the concept of cultural and economic trusteeship:

> Successful culture change in Africa demands enormous expenditure. For it is one of the soundest and most important principles of social science that people are prepared to pass only from worse to better. Only such change is encompassed without much friction and with relative rapidity. This of course is the reason why the national minorities in the United States change culturally with comparatively amazing ease, with little resistance, and with a rapidity incredible to a European brought up as one of a minority. . . . The main reason for this, though there are also others, is that

> in the United States they are offered all along the line substantial economic, political, and social advantages, which was by no means the case under Russian or Prussian rule (Malinowski, 1945:56).

Conversely, adherents of Marxism and Neo-Marxist political economy such as Keith Griffin (1969), Altbach and Kelly (1978), see schooling as an instrument of domination and Europe's economic contact with Latin America, Africa and Asia as a phenomenon characterised by subsequent exploitation of the host countries and not as a peaceful modernising influence as the functionalists suggest. "Historical societies, however, do not fit this abstract picture," argues Ankie Hoogvelt, "Not only do we witness frequent culture contact and economic exchanges between societies, but history reveals that this interchange frequently leads to political, economic and cultural domination of one society or group by another " (Hoogvelt, 1978:65). In terms of the debate over European expansion, then, the radical theory is formulated in the form of the overarching framework of imperialism as an inevitable outgrowth of capitalist development, while the structure-functionalists advance the evolutionary theories of diffusion and modernisation.

Martin Carnoy (1974) describes Schumpeter's (1951) and Lenin's (1915-16) radically contrasting views on Western capitalist development as manifested in their neo-classical debate over imperialism as "the two most important views of capitalism and imperialism." Schumpeter's and Lenin's differing conceptions of imperialism have more or less provided trenchant lines of demarcation along which subsequent theoretical efforts have been built. The whole dependency formulation (Frank, Beckford, et al.) for instance, draws directly on Lenin's

theory of capitalist accumulation and expansion. Schumpeter defines imperialism as conquest for conquest sake -- the mere "objectless" disposition on the part of (a group or state) to unlimited "forcible expansion." This definition best suits the ancient warrior states (Ancient Rome, for example), where, according to Schumpeter:

> It is evident that the king and his associates (Assyrians) regarded war and the chase from the same aspect of sport — if that expression is permissible. . . . War and conquest were not means but ends. They were brutal, stark naked imperialism, inscribing its character in the annals of history with the same fervor that made the Asayrians exaggerate the size of their muscles in their statutary (Schumpeter, 1951:44).

Imperialism for Schumpeter has no "definite utilitarian limits." By this psychological definition of imperialism, Schumpeter effectively removes any economic motives and economic relationships from the discussion of imperialism.

Hence, when societies go to war or seek to dominate other societies in modern times (example, the U.S.A. in Vietnam), it is merely an expression of a throw-back to the darker ages on the part of warmongering elements in society. In short, Schumpeter, therefore, sees imperialism as being antithetical to capitalism. Capitalism as far as this thesis goes is anti-imperialist, since its raison d'être derives from principles of free trade, free movement of capital and labour, and so on. Schumpeter maintains, "As for war to acquire territory, assuming free trade, forcible expansion is pointless because markets and raw materials are open to all on equal terms" (Carnoy, 1974:36). Through this dichotomous framework, Schumpeter absolves British imperialism (which according to Carnoy "was conducted under a policy of free trade"), of its more pernicious features by

suggesting that it represented "a holdover from the past."

Lenin, on the other hand, seeks to make a direct connection between imperialism and the growth of capitalism. Imperialism is, for Lenin, an inevitable phase of capitalism. In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, industrial and economic expansion in Europe increasingly became concentrated into oligopolies controlling a sizeable fraction of industrial production in the capitalist countries but at the same time these massive developments spilled over abroad into "the backward regions of the world."

Lenin asserts in his Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism:

> Thus the beginning of the twentieth century marks the turning point at which the old capitalism gave way to the new, at which the domination of finance capital. . . . The concentration of production; the monopoly arising therefrom; the merging or coalescence of banking with industry. This is the history of finance capital and what gives the term "finance capital" its content (Lenin, 1966:203).

Marx had analysed the growth and capitalism in its early stage of free competition and world market expansion. But, as Lenin contends, around 1900, the competition for domination of the world-market intensified and "free enterprise" capitalism was replaced by monopoly capitalism. There are six main features of this monopoly capitalist phase:

(a) A link up between high finance, big industry and national government.

(b) More and more, national European economies are directed by the monopoly system which controls large holdings of shares.

(c) Stocks, shares and state loans increase the amount and power of surplus-capital.

(d) This surplus-capital is exported beyond the national borders as investments and loans to "backward" countries.

(e) A struggle develops between the supra- or multi-national monopolies to control the world-market.

(f) Since the world has already been divided up by the Imperial Great Powers, the rival monopolists struggle to repartition the world.

The cumulative impact of these developments results in economic disparity between rival monopolists. This combined with the uneven development between rival capitalist nations make imperialist wars inevitable (Appignanesi and Zarate, 1978).

European Expansion as Colonialism in Practice

These "imperialist wars" referred to by Lenin took place over colonial territories. Monopoly capitalism not only manifested itself in the monopolisation of the means of production in capitalist countries but also involved the phenomenon of a few advanced countries imposing their dominance over the economic, political and cultural life of third world countries. According to Lenin:

> Capitalism has grown into a world system of colonial oppression and of the financial strangulation of the overwhelming majority of the population of the world by a handful of "advanced" countries (Lenin, 1965:5).

On the whole, Lenin's analysis and definition of imperialism is far more vigorously relevant than Schumpeter's to a discussion of European cultural and economic expansion in the Caribbean.

Altogether, the periods 1627-1833 and 1833-1876, which constitute the historical periods of Barbados' socio-economic development that are analysed in this thesis, were somewhat prior to the phase of

capitalist development which Lenin calls imperialism. Between 1627 and 1876, British and European expansion in the Caribbean took place in terms of a more direct form of colonial domination: conquest, liquidation, and administrative subordination of the host countries. Indeed, it would be the monopoly phase of capitalist development that would influence a gradual dismantling of direct Imperial control over the region. This phase of "pure" colonialism, resembled the "classical imperialism" described by Schumpeter and which existed in ancient Greek and Roman empires. However, European expansion was driven forward by concrete economic imperatives and not the mere "objectless disposition" to conquer. Also, it would be highly misleading to separate completely these two epochs of capitalist development: (1) accumulation and expansion under "pure colonialism," from (2) modern imperialism and monopoly capitalism. Indeed modern imperialism was nurtured in the cradle of mercantilist colonialism. Colonialism as practised in the Caribbean from the seventeenth to the last quarter of the nineteenth century can be subdivided into two phases: (1) a mercantilist phase, (ii) a free trade phase.

The Mercantilist Phase

The fundamental dynamic in the mercantilist phase of colonialism in the Caribbean was set off by various European powers projecting their major preoccupations: famine, overpopulation, religious intolerance, in short, their socio-economic needs, into their colonies. Economically, the various territories existed for one major reason that was to serve their particular interests. The dominant

considerations in the case of British ruling classes were economic advantage and the value of the colonial trade. This was expressed in two interrelated economic "rules of the game":

> (a) The colonies were producers of raw materials which were regarded as indispensable in the metropole, sugar being one formidable example. The metropolitan owners could, thus, free themselves from the dependence on European supplies which were often cut off during war and for which monopoly prices were charged. Of vital importance to British metropolitan economics was the fact that colonial products were cheap, could be paid for in exported manufactures and could ultimately be resold in Europe at high prices which in turn meant major profits and the strengthening of Britain's balance of trade position vis-a-vis her European rivals.
>
> (b) At the other end of the spectrum, the colonies constituted captive markets for metropolitan exports. In this way, they assisted in creating and maintaining employment in British industries, shipping, manufacturing and refining and so on. Furthermore because of British political suzerainty, these colonies were prevented from developing their own industries. Thus the colonies were made to have economic structures wholely complementary to that of the metropole (Williams, 1975).

All these arrangements were ratified by metropolitan fiat (for example, the Navigation Laws of the 1650s). Thus Imperial profits were derived from the mercantilist practice of commercial monopoly. These value flows were, to use Best's (1968) parlance, "incalculable". Profits for the metropole were manifested in the fact that the colonists had to pay higher prices for their imports, and in turn, received lower returns for their exports. Metropolitan merchants (and peripheral merchants to a lesser extent) were assured a middleman profit on trade passing through the metropole and also in the re-exportation process in Europe.

The Rise of Free Trade

As early as 1776, Adam Smith protested that the mercantilist monopoly was an "unnatural" form of trade and commerce and was in fact injurious to British industry:

> The monopoly of the colony trade besides, by forcing towards it a much greater proportion of the capital of Great Britain than what would naturally have gone to it, seems to have broken altogether that natural balance which would otherwise have taken place among all the different branches of British industry. The industry of Great Britain, instead of being accommodated to a great number of small markets, has been principally suited to one great market. Her commerce instead of running in a great number of small channels, has been taught to run principally in one great channel. But the whole system of her industry and commerce has thereby been rendered less secure, the whole state of her body politic less healthful, than it otherwise would have been (Smith, 1937:570-571).

Thus, Smith attacked the cumbersome nature of the colonial monopoly arrangements by applying his theory of the division of labour to colonial production and trade. He insisted that the value of the European colonies in America, and by inference elsewhere, existed merely in the fact that they provided new articles for international trade and extended the market for European manufactures. He contended that such advantages could be maintained independent of any colonial system. These advantages were, furthermore, diminished when any state tried to monopolise its own trade. He used the central metaphor of the circulatory system of the blood in the human body to illustrate the harmful effects of monopoly:

> Great Britain resembles one of those unwholesome bodies in which some of the vital parts are overgrown. . . . A small stop in that great blood-vessel, which has been artificially swelled beyond its natural dimensions, and through which an unnatural proportion of the industry

> and commerce of the country has been forced to circulate, is very likely to bring on the most dangerous disorder upon the whole body politic (Ibid.).

Monopoly raised the cost of goods and services to consumers both in the metropole and the periphery, argued Adam Smith. Foreign investment in the colonies was discouraged; this in turn raised direct metropolitan profits and consequently reduced each country's competitiveness and made the metropolis "unnaturally" and dangerously dependent upon the colonies. Added to this was the indefensible burden of Imperial administration of the colonies which vastly outweighed the merit of whatever profits the mercantile class made via monopoly. No, it did not help one jot that the British taxpayers were saddled with these "ponderous appendages" which magnified "our government expenditure, without improving our balance of trade" (Williams, 1975:142). Ultimately, it would be better that the colonial system be dismantled, then their trade would be opened to the world and laissez-faire competition would prevail, and Europe would no longer have to bear the massive and pernicious burden of Imperial administration.

Adam Smith's observations prefigured the future developments of European economic expansion and the fate of the colonies. His prognosis was remarkably accurate; free trade would wreak havoc on monopoly and the protectionist policies towards the colonies. The new directions in British and European colonial policy were provoked by the manifest unprofitability of the upkeep of the colonies, but more importantly, by the massive build up of industrial capacity of Europe and Britain especially. Tropical colonies were essentially markets for surplus products in European industry -- "necessary safety valves" for industrial capitalism. Industrialists needed guaranteed sources of

raw materials at cheap prices, and not at the exorbitant prices which monopoly control over raw materials allowed. Also, as Lenin à la Hobson has argued, the capital surplus accumulated in the metropole was reinvested in the colonies to stimulate even more profits. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, no industrialist was prepared to be told that he could not invest in a country because it was the monopoly or the exclusive property of some foreign Imperial power. Thus, as one commentator remarks:

> British colonies were virtually opened to the world by 1830 and by 1860 the last vestiges of shipping controls and preferences on colonial products had gone. (International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, vol. 3, edited by David Shills, 1968:9)

By the 1870s, the era of mercantilism was certainly over and so was the dismantling of colonialism system imminent.

Implications of Cultural Diffusion Versus Imperialism Debate for Education

That colonial expansion took place and that given societies were dominated by the physical presence of metropolitan military and administrative institutions is a fact of history about which few modern historians or social scientists will disagree. However, the claim that the function of education was that of an instrument of Imperial domination as opposed to a civilising and modernising agency is a formulation that is highly debated in the literature.

The cultural diffusion hypothesis avoids the issues of conflict, entrenched groups and competing class interests in the interpretation of education expansion. Cultural diffusionists see the emergence of formal education as an aspect of cultural transmission from more

advanced societies to backward ones. John McLeish couches the general theory of diffusion in the following terms:

> The concept of diffusion is . . . basic. This process is defined as the borrowing from another culture of various devices, implements, institutions or beliefs. In the final analysis no distinction between evolution and diffusion is possible. Elements diffuse from one culture to another on the basis that they satisfy needs and ensure survival. . . . The contact situation, where two cultures are physically juxtaposed and intermingle, will itself give rise to new needs. To satisfy these two kinds of new needs, new institutions arise, old ones are modified (McLeish, 1969:26).

Within the context of the theory of education expansion, then, functionalists tend to highlight the roles of the missionaries, the church, and the Imperial educators as advancing the cause of education and the cause of civilisation. Hence, Olwyn Mary Blouet in an article entitled "Education and the Emancipation in Barbados 1833-1846: -- A Study of Cultural Transference" sees educational expansion in the island as "an attempt to transfer educational ideas and principles from England into a West Indian setting" (Blouet, 1981). She further goes on to define education in the same article -- as "a comprehensive process of cultural transmission, be it from generation to generation, social class to social class, or one society to another" (Ibid.). Keith Buchanan somewhat cynically, in his Reflections on Education in the Third World, berates this approach, charging that in this type of theoretical formulation on education expansion in the Third World, "education . . . is seen in the countries of the Third World as 'an escape from the bush.'" (Buchanan, 1976:11).

Pat Rooke (1980:77) presents the following summary of the debate over education expansion in the "British West Indies":

> Histories which discuss the problems of missionary motivation in the nineteenth century seem to fall into two schools of interpretation: the Whigs and the Revisionists. The first school links missionary activity with the urge to improve and civilize the 'benighted' peoples of a far-flung and glorious empire whereas the second school reverses the image and explains it as part of an imperialistic expansionism which succeeded in colonizing different racial groups. That is soul saving was the justification for profit-mongering.

Having presented this highly compressed statement of the differences between these two schools, she proceeds, almost injudiciously, to side with the Whiggish interpretation of education expansion in the West Indies by suggesting that missionary education in "British West Indian Slavery, which legally ended in 1833 but groaned out its death-throes in an apprenticeship period until 1838, offers a curious anomaly to [the radical interpretation of education as] an imperialistic plot."

Theorists of dependency and domination see things quite differently. They see education expansion as an integral part of imperialist political economic and cultural domination of the third world. Within the context of the discussion over the economic and political sphere, radical theorists, Bowles, Gintis, Carnoy, Kelly and Altbach, assert that through schooling, the marginal classes in dependent societies have been socialised into accepting their roles in the satellite economies and have been thereby incorporated into an international system of labour. Kelly and Altbach, for instance, argue that:

> Schools which emerge in colonies reflect the power and the educational needs of the colonizers. . . . The aspirations of the colonized were for the most part ignored. Colonial administrators, when they took interest in education at all, were concerned with training literate clerks who could staff the lower ranks of

> the civil service. . . . The thread that ran through all colonial education was the fact that it was offered by the colonizer without the input or consent of the colonized (Altbach and Kelly, 1978:2).

A most formidable formulation has been advanced by Fanon, Bordieu, Memmi and Apple concerning the issue of education and cultural ideological and psychological domination. Michael Apple (1979:7) in his Ideology and Curriculum makes an incisive analysis of the schooling process and content and their function as instruments of domination:

> Schools in the words of the British sociologists of the curriculum, do not only 'process people,' they 'process knowledge' as well. They act as agents of cultural and ideological hegemony, in Williams' words, as agents of a selective tradition and cultural 'incorporation.' But as institutions, they not only are one of the main agencies of distributing an effective dominant culture, among other institutions . . . they help create people who see no other serious possibility to the economic and cultural assemblage now extant (Apple, 1979:7).

Bordieu and Passeron (1977) see schooling as being most effective in securing political legitimacy for dominant groups. The ritual of schooling /learning process is "violent." This violence, however, is not in the obvious sense of the direct and conscious application of physical force by one actor to another (the colonizer to the colonized) but exists instead in terms of a subterranean current in the socialization process, what Bordieu and Passeron call "symbolic violence." This is achieved through the "pedagogic action" of teaching which "involves the attempted inculcation of meanings which are culturally "arbitrary" by a group whose power is also "arbitrary"." (Freire and Feinberg, 1979).

A glaring example of the pernicious yet subterranean effect of schooling in the colonial/neo-colonial setting -- an example of

Bordieu's and Passeron's "symbolic violence," is illustrated in the case of language. As Bernstein (1977) suggests, language is not merely a medium of communication, any language contains "codes" through which the language user organises his or her understanding of the world. If, in addition, one acknowledges language as a "cultural arbitrary" in the colonial setting where the colonised are coerced into using the language of the colonial oppressor and through time inherit this language as a legacy of domination, then one can begin to perceive the subtler aspects of the deep bodied process of subjugation. Fanon (1967:18) is, however, particularly blunt on the language question:

> Every colonized people — in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality — finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country. The colonized is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country's cultural standards. He becomes whiter as he renounces his blackness, his jungle.

Fanon's thesis of psychological damage was played out in the colonial setting. Nevertheless, though the thesis of cultural and psychological domination affords us a significant insight into the nature of the impact of colonial education, it does not constitute a sufficient explanation of the Imperial intervention in these societies. Neither is the discussion of Bowles, Altbach, Kelly et al., on the economics of colonial education comprehensive enough to give us an indepth understanding of the underlying structures of economic and cultural domination of the Anglophone Caribbean. A much more comprehensive attempt to unravel the structural characteristics of Imperial domination of the region has been formulated by a number of

"radical" economists from Latin America and the Anglophone Caribbean (Frank, Beckford, Girvan and Best) in the form of "dependency theory." A critical analysis of dependency theory will be advanced in the next and final segment of this chapter.

Dependency Theory and the Socio-Economic Development of Barbados between 1627-1833

> The former British West Indies have received much attention from economists, sociologists, historians. These scholars have examined a wide range of hypotheses and propositions, but important phenomena have gone unexamined (Marrieta Morrisey, 1981).

Despite its questionable relevance, bourgeois economic theory emanating from the intellectual centres of the "developed" world has been rigorously applied to the economic and social realities of third world countries. Accordingly, the world has been arbitrarily divided up into "modern" and "traditional" societies, "developed" and "underdeveloped" economies and so on. The latter are thus characterised by a pervasive backwardness, the consequence of a failure to complete the historic transition from tradition and dependence to development and autocentric growth (Rustow, 1961).

Since the 1960's new and to some extent more sympathetic interpretations (Anglophone Caribbean societies, for instance, have been paid more scrupulous attention) of the character of socio-economic life of the third world have emerged. Dependency theory, coming out of ECLA and New World (representative institutions of Latin American and Caribbean scholarship) occupies a central space in this "new" social science approach.[8] While dependency theorists avoid the linear one-dimensional "stage approach" of modernisation theorists

like Rostow, and advance instead an ostensibly dialectical approach ("developed and underdeveloped countries are enmeshed in an interdependent world system"), they have not entirely liberated themselves from conventional economics. Dependency theorists, for example, have defined West Indian economic development exclusively in terms of western capitalist evolution.

The central objective of this, the final segment of this introductory chapter, is to assess the validity of dependency theory as a broad framework for explaining the socio-economic development of "underdeveloped societies." Also, there will be an attempt to address the issue of verification of the theory as it relates to aspects of the historical evolution of Barbadian society between 1627 and 1833.

It is the contention here that dependency theorists in their formulation of the centre-periphery hypothesis employ a concept of development (capitalist development) that is identically the same as that employed by orthodox economists and social scientists. There has been no significant departure from the conceptualisation of the "underdeveloped" world as merely passive and reactive social formations, wholly conditioned by external events activated in metropolitan centres. Historical evidence for Barbados between the period 1627-1833, during the heyday of classical dependence (i.e. during the colonial period prior to emancipation) at times blatantly contradicts this overarching framework.

As Chilcote (1974) observes, there are as many conceptions of dependency as there are authors. However, it is not the intention here

to focus upon the heterogeneous nature of dependency theory. Instead, this discussion of dependency will deal almost exclusively with the formulations of Andre Gunder Frank and the West Indian dependency theorists (Beckford, Best et. al.).

Andre Gunder Frank maintains that (i) the social, economic, political conditions existing in Latin America and the third world in general from the sixteenth century onwards are not due to the persistence of an "original" underdeveloped state of affairs. Instead, Frank affirms that "it is capitalism, both world and national, which produced underdevelopment in the past and which still generates underdevelopment in the present" (Frank, 1969:XI). (ii) Focussing on market relations and volume of trade as opposed to the classical Marxian emphasis on relations of production, Frank contends that the modern socio-economic history of Latin America and the Caribbean has been dominated by the "laws of motion" of capitalism. (iii) His analysis centres on the metropolis-satellite relations of the capitalist system and he traces this relationship throughout the history of Latin America. (iv) He identifies the "contradictions of capitalism" as the motive force in the history of Third World societies, "the expropriation of the economic surplus from the many and its appropriation by the few, the polarization of the capitalist system into metropolitan centre and peripheral satellites and the continuity of the fundamental structure of the capitalist system throughout the history of its expansion and transformation . . ." (Frank, 1969:3).

Frank uncompromisingly states his hypothesis: "My thesis is that these capitalist contradictions and the historical development of the

capitalist system have generated underdevelopment in the peripheral satellites whose economic surplus was expropriated, while generating economic development in the metropolitan centres which appropriated that surplus " (Ibid:3).

Since these contradictions of capitalism are preeminent in the Frankian schema it is necessary to spend some time exploring each contradiction.

The Contradiction of Expropriation and Apropriation

Drawing heavily upon Marx's analysis of capitalism which emphasises the expropriation of the surplus created by original producers (slaves, serfs, workers or peasants) and its appropriation by the capitalist class (landlords, merchants, bankers) preoccupied with profits, and Paul Baran's concepts of "actual" and "potential" surplus,[9] Frank contends that:

(a) a degree of "external and internal monopoly" has characterised the incorporation of Latin America and the Caribbean into the World economic system from the earliest times of Spanish and English colonial expansion in the New World.

(b) This monopoly (i.e., "exclusive control of production") has resulted in the expropriation and consequent unavailability to these societies in the region of a significant part of the economic surplus produced, the latter being appropriated by metropolitan interests. Frank elaborates:

> The monopoly capitalist structure and the surplus expropriation/appropriation contradiction run through the entire Chilean economy, past and present. Indeed, it is this exploitative relationship which in chain-like fashion extends the capitalist link between the capitalist world and national metropolises to the regional centres (part of whose surplus they appropriate) and from these to the local centres, and so on to large landowners or merchants who expropriate surplus from small peasants . . . and sometimes even from these latter to landless laborers exploited by them in turn. At each step along the way, the relatively few capitalists above exercise monopoly over the many below, expropriating some or all of their surplus (Ibid:7).

(c) This huge expropriation suction-process results in the export orientation of production on the local level, and more importantly, the economic development of the metropolitan centre (and ancillary gains to local comprador elites) and the underdevelopment of the periphery as a whole. This is particularly expressed in the multiple exploitation of the marginal classes.

The Contradiction of Metropolis-Satellite Polarisation

Frank's concept of polarisation is also derivative of Marx's analysis of "the imminent centralisation of capitalism" (Aron, 1968). Polarisation for Frank is the most important effect of "surplus expropriation." According to him: "One and the same historical process of expansion and development of capitalism throughout the world has simultaneously generated and continues to generate both economic development and structural underdevelopment " (Frank, 1969:9). The external dynamic of expropriation/appropriation has led to an implosive or internal (local) polarisation of satellite centre and satellite periphery:

> . . . for the generation of structural underdevelopment more important still than the drain of economic surplus from the satellite after its incorporation as such into the world system, is the impregnation of the satellite's domestic economy with the same capitalist structure and its fundamental contradictions (Frank, 1969:10).

Of particular significance is Frank's contention that satellites experience their greatest economic development when their ties to the metropole are weakest.

The Contradiction of Continuity and Change

Frank maintains that despite "historical transformation," the process of underdevelopment is a deepening process of "contradictive" accumulation at the metropolitan centre and expropriation of the satellite.

Anglophone Caribbean Dependency Theorists

West Indian dependency theorists Beckford (1972), Oxaal (1975), Mandle (1974) and Best (1968) take dependency one step further in relation to the analysis of Caribbean realities. They contend that it is necessary to look at the internal workings of given societies. As George Beckford points out:

> External relations alone do not account for persistent underdevelopment. Accordingly, the internal pattern of economic, social and political organisation is analyzed in an attempt to uncover those factors which constrain development in plantation economy and society (Beckford, 1972:XVIII).

Like Frank, Beckford et al. contend "that plantation production of raw materials for trade to European manufacturers wiped out pre-capitalist antecedents" (Morrisey, 1981:5). These theorists

advance the view that the plantation has been the fundamental unit of production throughout the history of the Caribbean. They argue further that the plantation has been from its inception in the region, a capitalist institution. In this they concur with Latin American dependistas, particularly Frank whose thesis is that the third world has been capitalist from the commencement of North Atlantic plunder, trade and investment. Beckford, for instance, makes the distinction between large scale agricultural production in Europe in the seventeenth century as expressed in the manor and large scale production in the Caribbean as expressed in the plantation. He contends that the manor was a feudal institution aimed at pure conspicuous consumption on the part of the landlord. The plantation, on the other hand, was rigorously directed towards export and the capital demands of the mercantile entrepreneurs in Europe.

"The centre piece of the West Indian critique of political economy" (Oxaal, 1975), however, is the paper entitled "OUTLINES OF A MODEL OF PURE PLANTATION ECONOMY." In this paper, Best and Levitt (1968) outline the development of underdevelopment and continuing dependency in the colonial plantation economies:

> On the basis of a detailed analysis of the implicit accounting framework of societies of this type, the authors contend that the pure plantation model has three essential characteristics. The first involves the demonstration that these 'hinterland' (satellite)' societies are structurally part of an 'overseas economy' of the industrial metropole, secondly that such societies comprise a locus of "total economic institutions" and thirdly that the value flows in such a system are typically incalculable (Oxaal, 1975:67).

Whilst the first plank in the above thesis is a similar proposi tion as that advanced by Frank in his Frankian concept of

"metropolis-satellite" relationship, the second and third planks must be elaborated upon. The concept of the plantation as a "total economic institution" is derivative of R.T. Smith's classification of asylums and prisons as "total institutions" (Smith, 1969). It refers to the complete domination of the socio-economic life of Caribbean societies by the plantation. The hierarchical structure and production mechanisms of the plantation are the definitive structures of these societies within which social groups interact.

The "incalculability of value flows" in the plantation system refers to the nature of transactions between the metropolis and the hinterland. The sale of staple, primary produce keeps money flows in the plantation colony at a minimum.

> So far as the colony is concerned, then, very little money income is available to its residents from plantation production and the plantation does not provide the impetus for development (Beckford, 1972:46).

The ultimate conclusion of West Indian dependency economists is very similar to that of Frank's and that of the Latin American dependistas. Hence, the characteristics of societies, such as those in the Anglophone Caribbean, approximate the pure type of the plantation model. The conventional formulations of economic laws and practice "cannot be expected to operate in the same way as in the metropolitan country itself." (Oxaal, 1975:37). There is a persistent and "fatal" lack of interconnectedness between the internal components of the plantation economies. The major structural linkages exist between individual branch firms and its metropolitan headquarters. For both Frank and the West Indian theorists, dependency refers to the self-perpetuating processes and self-reproducing structures in third world societies which are wholly controlled by the non-autonomous nature of the

laws or tendencies governing change in these social formations at the periphery. The directionality of change is consistently the result of external influences from metropolitan centres. Dos Santos, another Latin American theorist, summarises the concept:

> Dependence is a conditioning situation in which the economies of one group of countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of others. A relationship of interdependence between two or more economies and the world trading system becomes a dependent relationship when some countries can expand through self-impulsion while others, being in a dependent position, can only expand as a reflection of the expansion of the dominant countries (Dos Santos, 1973).

Within this over-arching framework, the Caribbean economies by inference are seen as lacking an autonomous capacity for change and growth (development) and are dependent for these on metropolitan centres.

Critique of Structuralist Methodology of Dependency Theory

To the social scientist steeped in the dominant, positivist, logico-deductive methodology, the theory of Frank and Beckford et al., would seem mere ideological ranting. For instead of a preoccupation with imperical verification, dependency theory presents historical "reality" of "underdeveloped" societies through a catalogue of abstractions which do not necessarily exist in the real world. The understanding of past and present conditions of given societies is approached via successive "approximations."

Dependency proceeds from the central hypothesis that development and underdevelopment are partial, interdependent structures of one global system. An elaborate framework of reference is constructed in which various heterogeneous phenomena are analysed to see how they

link and interact with each other to form a total system. Within this overarching framework, an attempt is made to validate theories concerning specific social phenomena. The dominance of the planter class in seventeenth century Barbados, for instance, roughly corresponds to the "satellite-centre" within the Frankian schema. And within the parlance of West Indian dependency theorists, the plantations of that period and their export orientation and linkage to metropolitan commercial enterprise represent a "total system."

The fact is that the methodology employed by dependency theorists is structuralist in character. (Because of the highly derivative nature of dependency, Colin Leys (1977) calls the theory a form of "Marxified structuralism"). As structuralists, they seek to identify the structure that exists behind past and present events. This systemisation of events and phenomena is not, however, intended to be purely descriptive or classificatory. Causality is certainly implied, if not bluntly stated, as for example in the Frankian assertion that metropolitan expansion "conditions" the underdevelopment of given third world societies. However, the reader looking for causally decisive processes is consistently disappointed.

Dependency theorists ask us to judge their formulations in relation to their adequacy or inadequacy as a framework for the articulation of the dynamics of certain relationships "metropole-periphery" -- "expropriation-appropriation," "plantation-hinterland" -- "metropolitan centre." What is absent from these dependency metaphors is a concrete content or texture. We are never sure how one variable influences the other except in a vague chainlike (from top to bottom) conspiracy fashion. The dependency interpretation of the West Indian

socio-economic development reveals only a generalised and generalisable elucidation of social hierarchy, masking in the process fluid and conflict ridden sets of classes and groups. The internal dynamics of given societies are consequently obscured. Thus because of the failure to analyse the categorisations of periphery and metropole dynamically, horizontal and vertical movements taking place across and within social classes that exist within each of the overarching classifications (i.e. periphery, metropole) are not captured.

A further limiting factor related to the structuralist approach to dependency is the over-economistic character of the theory. Hence, social and political processes, the state, politics, ideology, education, culture, are all conceptualised as derivatives of economic forces. They are given little or no attention as independent variables in the process of socio-economic change.

Unit of Analysis

In both Frank's work and that of West Indian dependency theorists, the units of analysis are at times overdrawn. Frank's departure from the orthodox Marxist emphasis on relations of production for an emphasis on market relations as the central component of economic systems does little to recapture the Marxist method. In fact as Veltmeyer (1980) points out, Frank's recasting of sixteenth century Latin American economies as capitalist from the time of North Atlantic plunder, a position shared by Beckford et al., is problematic. Conventional bourgeois critics have indeed sought out Marx's mode of production thesis as an effective counter to the dependency

classification of the early colonial period of Latin American and West Indian societies as capitalist (Morrissey, 1981). If the Marxian mode of production is the principal definitive factor of any epoch in the historical evolution of given societies, they argue, and if the manner in which surplus is produced and expropriated/appropriated defines the mode of production, and if free labour defines capitalism, how then can Frank or the West Indian dependistas say that the sixteenth and seventeenth century period in Latin American and Caribbean history characterised by slavery and feudal type relations of production was capitalist? As Veltmeyer (1980) indicates, Frank et al. confuse the emergence of capital with capitalism. In addition it is difficult to see any advantage in terms of clarity or explanatory power that dependency theory derives from this novel departure from orthodox Marxian analysis.

Explanatory Power

On the whole, the dependency formulation, it can be argued, is an inadequate explanatory model for analysing socio-economic development in third world societies. In this dependency thesis, the dynamic of the "global system" is seen entirely as flowing from the centre. We are in fact only sensitised to one dimension (metropole — periphery) of an ostensibly dialectical relationship. Peripheral social formations are conceptualised as passive victims in the global arrangement. In a sense, the distinct historical past of the periphery is wiped out. For example, the totalistic definition of "plantation economy" within the metropolis-hinterland (satellite) framework in

the parlance of Best, Beckford, Mandle et al. excludes from consideration all non-export and non-export-related forms of trade and production by peasants and other social groupings outside the plantation nexus. Contradicting this position, Morrisey indicates, with the support of trenchant statistical evidence for the period 1844-1921 in Jamaica's economic history, significant internal diversification in the local economy in areas of industry and construction, commerce and even agriculture (Morrisey, 1981:13-20).

The reason for the deficiencies in explanatory power of the dependency model does not merely lie, as Trimberger (1979) suggests, in its failure to make distinction between capitalist exchange relations and capitalist mode of production but also in its theoretical callousness to the historical past of given societies.

Difficulties of Verification: Historical Evidence Contradicts Dependency

Though the central thesis of the dependency school (i.e. the dependency condition of West Indian and Latin American societies is a reflection and consequence of metropolitan expansion) appeals to our "common sense," historical evidence between the period 1627-1833 of Barbadian history presents some problems of verification.

Barbados, a 166 square mile island, settled essentially by British yeomanry in 1627, through the emergence of the sugar plantation, became Britain's most important colonial possession in the seventeenth century. According to the historian, Eric Williams:

> Little Barbados, with its 166 square miles, was worth more to British capitalism than New England, New York and Pennsylvania combined (Williams, 1975:54-55).

But there was from the outset a ruthless sense of independence and self interest demonstrated by the planter class who demanded and obtained the rights and privileges of their counterparts in Britain, established their own representative government (Hoyos, 1979) and supported the Royalist opposition to the Roundhead Parliamentary Government (1649-1660) to the point of defending their territory (successfully) against British invasion (Parris, 1974).

The planter class, because of their economic importance were able to exert enormous pressure on the metropolitan situation. The extent of this influence contradicts the dependency theory emphasis on a unidirectional influence extending from the centre to the periphery. In the vital area of sugar pricing, the planters manipulated sugar production, often hoarding or deliberately cutting back on production, in order to fetch the highest prices in the metropole:

> Under the mercantile system, the sugar planters had a monopoly of the home market, and foreign imports were prohibited. It was therefore the policy of the planters to restrict production in order to maintain a high price. Their legal monopoly of the home market was a powerful weapon in their hands, and they used it mercilessly, at the expense of the whole population of England (Williams, 1975:76).

In spite of the restrictive Navigation Laws limiting colonial trade to English goods and English shipping, the Barbadian planter-mercantile elite exploited the intra-capitalist rivalry and carried out extensive trading with the French, the Dutch, the American colonies and Canada (Watson, 1976).

The influence of Barbadian and West India interests in the sphere of British politics from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth was considerable.[10] The power of West Indian interests in the British House of Commons and the House of Lords during this period was profound. Accordingly, the dependency classification of planter mercantile elite as merely a comprador class with a congruence of interests with merchants from the metropole is manifestly inadequate. The planter elite bought seats in the House of Commons and Lords in order to secure their interests:

> The combination of these two forces, planters and merchants, coupled with colonial agents in England, constituted the powerful West India interest of the eighteenth century . . . their money talked. They bought votes and rotten boroughs and so got into Parliament. Their competition forced up the price of seats. The Earle of Chesterfield was laughed to scorn in 1767 when he offered £2,500 for a seat, for which a West Indian would offer double. . . . The West India interests established a monopoly, in all but name, of one Bristol seat. . . . To make assurance doubly sure the West Indians like the slave traders, were entrenched not only in the lower house but also in the House of Lords, to defend their plantations and the social structure on which they rested (Ibid:92-94)

West Indian planters threw their enormous capital into British industrial expansion:

> They supplied part of the huge outlay for construction of the vast plants to meet the needs of the new productive process and the new markets (Ibid:98).

There was also internally, contrary to the general emphasis of the dependistas, significant movements taking place in the satellite periphery that affected the satellite centre. The slave revolt in Barbados in 1816 for instance, led to ameliorative changes in the

socio-economic system. Not of least significance were changes in attitudes of the upper classes to the education of the Negro as reflected in the establishment of the first Negro schools. According to Jill Sheppard, there was significant movement across social groups during the early colonial era, and "free blacks" and coloureds repeatedly displaced lower class whites because of the cheapness of labour of the former vis-à-vis that of the latter. In 1836, the Secretary of State for the Colonies put the matter bluntly, "[in Bridgetown, Barbados] free blacks and persons of colour have nearly supplanted the whites in almost every trade; the consequence is that the lower class of whites are in a state of degeneration and destitution " (Sheppard, 1977:51).

Conclusion

The above are merely selected cases in which the dependency theory perspective cannot be consistently upheld. They are not exhaustive examples and the Barbadian situation is certainly not entirely unique. The historical picture, then, is very complex. Dependency theory can only be rescued from a dangerous linearity of focus if a genuine attempt is made to review the distinct historical past of third world societies. What is also needed is a more dynamic concept of dependency--development in which patterns of indigenous and autocentric growth across the full spectrum of social political and economic institutions of given societies are taken into account. As will be demonstrated in the succeeding chapters, all social classes in Barbados were active, and even innovative, in their methods of securing their interests during the colonial period.

Footnotes

[1]See Williamson, Bill -- Education Social Structure and Development (1979). In the introduction to his book, Williamson has an excellent discussion of contemporary approaches in sociology of education theory. He suggests that it is necessary for some reconciliation to take place between sociologists of education who are preoccupied with micro-analysis of "education practice" and the "coal face of the classroom" and those sociologists of education who are concerned with a macro-approach to education problems. Williamson gravitates towards a new "radical" approach to education in which he yokes the education system to models of development (capitalist vs. socialist) options that developed and dependent societies have taken.

[2]Halsey and Karabel, introduction to Power and Ideology in Education (1977).

[3]Pat Rooke. See "The Pedagogy of Conversion: Missionary Education to the Slaves in the British West Indies, 1800-1833," Paedagogica Historica XVIII/2, 1978. Pat Rooke states, inter alia: "The claim has been asserted, almost universally and absolutely, that nineteenth century imperialism and Christianization were mutually compatible. The West Indian case, during the period 1800-1833, seems somewhat of an exception " (Ibid.).

It is difficult to agree with this interpretation. Empirical evidence indicates a definite working relationship between the missionaries and the Imperial power. In 1833, the Negro Education Grant Resolution was introduced into the British Parliament as an amendment to the Emancipation Bill of the same year. It is of particular significance that in 1835, the British Government would choose to make the first disbursements under the Negro Education Grant Scheme to the missionaries. The author wishes to suggest that this was a clear indication that the Imperial power saw the interests of the missionaries in "Christianising" and civilising as compatible with its own interests. Indeed the concept of "moral and religious" education which both the metropolitan government and the missionaries considered in the 1830s to be the principal objective of education for the exslave would be maintained, at least in part, for over a century of West Indian education. The initial interest of the British Government in education in the West Indies revolved around social control. The missionary societies were seen as socialising agencies capable of carrying out the task. Missionary endeavour in Barbados was not an exercise in civil disobedience. While it is true that the planters were at times suspicious of missionary activity, their fears were never proven to be justified.

I wish also to suggest that missionary competition for "souls" manifested an identical competitive motif as that of mercantile capitalism (see Campbell, "Obstacles to Popular Education in Jamaica," Jamaican Historical Review, Vol. XIII, 1967).

[4]Andre Gunder Frank is even more specific about this issue of the co-optation of sociologists:

> Our own profession is not . . . isolated . . . Roosevelt's and Kennedy's brain trusts co-opted all sorts of American social scientists. Harvard historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s aid to the development of underdeveloped countries has so far consisted in writing the now famous White Paper on Cuba which was intended to justify the coming invasion of that country at the Bay of Pigs. He later admitted lying about the invasion in the "national interest." Stanford economist Eugene Staley wrote The Future of Underdeveloped Countries and then planned it in the reknown Staley-(General Maxwell) Taylor Plan to put 15 million Vietnamese in the concentration camps they euphemistically christened "strategic hamlets." . . . M.I.T. economic historian Walt Whitman Rustow has escalated the effort by writing The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto. He wrote of these stages at the CIA-financed Center for International Studies on the Charles River and has been operationalizing them on the Potomac River as President Kennedy's Director of Policy and Johnson's chief advisor on Vietnam (Frank, 1969:28).

[5]There has been, within the last decade and a half, the rise of the "new" sociology of education (see Sharpe and Greene, 1975). It advances a powerful critique of the earlier approaches to the analysis of schooling and society. The "new" sociologists offer a more dynamic relational thesis. They assert that the earlier functionalist approaches depend too heavily on a positivistic empiricism which "objectifies" and dehumanises the essentially human process of schooling. They contend further that the Neo-Marxist base superstructure model of economy and schooling is too static, too mechanistic. The key to understanding schooling, they argue, is to get inside the "black box" of the classroom. It is necessary to "illuminate" the process in which pupil and teacher construct their reality. Whilst this methodological approach has 'immense demystifying potential' (Sarup, 1978), it is on the whole characterised by an ahistorical approach to the analysis of education and a tendency to eschew macro-issues such as imperialism or dependency. It will not therefore be given an extensive assessment in this thesis. Young, Garfinkle, Keddie, Berger, Luckmann, Muller and Apple all belong to the "new" sociology school. Apple departs somewhat from the dominant trend in this school, in that he brings to the "new," phenomenological analysis of schooling, a Marxian political economy perspective.

[6]John Locke is often regarded as the "founder of empiricism" and the logico-deductive method of scientific inquiry (Russel, 1945). In his work Essay Concerning the Human Understanding (1676), he argued against Plato, Descartes and the scholastics, contending that there were no innate ideas or principles. He suggested instead, that ideas were derived from two sources: (a) sensation and (b) perception of the operation of our own mind, what Russel (1945) calls, the "internal sense."

[7]Actually, the idea of ameliorative measures to improve the lot of the slaves in the colonies was first advanced by independent individuals and the Abolition Movement. However after 1815, the British Government, preoccupied with domestic social unrest and reform, also sought to promote an amelioration plan in the colonies:

> The policy of amelioration had certain clearly specified objectives which were conveyed to the colonies in a despatch from Lord Bathurst, the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The flogging of slave women was to be abolished, and there was to be one day respite before the flogging of male slaves was administered. . . . The habit of splitting slave families by sale and selling slaves for the payment of their owners' debts was discontinued. The practice hitherto existing of neglecting the religious education of the slaves was to be remedied by encouraging the activities of missionaries and clergymen (Dookhan, 1974:86).

[8]ECLA is an institution of the United Nations, i.e. ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR LATIN AMERICA, whose offices were opened in Santiago de Chile in 1948. According to Oxaal: "ECLA's perspective was based on the belief that conventional economic theory as expounded in developed capitalist countries was inadequate for dealing with the problems of underdevelopment. The study of underdevelopment required, it was thought, a "structuralist" perspective, an appreciation of different historical situations and national contexts. . . . The main tenets of ECLA's early position were those propounded by its first General Secretary, Dr. Raul Prebisch. He argued that Latin America's underdevelopment was the result of its position in the world economy, and its adoption of liberal capitalist economic policies (Oxaal, 1975:9).

The NEW WORLD GROUP represents the emergence of a young, vigorously cri[illegible]tion of West Indian intellectuals in the 1960s. The University of the West Indies campus located in Kingston, Jamaica became the leading centre of West Indian intellectual development. The New World Group was best known for their publication of the New World Quarterly -- a rigorous and indigenous journal.

[9]This concept of "surplus" is derived from Baron's modification of Marx's Surplus value thesis -- "actual surplus," "the difference between society's actual current output and its actual current consumption " (Baran, 1957:22). "Potential surplus" refers to the "difference between the output that could be produced in a given natural and technological environment with the help of employable productive resources, and what might be regarded as essential consumption " (Ibid.:27).

[10]After 1833, with the abolition of slavery and certainly by 1846, with the Sugar Duties Equalisation Act, the powerful influence of Barbados planter class on metropolitan politics and economics declined dramatically.

Chapter II

BARBADOS, HINTERLAND PAR EXCELLENCE!

A BRIEF REVIEW OF BARBADOS' ECONOMIC HISTORY 1627-1833

George Beckford (1972:3) asserts:

> In these areas the plantation has been the dominant economic, social and political institution in the past, continues to be in the present, and from all indications will continue to be in the future. It is an instrument of political colonisation; it brought capital, enterprise and management to create economic structures. . . . It brought different races of people from various parts of the world to labour in its service and this determined the population and social structures now existing in these places.

In no other Anglophone Caribbean island, and probably throughout the length and breadth of the New World, no other colonised country is the history of a people more thoroughly and completely immersed in the plantation economy and its ramifications than that of Barbados. Marietta Morrisey's (1981) virulent censure of dependency theorists for defining West Indian economies primarily in terms of plantation economics, though to some extent accurate, is not always justified when the history of particular Anglophone Caribbean territories is considered. For indeed, it is true to say, that the economic history of Barbados from the mid-seventeenth century onwards is the history of the plantation.

Barbados was settled in 1627 by 50 English voyageurs who brought along with them ten African slaves. Before 1640, a pre-plantation sugar era existed in which tobacco cultivation was the dominant industry. There were of course other supporting crops such as yams, cotton and

cassava, but these were subsistence oriented and ancillary to tobacco. There are different, often conflicting, descriptions of these early settlers in the literature. Parris (1974) and Hoyos (1978) refer to them as "pioneers"-- religious refugees for the most part, who became yeoman farmers in Barbados. Trevor Marshall (1973) refers to them as "cut-throats," aggressive buccaneering types, representative of the British lumpen proletariat, while Watson (1979) makes strong connections between this group and English royalty. Watson's observation is particularly true of the influx of settlers leaving England during the 1640s and 1650s when the Cavaliers and the Roundheads were locked in a tumultuous struggle for political dominance in England. To be sure all these social elements, pioneer, cut-throat, religious refugee and disgraced aristocrat were represented among the European segment of the colonial population.

It is safe to say, and the British historian, William Green (1976) supports this view, that prior to 1640, the significant portion of the white population of Barbados was part of the English, Scottish, Irish and European dispossessed ready to run anywhere from religious intolerance, famine and poverty in Britain and Europe. There were also small numbers of Africans and Amerindians in the early settlement.

From the inception, the Barbadian economy was a dependent one and derived its raison d'être from its closely interlocking relationship to the metropolitan economy. Its political structure also had as its highest reference point, the political organisation of the metropolitan country — the English King being the Royal Overlord. Barbadian freeholders and yeomanry held their property at the King's pleasure and were consequently merely tenants in a foreign land. However, this

political arrangement was not converted into a day to day control of the administration of the 166 square mile island. The early settlers thus had a relatively free hand in running their own affairs. Much of the belligerence of the Barbadian planter class was moulded in this period. As an early indication of this, the colonists established their own House of Assembly in 1639.

During this period, the European population increased steadily, and by 1636 there were 6,000 whites on the island. These early colonists hastily set about dividing up the best land among themselves. By 1638, according to Parris (1974), "two-thirds of the land were taken up". So rapidly, in fact, was the land acquired, that in 1647, the Earle of Carlisle, to whom the island was patented by James I in the late 1620s, indicated that there was no more land available in Barbados for indentured servants at the termination of their tenure of service. Starkey (1939:62) informs us that Carlisle suggested that all free men desiring land should go to Nevis, Antigua or one of the other islands which were patented to him. The labour power underpinning this tobacco economy was largely derived from white servants who were indentured or bonded for a number of years, usually five, to work in the service of their masters (English/European planters). Payment was deferred until the five year tenure was up. This took the form of allotments of land. The economic and social organisation was minuscule when compared to the rather spectacular developments after 1640. Economic and social organisation revolved around freehold allocations and a nascent yeoman farming gentry.

But external pressure dealt a devastating blow to the fragile tobacco economy in the late 1630s. Barbados tobacco could not compete

successfully with the cheaper and better quality tobacco coming from the American colonies, particularly Virginia. In addition, the British Government raised the tariff on tobacco imported from Barbados. The effect was catastrophic. The price of tobacco fell sharply. The following figures in Table 2.1 dramatically emphasises the point:

Table 2.1

Tobacco Imports to London in Pounds

FROM	1628	1638	1639
BARBADOS	102,700	204,000	28,000

(Source: Harlow, 1926:23)

The Barbadian planters fell upon hard times but sugar production would bring them out of the crisis before very long.

The Sugar Revolution and its Ramifications

It was the Dutch who came to the rescue of the island colony. Circumstances were fortuitous, for the colonists. The Dutch were in the early 1640s fleeing Brazil which was reclaimed by the Portuguese. They brought to Barbados, the technique of sugar manufacture along with the capital to purchase the machinery and equipment required. Thus according to Parris (1974:89):

> The Dutch in Brazil were therefore crucial in providing both the credit and the techniques for the growth of the sugar industry and Barbados' abandonment of tobacco and cotton production.

The advent of sugar generated revolutionary and multiplier effects across all spheres of Barbadian society. Profound changes did take place in the economic, social and demographic make up of the island.

Sugar production rapidly made Barbados a prized and indispensable jewel in the British string of possessions. On the Barbadian plantations, massive profits were accumulated from sugar, vastly outstripping, by at least three or four times on a per unit acre basis, whatever profits were derived from tobacco.

The arrival of "King Sugar" meant consolidation of land ownership into large size plantations. The sugar cane crop required infinitely larger land space than did tobacco cultivation and also required a greater labour supply. Also, the capital outlay for labour and machinery was correspondingly greater. Sugar was "big business" in which only the wealthiest planters could have paramountcy. The immediate and effective displacement of small size landholders took place and accumulation of land and wealth slipped into the hands of a minority of families. A Barbadian plantocracy had indeed emerged. In a period of ten years after the introduction of sugar cane, 12,000 small holders sold out their property and left the island (Parris, 1974). The 11,200 small holdings in the island in 1645 were reduced or incorporated into 745 large estates by 1665:

> The small holders who remained came under the control of the merchants and the wealthier planters (Ibid., 1974:90).

By 1660, the structure of property relations in Barbados had altered drastically and a pyramidal form of social and economic organisation both among the white group and the larger population replaced the quasi-egalitarian ownership arrangement of the previous era of tobacco and the freeholders.

A concomitant and equally important social phenomenon was the massive influx of African slaves. Sugar cultivation and production

demanded a vast labour supply and the planters needed cheap labour. The economic motive became a dominant, magnetic force which pulled thousands of enbondaged Africans across the Atlantic to the New World. Needless to say, this exercise was acted out with such savagery, that millions died on their way in the dreaded "middle passage". Sugar plantations in Barbados became slave plantations. Within barely four decades after the arrival of sugar, African slaves outnumbered the white population in the colony. Robert Schomburgk (1848) informs us that "In 1676, Sir Jonathan Atkins reported the number of inhabitants in Barbados to be 21,275 whites, and 32,473 negroes" (Schomburgk, 1848:80).

The Governor of Barbados in 1676 was particularly blunt about the feasibility of African labour "three blacks work better and cheaper than one white man" (Williams, 1975:19). While the number of African slaves continued to rise, the number of whites declined or remained stationary. Table 2.2 shows the comparative growth of the white and black population.

Table 2.2

Population Figures 1660-1690

YEAR	WHITES	AFRICAN SLAVES	TOTAL
1670	20,000	20,000	-
1673	21,309	33,184	54,493
1680	20,000	38,782	58,782
1684	19,568	46,602	66,070
1690	20,000	60,000	80,000

(Source: Jill Sheppard, 1977:34)

There was an astronomical rise in land prices according to Richard Ligon (1653:20). Whereas in 1640, a 500 acre plantation cost 400 pounds sterling, by 1648 a half acre in the same plantation cost

7,000 pounds sterling. The early twentieth century historian, V.T. Harlow, refers to a two-fold economic process at work:

> The two-fold process, whereby a sturdy English colony was converted into a little more than one large sugar factory, owned by a few absentee proprietors and worked by a mass of alien labour constitutes the main feature of Barbadian History (Harlow, 1926:40).

Property distribution illustrates the tendency towards concentration (see Table 2.3) beginning within the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

Table 2.3

Distribution of Property, Barbados, 1680

	Number	Acreage	Servants	Slaves
Big Planters:	175 (6.9%)	46,775 (53.4%)	1,032 (53.9%)	20,289 (54.3%)
All Other Land Holders:	2,417 (93.1%)	40,804 (46.1%)	883 (46.1%)	17,054 (45.7%)
TOTAL:	2,592	87,579	1,915	37,343

(Source: Parris, 1974:106)

Barbados Importance to Imperial Economics

Barbados particularly, but Jamaica, St. Kitts and Antigua as well, rose to meteoric importance to English economic expansion. John Stuart Mill, the nineteenth century political economist and spokesman for British capitalism, spoke glibly of this relationship, "the trade of the West Indies is hardly to be considered as external trade, but more resembles traffic between town and country" (Rodney, 1972:93). Likewise, Adam Smith, a century before, marvelled:

> The profits of a sugar plantation in any of our West Indian colonies are generally much greater than those of any other cultivation that is known either in Europe or America (Adam Smith, 1937:336).

Eric Williams (1975:98-105), a Trinidadian political historian, has drawn attention to the massive strides made in Britain in banking, heavy industry, shipping and just about every sector of the Imperial economy as a consequence of profits made from the sugar colonies in the Anglophone Caribbean.

From very early, the English merchants and political elite decided to direct the traffic of import and export trade of the sugar colonies. The Navigation Laws passed in 1650 secured this monopoly and ensured that as far as possible that (i) trade would take place between West Indian colonies and English merchants, (ii) that such trade would be conducted by English shipping. By the last quarter of the seventeenth century, Barbados had become the centre-piece of British economic expansion. Karl Watson, paraphrasing Jerome Handler (1974) makes the point succinctly:

> Throughout the seventeenth century, the value of Barbados' exports to England was greater than that of any other British Caribbean territory, and 'more valuable than the total from North America (Watson, 1979:5).

That in the seventeenth century, a tiny 166 square mile island could have been of such stupendous economic importance, rests on two simple factors: (i) the international economy and British economic expansion were at a "primitive" stage of development and relatively limited in structure and scope, (ii) the energies of the Barbadian populace were almost totally consumed in plantation operation and sugar production

The Local Economy

Despite the subordination of the Barbadian economy, to that of the metropole, there was a degree of manoeuvrability in the island's external relations, and the Barbadian planter-merchant class exercised at times, a high degree of independence and at other times, contemptuous disregard for Imperial injunctions, particularly in the area of trade. Barbadian merchants and planters ignored the strictures of the Navigation Laws and conducted a whopping trade with the American colonies. John Adams spoke of this trading relationship:

> The commerce of the West Indian Islands is a part of the American system of commerce. They can neither do without us nor we without them. The Creator has placed us upon the globe in such a situation that we have occasion for each other (Adams, 1856:74).

"In 1770," according to Watson (1979:14), "Barbados exported goods worth £119,828 to the American colonies. This constituted approximately 1/4 of her total exports for the year and consisted of sugar, rum and molasses". Barbados also imported heavily from the North American colonies -- staples of bread, flour, rice, peas and beans, construction materials, shingles, boards and so on. This picture of inter-colonial trade was generally true for the entire Anglophone Caribbean. Table 2.4 indicates the range of the imports which the Caribbean sugar colonies bought from their North American counterparts. Barbados also exported items to the other islands, prominent among these were slaves.

> Slave sales did take place in Barbados during the late eighteenth century. The Mercury in 1787 advertised a "sale of Windward and Gold Coast slaves just imported in the ship Polly from Africa." Three other advertisements in the same newspaper appeared during the course of the year, offering lots of Sierra Leonese for sale (Watson, 1979:71)

Between 1788 and 1804, Barbadian planters exported almost as many slaves as they had imported. 21,525 slaves were exported during this period and 26,027 were imported. The country chiefly exported sugar, arrow-root, aloes, cotton, molasses, rum and pickles. Robert Schomburgk gives us some idea of Barbados' exports in the early nineteenth century:

> The chief staple articles produced in Barbados for export consist of sugar, arrow-root, aloes and cotton; a small quantity of ginger is cultivated, which is mostly used for preserves. Cocoa-nuts and tamarinds occur in the table of exports (1848:153).

The author also noted that fustic and logwood were exported, but considerably less in quantity in the 1840s than in previous years. Tables 2.5, 2.6 and 2.7 give details about the size of Barbados' exports and imports during a four year period 1841-1845. It is to be noted that throughout this period, the annual value of Barbados' exports was greater than the annual value of the island's imports. In 1841, whereas the total value of imports into the colony was just over £317,338, the total value of her exports for the same year was over £531,872 -- more than one and a half times the value of her imports. In 1842, the economic statistics were even more phenomenal. [illegible] gross revenue was £855,713, whereas her expenditure on [illegible] was only £276,419 or almost four times less than the value of her exports! In terms of intercolonial trade in the Caribbean, the value of Barbados exports for 1842 was more than four and a half times the value of the island's imports from her colonial counterparts in the region -- £134,515 as opposed to £28,744.

Indeed from as early as 1666, because of the rapid prosperity of the island, the Governor of Barbados made a strong plea to Charles II

Table 2.4

Comparative Table of Imports from the Thirteen Colonies and Other British North American Possessions into the British West Indies in 1771, 1772, and 1773

Product	From the 13 colonies	From Canada and Nova Scotia	From Newfoundland
Board and timber, ft.	76,767,695	232,040	2,000
Shingles, no.	59,586,194	185,000	---
Staves, no.	57,998,661	27,350	---
Hoops, no.	4,712,005	16,250	9,000
Corn, bu.	1,204,389	24	---
Peas, beans, bu.	64,006	1,017	---
Bread, flour, bbls.	396,329	901	---
Ditto, kegs	13,099	---	---
Rice, bbls.	39,912	---	---
Ditto, tierces	21,777	---	---
Fish, hhd.	51,344	449	2,307
Ditto, bbls.	47,686	646	202
Ditto, quintals	21,500	2,958	11,764
Ditto, kegs	3,304	609	---
Beef and pork, bbls.	44,782	170	24
Poultry, dozen	2,739	10	---
Horses, no.	7,130	28	---
Oxen, no.	3,647	---	---
Sheep and hogs, no.	13,815	---	---
Oil, barrels	3,189	139	118
Tar, pitch, turpentine bbls.	17,024	---	---
Masts, no.	157	---	---

(Source: Ragatz, 1963:493)

Table 2.5

Comparative Statement of the External Commerce of Barbados During the years 1841 to 1845 inclusive

A. Value of Imports

Year	From Great Britain			British Colonies									United States			Foreign States			Total		
				West Indies			North America			Elsewhere											
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1841	51,680	11	7	28,738	11	8	75,488	3	11	2,580	8	4	121,955	0	9	36,895	9	6	317,338	5	9
1842	33,805	16	9	28,743	15	8	69,352	7	5	3,053	0	0	108,434	13	4	33,029	2	5	276,418	15	7
1843	359,413	5	0	21,869	18	8	53,406	9	2	2,042	15	6	162,364	8	2	18,034	13	6	617,131	10	0
1844	338,381	15	3	23,558	3	7	39,742	17	11	.....			161,252	13	7	41,475	8	6	604,410	18	10
1845	358,795	19	4	35,185	9	0	39,343	12	7	36,807	16	0	188,686	15	5	23,548	8	4	682,368	0	8

(Source: Schomburgk, 1848:154-155)

Table 2.6

Comparative Statement of External Commerce of Barbados During the Years 1841 - 1845 Inclusive

B. Value of Exports

Year	Great Britain			British Colonies									United States			Foreign States			Total		
				West Indies			North America			Elsewhere											
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1841	408,984	12	2	115,834	9	4	751	7	0	.....			2532	4	3	3769	14	0	531,872	6	9
1842	717,818	9	8	134,514	15	0	122	15	0	.....			289	9	6	2967	6	7	855,712	15	9
1843	539,756	11	6	119,269	11	8	34	4	0	.....			1548	2	5	7647	11	1	668,256	0	8
1844	539,674	15	7	134,799	0	11	152	9	5	140	0	0	1238	4	4	4996	0	7	681,000	10	10
1845	548,527	9	9	129,193	15	9	2821	13	4	.....			1750	14	6	9016	2	8	691,309	16	0

(Source: Schomburgk, 1848:154-155)

Table 2.7

Specified Statement of the Articles Exported From Barbados in 1845, and to What Country, and Their Value

Description and Quantity	To Great Britain			British Colonies									United States			Foreign States			Total		
				West Indies			North America			Elsewhere												
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Aloes, 1958 packages	2,862	14	8	.....			.....			.....			.....			.....			2,862	14	8
Arrowroot, 383 packages	413	7	2	292	16	8	.....			.....			.....			.....			706	13	10
Cocoa, 13 casks, 671 bags	85	1	0	1,072	10	11	.....			.....			.....			.....			1,157	11	11
Coffee, 32 casks, 40 bags	16	7	6	220	10	8	.....			.....			.....			.....			236	18	2
Cotton, 803 bales	3,428	10	0	.....			.....			.....			.....			.....			3,428	10	0
Ginger, 37 packages	4	0	0	44	10	0	.....			.....			.....			.....			48	10	0
Molasses, 6191 pchs. 279 hhds. 4 qr. casks, 210 barrels	35,259	9	4	1,312	5	0	2803	18	4	.....			25	0	0	.....			39,400	12	8
Pickles & succades, 596 pack	929	9	2	40	17	0	0	10	0	.....			.....			3	0	0	973	16	2
Rum, 45 packs	388	14	0	.....			.....			.....			.....			.....			388	14	0
Sugar, Moscov 23,545 hhds., 1625 tierces, 1236 bars. 15 half-barrels, 4 boxes	502,386	5	0	225	15	0	.....			.....			40	0	0	.....			502,652	0	0
Other Colonial Produce of the West Indies	695	11	8	3,459	10	10	0	15	0	.....			.....			155	14	8	4,311	12	2
Goods not the Produce of the West Indies	2,057	10	3	122,524	19	8	16	10	0	.....			1685	14	6	8857	8	0	135,142	2	5
TOTAL OF EXPORTS	548,527	9	9	129,193	15	9	2821	13	4	.....			1750	14	6	9016	2	8	691,309	16	0

Excess of Exports in 1845 above 1844 £10,309 5s. 2d.

(Source: Schomburgk, 1848:154-155)

to allow the Barbadian planters and merchants to trade with whomsoever they wished. The Governor of Barbados thus begged "leave to be plain with his Majesty, for he is come to where it pinches . . . Free trade is the life of all colonies . . . whoever he be that advised His Majesty to restrain and tie up his colonies is more a merchant than a good subject (Williams, 1975:56).

Decline of Barbados in Economic Importance

The vociferous cries of Barbadian planters for free trade raised in the seventeenth century during the heyday of sugar production, would in the early nineteenth century change to urgent pleas for the maintenance of monopoly. The meteoric rise of the small, sugar-based island to economic importance within the framework of British Imperial economics came to a dramatic and inevitable end. To put it simply, Barbados sugar planters were overtaken by events taking place within international capitalism, particularly in Britain itself. Between the second half of the seventeenth century and the second half of the nineteenth, a British manufacturing class had grown up. They were now prepared to refine sugar from anywhere -- provided it was cheap. In the English Caribbean colonies, where sugar was not highly mechanised, and where by the end of the eighteenth century, the planters were losing their grasp on cheap slave labour as a direct consequence of the abolition of the slave trade and the imminent prospect of the abolition of slavery itself, sugar production was not cheap. The planters could not sell their sugar cheaply enough. The British manufacturers however had a special deference for the Caribbean

planter class even as late as the second half of the eighteenth century. Their protests were somewhat muffled:

> The refiners of London, Westminister, Southwark and Bristol protested to Parliament in 1753 against the selfishness of the planters and the "most intolerable kind of a tax" represented by the higher price of British sugar. The refiners urged Parliament to make it the interest of the sugar planters to produce more raw sugar by increasing the area under cultivation. They were careful, however, not to pretend to "set ourselves in competition with the inhabitants of all the sugar colonies, either for numbers, wealth, or consequence to the public" (Williams, 1975:77).

But in the mid-nineteenth century, they were almost vituperative; they held nothing back:

> But the capitalists, like Taylor, . . . could see in the colonies nothing but "furious assemblies, foolish governors, missionaries and slaves". . . . Nothing was true but what went to West Indian condemnation, nothing was just but what went to West Indian ruin (Ibid.:144).

The mercantilist triangular trade in African slaves, West Indian sugar and the import/export traffic with the colonies made a great contribution to British economic and industrial development. But this growth and expansion which stimulated mercantilism outgrew mercantilism. A dominant feature of the mercantilist epoch was monopoly, the notion that English trade should be English; English men should be the sole producers and distributors of Imperial goods at home and abroad. The watch word was "protection". In England, the state protected the landlord's corn; in the Anglophone Caribbean colonies, the Imperial state apparatus protected the planter's sugar cane.

The new epoch of industrial expansion placed tremendous strain on protectionism and protectionist policies. Mobility and flexibility in trading relations were vital prerequisites in satisfying the dynamic

expansionary potential of British manufacturing interests. In Williams' words, "English industry in 1783 was like Gulliver, tied down by the Lilliputian restrictions of mercantilism" (Ibid:107).

A concomitant influence upon the planters' decline in economic importance and the defeat of monopoly was the American Revolution and the founding of the new nation of the United States, independent and free to make its decisions about its own trade. Not only was the idea of maintaining a colonial system thrown into serious doubt, but more importantly, the restrictive Imperial trading laws calculated to damage and contain nascent American industrial growth were cast asunder. Industrialists and spokesmen for free trade in England and abroad welcomed the new era. Adam Smith was uncompromising in his denouncement of the cumbersome economics of the colonial system and monopoly:

> Adam Smith denounced the folly and injustice which had first directed the project of establishing colonies in the New World. He opposed the whole system of monopoly, the keystone of the colonial arch, on the ground that it restricted the productive power of England as well as the colonies. If British industry had advanced, it had done so not because of the monopoly but inspite of it (Ibid.).

The writing was on the wall for the sugar barons of Barbados and the rest of the islands as early as the last quarter of the eighteenth century. In July, 1783, a British Order in Council declared free trade between Britain and the United States. Imports from the U.S.A. into Britain increased some fifty percent between 1784 and 1790. The implications for the Caribbean colonies were profound. The economic expedient which set the slave trade in motion would be replaced by another economic expedient that would end it. Monopoly would be replaced by free trade. The bottom line in the parlance of the Anti-

slavery movement, was the same for the industrialists, the politicians and even the humanitarians -- the slave trade and later slavery itself were no longer "economically feasible".

The dominance of the sugar islands of the Anglophone Caribbean in the Imperial economy before the 1780s lay in the fact that they had little or no competition. The picture had changed drastically by the closing of the eighteenth century. Saint Domingue, Mauritius, Cuba and Brazil in the 1780s and early nineteenth century, later to be followed by Louisiana, Australia, Hawaii and Java, gave the British sugar colonies in the Caribbean stiff and unrelenting competition. European beet sugar would in the 1840s deal the sugar islands a demoralising blow, resulting in the discontinuation of Imperial Government's preferential treatment to the Caribbean sugar. In 1848, in Williams' words, "Beet . . . freed the slaves on the cane sugar plantations of the French colonies". In the Anglophone Caribbean, beet sugar made the planters quake. Everywhere sugar could be produced much cheaper than in the Anglophone Caribbean. Increased mechanisation and efficiency in Saint Domingue and Cuba, in addition to the fact that it took both the French and the Spanish Imperial governments much longer than the British to free the slaves in their colonies, meant that sugar could be produced far more cheaply in the French and Spanish colonies. In 1788, Saint Domingue exports doubled those of Jamaica. In 1789, these were valued at over one-third more than those of all the British Caribbean combined. Ragatz (1963) gives us some idea of the phenomenal rise to economic importance of Saint Domingue:

> St. Domingo's agricultural development began to receive serious attention only about 1725, but proceeded with such marvelous rapidity that, within fifty years, it was the foremost tropical colony in the world and boasted the proud name "Queen of the Antilles." Seven hundred ninety-two sugar estates, 2,810 coffee plantations, 705 cotton properties, and 3,097 growing indigo were being worked about 1790. The negro population was then some 455,000 and production approximately equalled that of all the British tropical American possessions combined (Ragatz, 1963:204).

Williams outlines the bleak economic picture in the British West Indies. He describes it in terms of the passing away of an era:

> The British West Indies had clearly lost their monopoly of sugar cultivation. In 1789 they could not compete with Saint Domingue; nor in 1820 with Mauritius; nor in 1830 with Brazil; nor in 1840 with Cuba. Their day had passed. Limited in extent, slave or free, they could not compete with larger areas, more fertile, less exhausted, where slavery was still profitable. Cuba could contain all the British islands of the Caribbean, Jamaica included. One of Brazil's mighty rivers could hold all the West Indian islands without its navigation being obstructed. India could produce enough rum to drown the West Indies (Williams, 1975:152).

The decline of sugar planters of the islands within the sphere of British economics was relatively swift and was characterised by an inevitability that the planters could not contain. There were thus three identifiable and interlocking phases of rapid descent: 1807 the abolition of the slave trade; 1833 the abolition of slavery, and in 1846 the equalisation of sugar duties, prefiguring the end of preferential treatment granted to British West Indian sugar. Thus the nails were being driven into the coffin of protectionism for Caribbean sugar. The planters would now in the late 1840s have to compete with another adversary — Europe's beet sugar.

In all this, Barbadian planters clung ever desperately to sugar and their plantations. Though the British Caribbean sugar colonies had by now clearly lost their monopoly of sugar cultivation and although

between 1815 and 1833 West Indian production had declined in output or remained stationary -- 3,381,700 hogsheads in 1815 to 3,351,800 hogsheads in 1833 (Ragatz, 1963:331-384), Barbados production doubled during the same period (Williams, 1975:151). The Barbadian resilience could be explained by three interrelated factors:

(i) The Barbadian planters were less inclined to absenteeism, unlike the planters in most of the other islands, and stayed in the island to directly oversee their plantations.

(ii) They had a steady supply of labour and were less affected by the abolition of the slave trade and later the abolition of slavery than the other islands.

(iii) The planters made a concerted effort to alter their techniques of production in accordance with the demands of the changing times.

Techniques of Sugar Production

Prior to the nineteenth century and especially in the seventeenth, the techniques of sugar-cane cultivation were "primitive", to use the language of Parris (1974). According to Starkey (1939:60), sugar-cane cultivation was characterised by the use of the hoe for weeding, and there was little or no use of manure. The processing of sugar was done in factories, which featured mills driven by animals (cattle-mills), a boiling house, a curing house and a distillery. High yields were not achieved through a sophisticated deployment or utilisation of African slave labour, but instead through an emphasis on the maximum exploitation of the labour power of the slave. Neither technological subtlety nor sophistication, but numbers and strength and

particularly the Barbadian planters' recourse to African labour, explain the rapid prosperity of Barbados after the introduction of sugar-cane in the 1640s.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the Barbadian planters responded to the highly competitive sugar production in other parts of the region and the world by placing a high premium on innovation and the maximisation of productivity from what would become by the end of the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, paid labour. Green manures and chemicals were introduced. Mulching and the use of the plough in place of the hoe were widespread. Hoyos (1978:137-138) remarks on these developments:

> The planters carefully planned their cultivation to suit the vagaries of the seasons and they also gave their attention to better methods of manufacture. Steam engines were substituted for windmills. The vacuum pan, as an improved means of evaporating cane juice, became the accepted thing. "Invaluable adjuncts to the production of good sugar," such as precipitators and centrifugal dessicators, were being so rapidly adopted that anyone who did not provide himself with such means and appliances was regarded as "a very slow coach indeed".

The nineteenth century medical doctor, and Inspector General of Army Hospitals in the Windward and Leeward Islands, John Davy, drew attention to new developments in cultivation and sugar processing in Barbados:

> A planter who has distinguished himself by advocating the use of the plough and other efficient implements, and has set the example on his own property, has stated that by substituting the plough for the hoe, work which, with the former cost 30 dollars, with the latter was reduced to seven, and was well done; land so tilled had yielded him four hogsheads of sugar. On a property on which sugar has been made by the vacuum pan, under careful and skilled management there has been a gain of 25 percent. The ordinary proportion of juice obtained from the canes is about 50 percent; by improvements in the mill, the quantity has been increased to 60 without injury to the megass as fuel; and where steam power has been used, even to 70 (Davy, 1961:146).

In spite of these developments, the local economy showed little complexity. The Barbadian economy was built around sugar, and sugar production in turn, around British needs. The period under review (1627–1833) was dominated by British mercantilism. The Imperial Government pursued a policy of monopoly control of the external trade of her colonies and the transportation of all colonial goods by means of the legal invention of the Navigation Laws. But most importantly for Barbados, the metropolitan government prohibited the development of manufacturing industries in the colonies. In return, the local planters were granted a measure of protection for their sugar through a tariff preference on the British market. When in 1846 this preference was removed, the plantation economy of Barbados was violently exposed to the vagaries of international markets and the tremendous competition coming from sugar producing economies in the world. The local planters nevertheless, chose to dig themselves in and clung to their plantations. They defied both foreign penetration as well as internal challenges to their economic and political power by competing social groups.

Chapter III

SOCIAL CLASS FORMATION AND INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES

> After the radical changes of the seventeenth century, the shift from tobacco to sugar cane planting and the economic, demographic and social shifts engendered by that movement, Barbadian society in the eighteenth century started to coalesce and discernible forms appeared that were identifiably Barbadian. One can say the eighteenth century saw the formation of the Barbadian character (Watson, 1979:2).

In this chapter, an attempt will be made to outline the structural and institutional environment in which popular education in Barbados evolved. Between 1627 and 1833, a specific form of social organisation and social character had emerged in the island. Barbados was different from the rest of the sugar colonies. In the language of Gordon Lewis, Barbados was even more "intractably English" than the rest of the region, and "the Barbados manor houses (were) proof, in their solid comfort . . . of the strength of English domestic civilization transported overseas " (Lewis, 1968:226).

A rigid class structure evolved in the island after the introduction of sugar and slaves in the seventeenth century. Property (land, sugar, and slaves), colour and occupation, determined one's social position and access to civil and political rights. There was a direct correspondence between one's social position and the political and civil establishment. Literally, those who owned ruled, and those who owned were invariably white and members of the planter-mercantile class. The masses of enslaved Africans, and even the "free coloureds,"

were excluded from the political kingdom.

On the basis of property, colour and occupation, eighteenth and early nineteenth century Barbados was divided into two major social sections: the white planter class and the enslaved Negro population. There were also the poor whites and the "free coloureds" who comprised two separate social categories but who tended to oscillate socially and economically between and within the two major social sections: the whites and the blacks. This social framework though rigid, was not unyielding, and was affected by the dynamics of social and economic interaction that took place in the island. By the mid-nineteenth century, an effective middle class forged from the coloured group had emerged, and would seek, through the expediency of class alliances with the lower classes of the dispossessed blacks, to catapult itself forward, demanding and obtaining political and economic freedom.

The White Populace

In the period in question, Barbados' white population could be subdivided into three groups: "Big planters," whom Watson (1979) calls "the landed aristocracy"; a middling group of yeomanry and petit officials in the civil establishment; and the poor whites, whose property holdings, if they had such, were insignificant. It is commonly agreed among historians and social commentators; whether writing on the spot, as Sturge and Harvey did in the 1830s, or in modern times, as for example, Greene and Barrow (1979), that Barbados' white population was unique in a number of ways. Probably the most important feature in this regard was that the white population in the

island was in percentage and numerical terms significantly larger than that of any of the other Anglophone territories. Table 3.1 indicates that Barbados had the highest ratio of Whites to African slaves in the eighteenth century British West Indies.

Table 3.1

Ratio of Slaves to Whites in the Caribbean Islands

Antigua	18:1
San Dominque	16:1
Jamaica	10:1
Leewards	7:1
Barbados	4:1

(Source: Greene and Barrow, 1979:17)

R.S. Dunn (1972) provides population statistics for the period 1660-1713 which clearly indicate that Barbados' white population was the largest in the region at the time (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2

Estimate Population of the English Sugar Islands, 1660-1713

	Barbados		Jamaica		Leeward Islands	
Year	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
1660	22,000	20,000	3,000	500	8,000	2,000
1670	20,000	30,000	7,000	7,000	8,000	3,000
1680	20,000	40,000	12,000	15,000	11,000	9,000
1690	18,000	50,000	10,000	30,000	10,000	15,000
1700	15,000	40,000	7,000	40,000	7,000	20,000
1713	16,000	45,000	7,000	55,000	9,000	30,000

(Source: Dunn, 1972:312)

Thus while absenteeism was a phenomenon in the region as a whole, Barbados was less affected. Ragatz (1963) observes, "They (the islands) could boast of few, long-established families." But, he adds a hasty footnote, "A note-worthy exception to this general rule appeared in the case of Barbados . . . small estates made for smaller profits which in turn made absenteeism less possible. In consequence, many Barbadians can trace their lineage back to the earliest colonial days " (Ragatz, 1963:4).

In Barbados, too, females outnumbered males in the population. The Barbados Population Census Report for the year 1715 indicates that there were 4,959 white women as compared with 4,675 white men in the island. By 1816, the white population had stabilised around 16,000, fifty percent of whom Jill Sheppard (1977) tells us, were poor whites.

The Planter Class

Approximately forty-two families dominated the ownership structure of the island in the nineteenth century. This tightly knit group ensured their hegemony by intermarriage. Any access to this social group depended on wealth, colour and occupation. Watson (1979:44) observes:

> In-marriage provided a means of preserving social status and property. After looking through the marriage registers of Barbados for the eighteenth century, one can only conclude that the degree of consanguinity among the upper class must have been in the region of one to four. The same names that dominated the island's political, civil and military establishments inter-married with each other (Watson, 1979:44).

Table 3.4 illustrates Watson's observation by providing a random sample of inter-marriages in eighteenth century Barbados. What is particularly striking about the phenomenon of inter-marriage is that it persists as intensely in present day Barbados as was the case in the eighteenth century. In Figures 2 and 3 are presented samples of an almost incestuous pattern of marriages which is presently maintained in the twentieth century.

The ownership structure of the island was almost entirely under the control of one hundred and seventy-five planters. This further expressed itself in the political suzerainty of this elite group. There was almost a one-to-one correspondence principle between the economically dominant group and the major political and civil offices in Barbados. Table 3.3 gives an indication of the relationship between property and power in seventeenth century Barbados.

Table 3.3

Property and Positions of Power

	Big Planters (More than 60 slaves)	Other Landholders	Householders
Number	175	2,417	405
Acres	46,775	40,804	-
Servants	1,032	883	402
Slaves	20,289	17,054	1,439
Councillors	10	2	-
Assemblymen	20	2	-
Judges	19	4	-
Colonels of Militia	8	0	-
Lt. Colonels	6	1	-

(Source: Barbados Population Census, 1680)

Table 3.4

A Sample of Eighteenth Century Marriages

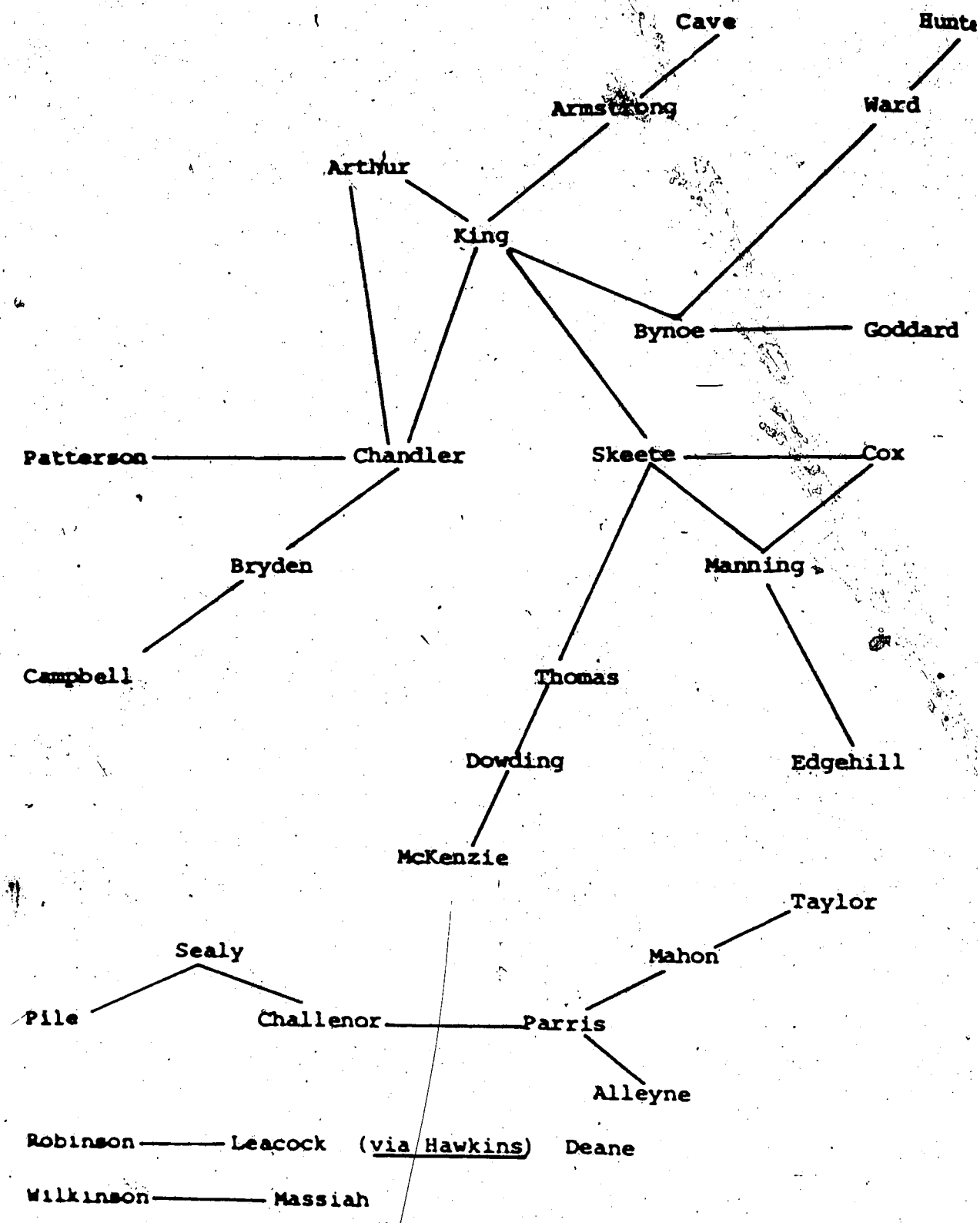
Among the Barbados Elite

Wm Dottin = Mary Alleyne (1703)
Gos. Dottin = Ann Gordan (1718)
Thos. Dottin = Mary Rous (1719)
Susannah Dottin - Sml. Husbands (1738)
Sarah Dottin = Rev. Wm Haggatt (1742)
Christian Dottin = John Gay Alleyne (1746)
Martha Frere = Thos. Terrill (1701)
Eliz. Frere = Rich. Adams (1713)
John Frere = Susanna Applewhaite (1750)
Kathleen Foster = Reynold Alleyne (1744)
Eliz. Foster = Henry Evans Holder (1748)
Reginald Foster = Anne Maria Holder (1749)
Mary Gibbes = Philip Yeamans (1737)
Wm. Gibbes = Isabella Christian Holder (1747)
Ann Holder = Ed Jordan (1701)
Eliz. Holder = Timothy Alleyne (?)
Eliz. Holder = Thomas Applewhaite (c.1720)
John Holder = Ruth Alleyne (c.1750)
Hen. Evans Holder - Eliz. Hothersall (1779)
Ann Isabella Hothersall = William Pinder (1766)
John Lyte - Elizabeth Peers (1729)
Conrade Adams Howell = (1) Jane Carleton Best (1792)
= (2) Eliz. Thornhill Rock (1807)
Elizabeth Hothersall = (1) Francis Skeete (c.1785)
= (2) William Bishop (1794)
Gibbes Walker Jordan = Amy North Pinder (178?)
John Hothersall Pinder = Ann Brathwaite Gibbons (c.1790)
Anna Thornhill Walrond = Thomas Rous Nichols (1787)

(Source: Watson, 1979:44-45)

Figure 2

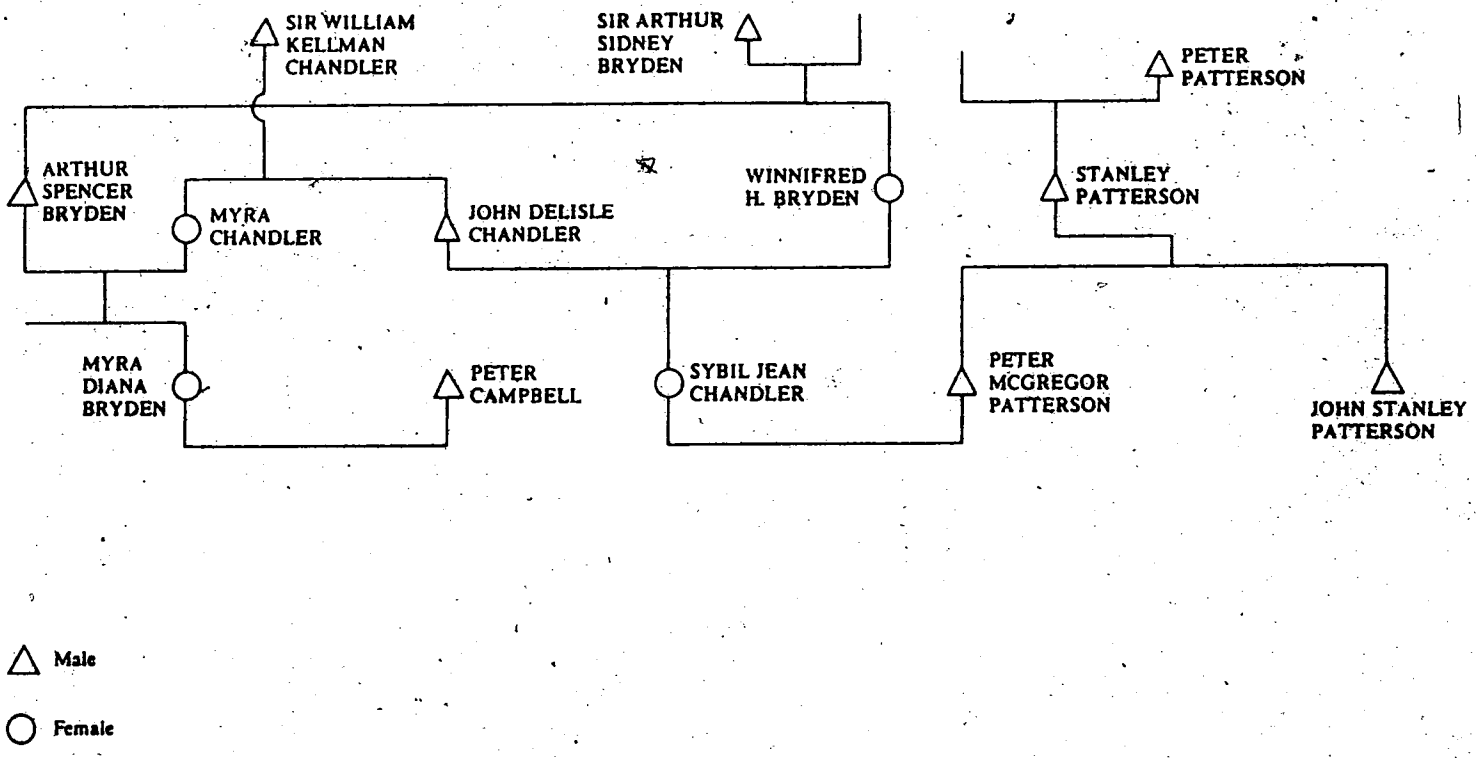
A SAMPLE OF INTER-MARRIAGE PATTERNS AMONG CORE ELITES



(Source: Greene and Barrow, 1979:32)

Figure 3

A SAMPLE OF INTER-MARRIAGE PATTERNS AMONG CORE ELITES



(Source: Greene and Barrow, 1979:34)

On a micro-level of analysis, the overwhelming political power of this elite group of families was expressed in the powers of manipulation of one -- the Adams family. In the eighteenth century, six members of this family were returned to the Assembly by the Christ Church electorate. This of course was a reflection of the highly restrictive nature of the political franchise; the property requirements embodied in voting legislation, excluded the majority of the Barbadian populace. This will be discussed more thoroughly later in the chapter. Suffice to say, that on the local terrain, the big planters had a virtual monopoly of power and they never failed to use this vast resource to protect their own interests. This was the case, even when the planters were confronted by the Imperial Government. Indeed, the Barbadian elite won quite a few political battles in which the metropolitan power was embroiled. In 1710, for example, when the Governor and Legislative Council disputed the right of the Planter Assembly to appoint the colonial treasurer, the Assembly went on strike.[1] The metropolitan power was forced to arbitrate, through its highest authority, Queen Anne. After a two year deadlock, the Queen decided in favour of the Assembly. Glenfield Parris (1974:119-20) emphasises the phenomenon of planter power:

> This body [i.e. the Assembly] represented the planting and slave-owning interests. Contested elections were few, and were often arranged beforehand. When they occurred they were often bitter. The siding of Queen Anne with the undemocratically elected Assembly of planters against her own representative [the Barbados Governor] is indicative of the power and influence which the Assembly at times managed to exercise . . . Not always did the metropolitan Government succeed in imposing its will on the Assembly, especially in matters of public finance.

The Middle Class

In defining this class, the most operative indicator is again property held viz, real estate or chattel -- land and/or slaves. The middle class was chiefly made up of the yeomanry, the so-called "ten acre men." Dickson elaborates:

> [These men were] so called from the early practice of granting ten acres of land to those white indented servants who had fulfilled the period of their servitude. . . . By various subdivisions and junctions, these lots now contain from one or two acres up to twenty or thirty, and the proprietors of "Peaces" containing eight or ten acres or more, with slaves in proportion, form a middle class between the Sugar Planters and the Poor Whites. They are, on the whole, a respectable yeomanry in point of property, . . . (Dickson, 1814:528).

At the upper level of this class were small estate owners holding land of somewhat less than one hundred acres, managers of plantations, professionals viz, lawyers, doctors, merchants and members of the civil establishment, both local and expatriate personnel. At the lower levels, there was a number of small business proprietors in Bridgetown and Speightstown. Tavern keepers, master craftsmen, overseers, and clerks were also among the middle class. Watson (1979) and Parris (1974) also include Sephardic Jews who arrived in the island as early as the seventeenth century. This latter ethnic group was, however, somewhat in an anomalous position, in that they were denied full civil liberties enjoyed by the other privileged social sections of Barbadian society until around 1831. On the basis of race, for example, they were excluded from the right to vote. Watson (1979) estimates the middle class to be around 25% of the white population. Jerome Handler (1974) gives us some idea of the distribution of property

among the Barbadian middle class. Table 3.5 provides statistics indicating the land-owning patterns among the "ten acre men." The data are compiled from a random sample of fifty-two non-plantation owning whites.

Class Rivalry

The "middle class" yeomanry displayed strong class solidarity and challenged the dominance of the planter class from as early as the seventeenth century. This solidarity was most clearly demonstrated in the formation of political parties by the yeomanry in the early nineteenth century. Their objective was to secure seats in the Assembly. In 1817, when the planter class launched their political party, the "Pumpkins," the yeomanry answered with theirs — the "Salmagundi." Each party had its own news organ. The "Pumpkins" published a paper called the Western Intelligence while the "Salmagundi" voiced their opinions in the Globe.

Table 3.5

LAND-OWNING PATTERNS AMONG A RANDOM SAMPLE OF "TEN ACRE MEN"

Number of Acres Owned	Number of Whites	Percentage
Less than 1	10	19.2
1-2	2	3.8
3-4	6	11.5
5-6	4	7.7
7-8	3	5.8
9-10	3	5.8
11-20	14	26.9
21-30	7	13.5
31-40	2	3.8
41-50	0	0.0
51-60	1	1.9

(Source: Handler, 1974:120)

Elections held annually to determine who would be the representatives in the Assembly were bitterly contested and the "yeomanry" demonstrated their class solidarity. According to Robert Schomburgk, members of the yeomanry — "disclaimed being classed among the richest or the greatest, but they wished to be considered as the yeomanry of Barbados" (Schomburgk, 1971:405). These two social groups, the plantocracy and the yeomanry, through their respective political parties, held the centre stage in the political arena. Tensions existed and were played out between these two social groups up until 1833 and Emancipation, when the yeomanry sought an expedient but necessary alliance with the plantocracy against the rising "new middle class" (Hoyos, 1978) of free coloureds. They would ultimately be replaced by the free coloureds as the voice of the middle class both in political and economic terms. F.A. Hoyos (1978) observes:

> ...the Salmagundi [the yeomanry] were not destined to hold the centre of the stage for long. For a while they controlled the majority in the assembly, . . . Yet they were soon to be left behind in the rush of events. They were those among them who did not sympathise with the aspirations of the free coloured people and later found themselves out of step with the Liberals led by Samuel Jackman Prescod (a free coloured). For they were middle class reformers and not plebian revolutionaries and they lost their identity when they drew closer to their aristocratic opponents as the day of emancipation approached (Hoyos, 1978:99-100).

Lower Class Whites

Watson (1974) and Sheppard (1977) both estimate the percentage of poor whites among the white section in the eighteenth century to be about 50 percent. Sheppard (1977:34) asserts that in 1680, the poor white population was around 13,500, or more than three-fifths of the

overall (20,000) white population. By 1834, the relative numbers had declined to 8,000 and 12,797 respectively. Reverend Cooke, the eighteenth century traveller who visited the Americas no less than five times, remarked on the fact that Barbados had a sizeable white population, indeed larger than that of Jamaica and more importantly, that there was a sizeable number of poor whites:

> There are more white inhabitants in Barbados than in the great Island of Jamaica, a considerable part of it being broke into very small estates of only a few acres, so that many of the whites are very poor, nay, some are even supported by the parish, a circumstance, I believe not known in any part of the Archipelago (Cooke, 1793:182).

These white dispossessed were essentially the descendants of those indentured servants who were retrenched at the time of the sugar revolution. The substitution effect of African slaves for white servants on the sugar plantations wreaked havoc among this white group. The plantation owners' preference for the cheaper labour of skilled slaves -- artisans and craftsmen, contrived to displace whites on the plantation throughout the period. Thus the simple but crucial economic expedient of cheap labour held superordinance over the demands of fidelity to colour with disastrous consequences for the white poor. Watson (1979:56) makes the point rather succinctly:

> Roughly 50 percent of the white population could be classified as poor white and more than half of this group lived in abysmal poverty as job openings became increasingly restricted with the rise in number of skilled slaves.

Many whites were forced into poverty and had to depend on parish funds to stay alive. Displaced whites sought one major route of escape from economic hardship -- emigration. As early as 1671, the problem of depopulation was considered a grave and urgent issue. Thus, the almost

omnipotent planters initiated legislation on the matter by passing in the legislature, on June 4, 1671, an "Act to prevent depopulation." In the preamble to the Act, the planters expressed two types of fears: (i) a fear of foreign invasion, (ii) a fear of "intestine insurrection." Large plantation owners were encouraged to rent land to the dispossessed whites and each plantation owner was obliged to employ at least qualified poor whites. The decline of the white population and the corresponding increase in the number of blacks to whites caused great concern in the metropole. In July, 1715, the "Council of Trade and Plantations" requested the Governor of Barbados to forward information on the decrease in the number of men able to bear arms (Sheppard, 1977:41). This was followed "a fortnight later by a request for proposals for the better peopling and settling of Barbados" (Ibid.: 41).

The nineteenth century observer, John Poyer, blamed the exodus of whites from the island on the practice of using slaves as "tradesmen" and the failure of the planters to encourage the white "mechanic." Whereas in the pre-sugar period and the early days of sugar production, some planters had between twenty and forty white servants, by the mid-eighteenth century, very few planters had more than four whites on their plantations -- their labour had been usurped by the slaves. Outside the plantation, poor whites also faced fierce competition and were often supplanted by free coloureds, particularly in the area of small trading. The situation became even more precarious for whites when free blacks had some control over their labour, particularly after Emancipation. Thus the newspaper, the Barbadian, on February 24, 1836,

makes reference to a report prepared for the Secretary of the State for the colonies in England which claimed:

> free blacks and persons of colour have nearly supplanted the whites, in almost every trade; the consequence is that the lower class of whites are in a state of degeneration and destitution.[2]

Who were the poor whites?

Some elements in the lower class, white population enjoyed a reasonable standard of living vis-a-vis the rest of this social group. In this category could be placed: the militia tenants, shop keepers, fishermen, skilled craftsmen such as mill and ship carpenters, plumbers, coopersmiths and blacksmiths, bricklayers and masons. Others even had land and owned small numbers of slaves. The militia tenants were among the more fortunate and prosperous of the white poor. Their occupation was created as a consequence of the Militia Bill passed in 1702 which required "plantations to send to their parochial units one militia man for every thirty or fifty areas of land" (Watson, 1979:57). Each militia tenant was given a house and one or two acres of land as payment for his services in the militia. They generally used these plots of land to market ground provisions and livestock in the towns.

Ultimately though, the lower class whites were sandwiched between the middle class yeomanry and the slaves and were to some extent despised by both groups. Rivalry between the slaves and the poor whites was at times very bitter, and often poor whites in superior positions on the plantations, "brutalised" the slaves under their

supervision. Poor whites were, also, often used by the plantation owners to hunt down runaway slaves. There was, nevertheless, positive interaction between the poor whites and Negroes from the lower classes. This was manifested in areas such as cooking, music, sexual liaisons, and language (Braithwaite, 1974). However, being white, the poor whites had the "right" colour register and clung to the idea of ethnic superiority in a slave society in which blackness was associated with demeaning qualities.

The Enslaved Population

Before emancipation, the black Barbadian was the property of his master, the plantation owner.[3] This was established in law. The enbondaged African had been introduced to the Barbadian landscape to meet the enormous demands for labour on the sugar plantations. They came originally from various parts of West Africa -- Sierra Leone, Guinea, Ghana, Nigeria, and the Cameroon; now modern states but which at the time of slavery were not so defined. West Africa contributed from its various ethnic groups: the Eboes, the Pawpaws, Koromantyns, the Ashanti, the Whydahs, the Congoes and the Mandingoes, the vast human resources for the sugar plantations in the Anglophone Caribbean.[3]

In Barbados, the African slaves, introduced in earnest around the middle of the seventeenth century, rapidly out-numbered the whites as indicated earlier. Their population increased steadily and the planters always had an abundant supply of labour. Indeed, whereas the white population declined and levelled off to around 16,000 in the early

nineteenth century, the Barbadian population of African slaves and their descendants continued to increase steadily. Table 3.6 indicates the growth of the slave population between 1757 and 1829.

Table 3.6

Slave Population in Barbados 1757-1829

1757	63,645
1773	68,548
1786	62,115
1812	69,132
1817	77,493
1823	78,816
1829	82,902

(Source: Schomburgk, 1848:86)

This steady increase of the slave population in Barbados during the eighteenth and on into the nineteenth century was not quite duplicated in the rest of the Caribbean. In Jamaica, for example, there was a decline in the slave population during the eighteenth century (Braithwaite, 1971:207). Barbados, therefore, became an exporter of slaves (Watson, 1979).

The Slaves in the Division of Labour

The enslaved population could be subdivided into three groups: (i) field slaves, (ii) domestics, and (iii) mechanics. This subdivision of slave labour also had implications for the intensity of exploitation of the slave's labour power as well as the degree of individual mobility he could enjoy.

Field Labourers

The field slaves were the most exploited; because of the nature of their labour which provided the base of the sugar-production process, they were called upon to work long hours in the sun. Field labourers comprised about seventy-five percent of the slave population. They laboured six days a week from six in the morning to six at night. G. Francklyn, in his reply to R.B. Nicholls' "A Letter to the Treasurer of the Society Instituted for the Purpose of Effecting the Abolition of Slave Trade," gives us some idea of the organisation of the field labourers:

> The slaves are generally divided into three companies or gangs: the first consists of all the ablest and stoutest men and women . . . the second gang are made up of young boys and girls, breeding women and convalescents; they are under separate negro drivers or commanders and are not put to so hard work, nor expected to be so diligent as the former, who notwithstanding, would not, with all their efforts, earn the fourth part of the hire of a labourer in England, if they were only paid in proportion to the work they do. The third set are young children. From eight to twelve years old and maybe to the number of fifteen or twenty, who are attended by a careful old woman, and are either employed in fetching grass or vines for the stock, hogs, etc. or weeding light grass or such gentle exercise, just to keep them employed and to prevent a habit of idleness growing upon them (Watson, 1979:73).

The first gang of field slaves worked the hardest. They were responsible for digging and preparing cane holes and planting the young canes; they manured the field and at harvest time, were responsible for cutting, bundling and heading the cane. The second gang was normally called upon to weed, manure and assist in the harvesting of the canes. The third gang consisted of children. They were merely being initiated into the type of labour that would be their lot in

their adult lives.

The Mechanics

The planters replaced white labour by the inexpensive labour of skilled slaves. Thus in 1798, on the Newton Plantation all the skilled positions were held by the slaves:

> The slave report for that year shows the following posts were held by male slaves: Ranger (Headman of the estates who superintends all the Negroes and land), Head Clayer, Head Boiler, Clayer and Boiler, Mill Boatswain (Man that feeds the Mill with canes when grinding), Head cattle keeper, Driver or Overseer (for 1st and 2nd gangs), Groom, Mason, Cooper, Cook, Distiller, Clarifier, Carpenter, and Tailor. Also listed among the women's occupations are: a storekeeper, two sick nurses, two attendants to the young Negroes, two cooks for the young Negroes and a water carrier (Watson, 1979: 74).

These slaves had a degree of mobility that the field slaves did not enjoy and as their skills were in heavy demand, they were allowed to work off the Plantation. Part of this category of slave was the "jobbing slaves" who were allowed to work for the Vestries, planters other than their owners, private individuals, householders, and so on. Notoriously, the planters kept most of the profits of the jobbing slaves. These tradesmen or mechanics were highly valued, and comparatively speaking, well treated. Jerome S. Handler and Frederick W. Lange (1978:76) emphasise the importance of "Newton's tradesmen":

> Newton's tradesmen, like others in Barbados, as a group were among the most highly valued slaves. In 1784, the average value of a Newton slave was £31, but the senior tradesmen averaged £77; in 1803, when the average slave's value was £83, the tradesmen averaged £202.

Domestic Slaves

These slaves worked for the plantation owner or manager and his family. They cooked, washed or took care of the young. Household slaves were variously: butlers, doormen, cooks, maids, washers, nurses and carriage attendants. Household slaves were the closest to the "massa" and assimilated many of his ways. Braithwaite (1974) suggests these slaves often had a profound influence on the planter and his family. This influence was manifested particularly in the cultural sphere in areas such as food, music, language and sexual activity. This privileged position, i.e. proximity to the "massa," was greatly treasured by the house slaves and this set them in conflict with the field slaves, often in times of insurrection; as for example, the 1816 revolt.

The Free Coloureds

Though "free," the free coloureds of Barbados were, in terms of their exclusion from political and legal rights, often part of the subordinated mass in the population. Though there was a steady growth of this social group between 1627 and 1833, the number of free coloureds was not as significant as either of the other major social sections. And, it is only in the nineteenth century that the population of free coloureds reached beyond the 5,000 mark; in 1834 the population of free coloureds in Barbados was 7,000 (Hoyos, 1978:102).

Free coloureds tended to engage themselves in huckstering, shop keeping, and the skilled trades. They avoided the agricultural sector

unless they were owners of the land. There was further stratification within this group. Free coloureds were in some cases plantation owners; as for example, Jacob Belgrave who owned a plantation of 98 acres and had a labour force of 94 slaves (Hoyos, 1978). There were also a number of merchants and tavern keepers as well. At the bottom of this coloured section were the poor and the dispossessed, who like the poor whites were beggars and lived off the parish vestries.

In terms of class relations, there was significant tension between the coloureds and the planter class. Foster Alleyne, a plantation owner was in 1801, very concerned:

> I am very sorry to hear of the large purchases made by the coloured people in our country of Land and Slaves: if it is permitted to go on without some check, we shall perhaps in no great Distance of Time find ourselves in the same situation that the neighbouring island of Grenada was in not long since. I am astonished that we are so blind to our own Interest and Safety (Alleyne, 1801).

F.A. Hoyos (1978:105) gives us some examples of individual free coloureds who had progressed from slavery to wealth:

> Joseph Rachell, who was born a slave, was a black merchant in Bridgetown, owned a great deal of property and operated on a large scale. Actually, he gave employment to some white people and was known to help white planters and merchants when they could not cope with their financial problems. Thomas J. Cummins was another coloured merchant who held an almost unique position as the agent for a plantation the owner of which was a white man.

But the free coloureds despised the lower social rung occupied by the enslaved population. Indeed, the civil rights gains and the liberalisation of the laws which had previously excluded the free coloureds from the vote, took place after the 1816 slave revolt. The free coloureds played a significant role in quelling the rebellion:

> Eventually an act was passed, in 1817, granting the free coloured people the right to legal testimony. One of the main arguments for its acceptance was that, during the insurrection of 1816, those who were to benefit under the new Act had shown "the greatest attachment and fidelity to the white inhabitants of the island " (Hoyos, 1978:104).

In 1831, there were changes in the franchise in terms of property and colour requirements which allowed the free coloureds to vote. This was a tremendous political victory for this rapidly emerging group. After 1833 though, this coloured class would strategically align itself with the ex-slaves whom they saw as necessary accomplices in their political war of attrition with the planters. Nevertheless, throughout the period (1627-1833), the white planters remained rigid on the question of coloureds or blacks accumulating property. In 1803, an "Act to Prevent the Accumulation of Real Property by Free Negroes and Free Persons descended through Negroes was introduced in the Council " (Parris, 1974:138). This Bill was barely defeated by one vote. Property and political power thus constituted the terrain upon which battles between the free coloureds and planter class were fought. The planters would eventually give some ground in the political sphere but they held to the economic reins of the colony with a fervid tenacity.

Resistance to Planter Domination

On September 2, 1657, members of the Legislative Council in Barbados remonstrated against "the great number of Negroes that are out in rebellion, committing murders, robberies and diverse other mischiefs to many of the inhabitants of the island" (Minutes of the

Council, 1657). Throughout the epoch of slavery, there were overt challenges, insurrections and violence by slaves and at times white servants against the institution of forced labour, the degradation of slavery and servitude and planter domination. Of no less significance were the acts of covert resistance, destruction of machinery, the slacking off of labour in the fields, the poisoning of the planter's food and so on. These acts were all part of the day to day activity of plantation life.

As early as 1649, in the same decade in which sugar was introduced, there was a conspiracy to massacre all "the white masters." This was aborted, however, because of betrayal by a servant of one Judge Hothersal (Schomburgk, 1848). There is something of an historical debate over this conspiracy as to whether it was restricted to white servants, as the seventeenth century historian and traveller, Richard Ligon (1653:14) maintains, or to the African slaves, as is contended by the nineteenth century writers, John Poyer (1808) and Robert Schomburgk (1848). "In 1649," Schomburgk (1848:267) maintains, "the African slaves made an attempt to throw off their bondage: the boldest had planned a conspiracy to massacre all the white inhabitants, and to make themselves masters of the island."

Needless to say, there were instances of rebellion of white servants as well. The Minutes of the Legislative Council for January 6, 1655, recorded the banishment from the colony of Barbados one Cornelius Bryan, an Irishman, for raising a mutiny. Another Irishman, Daniel Wallace, was "put in the pillary for slandering of justice and scandalizing the inhabitants of the island" and a Scotsman Will Bowman

"was ordered confined to his master's plantations " (Parris, 1974:124).

The most significant revolt during the pre-emancipation period was the 1816 slave rebellion organised by a slave named Bussa and a free mulatto called Joseph Pitt Washington Franklyn. Parris (1974:144) summarises the event:

> A report was disseminated among the slaves that their freedom would be granted on New Year's Day in 1816. When this failed to occur, the Barbadian planters were blamed and on Easter Sunday at 8 P.M. trash heaps on every plantation in the parish of St. Philip were set ablaze -- the signal for the revolt. Bussa and his followers broke into the boiling and "still" houses, emptying puncheons of rum and destroying reserves of sugar. They went from plantation to plantation setting fire to canefields, arming themselves with bills, axes, cutlasses and committing every "outrage on their way." The rifles and colours of the St. Philip militia fell into their hands.

Less than two days later, this rebellion was halted by the militia forces in the island. Bussa and his cohorts were decapitated and Franklyn was hung; another 123 rioters were deported to British Honduras (Parris, 1974:145).

Generally, then, the day to day existence on the plantations was characterised by persistent conflict between the owners and the men and women enbondaged to them. The history of the Barbadian African slaves and their descendants is not a passive history. The white planters constantly felt threatened and were compelled to introduce tighter measures of control as they attempted to smother the revolutionary potential of the slaves. The planters variously employed merciless physical brutality, special types of moral and tangible persuasion, as well as legal injunctions to exclude the slaves from economic and political freedoms.

The Institutional Framework

Barbados educational systems evolved as part of a framework of institutions transported to the island through colonization. It is this institutional process which will be outlined in the following segment of this chapter.

The Barbados political system was based on the Westminister formula and was wholely derived from the mother country. Essentially then, the local institutional environment consisted of a colonised and colonising structure of institutions and relationships which ultimately depended upon ratification and verification in the British Parliament, High Court, Privy Council, Anglican High establishment and the Royal Monarch. The institutional limbs of England were transplanted to Barbados; the consequence was a remarkably rigid facsimile of metropolitan structures and institutional order. Within this system, it was evident that the Barbadian planters operated with merciless sway. They used the political and social institutions of the island not only to secure their own interests but to launch aggressive attacks against their enemies, local or foreign. Spectacular examples of the Barbadian planters' manipulation of local institutions in their efforts to resist foreign intervention, and instances of their contempt for Imperial authority, occurred during the depression period which followed the decline of sugar after the discontinuation of Imperial preferential treatment to British West Indian colonies with the Sugar Duties Equalisation Act in the mid-nineteenth century. Thus, when in 1854, the British Parliament passed the West Indian Encumbered Estates Act to facilitate the sale of estates held by insolvent planters, "The

Barbadian planter legislature refused to place themselves under the Act " (Barrow and Greene, 1979:19). It was a brazen act of defiance, for St. Vincent, Tobago, Jamaica, Antigua, Montserrat, Grenada, Dominica and Nevis all placed themselves under the Act. In those islands where the Act was endorsed, indebted estates passed into the hands of individuals and companies which had liens on bankrupt estates. The latter were held, for the most part, by British based commercial enterprises such as Booker and Connell and Tate and Lyle. Barbadian plantation history is remarkably free of this type of foreign ownership. In addition, the Barbadian planters established their own version of the British Court of Chancery which controlled the financial relationship between debtors and creditors.[4] The most powerful economic and political function of the Chancery System was that this legal device prevented immediate foreclosing on any part of the plantation when the owner drifted into bankruptcy or could not meet his mortgage instalments. This powerful strategem effectively ensured that the planters were able to maintain their hold on estate property and keep foreign entrepreneurs at bay.

Throughout the pre-emancipation period, the Barbadian planter Assembly won concession after concession from the Imperial Government as instanced in the case of the planter Assembly, obtaining with the sanction of Queen Anne, the right to appoint the colonial treasurer -- an example cited earlier in the chapter. On the local terrain, the planters exerted a domination over subordinate classes in the colony that was awesome. Structural inequality had functional components in the superstructure, as expressed in legislation, government policy, the day to day workings of the state apparatus and the institutional

order of Barbadian society.

Institutions of Power

The Proprietorship System was the first form of Government the early English settlers introduced into the island. It lasted for twelve years -- 1627-1639. Under this arrangement, the island was patented to a Proprietor, the Earle of Carlisle, who held possession of the island on behalf of the Crown. The affairs of the colony were conducted by a Governor who was appointed by the owners of the island. Policy making was shared by the Governor and Council of twenty members (Parris, 1974). This bi-partite arrangement was eventually replaced by a tri-partite model of government in 1639. When the then Governor, Henry Hawley, summoned his twenty-two "chosen burgesses," the island's first Parliament of Council and Assembly was established. This Parliament was acknowledged the next year by the British Privy Council (Hoyos, 1978:23).

Representative Government. After 1639, a third institutional component was formally added to the Barbadian system of Government -- an elected Assembly. The Assembly gave the local planters an opportunity for direct representation. Though not constitutionally defined as the most important instrument in the political system, it would become, by 1680, the most dominant institution in the decision-making process. The planters' economic and political might were expressed in the Assembly. The Assembly was not a mere addition to Government, but represented the rise of the Barbadian planter class as the most politically relevant class in the island.

The Governor

In the Representative System of Government, the Governor had a dual and often conflict-ridden function. He was the chief representative of the Crown and therefore looked after Imperial interests and executed Imperial policy but he was also head of the colonial government. In this latter position, he supervised all branches of the colonial administration. There was the inevitable clash of local and metropolitan interests. Isaac Dookhan (1978:113) puts it succinctly:

> His situation made him the subject of two masters -- the British Government through the Secretary of State for the colonies, and the local legislature -- a condition which caused him endless trouble.

Often Governors such as "Willoughby (1750-52), a Stapleton (1817-21) or a Modyford (1660-63) waivered between the Scylla of Imperial interests and Charybdis of local interests " (Parris, 1974).

The Council

The Governor was supported by his advisory body -- the Legislative Council. The Council consisted at various times of from six to twenty members. The Governor had the power to appoint and suspend its members. The Council advised the Governor on policy matters and generally sided with the Governor in disputes with the Assembly. It was also the upper house of the colonial legislature and functioned much like the British House of Lords. The Council's membership was invariably drawn from the upper classes of planters, attorneys, merchants and Anglican priests.

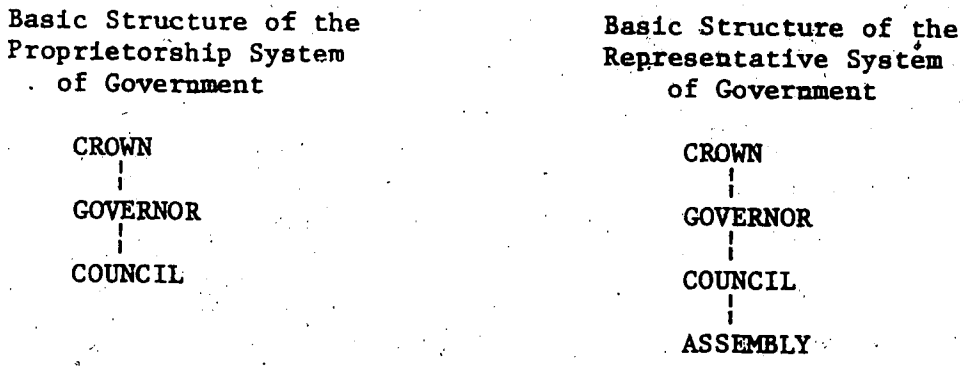
The Assembly

The Assembly was an elected body. It was made up of twenty-two members or representatives based on a formula of two representatives per parish. The Assembly was a facsimile of the House of Commons in England and possessed real power, in that it had the exclusive right to introduce money bills. The Assembly was invariably dominated by the planters and merchants who were elected by the island's free holders on a restrictive franchise. The Assembly became, in fact, the planters' principal institution for defending their interests and manifested in its exclusiveness, the tremendous volume of power they wielded in the colonial society.

On the whole, the colonial model of Government was hierarchical, rigid and exclusive. Though, purporting in name to be representative, the "Old Representative System," as it is affectionately referred to by some writers, was singularly unrepresentative in its operation and restricted the participation in government and the political system to a handful of colonists with vested interests. Figure 4 illustrates the pre-emancipation models of government.

Figure 4

Two Models of Government in the Seventeenth Century



The Vestry System

A system of local government emerged in seventeenth century Barbados, sometime between 1630 and 1637. This was known as the Vestry System. It was essentially a form of Church administration in which each parish was served by a Vestry comprising the Rector of the Parish and 15 "trustees," who were elected by the property holders of the parish. The rector functioned as chairman and administrative officer of the Vestry. The Vestries collected district taxes for road repairs, poor relief, the education of indigent children, and for the upkeep of the Church and financial support of the clergy. During the pre-emancipation period, the Vestries, through the legal instrument of a Levy Act, "performed the important statutory function of imposing taxation on owners of slaves, windmills, carriages and so on to assist in the expenditure of the Government " (Parris, 1974:98).

The Franchise

On August 5, 1697, an Act was passed laying down the terms of reference of the franchise. The terms were highly restrictive and were steeped in racism, sexism and class snobbery. For an individual to be elected to the Assembly or the local Vestry, one "was required to be a whiteman, professing the Christian religion, and a free and natural born or naturalized Subject of the King of England, who had attained the age of 21 years, who possessed 10 acres of land in fee or for life, or a house in a town of the annual value of £10 or 2000 lbs. of muscavado sugar " (Clarke, 1904). These restrictive terms of reference of the franchise were perpetuated through the Acts of 1709 and 1721. There

were nevertheless, three significant alterations made to this electoral arrangement in 1831: (1) Jews were allowed to participate in the franchise, (2) free coloured men were given a similar status, (3) the value of a townhouse to confer the franchise was raised from ten to thirty pounds sterling (Ibid., 1904:2). The hiking of the financial qualification for the vote was not so much engendered by an attempt by the political rulers of the island to keep abreast with inflation but was directed at restricting the flow of men of colour into the political sphere. The Barbados House of Assembly would remain very white for very many years to come.

The Militia

There were two other formal institutions through which the power of the property holders was expressed. These were the militia and the church. Let us look at the militia for a moment. As early as the third decade of the seventeenth century, soon after the island was settled, a militia was established from among the freeholders and their servants and slaves to defend the island. There were two principles upon which the establishment of a militia in the island was predicated: (1) to protect the island against foreign invasion, (ii) to quell internal insurrection and sedition. By an Act passed in the Legislature on January 7, 1795, the militia was subdivided into eleven regiments, one for each parish. Free males between "the age of seventeen to sixty" were conscripted. There was, however, the significant "exception," according to the nineteenth century observer John Poyer, "of the members of both houses of the colonial Parliament,

the clergy, and all officers in the civil departments, together with all chief overseers of plantations on which there were a specified number of slaves " (Poyer, 1808:618). These exemptions underlined the virtual omnipotence of the planter class. The militia, like most other institutions in the colony, was the footstool of the privileged classes. As a military institution, its function was to safeguard the lives and the interests of the Barbadian elite. The latter considered themselves destined to be the overlords of the militia, not its footsoldiers.

The Church

About a decade and a half after the settlement of Barbados, in 1641, the Church of England secured its footing in the island. The Colony's clerical establishment founded eleven churches, one per parish. In religious matters, the Anglican Church would reign supreme. The apex of the Barbados ecclesiastical hierarchy lay ensconced in England -- the Bishop of London. He had full ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the colony. Despite this nominal control of the Bishop of London, the Barbadian clergy were far more responsive to the local parish Vestries, and it was to the planters that the clergy gave priority in their ministrations. As Watson (1979: 9) observes, "Throughout the eighteenth century, the consensus of planter opinion was that Christianity was not for the slaves." At least until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Anglican Church ignored the slaves. For according to Alfred Caldecott (1970:58):

> The clergy were associated with the upper class in a way that was important, because it determined their ambitions and their social sympathies.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, things changed. There was a flutter of activity both in the metropole and in the colony. Following upon the ameliorative dictates for the slaves advanced by the Imperial Government in anticipation of their emancipation, the Church of England acted. The education of the slaves was now seen as an urgent Christian responsibility. The number of Anglican clerics in Barbados doubled between 1812 and 1834, from 14 to 29. The number of church schools increased from 2 to 155 during the same period (Caldecott, 1898:90). It was remarkable! Barbados on the eve of emancipation had more primary schools established on the island than it has in present times. What was of even greater significance was the fact that the Anglican Church had claimed suzerainty in educational matters. This would profoundly affect the direction and content of Barbadian education for over a hundred years. The Anglican church, in exercising its responsibility as a civilising agency ministering to the slaves, had also committed itself to a political function. Church education for the slaves and their children was predicated on two factors similar to those directed towards the working classes in England: (1) the slaves were to be taught what David Wardle (1974) calls "the Doctrine of Quietism," (ii) it was important to ensure that the slaves when freed after emancipation would commit themselves to labour on behalf of their former masters -- "industry." This thrust was evident in the Church of England's instructions to its missionaries in the West Indies; the slaves were to be taught:

> . . . the great practical duties of piety, mercy, justice, temperance, charity, sobriety, industry, veracity, honesty, fidelity, and obedience to their masters, contentment, patience and resignation to the will of Heaven (Watson, 1979:9).

The institutions reviewed in this chapter were the dominant political institutions during the pre-emancipation period of Barbadian history. Though the African slaves had formed their own resistance institutions such as the "Su-su" or meeting turn (a friendly society for pooling their finances together), they were forced to operate under a constant state of siege and harassment. The planter elite controlled all institutions of power in the colony. Their dominance of the ownership structure of Barbados was so thorough and complete, that the Assembly, the Council, the Militia, even the Church were merely their play things. What they did not own or possess or occupy, they could buy or bribe. And when these measures failed, the planters were not loathe to use force to put to silence any threat, however remote, to their authority or power. This was the rude discovery of the Quakers and the early Nonconformist missionaries who attempted to minister to the slaves in the seventeenth century. Under the deluge of physical harassment, arson done to their property and other abuses, they were forced to flee the island, clinging desperately to their lives.

In general, the welfare of the black section and the disenfranchised whites and coloureds was heavily dependent on the Governor and the policy directives of the metropolitan Government. This led to conflicts throughout the period, Imperial ameliorative policies

localised in the Governor and the colonial representatives in the island met at times with the utter contempt and obstinacy of the planters in the Assembly.[5]

Footnotes

[1]The action taken by the Assembly was known as "tacking" (Parris, 1974:118). For the period of "strike" action, the planter Assembly withheld supplies. No expenditure proposed could be considered outside the House, and the Governor in this case found financial sponsorship for running the Barbados administration "cut off," as it were.

[2]Three years earlier, the Archdeacon of Barbados noted in an appendix to his published sermon on the subject of "Christianity and Slavery":

> The free blacks have, by their superior industry, driven the lower order of whites from almost every trade requiring skill and continuing exertion. I believe that not one in twenty of the working shoemakers in Barbados is a white man. The working carpenters, masons, tailors, smith, etc. are for the most part men of colour; and this at a time when a large white population are in the lowest state of poverty and wretchedness (Sheppard, 1977:46).

[3]The Kotomantyns were a particularly rebellious people who came from the African Gold Coast. White planters feared them because "they became associated in the planters' minds with the spirit of revolt." (Mathurin, 1975:2). Lucille Mathurin attached special significance to the fact that:

> Jamaica and Guyana, each of which had a long history of black protest, also had a high percentage of Gold Coast people in their slave population, amounting at times in the eighteenth century to as much as 39% (Ibid.).

It is of no small significance that during the eighteenth century the Barbados Government made the importation of Gold Coast blacks to the island illegal.

[4]Parris (1974:153), in a footnote on "The Chancery System," maintains:

> . . . to put estates "into chancery" was a legal appraisement system which controlled the relation between debtors and creditors with respect to plantation land. It was a device to prevent creditors from immediately foreclosing on any part of the plantation when the owner found himself unable to meet his mortgage payments. The Chancery System provided, through the operation of the Court of Chancery, for the appointment of an official "receiver" to whom was entrusted the duty of raising capital on the security of the plantation or its

> crops. After a year, the plantation was appraised by a group of planters appointed by the Court and then was put up for sale for the benefit of the creditors. If not sold, the plantations continued to operate under a receiver with creditors reserving the right of requesting re-appraisement from time to time. Since estates could not be sold for less than the appraised value except with the agreement of all the creditors, this device prevented the sale of estates at panic "prices." . . . But it also ensured that the land remained in the same hands.

[5] A special case in point was the 1876 dispute between the Governor Pope Hennessy and the Assembly over the issue of Confederation of Barbados and the Windward Islands and the projected improvement of the material condition of the poor such a measure was expected to stimulate. Pointing out the advantages to the island's welfare that would ensue on the introduction of the Confederation Plan, Hennessy suggested:

> Our redundant population will find a natural outlet in the neighbouring islands when by a uniform political system, the same laws, the same tariffs, and constant means of rapid communication, the now unoccupied Crown lands and half tilled estates will be available for their labour, and they can come and go to the various islands as readily as they now pass from parish to parish in Barbados (Clarke, 1896:28).

The planters considered Hennessy's Confederation Plan and ameliorative suggestions despicable. The Governor's new approaches constituted a direct challenge to their control over the Barbados political and economic systems, and worse still, threatened to place constraints on the planters' control over the labour power of the black masses. The situation was intolerable; or so the planters thought. Hennesy would have to go. To appease the Barbadian planter class, the metropolitan Government transferred John Pope Hennessy to the Governorship of Hong Kong.

Chapter IV

ENGLISH EDUCATION IN THE BARBADIAN SETTING. THE ORIGINS OF BARBADOS' EDUCATION SYSTEM 1627-1833

> "The class character of British education is not simply a product of modern times. It can be traced farther back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries"
>
> (Williamson, 1979:54).

> "From at least Elizabethan times elementary schooling had been used as one of a group of agents of social control and social welfare, along with the workhouse, the constable, the bench of magistrates, and various charities -- almshouses, hospitals, lying-in trusts, etc."
>
> (Wardle, 1974:75).

The origins of popular education in Barbados (here defined as "schooling for the masses"), can be located within the emergence of schooling for the lower classes in England. There is consequently a high degree of historical parallel, the result of direct borrowing or Imperial imposition of English educational philosophy and practice in the colonial setting. The desire of the British upper classes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to neutralise any threat to the existing social equilibrium coming from the lower orders, to stem the tide of the gains made by political movements like that of the Jacobins[1] was it would seem, naturally transported across the Atlantic to the colonies in the British West Indies. Defoe's "Great Law of Subordination" (Armytage, 1970) would be expressed in the catalogue of colonial office communications, itinerant missionaries, effervescent clergymen and charitable individuals anxious to leave their stamp on the direction of the Barbadian education setting.

Though there was confrontation, particularly before the nineteenth century, between the planters and the missionaries (the hostility against the Quakers in the 1650s being a particularly vicious example), the Barbadian planters held the upper hand and did in fact at times enlist the Established Church in an almost conspiratorial game of social control. The British historian, William Green (1976:329) makes the following assertion:

> The missionaries, though generally disliked by the planters, were deemed prospective allies of convenience capable of stabilizing the labouring people and inculcating in them a sense of social responsibility, thrift and industry.

Popular schooling for the Barbadian masses was dominated by the Anglican Church from quite early. Indeed, it can be argued that the Established Church, at times deliberately and at other times instinctively, did trade-offs with the planter class thereby effectively containing missionary and non-Conformist competition for control of the souls of the enslaved masses. Thus according to Eric Williams (1975:42)

> The Church (Anglican) also supported the slave trade . . . The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel prohibited Christian instruction to its slaves in Barbados, and branded "Society" on its new slaves to distinguish them from those of the laity; the original slaves were the legacy of Christopher Codrington (A Barbadian planter). Sherlock Bishop of London assured the planters that "Christianity and the embracing of the Gospel does not make the least difference in civil property".

The struggle of the planters and merchants for control over the material world was paralleled by a similar, if not as spectacular, struggle of the Anglican clergy for hegemony in the spiritual world. There was, indeed, much spirit in the material world, and the gains in the spiritual realm ensured that the clergymen could have a vital

hold on church property and the ease of life comparable to that of the wealthy classes. Barbados would never produce the peculiar phenomenon of revolutionary Baptist priest as was the case in Jamaica (Johnson, 1976).[2] It is however necessary to state that much of what took place during the period 1627-1833 was not calculated or conspiratorial but the product of spontaneous mimicry. The much vaunted work of individuals operating in the Barbadian education setting such as Bishop Coleridge and Lord Combermere, though earthshaking and ground breaking in the local context, was never really original. Their efforts reflected the work of English clerics and Englishmen with English minds. These individuals strong-willed as they were, were merely part of the elite consensus that the British colony should be British.

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND — SOME PARALLELS

During the period under consideration, industrial growth in England activated the rise of such unique institutions as the monitorial school. The nineteenth century industrialist, Robert Owen, ran his own educational experiment at New Lanark. In 1816, he opened his famous "Institution for the Formation of Character", on New Year's Day, with an Infant School, a Day School and an Evening School for Adults (Armytage, 1970:79). But the growth in industrialisation was accompanied by growing class solidarity among the working classes and the sharpening of their political will. They began to make demands on the British political system and in 1824 embryonic trade union organisations were on the way (Williamson, 1979). Workers also got

involved in the education of their children and themselves and numerous Dame schools and Sunday schools were established in England, Scotland and Wales. The state machinery, by the 1830s, would be forced to act.

Before the eighteenth and up until the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, the British state apparatus was conspicuously disinterested in the education of the British masses. By 1833, the state mechanism would be enlisted by British upper classes to regulate the potentially explosive situation kindled by the fact that the English working classes were making strong demands for, and where possible, providing their own education. Thus in 1833 when the British Parliament was contemplating the first Imperial Education Grant to its Negro colonies as an amendment to the Negro Emancipation Bill, the State made its first financial grant to English education.[3]

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, spinning schools and charity schools were established to teach the poor "the virtues of thrift and industry" (Wardle, 1974). These were founded under the aegis of private organisations such as the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and by private individuals such as Mrs. Trimmer and Hannah and Martha Moore in the 1780s. These not only performed social rescue type functions, but espoused a condescending ideology of education, and were aimed at stemming the tide of social movements generated during the revolutionary period of seventeenth century England and the spin-off of revolutionary developments in the late eighteenth century France. Martha Moore (Hudson, 1969:77) had no noble illusions about education for the "lower orders":

> We . . . said that we had a little plan which we hoped would secure their orchards from being robbed, their rabbits from being shot, their game from being stolen and which might lower the poor-rates.

Neither did her sister Hannah (Ibid:77):

> My plan for instructing the poor is very limited and strict. They learn of weekdays such coarse works as may fit them for servants. I allow of no writing. My object has not been to teach dogmas and opinions but to form the lower classes to habits of industry and virtue.

Organisations were promoted by the Anglican church for example, the S.P.C.K. (Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge), with the specific intention of answering the problem of defection from the Established Church as a consequence of competition from Non-conformist and Roman Catholic sources. M.G. Jones (1964:4) makes the following observation:

> The political and social unrest of the seventeenth century contributed in no small degree to the desire of the upper and middle classes to establish social discipline among the poor . . . an organisation which would provide for them religious and social discipline would solve two acute problems of Church and state, the growth of irreligion and pauperism.

Needless to say, these efforts were often sporadic, hamstrung by a lack of funds and inadequate in provision. By the late eighteenth century and certainly by the early nineteenth century, there was a change in the attitudes and approaches to the education of the masses. These radical developments which activated popular education in England were not principally the consequence of, as Armytage (1970) suggests, a growth of intellectual liberalism as exemplified in the dynamic writings of John Locke, nor the stimulation of new radical thought as reflected in Benthamite Utilitarianism, neither was it a case of incorrigible philanthropy. To be sure all these influences were there. But the quickening of interest in education for the masses was the consequence of an admixture of motives deeply embedded

in the political and socio-economic insecurities of the age and the dawning of England's industrial revolution.

In the 1790s social conditions were critical for the English poor. A concomitant fear of social disturbance was also prevalent among members of the upper classes. There was a sense of urgency as J.E. Poynter (1969:45) observes:

> The intellectual air was thick with proposals for their (the poor) relief and the overseers and gentry of almost every parish were busy with devices for keeping the poor, not only alive but well affected towards their superiors and the state.

There was much more involved in the changing times than this. Even in the seventeenth century, the relationship of education of the poor to the control of their labour power was a social phenomenon on the increase. The Quaker John Bellers, issued his "Proposals for Raising a College of Industry". This document was published in 1696. The following year, the English Board of Trade (also established in 1696), received John Locke's Report "urging the establishment of working schools in every parish to which all children between 3 and 14 were to be sent" (Armytage, 1970:42). The General Act for the Relief of the Poor was passed in 1723. This resulted in a number of workhouses appearing and with them Charity Schools. The rise of organisations created by the Established Church such as the S.P.C.K. had a significant effect as the following statistical statement indicates: during the whole of the eighteenth century only 128 grammar schools were endowed. The S.P.C.K. founded in 1699, would "in thirty-five years . . . form, or reform over 1500 schools" (Armytage:43). But at the end of the century there was still much concern about who was to be

in control of the masses. Thus in 1800, the Bishop of Rochester felt that Civil Society was threatened (Silver, 1965:41):

> The Jacobins of this country are, I very much fear making a tool of Methodism . . . schools of Jacobinical rebellion and Jacobinical politics . . . schools of atheism and disloyalty abound in this country; schools in the shape and disguise of Charity Schools and Sunday schools, in which the minds of the children of the very lowest orders are enlightened -- that is to say taught to despise religion and the laws and all subordination.

The Rise of Industry, the Monitorial System and the Factory School

If, as Flynn (1967) argues, the charity school and Sunday school of the eighteenth century "were the principal channels through which the middle and upper classes sought to impose their social ideas upon the working class" (Ibid;14), the monitorial school of which more will be said later, was the dominant educational institution of the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the century, Britain had begun to emerge as the industrialising nation in the international arena. This was reflected in the rapid growth of industrial towns which were literally swollen with the dispossessed and the exploited. The labour power of children was too often consumed in the remorseless grind of the industrial machine. However, at the same time, concentration of workers in industrial towns led to the growth of class solidarity and by the 1820s, there was the nascence of trade union organisation. Also, the Napoleonic wars of the early nineteenth century stimulated the rise of newspapers into the lives of the working class. There was a general increase in the availability of newsprint. The poor, oppressed worker, if he could read, would be informed of the political

and social issues of the day by newspapers like William Cobbett's "Political Register" (established in 1803) and the "Reasoner" (1808).

But this presence of literacy among the lower classes was resented and regarded as dangerous by the English upper classes. The machinery of state was quickly enlisted in the process of protecting the class hegemony of the English aristocracy and the emerging bourgeoisie. Among other things, a repressive stamp tax was instituted in 1819. According to Armytage (1970:76):

> To prune and control so many radical papers, the government passed an Act in 1819 which imposed a tax on all cheap papers except those which contained 'matters of devotion, piety or charity'.

Though quite effective at the time, this tax met with sweeping opposition. By 1836 it was significantly reduced and by 1855 it was abolished altogether.

On the issue of education for the masses, the English upper classes displayed a high degree of ambivalence. There were those like Mrs. Trimmer, who through moral compunction, felt that the education of the lower classes was a vital obligation. The poor should not be kept at the back door of civilisation -- the consequences could be damaging for all concerned. But in early nineteenth century England, there was also a countervailing resistance to any notion of working class education. Indeed as Williamson (1979:56) suggests:

> some Tory high churchmen felt that mass education would subvert authority and make workers unfit for their destinies.

The nineteenth century aristocrat, John Weyland (Kaestle, 1977:36), was especially blunt:

> . . . every step in the scale of society is already full, the temporal condition of the lower orders cannot be exalted but at the expense of the higher.

The demands of the industrial age won the day, the monitorial school fulfilled the need for control of the lower orders but at the same time it represented the birth of a type of schooling uniquely suited for the cultivation of disciplined labour. In the monitorial concept of schooling, factory techniques of management and organisation as well as the factory value register -- punctuality, precision and order were rigorously applied. Indeed, Sir Thomas Bernard, one of the founder members of the "Society for the Bettering of the Condition of the Poor" in 1796, felt that the monitorial system was predicated on the principle of factory organisation. He certainly thought that the latter was directly relevant to intellectual purposes — "The principle in schools and manufactories is the same" (Armytage, 1970:90).

This system, in which monitors (students) were used as teachers, developed by an Anglican chaplain, Dr. Andrew Bell in 1797, was a powerful expedient for coping with large numbers of children in much the same way as the factory was an elaborate system for organisation of large numbers of workers. Thus "By the 1820s," Bill Williamson maintains, "the monitorial schools under the guidance of the principles formulated by Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell had developed extensively and the conception of mass elementary education which they embodied set the pattern for later developments" (Williamson, 1979:56). It is this system that Johnson (1976) has described as the "prefiguring essence of the mass school". The monitorial school would

in time be transported overseas to the Anglophone Caribbean as a principal component of the education setting.

By the 1830s, a surge forward in education provision for the lower classes was in gear. The nascence of a class conscious proletariat, the rise of trade union organisation and the increasing demands of the lower classes for education, among other things, placed significant strain on the British political system. The growing demands of an increasingly complex economy, in the process of transformation from an agricultural predominance to an emphasis on industrialisation, generated in turn, innovative and manipulative responses from the upper classes. Mass education became a formidable instrument of social control. The monitorial school would, in time, make an indelible print on the shaping of character of not only the beleaguered British industrial proletariat but also the Imperial Government's colonised population in the West Indies.

But in spite of this, education for the English lower classes was woefully inadequate. It would be left to the state in 1833, with its first grant to public education, not only to define its role in the education of the British masses, but to establish some finality to the concept of popular education. Popular education would thus become almost totally state directed and funded. So would the massive Imperial state apparatus sanction and activate education of this sort in its colonies.

WHAT SHALL WE DO ABOUT THE SLAVES?
EDUCATION IN BARBADOS 1627-1833

The orthodox approach to the emergence of education for the masses in Barbados (Hoyos, 1978 et al.) presents the view of liberal and liberalising religious functionaries -- missionaries and Anglican clerics, prevailing against massive opposition from the Barbadian planters and successfully bringing the love of god and cultivating a thirst for civilisation in the bosom of the enslaved black heathen. This position is consistent with the big man view of history. In this kind of exercise, the process of history is seen to be activated by larger than life individuals — Codrington, Coleridge, Rawle, the Quakers, Moravians, Anglicans (Hoyos, 1978; Goodridge S., 1981). Though these contributions cannot be denied, a critical view of Barbados' education history reveals a more complex picture of class alliances, power struggles and the vital influence, indeed the dominant current of economic realities.

The period 1627-1833 is marked by two contradictory trends in the approach of the Established Church and the planters to the education of the Barbadian Negro slave. (i) From the third decade of the seventeenth century until the commencement of the nineteenth, there is almost total neglect of the slave by both parties. (ii) But from about the second decade of the nineteenth, there is a conspicuous urgency, largely stimulated by external forces, to instruct the slaves. What led to this drastic change in the nineteenth century?

The answer to this question lies in the radically changing economic realities in the sugar colonies, Barbados included, profound alteration taking place at the base of the metropolitan economy and

the growing obsolescence of slave-supported sugar cane production. These "radical developments" (Elsie Goveia, 1965) generated new political and social currents in England and in the colonies. Slave rebellion in the Anglophone Caribbean became an ever present possibility as was the case in the French Caribbean after the Haitian Revolution in 1789. In England, the fear of working class upheaval paralleled the rise of the French Revolution. On both sides of the Atlantic, engrained hierarchies felt threatened. The solution for the upper classes lay with what Wardle (1974) calls the unwritten doctrine of "quietism." As Green (1976:327) suggests:

> Apart from its intrinsic value, popular education in the West Indies, as in England, was considered an instrument of social control — a means by which the established classes could tame the multitudes, repress social barbarism, and preserve their own superior status.

But what emerged in education between 1627 and 1833 in Barbados cannot be seriously described as popular education. What existed was more of a sporadic and piecemeal assault on education by those who felt the slave should be redeemed from ignorance and sin. The dominant motif during the period was therefore one of religious instruction.[4] Religious and moral admonition was used as a kind of cement for societal consensus-building. The whole process of religious instruction emphasised the thorough denial of Negro self determination and emphasised his persistent marginalisation in the political ordering of things in the colony.

Rudolph Goodridge (1966) makes the case that in the nineteenth century, the dominant attitude of the upper classes to education and scholastic activity of any sort was "anti-intellectual". Contemporary

observers of the period such as the seventeenth century historian Richard Ligon and his nineteenth century counterpart Robert Schomburgk have remarked with similar severity upon the "wont of manners" among the planter classes who held full sway in the social life of Barbados at this time.

Yet it was the planters' children who got the best education available in the Empire. They sent their children abroad to schools in England and America:

> The richer class sent their children to England, to be educated at Eton and Harrow and later Oxford and Cambridge. As a general rule, the children of the top sugar planters were sent to England, children of merchants or those with close connection with the mainland (America) colonies were enrolled at William and Mary College, Harvard and the other mainland colleges (Watson, 1979:12).

These young scholars would in time become the attorneys, judges, doctors, and plantation owners and merchants in the colony. These dominant positions were filled by a juggling process among the already entrenched planter class. Since control of the political system and the economic system was largely a family affair, education functioned as an acriptive device. Engrained in the Barbados social system from the beginning of its modern history was a rigid class principle which expressed itself in education realities in much the same way as the accessibility to and the content of education was affected by the social order in England. Less endowed Barbadian whites, unlike the more prosperous planters, therefore, had to make do with a much inferior education. Jill Sheppard (1977:54) makes the point that poor whites and free coloureds not in endowed or charity schools had to depend on parish schools which were:

> totally inadequate, and which sometimes did not run to anything approaching schools in the formal sense of the word. . . . In the Parish of St. Philip in 1808, for example, children were frequently put out to be schooled by a variety of totally unqualified persons....

The better off free coloureds and the middling group in the white society sent their children to private institutions or private tutors who had a reputation for efficiency. Indeed, there were a few coloureds, according to Hoyos (1978) and Watson (1979), who, like Jacob Belgrave, could afford to send their children to England to be educated. These cases were rare.

In the case of the slaves, however, there was from the inception of slavery to emancipation, significant opposition to the education of the slave. Eric Williams (1975:42) maintains:

> But in general the British planters opposed Christianity for their slaves. It made them more perverse and intractable and therefore less valuable. It meant also instruction in the English language, which allowed diverse tribes to get together and plot sedition. There were more material reasons for this opposition. The Governor of Barbados in 1695 attributed it to the planters' refusal to give the slaves Sundays and feast-days off.

A class and racial principle reflected itself not only in terms of education provision but in terms of who was considered educable. The planters were highly sensitive to any social movements or even social events like a religious meeting, which in their eyes, threatened their economic security. This economic security depended heavily on the continued willingness of the enslaved to labour in the production of sugar. In the language of Parry and Sherlock (1965), education of any form for the slave was to the planters like a "kind of social dynamite".

From as far back as the early seventeenth century, the planters used their vast political muscle to blot out any attempt to make the slave an educated being. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the planters' whim was veritable law, they combined physical harassment with severe legal injunctions in undermining any efforts by the missionaries to educate the slaves. Thus the first organised (seventeenth century) attempt to instruct the slaves by the Nonconformist Quakers, was abortive. Indeed in 1659, the Quakers took hasty refuge in Jamaica, fleeing the open hostility of the planters. The latter felt that Quaker instruction would seed the idea of equality in the minds of the enslaved. Schomburgk (1848:94) laments:

> Their endeavours to instruct the negroes were however considered dangerous, as promulgating a sense of equality, which might lead to insurrections, and many were obliged to leave the island in consequence of severe prosecution. Several fled to Jamaica in 1659, . . .

In 1676, the Legislative Council passed an "Act to prevent Negroes from attending meetings held by the Quakers". Embodied in the Act were the dark fears of the planter class:

> Whereas of late many Negroes have been suffered to remain at the meetings of the Quakers as hearers of their doctrines, and taught in their principles, whereby the safety of the island may be much hazarded (Ibid:94).

The fortunes of the Moravians, who arrived in Barbados in 1765 and the Methodists in 1789 were quite similar to the Quakers before them. The instruction of the enslaved population was not easily tolerated. As Caldecott (1898:73) observes:

> In Barbados they (the missionaries) began in 1765, but they were able to make no impression for a long time: by 1795 they had only forty Negroes on their Communicants' roll.

But the Negro slaves were not the only ones neglected in the education process. The Presentments of the Barbados Grand Jury in the years 1705, 1707 and 1719 drew attention to the "want of publick schools for the education of (poor white) youths" (Sheppard, 1977:53). Klingberg (1949:140) is even more specific:

> A survey of the Barbados parishes, conducted by Bishop Edmund Gibson in 1724, revealed the lack of schools in Barbados in this period. The parish roll call on this subject was as follows: St. Michael's, "no public school but several private schoolmasters"... St. Thomas's none; St. George's "the rooms of a building called the free school decayed long before my time"; St. Joseph's "none". . .

As in England the Established Anglican Church accepted the marginality of education and religious instruction in the social system. Indeed, the sense of purpose (or lack of it) of the Barbadian Clergy so corresponded with the interests of the planter class, that for almost one hundred and fifty years the Established Church ignored the enslaved population. The nineteenth century Church historian Alfred Caldecott (1898:63) remonstrated against this appalling lack of interest:

> For a century and a half the doors of the Established Churches were closed against the hundreds of thousands of heathens by whose physical labour the industrial structure was upheld.

But what must be understood here is that the Anglican clergy were deeply enmeshed in the oppressive social order as legislators, as political functionaries in local government and in the final analysis as kith and kin of the dominant class. Isaac Dookhan (1974:128) makes the point quite bluntly:

> Until the end of the eighteenth century and in certain cases, for sometime after that, the activities of the Anglican clergy were more or less confined to the minority of white colonists to whom they were closely associated by family connections and interests. . . . In keeping with their close association with the whites, the clergy performed unique functions. For example, they took part as ex-officio members in the conduct of local government and some of them held civil and political offices. Clergymen served as members of the colonial legislature and occupied seats both in the council and the assembly.

Indeed, both the missionaries and the Anglican clerics held property and slaves. It would be in no way presumptuous to speculate that the conspicuous silence of Established Church on the issue of harassment of the Nonconformist missionaries during the period was at the very least taciturn endorsement, based not only, or not so much, on a hatred of Nonconformist doctrines but on the instinctive sense of a threat to their property holdings and their social status. Eric Williams (1975:43) draws attention to this property motive:

> The Moravian missionaries in the islands held slaves without hesitation; the Baptists, one historian writes with charming delicacy, would not allow their earlier missionaries to deprecate ownership of the slaves. To the very end the Bishop of Exeter retained his 655 slaves, for whom he received over £12,700 compensation in 1833.

The much celebrated exception to the rule of no instruction for Negro slaves in Barbados is the Codrington bequest in 1711 of two estates to the S.P.G. for the religious instruction of the slave. On these two estates, Society and Consett, 300 slaves were to be instructed:

> my desire is to have the plantations continued entire, and three hundred Negroes, at least, always kept there on, and a convenient number of professors and scholars maintained there; . . . (Schomburgk, 1848:112)[5]

By the end of the eighteenth century, however, the attitude of some members of the upper classes had changed. The idea of educating the slave did not seem to be such intolerable medicine after all. Radically changing events (already referred to) in the metropole and in the colonies had altered the social, political and economic setting. The bottom line in this new attitude was "political". The new period in education in Barbados was marked by an almost total usurpation of the responsibility, if not power, in the education process, by the Anglican Church. The changing attitudes of the planters were influenced by the need to maintain control over the labour power of the Negro slave. The report of the CMS (the Church Missionary Society) for the year 1818-1819 states:

> A conviction is gaining ground most advantageous to all parties of the inefficacy of human restraints and punishments to produce that uniform obedience which is seen in well instructed and religious slaves (Goodridge, 1966:39).

But it was in 1823 that one of the most spectacular alliances on the matter of the education of the Barbadian Negro slave occurred. In that year the members of the Established Church hierarchy and:

> certain inhabitants of the island, including many of the principal planters met at the Central School to form an association, the main concern of which was the religious instruction of the slaves (Goodridge, 1966:45).

One of the resolutions coming out of the meeting underscored the intense collaboration that was to take place between these two interest groups:

> That it be strongly recommended to the proprietors of estates or their representatives, to provide such Instructors or Cathechists, as shall be approved by the Rector of the officiating Minister of the parish for their moral character and who shall be well qualified to instruct in their religious (social) duties (Ibid.).

Impetus from Outside

But as Goodridge points out, the "impetus came from outside". Schomburgk (1848:93) corroborates this:

> The instruction of that much neglected class (the slaves) now became the subject of greater anxiety in England as well as the colonies. Circulars were sent by the Bishop of London in 1808-1809 to the clergy in the West Indies, recommending the establishment of Sunday Schools upon Bell's system for the instruction of Negro children.

The "Incorporated Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of Negro Slaves in the British West Indian Islands", an organisation based in England, sent out clergymen in 1794, 1795 and 1798. These clergymen were sometimes "supplied with assistance of school masters and catechists" (Ibid:93). Less than three decades (1824) later, two new dioceses were created in the Anglophone Caribbean.[6] Between 1825 and 1834 the missionary commitment of the Established Church to the region rose by 60 percent and the number of Anglican schools in the Eastern Caribbean alone rose from 34 to 405' (Green, 1976:327).

This new influx of religious orders and religious men met with quick and effective response from the Barbadian planters. In a similar manner in which the planter used the legislative arm of the state apparatus to keep itinerant missionaries away from their estates in the seventeenth century, in 1797 the planters would again call upon the power and finality of the law to circumscribe the extent and the nature of religious instruction that the clerics could expose to the slave population. Thus the "Barbados Consolidated Slave Act of 1797" made it clear that the teaching of reading and writing on the

plantations was illegal (Parry and Sherlock, 1965:247).

But it was after the 1816 Slave Revolt in Barbados that changes resulting in the increased provision of education for the Negroes took place at an accelerated pace. The revolt lent credence to the view of English abolitionists, Wilberforce, Sharpe and the like, that the oppressive system of slavery should be completely annulled, or at least, the necessity for amelioration and civilisation of the heathen was now urgent. The barbarity of the heathen slave could only be tamed through religious instruction. A welter of influences came from outside. In 1823, the Earle of Bathurst, Secretary of State for the colonies underscored the Imperial concern and anxiety about what was taking place in the region, "It would be superfluous to insist upon the indispensable necessity of religious instruction in the foundation of every beneficial change in the character and the future of the slaves" (Goodridge, R., 1966:44). This position would be welded into a more comprehensive ideological statement and an operational programme of policy by the time of emancipation. In 1818, just two years after the slave revolt, the first elementary school for the education of the children of the enslaved population was established. "The National Charity School" was established "for the education of such free and slave children of the coloured and black population" (Ibid:40).

Dominant in this stream of history were the newly arrived (1824) Bishop, Coleridge, and Governor, Lord Combermere. Their work and personal commitment to the cause of the education of the enslaved Negro are already celebrated in the literature (Goodridge S., 1981; Goodridge R., 1966; Hoyos, 1978). There is no need to repeat the

exercise here. Suffice to say that the Governor and the Bishop were in effect locally based metropolitan-connected personnel who attempted to operationalise an education formula for the Negro evolved and evolving out of the metropolitan landscape. By 1823, a policy of Amelioration had been announced and embarked upon by the Imperial Government (Dookhan, 1974).

There was a rapid growth of schools for the slaves on the estates of the planters. The involvement of Lord Combermere and Bishop Coleridge helped to accelerate the number and rate of growth of schools for Negro children. The remarkable growth in the number of schools in the period 1825-1834 is to some extent testimony to their individual efforts at pushing the idea that the lower classes should be educated after the manner of the education of the lower orders in England. Above all, as comparative figures for 1812, 1825 and 1834 in Table 4.1 indicate, the involvement of the Anglican Church in the education of the lower orders in Barbados grew rapidly.

The figures also indicate a rapid growth in the provision of education in Barbados vis-à-vis the rest of the Anglophone Caribbean. Goodridge R. (1966), however, cautions against the uncritical acceptance of these figures. He suggests, among other things, that of the 155 schools, "only 30 were day schools in any real sense". Even taking into consideration Reverend Sterling's[7] optimistic figures indicating that a third of Barbadian children between six and twelve were receiving education, the fact also remains that by far the majority of Negro and lower class white children were left out of the system. Also the quality of education provision was far from adequate. The education of the Negro still did not involve reading or writing in

Table 4.1

A COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF THE NUMBER OF CLERGY AND OF CHARITY SCHOOLS IN THE YEARS 1812, 1825 AND 1834, IN THE DIOCESES OF BARBADOS

	CLERGY			SCHOOLS		
	1812	1825	1834	1812	1825	1834
BARBADOS	14	15	29	2	8	155
TRINIDAD	-	2	2	-	2	4
TOBAGO	1	1	1	-	-	13
ST. LUCIA	-	1	1	-	-	3
ST. VINCENT	1	2	3	-	1	14
BEQUIA	-	-	1	-	-	2
GRENADA	2	2	4	-	1	18
CARRIACOU	1	1	1	-	-	9
GUIANA	1	7	10	-	2	37
ANTIGUA	6	8	12	-	8	32
MONTSERRAT	1?	1	2	-	-	19
BARBUDA	-	-	-	-	-	4
ST. CHRISTOPHER	5	5	7	-	6	64
NEVIS	3	3	3	-	6	19
DOMINICA	1	1	2	-	-	4
VIRGIN ISLES	1?	1	2	-	-	6
ANGUILLA	-	-	1	-	-	2

(Figures are taken from Schomburgk, 1848:99)

most cases. The Bible was the basis, and probably the full scope, of the education provision. The Reverend John Sterling, in his report of May 1835, was critical of the kind of education provision that was available in Barbados. He lamented the fact that, "the instruction given to these Negro scholars (was not) really an education". He also stated there was, "decisive evidence that the greater number of children are taught only for about 3 or 4 hours, at the most weekly". And in a further note of despair, "There can be no hope that this system will produce any moral results of the slighest value" (The Sterling Report, 1835).

However, the cumulative effect of these exercises in the instruction of the Negro was to emphasise his own social inferiority and the superordinant importance of his masters. The content of missionary instruction and the content of the instruction of the Established Church did not differ very much in terms of purpose. The catechism, specially devised by John Wray of the London Missionary Society, is a brilliant example of the kind of social indoctrination that took place and was more than just a subterranean current in the instruction process for the Anglophone Caribbean Negro:

> Questions five and eight of "The Duties of Servants and Slaves to their Masters and Mistresses and Managers":
>
> Question: Suppose a servant or slave meets with an unfeeling master, does that lessen the duty of respect?
>
> Answer: By no means for it is the command of God, 1 Peter 2:18-19, "Servants shall be subject to your masters with all fear, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward . . ."
>
> Question: What is the duty of servants as to the property of their masters?

> Answer: To keep from and watch against the sin of theft, waste and negligence, and to be as careful of their master's property as if it were their own. . . ."
> (Rooke, 1978:371).

This catechism blended in perfectly with the injunction of the Anglican Bishop of London (referred to earlier) that the instruction of the slave should not make the least "difference in civil property".

At the same time, with the changing economic circumstances accompanying the decline of sugar, the upper class whites began to develop out of the Charity schools, a grammar school system which was modelled in every detail upon the grammar schools in England. These schools originated from bequests and endowments made by private individuals; mostly merchants and planters. Thus in 1733, Harrison, a merchant, left an endowment for the establishment of the Harrison Free School. Francis Williams made a bequest to the establishment of a Charity School for poor whites in Christ Church in 1709 -- it took one hundred years before the school could get off the ground but in 1809 Foundation Boys School in Christ Church was founded. In 1819, the bequest of plantation owner Henry Drax was finally acted upon and a Central School for the education of indigent white boys was founded. In 1827, a Central School for girls was established in the parish of St. Michael (Schomburgk, 1848). This school was intended for the children of the "Higher Classes" (the Report of the Department of Education, 1948). John Gay Alleyne, the legislator and planter who in 1795 utterly denounced the idea of educating the Negroes ("Little ground in the improvement of that race of beings has been made or can be by anything less than a miraculous interposition") left an annuity

of £60 for the education of poor whites. The famous Codrington bequest for the education of the Negro slave was pumped into a grammar school for the education of the children of upper classes. This prompted a visitor to Barbados, Henry Coleridge, to say, "So magnificent a charity and such large actual funds . . . (was furnishing) the support and instruction of fourteen or fifteen boys, who might be educated much better elsewhere in the island" (Klingberg, 1949:119). The Codrington High School, later to be called the Lodge School was established in 1745. The administrators of the school were very specific about the criteria for admission:

> Every Foundationer shall be the son of a Gentleman, a Clergyman, or of a Person, who with a large family or slender means but yet desire him for liberal education and such only be admitted on the Foundation.... The food of the Foundationers shall be the best of the country, and such only as for of Gentlemen of the Colony ought to have and to use (Goodridge R., 1966:50).

As economic fortunes for the planters changed these grammar schools rapidly became the most sought-after schools in the island. In time, these schools would develop an institutional connection with the University citadels in England of Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham. The school exams were also set by the examining boards of these higher bodies. The school curricula were the same as those of typical metropolitan grammar schools -- Latin, Greek, Geography, and Mathematics, etc. An aura of racial and class prejudice engulfed these institutions. Thus, during the period under discussion, the Harrison Free School was all white, so indeed was Codrington High School. The extent of racial prejudice in the Barbadian grammar schools can best be appreciated when compared with the situation in Jamaica as is demonstrated

in Table 4,2.

Table 4.2

A COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF ATTENDANCE BY RACE AT HARRISON FREE SCHOOL, BARBADOS WITH THAT OF THE WOLMER'S GRAMMAR SCHOOL, JAMAICA FOR THE YEARS 1815, 1820, 1825 AND 1830[8]

Colony	School	Year	No. + % of White		No. + % of Negroes	
Barbados	Harrison	1815	24	100%	0	0%
Jamaica	Wolmer	1815	111	97.9%	3	2.6%
Barbados	Harrison	1820	24	100%	0	0%
Jamaica	Wolmer	1820	116	59.8%	78	40.2%
Barbados	Harrison	1825	24	100%	0	0%
Jamaica	Wolmer	1825	89	32.5%	185	67.5%
Barbados	Harrison	1830	36	100%	0	0%
Jamaica	Wolmer	1830	89	31.3%	195	68.7%

From the figures quoted, one can see that whereas there was a reversal process taking place in Jamaica's leading grammar school, prefiguring in larger societal terms the rise of members of the coloured class to economic and political prominence, this was not the case in Barbados. Racial prejudice was heavily engrained and white planter economic and political suzerainty would remain intact for a long, long, time to come.

The English visitors to Barbados, in 1837, Sturge and Harvey observed:

> The prejudice against colour is stronger in Barbadoes than in any other colony. . . . No coloured student has yet been admitted within the walls of Codrington College (Sturge and Harvey, 1838:141).

Indeed, Inspector Latrobe made his position very clear on the issue of racial prejudice in education in Barbados. On the basis of

investigation of the education situation in the other islands conducted in 1837, he concluded that:

> In no island has distinction of colour been kept up with regard to education to the degree observable in Barbados
>
> (Goodridge, R., 1966:77).

In nineteenth century Barbados, as in nineteenth century England, the best available educational institutions were reserved for the upper classes. Just as Eton and Harrow were beyond the reach of John Brown of Manchester's swelling industrial poor, so was Harrison Free School beyond the wildest dreams of Barbadian children of colour. This sickening and palsied feature of the Barbadian educational setting would cast a long shadow over the provision of education for over a hundred years after emancipation.

In summary, then, by 1833, a concept of popular education was seeded in the colony which resulted in an offspring not unlike the education formula available in the metropole. The texture of the education offering for the masses of Barbados bore the colour and composition of the fears, the desires and the deep bodied motivation of the English upper classes and the Barbadian planters, to keep the labouring masses in rein. Although not absolutely a conspiracy, a conspiratorial current did influence profoundly education realities in the island. And the purveyors and vendors of "instruction" for the lower classes and the Negro slave, the Anglican clergy and the missionaries, did at times actively collaborate with the planter class and in any case displayed conspicuous deference to the existing social order. The period 1627-1833 was one in which subterranean and overt religio-political battles were fought, won and lost on the issue of

control of the education of the Negro masses. And in all this, education albeit of a primitive form of British and European ethnic assertion and cultural imperialism, was driven forward by a current of economic and political change. Cultural imperialism so expressed in the Barbadian education formula was imposed as well as asked for. The logic of the network of Imperial/colonial relations of metropole to hinterland so consumed the character of the place that an English model of education was easily transplanted to the colony. There was never a competing alternative, and for some time to come, there never would be.

Footnotes

[1]Jacobins -- an extremist movement during the French Revolution associated with Robespierre and the members of the Jacobin Club. They believed in carrying through the revolution at whatever price. The movement did have a spin-off effect in England in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Support existed among the radical element of the English dissenters, especially the Unitarians, e.g. John Priestley and his followers. The Rationalist Movement was also similarly affected, particularly, Tom Paine and the Republicans.

[2]States Linton Kwesi Johnson (1976:404):

> In 1831, two years before the Apprenticeship Act, the signal was given for the launching of the greatest slave rebellion in all of the British Caribbean. The leaders of this 'Emancipation Rebellion,' as Richard Hart calls the pro-emancipation revolts, were a group of black Baptist Church leaders: Burchell, George Taylor, Robert Dove, Robert Gardiner, Sam Sharpe, the main organizer, and others (Ibid:404).

[3]S.J. Curtis (1960:55) informs us that:

> Something had to be done about the popular education. A few days later, in a half-empty House of Commons, the suggestion of Lord Althorpe to allocate the sum of £20,000 for the purpose of building schools was approved by a vote of 50 against 26. The actual wording of this, the first step in state intervention, was as follows: "That a Sum, not exceeding £20,000 be granted to His Majesty, to be issued in aid of Private Subscriptions for the Erection of School Houses, for the Education of the Children of the Poorer Classes in Great Britain, to the 31st day of March 1834; and that the said sum be issued and paid without any fee or deduction whatsoever".

[4]Largely this instruction would have been an oral exercise since reading and writing were firmly forbidden by the planters. This was apparently not a blanket policy, however, for Watson (1979:140-3) has published a number of letters written by slaves on Newton Estate, in Barbados.

[5]From very early on though, Codrington's humanitarian objectives were put on the back burner. In 1745, the children of the upper classes had usurped the inheritance granted to the slaves. A grammar school was established on the Society Plantation that was oriented towards the professions: doctors, lawyers, and administrators.

[6]Caldecott (1898:90) explains that there were two dioceses established at this time:

> The colonies were grouped into two dioceses, that of Jamaica, including also the Bahamas and our settlements in Honduras: that of Barbados including also St. Vincent, Grenada, Antigua and the other Leeward Islands, with Trinidad and Guiana.

[7]Sterling Report, 1835.

[8]These figures are derived from Goodridge R. (1966:83) and Schomburgk (1848).

Chapter V

TOWARDS SECULAR EDUCATION 1835-60

> These economic changes are gradual, imperceptible, but they have an irresistible cumulative effect. Men, pursuing their interests, are rarely aware of the ultimate results of their activity. The commercial capitalism of the eighteenth century developed the wealth of Europe by means of slavery and monopoly. But in so doing it helped to create the industrial capitalism of the nineteenth century, which turned around and destroyed the power of commercial capitalism, slavery, and all its works. Without a grasp of these economic changes the history of the period is meaningless (Williams, 1975:210).

> The idea for a public system of universal education in the West Indies was born in 1833, and presented in the fifth resolution of the House of Commons introducing the act to emancipate the British slaves. This was the same year that the British Government also first made grants subsidising the school societies in Britain to run elementary schools . . . to give instruction to (Working class) children (Gordon, 1963:1).

No serious consideration of the emergence of popular education in Barbados can ignore the fact that the Imperial centre, Britain, played the leading role in activating a formal system of education in the colony in the nineteenth century. These educational "developments" occurred against the backdrop of cataclysmic changes taking place in both the metropolitan and local settings. Claude Levy (1980) refers to a "liberal trend that arose in Great Britain in the 1820s". This "liberal trend" manifested itself in the form of sweeping social, economic, political and cultural changes, the rise of working class movements, the enactment of a more humane criminal code, the lessening of the corn duties, and the enfranchisement of

Catholics in the 1830s.

Of particular significance, though, was the Reform Act of 1832, which dealt a devastating blow to the West Indian planter interests. The Reform Act, eliminated the infamous pocket (rotten) borough seats in the British House of Commons which were formerly bought up by West Indian sugar interests. In eliminating the pocket borough seats, then, the Reform Act effectively destroyed the principal means by which the West Indian planters and their lobbyists "had restrained Parliament from undertaking the abolition of slavery" (Levy, 1980:28).

At the same time, on the West Indian front, slavery had become obsolete in the context of the increasing mechanisation of the capitalist system. Slavery would, in the mid-1830s, be abolished by the British Parliament, despite the most voluminous protests of the local planters. A new kind of labouring mass was emerging from slavery. The Imperial Government began to perceive the West Indian colonies, and Barbados in particular, in far different terms than the colonial planters. The emancipation of the slaves offered the first opportunity to provide education for the broad masses of West Indian people. It was felt necessary to carefully shape and mould the type of labouring class that would emerge from slavery.

The Negro Education Grant, 1835

The Act of Emancipation of 1833 had included within its frame of reference, a grant of moneys by the metropolitan government to promote the education of the Negro in the ex-slave colonies

This education grant introduced in practice in 1835, provided the motive force behind the emergence of popular education in the Anglophone West Indies. Of special importance was the political rationale that was deeply embedded in the debates in the House of Commons, the report of the Imperial investigator Reverend Sterling, sent out to collect information on the state of education in the West Indian colonies, and the build-up of exchanges that took place before the implementation of the Negro Education Grant.

Bill Williamson (1979) argues, à la the Italian Marxist, Antonio Gramsci, that British state involvement in mass education at home constituted a "pre-emptive strike" on independently organised working class education. In a similar manner, also, Imperial involvement in the introduction of mass education in its Negro colonies constituted a "pre-emptive strike" on the real possibility of black reassertion of African culture as the basis for an independent way of life. This reassertion would, in the minds of Imperial policy makers, engulf the region in chaos. Hence, whereas the motivation for popular education in England was class-based, in the case of the British West Indies and Barbados in particular, there was the added dimension of racial assumptions about the inherent barbarity of the African. Carl Campbell, in attempting to interpret the thinking of Sterling, makes the following analysis:

> Sterling was within this tradition, in the sense that he too stressed moral reformation and character formation as the primary business of the schools in the West Indies. Unless religious instruction performed this function he saw no hope for a stable viable West Indian society after full emancipation in 1840. Time was preciously short; in five years the Apprenticeship system would be completed: the Negroes

> would be completely free. The great danger was that the Negroes with abundant and fertile lands in the offing (Barbados was a notable exception to this) would move off the estates and away from European control and influences and recreate miniature African societies living at subsistence level. This would spell disaster both for the Negroes and for the Europeans: with sugar production at a standstill the whites would abandon the islands and the Negroes would be free to retrogress into African subsistence farming, African heathenism and "thoughtless inactivity." (Campbell, 1967:95-96).

In his memorandum to the Imperial Government, Sterling was particularly caustic in his description of the Negro character and somewhat cynical about the latter's potential to "improve himself". Sterling maintained that the Negro character:

> may be called the servile and barbarous, characterized by indolence, vagrancy, debauchery, deceitfulness, contented ignorance, in fine chiefly to be distinguished by negatives, by the absence of the opposite of that moral self control and these intellectual activities which mark the nobler race of Europeans under the more favourable circumstances of Christian civilization (Sterling, 1835:395).

With the Negro Education Grant, the Imperial motive was patently one of control -- social control. In granting emancipation to the African slave, the metropolitan rulers decided to effectively circumscribe that freedom. This concept of a calculated paternalism had definite origins in an overwhelming narcissistic sense of ethnic superiority. The Colonial Secretary, Stanley, while introducing the parliamentary resolution for the Negro Education Grant in 1833, made it clear in the cross-fire of debate that the British Government would not wait for the colonists to inform it about what was good for the colonies; with or without their aid the British Government would commit itself . . . "to establish a religious and moral system

of education". He went on, "We are about to emancipate the slaves . . . . If we place them in a state of freedom we are bound to see that they are fitted for the enjoyment of that state; we are bound to give them the means of proving to themselves that the world is not merely for animal existence. . . . We must endeavour to imbue them with feelings calculated to qualify them for the adequate discharge of their duties here " (Campbell, 1967:75).

Accordingly, it was no surprise that the Imperial Government gave the initial funds under the grant to the missionaries. In Barbados, funding was given exclusively to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The following figures for the first allocation of the fund presented in Table 5.1 indicate the financial support of the British government for religious education.

Table 5.1

The First Allocation of the Negro Education Grant

(Colonial Office Memorandum, 8 December 1835)

Territory	No. of emancipated slaves	Grant in Pounds Sterling	Missionary Society SPG	LMS	CMS	MS
Jamaica	311,693	7,500	"	"	"	"
Guiana	84,915	2,000	"	"	"	"
Trinidad	22,359	800	"			
Barbados	82,807	1,000	"			
Bahamas	9,705	550				
St. Vincent	22,997	800				"
Grenada	23,536	800	"			"
St. Kitts	20,660	800	"			"
Dominica	14,384	600	"			"
St. Lucia	13,348	600	"			
Tobago	11,621	550	"			
Honduras	1,920	150	"			
Virgin Is. (Tortola)	5,792	200				"
Nevis	8,722	350				"
Montserrat	6,355	300	"			

cont'd

Territory	No. of emancipated slaves	Grant in Pounds Sterling	Missionary Society SPG	LMS	CMS	MS
Antigua	29,537	1,000	"			
Bermuda	4,203	150	"			

[SPG - Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
LMS - London Missionary Society
CMS - Church Missionary Society
MS - Methodist Society]
(Source: Gordon, 1963:26)

There was both quantitative and qualitative progress in Barbadian education during the early post-emancipation period. For information provided on the state of education in Barbados, much is owed to Charles Latrobe, who, in his report to the Imperial Government in 1838 provided data on the physical condition, size of schools and their locations, and the numbers of pupils in attendance. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel which received "by far the most substantial financial aid in the island . . . had applied for assistance, from the parliamentary grants of 1835, 1836 and 1837 in order to build a total of twenty-eight proposed schools in Barbados" (Blouet, 1981:225). The Methodist Missionary Society, the Moravian Missionary Society and the non-denominational Mico Charity had received funding from the Negro Education Grant for the building of seven schools. According to Latrobe's figures on Barbados, there were some thirty-nine schools, i.e. week day, Sunday and evening schools which had received funding from the Imperial grant. The infusion of metropolitan moneys into West Indian education stimulated the growth of schools, and the year 1838 represented a high point in education provision. There were some 102 church-related schools providing

education for poor whites and Negro children on the estates, in addition to 111 private schools. Some 7,397 pupils attended the church schools. Another 3,986 pupils went to private schools (Latrobe, 1838:228-229).

Imperial Interest in Secular Education

The Imperial Government would soon, however, drastically change its policy. The flirtation with the religious orders was abandoned. After two years of the operation of the Negro Education Grant (in 1837), in typical accounting fashion, the British Government sent out an inspector, Charles Latrobe, charged with the responsibility of reporting on the results of the first two years of education under the Negro Education experiment. Latrobe lamented the fact that:

> No system combining practical lessons of industry with the culture of the mind has been discovered, or tried, up to the present moment by any party (Gordon, 1963:30).

The inspector noted, in a specific commentary on education in Barbados that, in comparison with Antigua, there was no clear "transition from school to labour". Latrobe's criticisms, along with the fact that there was trenchant evidence that quite a few of the missionary schools in the region had fallen upon bankruptcy, strained to the breaking point, the happy relationship between the British administration and the missionaries. As Shirley Gordon asserts:

> It became increasingly apparent that the partnership of religious bodies and the Imperial Government would not fulfil the early ambitions to create an educational system throughout the West Indies. In 1841, the days of the Negro Education Grant were numbered when the Imperial Government announced its gradual withdrawal (Gordon, 1963:34).

In 1845, the Negro Education Grant came to an end. The British Government placed responsibility for the maintenance of education on the shoulders of the colonial legislatures. The colonial office, in its circular of January 26, 1847, emphasised the kind of perspective it then held on popular education in clearly stated terms. In addition ~~to its~~ concern with the issue of social control, there was now a deep preoccupation with motivating educational arrangements in the Negro colonies which would lead to the development of the skills and values relevant to labour. A secular form of education was insisted upon:

> The lesson books of the colonial schools should also teach the mutual interest of the mother country and her dependencies, the rational basis of their connection, and the domestic and social duties of the coloured races. These lesson books should also simply set forth the relation of wages, capital, labour and the influence of local and general government on personal security, independence and order (Gordon, 1963:58).

The withdrawal of Imperial funding, and the Barbadian planters' initial reluctance to accept the bill for public education in the island was [redacted] in a falling off of attendance and the decline of schooling in the 1840s. Richard Rawle, Principal of Codrington College who, on his arrival in Barbados in 1842, declared his profound interest in "forwarding the education of the people," was appalled at the "wretched state of education" in the island. He was particularly concerned about the education of the children of ex-slaves. "The Negro schools are utter failures," he complained, ". . . because the masters are untrained and it is nobody's business to provide forms, desks, or books of any kind. Four walls and a man inside, two benches, a book and a half and perchance half a slate, constitute

what is called 'a school' and the Negroes are complained of because they don't send their children, or if they send them, don't pay a shilling a month (Hoyos, 1978:150).

The Barbados Blue Book for 1846, the year after the Negro Education Grant had been terminated, contained figures indicating that the schools associated with the Church (the Church of England and the missionary churches) had declined from 102 in 1838 to ninety in 1846. School attendance had dropped from over 7,000 in 1838, at the time of Latrobe's visit, to 4,940 in 1846. Blouet (1981) attributes this decline in education provision and school attendance to "the relaxation of tight plantation control after the end of apprenticeship" in 1838, the disillusionment of the lower classes with "occupational and status rewards," and the decrease in the British Parliament's funding in 1841 and its eventual cessation in 1845.

Nevertheless, educational provision would eventually receive serious attention from the Barbados planter oligarchy. Funding increased in the 1850s to £3,000 per annum, indeed Barbados was spending significantly more per capita on education in the 1850s than the British Government. William Green, for instance, argues that:

> Barbados had the most cohesive and symmetrical education system (in the British West Indies) . . . During the 1850s -- a period of considerable distress in the colonies, the Government of Barbados spent more money per capita for education than the British Government (Green, 1976:349).

In a footnote on the same page, Greene states that per capita expenditure on education in England and Wales was 1.6 pence per person in 1850, while in Barbados the per capita expenditure on education was 5.2 pence.

Conflicting Attitudes to Mass Education, Imperial Personnel vs. the Planters

The path of educational development in nineteenth century Barbados was not a smooth one. There was, indeed, a complex relationship between the island's economic and political development and educational changes. Education as the focus of social change, after emancipation, reflected deeply antagonistic forces: at one end of the political spectrum, the Imperial Government and its various personnel; at the other, the planters; and somewhere in between lay the vast pool of black labour. Often the Imperial personnel and the Barbadian planters shook hands on matters of mutual interests, but often their objectives diverged. There was, too, a clear-headed response of the lower classes to education. Their participation, from very early in their own education indicated, not so much a preoccupation with education for education's sake, but a desire to scale the confines of the plantation in a bid to establish independent futures for themselves and their offspring. With all these contending interests operating within the socio-political environment, popular education in Barbados, from its inception developed as a site of political struggle.

The central political and economic issue after the abolition of slavery in the British colonies was the control of the labour power of the Negro ex-slaves. Would the Negro remain on the plantation and labour on as before, or would he take flight into a preoccupation with his African past as Sterling, Stanley and others feared? How best could the latter be avoided, and by corollary, how best could the continued labour of the ex-slave on the plantation be assured?

The Barbadian planters' anxiety and scepticism about the proposed social changes and their great desire for an uncontested control over the labour power of the Negro masses were expressed in a sturdy and vehement resistance to the idea of the abolition of slavery. "The abolition of slavery," the Barbadian planters cried, "will mean our economic ruin." These vociferous remonstrations were recounted in W.M.G. Sewell's Ordeal of Free Labour:

> In 1831, a convention of delegates from all the West India colonies met in this very island [Barbados] upon the basis "that a unanimous expression of the sentiments of the colonists on the present alarming and depressed state of the West Indies would tend to impress more strongly on his majesty's government and the Parliament of England the very urgent necessity which exists for immediate and substantial relief to save them from impending ruin." It was the policy of the planters at this time to prove the expense of slave labor, and to show that, without the slave trade, they could not produce sugar as cheaply as it was produced in those islands where the traffic was not prohibited (Sewell, 1862:28).[1]

The British Government, in response to an even stronger free trade and manufacturing lobby at home, abolished slavery in 1834 (Williams, 1975). Nevertheless, Imperial policy makers gave considerable ground on the issue of emancipation to the demands of the West Indian planters (among whom, the Barbadian planters were probably the most vociferous). This was evident in two major concessions: (I) a grant of £20 million to the former slave owners upon the Emancipation of the slaves. (II) The introduction of a four to six year "apprenticeship period" calculated to calm the planters' fears by granting them an adequate supply of labour even after emancipation. The system was designed to allow a "gradual adjustment" of the planter and the ex-slave to emancipation. Under this arrangement, "the slaves

generally were not to receive their full freedom immediately. A period of apprenticeship was introduced and this period was to last six years in the case of field labourers and four years in the case of domestic servants" (Hoyos, 1978:126). A firm indication of the congruence of interests, planter/metropolitan government, on this issue, is the fact that the Act of Emancipation of 1834 freed immediately only those children under the age of six years. All other children above this age were required to labour on the plantation as apprentices (Hoyos, 1978).[2]

In this regard, the metropolitan administration was so anxious to placate its colonial planter class that it did not matter that their own objectives of educating Negro children were significantly undermined. Similar kinds of concessions were made at home by the British Government to the owners of "manufactories" who exploited the labour of the British working class children in "machine production". Indeed, the early suggestion of the Colonial Office to the Governors of the West Indian colonies that compulsory education should be introduced in their respective societies was somewhat hypocritical. Contending that compulsory education was not "the thing" in "more advanced" societies such as that of England, the Colonial Office maintained in its circular to the colonies of October 15, 1835, that:

> The dispatch is to call the attention of the Council and Assembly to the propriety of making some legal provision for enforcing the attendance of all young persons of a competent Age, at any schools which may be opened, under the sanction of His Majesty's Government, for their instruction. Whatever objection may exist, in more advanced societies, to the principle of compulsory education, they can have no place in reference to a colony in which the great mass of the people have just emerged from slavery but have not yet

> generally acquired any acquaintances with the principles and precepts of Christianity, and are, for the most part, destitute of the first elements of learning (Gordon, 1963:26-27).[3]

On the issue of labour, there was in fact, a mutuality of interests between the planters and the British Government. Education was seen as serving to cultivate the appropriate attitudes to labour and respect for authority. Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Glenelg, in a despatch to the West Indian Governors, November 25, 1835, put the matter in very direct terms. He stated that, it "would be superfluous" for him to emphasise the importance of "the religious and moral education" of the labouring masses to the vested interests of "the proprietors of the land" in Barbados and the other colonies. Glenelg suggested further that it would be unwise of the planters not to support the "diffusion among them [the labouring classes] of those principles which afford the best security for good order, and the right discharge of every social duty" (Goodridge, 1966:70).

The Barbadian planters' fears of a labour shortage and consequent worsening economic times as a result of having to pay high wages to attract labour were not justified according to the statistical evidence available for the period. Of all the West Indian colonies, Barbados was the one island where there was an unqualified guarantee of a surplus of labour after emancipation. Table 5.2 presents a comparative statistical statement of ex-slave population densities for the major sugar producing territories of the British West Indies:

Table 5.2

Population Density of Slaves in Eight Caribbean Sugar Islands, 1834

Colony	Slave Population	Square Miles	Slaves per Square Mile
High Density Colonies			
Barbados	83,150	166	500
Antigua	29,121	108	269
St. Kitts	19,780	63	314
Medium Density Colonies			
Grenada	23,638	133	177
St. Vincent	22,226	140	159
Low Density Colonies			
Jamaica	311,070	4,207	74
Trinidad	20,657	1,754	12
St. Lucia	13,291	233	57

(Source: Green, 1976:193)

Up until the mid-1840s, the Imperial Government's promotion of education positively influenced the progress of popular education in the West Indies and Barbados in particular. With the British Government's preparedness to fund, and the Church's willingness to mediate and at times to execute the education policies of the Imperial policy makers, the planters had little reason to complain. Education of the ex-slave never threatened their labour supply. The implementation of the Negro Education Grant had provoked a popular demand for education in the British West Indies. Shirley Gordon puts it succinctly:

> It was the main achievement of the period of the Negro Education Grant that the idea of popular education was established for good in the West Indies; no responsible person queried whether schools should be maintained after the Grant was finally withdrawn in 1845 (Gordon, 1963:43).

In spite of these areas of agreement and accommodation, there was, nevertheless a considerable and ever-widening gap, particularly after the cessation of the Negro Education Grant, between the metropolitan design for Barbados' education and what the planters wanted from the arrangement. After emancipation, the Imperial policy makers were beginning to project for the long term political and economic development of the colonies. Emancipation of the Negro slaves was not only seen as an economic expedient but as a political expedient as well. The former slaves would by the Act of Emancipation become the new "citizens" of the "new" societies -- societies which the British wanted to develop along the pattern of the mother country. Within this framework of reference, Barbados no longer enjoyed in the nineteenth century, the privileged status accorded the island in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Imperial Government was at this time interested in political stability and laying down the ground rules for the foundation of Westminster-type democracies in her declining sugar colonies. Education for the ex-slaves as well as education of the entire Barbadian populace was seen as a vital plank of a programme of trusteeship for the colonies.

On the other hand, the Barbadian planters' concern was more narrowly one of continued and guaranteed economic returns from sugar production. Their view of the socio-economic development of the colony was typically short term and even myopic. It was consequently, very difficult for the planters to separate their private economic future from the future of the society as a whole. Their private interests were very basic: (1) cheap and abundant labour for their plantations, (2) maintenance or augmentation of their privileged,

social, political and economic status in Barbadian society. Any social adjustments, such as emancipation, threatened these narrow interests. Education for the Negroes, as far as the planters were concerned, should have one principal function, that of teaching the masses their "unavoidable duties".

Tensions over education increased in the 1840s when it became evident that the British Government would soon be placing the burden of expenditure for public education squarely on the shoulders of the colonial legislatures. Indeed in 1837, the Barbados Assembly made it clear that the education of the ex-slave was the business of the Imperial Government and not that of the planter Assembly (Goodridge, 1966:138). Almost a decade later, the Assembly's position had altered somewhat, but with a certain degree of reluctance and with characteristic parsimony. The Education Committee, appointed by the House of Assembly, early in 1846, to "consider the education of the people," underscored the planters' position: the island could not afford a free and extensive system of "general education". Member of the House of Assembly, Dr. Rascombe, expressed the opinion of the Barbadian upper classes in his contention that, "If the labouring population were a prudent people, they would have no difficulty in establishing schools" (The Barbadian May 6, 1846).

In 1846, the first government grant to public education in the island had a thorny passage through the two Houses of the Barbadian Parliament. An appropriation of £1000 approved by the lower house was cut in half (£500) by the upper house. Eventually a mean was struck between the two positions. In any event, £750 was woefully inadequate as the Barbadian of May 6, 1846, pointed out;

but this was all that the planters were prepared to approve. In addition, the rigid guidelines for the application of the Legislature's grant reflected the planter's lingering preoccupation with the social control objectives that had been announced a decade earlier by the Imperial Government. The Education Committee of 1846, for instance, contended that:

> [the] surest and most effectual restraints which can be placed on the evil passions of the people are self imposed and that the best safeguard to society against crime and disorder derived from the same source (Goodridge, 1966:137).

They strongly recommended that the morning session of the normal school day should be entirely devoted to the scriptures. Reading, writing and arithmetic could be taught in the afternoon session. Acting upon the committee's recommendations, the Assembly restricted financial aid from the grant to Anglican schools only, despite the furious protests of the Moravian church and Samuel Jackman Prescod, the leader of the Liberal Party and the only coloured member of the House.

The Imperial Government became more insistent on the need for educational change in the colonies in the late 1840s. Secretary of State, Earle Grey's circular despatch of January 26, 1847 was a most comprehensive statement on the matter of secularising colonial education in the West Indies. Grey was indeed looking to the future. He maintained:

> It would be impossible to adduce an instance of any Country of which the Agricultural and commercial prospects were so absolutely dependent on the instruction of the Lower orders as those of the West Indies are at the present time. Instruction not only makes labour intelligent and orderly, but creates new wants and desires, new activities, a love of employment and an

> increased alacrity both of the body and the minds; and there is probably no example of a well-instructed population which is not also active and eager to work (Levy, 1980:116).

In his recommendation for curricular change in popular education in the West Indies, the Secretary of State for the Colonies drew heavily on the prescription of J.P. Kay-Shuttleworth, the noted nineteenth century British authority on school practices and educational innovation who stressed the importance of a balanced programme of academic and practical goals. Kay-Shuttleworth stressed practical experience in the form of gardening, sewing, cooking, mechanics, livestock management, modern agriculture and land surveying as well as book-keeping and economic theory. These were the essential planks of a sound "general education" (Levy, 1980:118). This educational model was amply evident in the curricular guidelines for primary education released by the Colonial Office in 1847. The Colonial Office stressed agriculture and commerce:

> . . . a knowledge of writing and arithmetic, and of their applications to his wants and duties, as may enable a peasant to economise his means, and give the small farmer the power to enter into calculations and agreements. An improved agriculture is required in certain of the colonies to replace the system of exhausting the virgin soils, and then leaving to natural influences alone, the work of reparation. The education of the coloured races would not therefore be complete for the children of [illegible] farmers unless it included this object (Jordan, 1963:58).

Throughout the period, the planters balked at the idea of a [illegible] and more comprehensive education for the Barbadian masses. In their reply to the Governor's Opening Address of May 27, 1851, the Barbadian planter Legislature, restated its preoccupation with social control:

> We sincerely trust that the increased attention to general knowledge will not in any way impair, but improve the religious instruction given, and help to fit the rising generation both in mind and character for the satisfactory and cheerful performance of their unavoidable duties (Gordon, 1963:57).

In the matter of education, planters continued throughout the nineteenth century to contest the Imperial philosophy which they saw as downright pernicious. The news organ of the planter class, the Agricultural Reporter, protested in January 1892:

> The sons and daughters of the labouring classes have become impregnated with the idea that the education which is imparted to them makes them better than their fathers; and they have begun to look with disdain upon mere manual labour. Rather than work in the fields they prefer to gravitate to town and recruit the army of loafers to be seen about Bridgetown. . . .
> (The Agricultural Reporter, January, 1892).

Class Conflict and its Impact on Educational Opportunity

Central to educational developments during the period 1833-1865 is the phenomenon of social class distinctions impacting upon the educational process. In the broader socio-political culture, according to Greene and Barrow (1979), there was a levelling up process which took place between the lower class and upper class whites. In the political and economic realm, the period immediately after emancipation was characterised by class conflict, coalitions and alliances. A certain swashbuckling element was added to the political milieu, and consistent and intense struggles were fought over political, civil and economic freedoms for the disenfranchised black and coloured classes. The ex-slaves, for instance, sought to withdraw their labour from the plantation and pursue an independent livelihood.

They also tried to escape the socio-economic pressures of living in Barbados by emigrating in large numbers (some 20,408 between 1861 and 1871) to other islands in the region.[4]

The Barbadian planters met this resistance from the labouring population head on, by means of a combination of measures: physical repression and harassment, manipulation of wages, and the enactment in the Assembly of various racist laws such as the Masters and Servants Act of 1840 confining the ex-slaves to plantation-labour (Sturge and Harvey, 1838; Schomburgk, 1848; Sewell, 1862).[5] There was also the phenomenon of intra-class rivalry among the lower classes. The Negro ex-slaves with superior skills, and sometimes a preparedness to accept lower wages, displaced lower class whites on the plantations and in the trades.[6]

Perhaps the most significant political and economic feature of the post emancipation period was the rise of the coloured class as teachers, as civil servants and as small businessmen. Increasingly, this group began to challenge the white oligarchy's stranglehold on the political system. In 1831, they had won the right to vote but the high property requirement written into the voting law effectively excluded most coloureds. The latter can be illustrated by the fact that the Barbados Blue Book for 1854 indicates that only 76 ballots were cast in the general elections for the Assembly of that year. Indeed, the percentage of eligible voters in the Barbados population remained basically unaltered during the period 1833-1860. Table 5.3 provides statistics on the number of registered voters and their percentage vis-à-vis the total population for the years 1834-1864.

Table 5.3

REGISTERED VOTERS IN BARBADOS, 1834-1864

Year	Population	No. Registered Voters	Percentage Population Registered
1834	110,080	1,026	0.9
1844	122,198	1,103	0.9
1854	135,939	1,359	1.0
1864	152,727	1,444	0.9

(Sources: Barbados Blue Books 1834-64, Schomburgk (1848:208), Levy (1980:119)).

But as Levy (1980:118) observes, "Freedmen [of colour] made an intensive effort towards enfranchisement during the 1830s." These efforts resulted in the election of the first coloured member of the House of the Assembly in 1843. The coloureds' increased organisation and political relevance as a class was further expressed in the formation of their political party, the "Liberals" and the establishment of the Liberal newspaper in the 1830s. Recognizing that their ultimate political ascendancy depended upon the political participation of the Negro masses, this rising "brown middle class" sought expedient class alliances and coalitions with the Negro masses. On many occasions, Prescod and his Liberal Party vociferously defended the Negro masses and made strong cases for Liberal and ameliorative measures for the betterment of the lower classes. In 1841, "Prescod supported by many colored merchants and tradesmen in Bridgetown, resolved that an inter-island association should be formed to protect the interests of their race throughout the former slave colonies"

(Levy, 1980:83). A year earlier, this same group of coloured men were in the process of forming a chapter of the British Anti-Slavery Society. They toured neighbouring islands carrying a message which called for broad social and political changes. Their major political objective was the formation of a "Colonial Union of the Coloured Class" which in Prescod's words would "Watch the framing of laws in the several colonies . . . to assist with advice and money . . . and with its whole influence, the injured and oppressed of their race . . . to endeavour . . . to effect the passing of just and equal laws . . . to collect and distribute statistical and other useful information and to establish if possible a newspaper in each colony, in connection with the association. . . . The Government of Britain . . . will always find it to their interest to conciliate the dominant and influential party [the white minority of Barbados and the West Indies] unless we break their rest with powerful agitation" (Levy, 1980:83-84).

In 1858, another group of coloured persons formed a society "to improve the social and moral condition of the labouring population." At its first meeting it asserted, inter alia, that one of the main barriers to social progress arose from "a want of confidence between the employer and the employed" (Sewell, 1862:32).

These political gravitations of the coloured classes were firmly and vehemently rejected by the planter class. They accused Prescod and others of stirring up the masses on "issues touching on their political rights."

Class tensions and conflicts were extended into the sphere of education. Education was indeed an important frontier of struggle, and antagonisms between the various social groups were expressed in terms of the differentials in the scope, accessibility and the quality of education available to the various social classes on the island. Elwood Watts (1980) commenting on nineteenth century educational arrangements in Barbados, makes the observation that "social distinctions determined the educated and the illiterate." Sewell (1862) made a similar indictment of education on the island at the closing of the 1850s:

> education in Barbados is confined to those who can pay for the luxury of knowledge; and though statistics show a marked progress since the date of Emancipation it is rather the progress of a class than of the whole population (Sewell, 1862:42-43).

The Negro masses and lower class whites were exposed to "elementary education" which focused primarily on reading the scriptures and some writing and arithmetic. Though there was a phenomenal growth in schools and school attendance after emancipation, various socio-economic constraints — racial discrimination, the demands of labour, and the penurious condition of the Negro masses, effectively limited the degree of access and participation of Negroes in education. Even though the number of church schools had increased from 2 in 1812 to 155 in 1834, and even though in 1838, there were 13,869 pupils enrolled in schools in Barbados, only 2,439 of these were children of Negro parentage (Levy, 1980). Latrobe in his report of 1838 drew attention to this fact, and noted that the majority of the Negro children attending school were going to the Sunday schools on the estates exclusively concerned with religious and moral training.

Imperial observers Sterling (1835), Thome and Kimball (1838), Sturge and Harvey (1838), and Latrobe (1838) as well as foreign observers such as the American journalist Sewell (1862), remarked upon the quality of education made available to the depressed lower classes of Barbadian society. Sturge and Harvey, recollecting their visit to the island in 1837, noted that "the schools are totally inadequate to the wants of this dense population." Two years earlier, the Reverend Sterling (1835) launched a severe attack on the quality of local pedagogy in the Negro schools:

> . . . those who enter the Employment of Teaching are commonly persons who have failed in every other pursuit . . . What effect then can possibly be expected to arise from the plan of a taking a Negro child . . . out of his native hut where he has been instructed in fraud and lying . . . and attempting to counteract such influences by forcing on his ears the chop fragments of a dogmatic catechism and teaching him to read a few pages selected from the Bible, by means of a disgusting monotony of repetition?

At the lower class schools, there was also a deficiency in equipment, materials, books, pencils and so on. Of even greater significance was the inability of these schools to attract trained and committed teachers. Both Latrobe and Sterling complained of the poor quality of teaching and the over-emphasis on the rote method of pedagogy at these elementary schools. Commenting on the period 1830-1860 in Barbados education, Watts (1980) contends:

> Not only was there a deficient method of instruction but there were deficiencies in the instructors. The money available for educational purposes, viz the construction of new schools, school furniture, books and teachers' salaries, was nothing short of inadequate . . ." (Watts, 1980:8).

It must be stressed that though the provision for the education of poor whites was more generous than it was for Negroes, elementary education for poor white children did leave a lot to be desired. Jill

Sheppard (1977), for instance, makes the point that during the nineteenth century education for poor white children was also in a depressed state:

> . . . in 1838 some 250 poor-white children were receiving a somewhat rudimentary education in seven segregated schools, plus an unspecified number in schools in St. James and St. Thomas open to all classes. Some indication of the level of education was given in a report of the 1857 School Committee to the vestry of St. George. It was noted that the twelve boys being schooled, clothed and maintained by the parish were receiving a "very simple elementary English education, which hardly advances them beyond the first rudiments of Reading, Writing and Arithmetic (Sheppard, 1977:86).

Yet the lower class blacks responded to the inadequate provision of education for themselves and their children by establishing their own schools. There were a number of examples during the post-emancipation period such as the Wesleyan day school established by a coloured cabinet maker in the 1830s which Sturge and Harvey visited in their tour of Barbados in 1837:

> We went to see the Wesleyan day school. It was commenced some years ago, by a coloured man, who was a cabinet maker, in humble circumstances. He observed a number of children, accustomed to play in the street before his door, and conceived the idea of occupying their time and attention more profitably by teaching them to read. He succeeded, and his scholars soon became so numerous that he was compelled to seek other means of having them instructed. His efforts resulted in the establishment of the present school with about ... 150 children (Sturge and Harvey, 1838:135).[7]

Class and colour proved to be even stronger determinants of educational opportunity at the level of secondary schooling. Secondary education was largely restricted to the white upper class population who could send their children overseas to the expensive private institutions such as Eton and Rugby in England and William and Mary College in the United States. At home, the best schools, Harrison College, Queens College and the Lodge School were usurped for the education of

the children of the upper classes. However, as Rudolph Goodridge (1966) points out, these schools offered, for most of the nineteenth century, primary education. It is only with the 1858 Act that secondary schooling in Barbados was established. (These developments will be more thoroughly discussed in the next chapter.)

By the end of the 1850s, the ascendancy of the planter class over educational arrangements in Barbados was assured. Full responsibility for education had been transferred to the Barbadian Legislature after the cessation of the Imperial Grant in 1845. In a real sense, with the first legislative grant to education in 1846, the Consolidative Education Acts of 1850 and 1858, the Barbadian planter class had come to power over the organisation of education in the colony. This meant that the planters not only had a decisive say in the central system of learning, training and the rearing of the colony's youth, but also over the dispensation of education as part of a larger system of social rewards. Education would be regarded as an index of cultural capital. More importantly, the practice of credentialing and certificating educational achievement would itself provide the basis for job allocation, employment and employability.

Footnotes

[1]As Sewell (1862), Davy (1854) and others have argued, the planters' claims that free labour would lead to lower levels of production and hence declining profits were not supported by the statistical evidence available a few years after emancipation. Sewell makes the point tersely:

> The average of pounds of sugar to each laborer during slavery was 1043 pounds, and during freedom 3660 pounds (Sewell, 1862:50).

[2]The parents of Negro children often defied the planters' demand for child labour through the apprenticeship system. They saw the apprenticeship of their children as a continuation of child slavery. According to Goodridge (1966:94):

> The parents . . . viewed the apprenticeship system as merely another form of slavery and despite their poverty, refused to apprentice their children. Between August 1834 and April 1837, only 1 child out of a possible 14,000 had been apprenticed under the 38th clause.

This could also be partly explained by the fact that the Negro masses were genuinely excited by the possibilities that education offered their offspring. Greene (1976:337) draws attention to the fact that "correspondence from the colonies commonly referred to the enthusiasm with which freedmen embraced education."

[3]There was by the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, a movement towards a limited form of compulsory education legislation in the mother country. The Factory Act passed in the British Parliament in 1833 had two important "revolutionary" clauses: (1) Inspectors were appointed to ensure no children under nine were employed. (2) Children between 9 and 13 were required to attend school for 2 hours daily, six days a week (Armytage, 1970:110-111).

[4]There was a tone of alarm in the Report upon the Population of Barbados - 1851-71 concerning emigration, as the following statement from page 2 of the report illustrates:

> It is difficult to ascertain the effects of Emigration during the last ten years. No record has been kept of Emigrants leaving or returning; and in other colonies, where the local Government has taken no part in the Immigration from Barbados, such information can not be obtained. It appears, however, that between 1861 and 1871 there were introduced from the Island into:

British Guiana	(1863-71)	9,814
Dutch do.	(1863-70)	1,495
I. of St. Croix	(1863)	3,500
Antigua	(1863-68)	999
	Total	15,808

To this number may be added a large portion of the following numbers recorded as existing in other neighbouring colonies at the recent Census in each, viz:

Trinidad	3,155
St. Vincent	1,273
Grenada	877
Tobago	834
St. Lucia	757
Total	6,896

Say, only two-thirds of this number 4,600
which would make up an aggregate of 20,408 amounting to no less than 13.4 percent of the population enumerated in 1861.

[5]The planter class responded swiftly to Negro efforts to exist independent of the plantation. In July 1836, "An Act to Regulate the Emigration of Labourers from this Island" was hurriedly passed in the House of Assembly. Four years later, the even more repressive "Masters and Servants Act" of 1840 became law. Under the latter system, according to Trevor Marshall:

> Black people were condemned to the plantation lands by the located labourers system. A plantation owner had power under the law to seize the house and property of located labourers if there were any breach of the law (Manjak, Vol. 1 No. 3).

The planters also used measures of direct physical harassment and sabotage against Negro private property. According to Sturge and Harvey (1838:125):

> In many instances . . . Negroes [apprentices] have had their goats and poultry killed, in others, their houses have been pulled down, and sheds erected instead, six feet by seven, just wide enough to come within the letter of the law, which requires that they should be provided with "lodging" (Sturge and Harvey, 1838:125).

[6]See Chapter 3 page 11.

[7]The author has reason to believe that many of the Barbadian emigrant labourers set up modest schools in the islands to which they fled. The evidence for this is largely oral and will not be emphasised here.

Chapter VI

EDUCATION IN BARBADOS 1860-1876

EFFICIENCY, ECONOMY AND OTHER RELATED THEMES

> Disraeli echoed . . . 'These wretched colonies will all be independent, too, in a few years, and are millstones round our necks.' They were, he said later, so many 'colonial dead-weights which we do not govern.' If we could acquire the whole of Africa, said the Permanent Under Secretary of the Colonial Office, in 1841, it would be but a 'worthless possession' (Williams, 1970:399).

William Green (1976:295) commenting upon post-emancipation Barbados makes the important observation that:

> Emancipation modified the class structure of the West Indian colonies without destroying its hierarchical character or the criterion upon which the hierarchy was founded. Although occupation, wealth, and education were determinators of class status, race remained the fundamental factor.

The period 1860-76, and the last quarter of the nineteenth century in Barbadian history, was chiefly characterised by an intensification of structural inequality on the local landscape in which the white planters perpetuated their dominance over the economy and politics of a demographically black country. The lack of structural complexity in the Barbadian economy and the reluctance of the planters to diversify the economy beyond sugar production, or even to diversify sugar production itself, considerably weakened the potential of the Barbadian economy for autocentric growth. Britain continued to be the island's chief trading partner. The Barbados Blue Book for the year 1871 indicates, for instance, that exports

worth £609,868, almost 50 percent of the total value of Barbados' exports, went to the mother country. In fact, the value of local exports to Britain in 1871 was more than double that of Barbados' exports within the West Indies and almost three times the value of her exports to the United States. On the other hand, Barbados imports from Britain were valued at £546,396 or over 14 times the value of her imports from her sister colonies.[1]

Though the post-emancipation Barbadian economy displayed strong resilience, and the Barbados government had the relatively unique status in the British Caribbean of having a favourable annual balance of payment position, by the end of the 1860s, the economic picture worsened considerably. Table 6.1 illustrates a series of trade deficits experienced by the island colony, during the period 1869-78.

Table 6.1

BARBADOS ANNUAL BALANCE OF TRADE 1869-78

Year	Balance of Trade (£)	Year	Balance of Trade (£)
1869	-90,796	1874	+ 91,519
1870	-96,847	1875	+287,417
1871	+106,658	1876	- 63,611
1872	-103,587	1877	- 46,221
1873	-169,731	1878	- 24,321

(Source: Barbados Blue Books, 1866-78)

In addition to the ravages of drought, the virtual exhaustion of its agricultural soils through overproduction, the Barbadian economy, like the rest of the Caribbean economies, buckled under the pressure of ever-increasing foreign competition for sugar markets. Williams, in his brilliant work British Historians and the West Indies, offers a sweeping analysis of the fate of the sugar colonies of the region in the nineteenth century:

> The West Indies, the pride of mercantilism in the eighteenth century, were the flotsam and jetsam of the free trade tide in the nineteenth. In 1839 total West Indian sugar production (including British Guiana) was 141,000 tons in total world cane production of 781,000 and a total world sugar production of 820,000 tons. In 1880 the West Indies produced 228,000 tons of sugar; total world cane production was 1,883,000 tons; total world sugar production was 3,740,000 tons (Williams, 1966:34).

The highly exposed nature of the economy helped to accentuate the rapidly declining standard of living of the Barbadian lower classes. Commonly used social indicators — wages, mortality rates and unemployment statistics, indicate that while Barbados might have been doing better economically than the rest of the West Indian colonies, her working population received the lowest wages, had the least job security and were dying off at a fairly alarming rate. In the 1870s more than 40 percent of the eligible working population was unemployed. "In 1872," Davis (1976:3) informs us, "it was estimated that the annual average wage was approximately $25.00, hardly enough to sustain the labourer and his family." Indeed, as far as wages were concerned, Barbadian workers were severely disadvantaged. St. Lucian workers earned 2 1/2 shillings per day, "and they could work the land on which they squatted without

rent, to cultivate yams, plantains and other fruit. The cane-cutter in Demarara could earn between $10 and $15 per week, compared with a ceiling wage of about $2 in Barbados" (Davis, 1976:13). Out of these subsistence wages, Barbadian workers were expected to pay 10 pence for house-rent and 10 pence for land-rent to their plantation owners (Poverty Commission Report, 1878).[2] The Poverty Commission Report, 1878 noted that the majority of persons seeking "indoor" and "outdoor" relief (3,568) came from:

> the mechanic or artisan class, from the non-effective labouring class, and from the poor whites, whom naturally enough, the neighbouring colonies will not be at the expense of importing to their shores (Poverty Commission Report, 1878).

Barbados' mortality rate increased from 21.54 deaths per thousand in 1861 to 27.01 deaths per thousand in 1890. The census report for 1871 indicated that the population density of Barbados was 906 people per square mile. Between 1851 and 1861 the population of Barbados had increased from 135,939 to 152,275, a 10 year population growth rate of 12.0 percent.

The response of the Barbados state apparatus to these intolerable socio-economic circumstances was characteristically slow, and relief for the dispossessed was piecemeal at best. Also, the factor of colour was a strong determinant in the matter of who would benefit from the limited social welfare programmes of the local vestries. The Poverty Commission Report, 1878 noted that the vestries established, "exclusively white schools, supported by local taxes for the education of the poor whites; and with the unwise and short sighted philanthropy sought to decoy the children to these seminaries

by doles of daily food" (Poverty Commission Report, 1878). In addition, as Parris (1974) informs us:

> It was reported [by the Poverty Commission] that white paupers frequently received larger parochial pensions than the Black and Colored poor, and that pensions were sometimes given to whites, although they were able to work, so long as they profess inability to find employment (Parris, 1974:267).

Unlike the economic woes that afflicted her sugar colonies in the Caribbean, Britain's economic development during the latter half of the nineteenth century was nothing short of spectacular. To put the matter in the colourful language of Eric Williams (1966):

> The half century, 1830-1880, was completely dominated by Great Britain. The world became a British oyster. The oyster was prised not by the sword but by the machine (Williams, 1966:30).

"In these fifty years," Williams continues, "Britain became the world's workshop, the world's trader, the world's shipper, the world's banker . . . Britain reigned supreme" (Ibid.). Britain's coal production increased from 24 million tons in 1830 to 154 million tons in 1881, some 50% of the world's production of coal. Britain exerted a similar dominance in iron and steel production. In 1830, Britain produced 40% of the world's iron. In 1870, this figure had risen to 50 percent. With the stimulus of the Bessemmer innovations in steel production in 1856, Britain's production of steel increased from 40,000 tons in 1850 to 2 million tons by the end of that decade.

Equally phenomenal was Britain's expansion overseas. British banks supplied capital for infrastructural developments in other parts of the world: for railways in India, loans to Egypt and the United States. Her overseas investments increased from £ 30 million

in 1830 to an estimated £ 700 million in 1870.

According to Williams (1966:31):

> By 1870, there was 15,620 miles of railway in operation in Great Britain, nearly 25% of the total for Europe, over 10% of the total rail mileage in the entire world. The railway linked the major cities of Canada, Australia and the United States of America with the great prairie, food-producing areas.

In England too, remarkable economic growth was paralleled by an intolerance in intellectual circles, of colonial dependencies overseas. A special contempt, however, was directed at the Negro colonies of the British West Indies. These colonies were seen as reprehensible burdens. In the mother country, it was felt that the socio-economic woes of the West Indies were associated with the inherent defects of Negro colonies, populated predominantly, by the sons and daughters of former slaves. For Froude, The English in the West Indies (1888), Carlyle, "Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question" (1849), and C.S. Salmon, The Caribbean Confederation (1888), "The African races have one great fact against them: there is no record of their having done anything to shape the world's history" (Salmon, 1888:14).

In the 1860s, West Indian colonial administrations were typically, inefficient, corrupt, bankrupt and grossly mismanaged not, paradoxically, by black men, but by white ones. But it was the fear that majority black populations in the West Indies would inevitably wrestle political power, and these islands would all degenerate into "little Haiti(s)" (Salmon, 1888) that motivated the Imperial policy makers to make the decision to withhold the democratic self-government that Britain had so willingly conceded to

her demographically white colonies. A little colour could indeed make a huge political difference. British intellectuals and political leadership fed on their own mythology about the Negro. They were concerned, indeed apprehensive, about the socio-political future of the sugar colonies. How could they survive over time? Trollope and others thought, "they must be given a guiding hand."[3] British political trusteeship as expressed in the themes of "efficiency," "economy" and "accountability," which now preoccupied the Imperial administration and its intellectuals, and which consequently became the dominant concerns of all sectors of the colonial administration (education included) in the West Indies in the latter half of the nineteenth century, was not at all free of racial apprehension.

In 1865, then, the British Government took a major interventionist step in the region. The move was to establish direct and effective government in most of the British Caribbean islands by means of an administrative device known as Crown Colony. Under this system, a unicameral form of government, consisting of Governor and Legislative Council, was introduced in the region. As Augier and Gordon (1962) have observed, this did not take place without the expressed consent and prompting of the planter class, who in the 1860s, sought a tactical retreat in Jamaica and elsewhere, from the impending rise of the Negro vote and Negro majorities in the West Indian Houses of Assembly. Hence, according to Augier and Gordon (1962:114):

> From 1865, the Assemblies were either abolished, or their powers were greatly weakened. These things were done by their own members, moved by one or more of the following reasons: fear that Negro voters would soon control the Assembly; dissatisfaction with the Executive Committee; belief that the Assemblies were beyond reform, and belief that government by Britain would be strong and efficient.

It is indeed remarkable, how the conjoint interests of the Imperial Government in efficiency, economy and management could so happily blend with the planters' interests in economic and political control in the Caribbean. For the British preoccupation with Crown Colony implied that the planters had not done a good job at managing the affairs of state in the various colonies. But in the Caribbean the white planters were prepared to go to great lengths to contain the rise of the colored classes. In the case of one island, Barbados, the planters' interests and the administrative designs of the British Government, collided. The Barbadian planters rejected Crown Colony and its substitute, "Confederation of the Windward Islands and Barbados."[4] "No!" said Barbados' first coloured Attorney General, whose pugnacious defence of the planter class of Barbados was regarded as exemplary (Froude, 1888), "We do not admit any pretentions in the direction of Crown Colony government. The question of Confederation has been laid before us, and has been respectfully considered by us. We have declined Confederation because in the form which it takes in the case of the West Indian colonies, it means and can only mean, the surrender by us, in the long run, of our representative form of government which we have enjoyed for 250 years" (Minutes of the Barbados House of Assembly, May, 1876.).

The Imperial Government would again capitulate to the Barbadian planter class on matters of policy. On November 16th, 1877, a year after the Confederation issue came to a head and erupted in rioting in Barbados, the Secretary of State for the colonies, in Parris' words, "backed down":

> . . . in a despatch to the /Barbados/ Legislature, he reassured its members that he would not tamper with their constitution either through amendment, by extension of the franchise or by the introduction of Crown Colony rule, whereby the metropolitan Government would assume the direct representation of the disenfranchised classes in the Legislature. (Parris, 1974:260-61).

Indeed, British intellectuals held the Barbados government in high esteem; an esteem which they did not extend to the other West Indian colonial administrations. Writers such as Froude and C.S. Salmon felt that the Barbados administration was "efficient" and "well managed." However, the explanation for the Imperial Government's reluctance to introduce alterations in the Barbados system of representative government lay more directly in the stronghold the planters maintained on the political and economic affairs of the island.

In the area of education, however, the British Imperial policy met with a more receptive response, not necessarily because of support from the planters, but more or less by the default, in that, local educational administrators, invariably English Anglican clerics, could not conceive of educational alternatives beyond what were available in England. This was the only path a civilising society could respectably follow. In addition, these educational "changes" proposed by the British policy makers and by local

administrators did not constitute a political threat to the planters' control over education by means of the parliamentary purse and did not prevent the planters' children from getting the best education available in the colony or overseas. Between 1860 and 1876, and for a long time thereafter, Barbados' educational system developed as an imitation of English education overseas with all its deleterious features of social prejudice and snobbery.

The principles of efficiency, economy and accountability advanced in the various correspondence from the Imperial Government to the colonies were seriously addressed by Barbadian educationalists. Thus the "payment by results" system intended to increase the efficiency of primary schools, and introduced in Britain in 1861, was likewise introduced in the Caribbean. The first testing ground was Barbados; this was in 1866. In Barbados, and later in the other West Indian colonies, with the introduction of the system of "payment by results", grants to schools were made on the basis of the "results of childrens' performance in the three Rs, and if the schools wanted to do better, also in defined areas of subject information" (Gordon, 1963:79). Additional grants were made for school attendance and teachers' efficiency in "management" and "discipline". The "Report of the Barbados Education Commission of 1875" (The Mitchinson Report described the operation of "the payment by results" system in the following terms:

> Our payments here from the Education grant are, as has been observed, by results. They consist of (1) a fixed allowance, (2) Capitation money, (3) Examination in Premiums. To these must be added (4) Allowances from Vestry grants, (5) School Fees i.e.children's pence (The Mitchinson Report, 1875).

Further reorganisation and adjustments in the administration of primary school education were made in accordance with English national school models established by Bell and Lancaster in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The expense of staffing primary schools in the island with well-trained teachers was considered prohibitive by the Barbadian Legislature and educational administrators.[5] In addition, because of the ridiculously low salaries paid to primary school teachers, young school leavers sought other occupations outside the teaching service. This was noted in the Mitchinson Report:

> The Teacher of a good Primary School may at present expect to earn about £50 a year, an Infant School Teacher about £15. These sums are exclusive of School Fees, which, as will hereafter be shown, are ordinarily a mere trifle. Such a salary as this is not sufficient to attract really superior men and women to make education their profession: hence it is that a considerable number of pupil-teachers diverge as soon as possible into other walks of life, and become clerks in stores . . . not finding Education as a Profession sufficiently remunerative to attract them to it in preference to other openings in life (The Mitchinson Report, 1875).

A cheaper method of staffing schools, based on the English monitorial system, was implemented. Large schools could now be run by a system of pupil-teachers (students around the age of 14). Pupil-teachers were not paid, but were seen as beginning the rungs of an upward climb to fully qualified and competent teaching. As early as 1848, Richard Rawle, Principal of Codrington College, in a letter to an English colleague in Straffordshire, extolled the virtues of this method in improving the efficiency of schooling on the Codrington Estates in Barbados:

> I have been very busy since Christmas with our school on the hill, being in fact the schoolmaster, as well as the school-furnisher. In the course of the month, the school has passed from the very lowest state of debasement to a respectable condition, and will now bear comparison with ordinary English National Schools in point of efficiency. . . . Our actual attendance now averages 180 [And] The children are above the average of Staffordshire in intelligence (Gordon, 1963:61).

Rawle went on to say that there were 16 monitors or pupil teachers (ten boys and six girls) at the school.

At the level of secondary education, a similar reorganisation took place. These developments were part of a comprehensive programme of measures recommended by the Education Commission of 1875. Secondary education, up until the Mitchinson Report, bore no real relationship to primary education on the island. Secondary schools were endowed schools for the education of the Barbadian elite classes. The Mitchinson Commission did not tamper with this phenomenon of class distinction. The Report of the Commissioners would, by its firm endorsement of elitism in Barbadian education, lay a firm basis for the future pattern of events.

The Mitchinson Report

The Education Commission, chaired by Bishop John Mitchinson, was appointed by the Barbados planter-dominated Assembly in February, 1874, "to enquire into all aspects of Education in Barbados and to make recommendations for its improvement" (Davis, 1976:166). The Commission held 45 meetings, and submitted its report on April 21st, 1875. The Mitchinson Commission was absolutely dominated by members of the Barbados upper classes as the following list taken

from the Mitchinson Report shows:

John Mitchinson - Bishop
Sir Robert Bowcher Clarke - Chief Justice
Sir John Sealy - Attorney General
Bishop H. Parry - Archdeacon
Sir Charles Packer - Solicitor General
Mr. William Brandford Griffith - Auditor General
Rev. Thomas Clarke - Rector, St. Michael
Rev. P.B. Austin - Rector, St. James
Rev. J.Y. Edgehill - Superintendent, Moravian Church
Hon. C. Reeves - M.C.P.
Hon. Henry Pilgrim - M.C.P.(The Mitchinson Report)

The striking feature of this educational report was its incisive analysis of the socio-economic order and the relationship of the latter to educational realities in Barbados. The Commission, for instance, drew attention to poverty and its negative effect on the school attendance of children from the lower classes. The Commissioners suggested that primary schooling was in very bad shape, largely because of the disinterest of the upper classes. They condemned racial segregation in schooling, and were severely critical of the practice of child labour which prevented those unfortunate children from attending school. On the matter of child employment, the Commission observed:

> The general employment of child labour too, as being cheaper than that of adults, on the part of the agriculturalist, has been alleged as a reason for deficient school attendance.
>
> This last named cause of non-attendance if widely prevalent, is an undoubted evil from every point of view (Ibid.).[6]

The Commission went on to recommend compulsory education as a solution to the child employment problem. This was so tenaciously resisted by the planters that it would take fully a century before compulsory education could be incorporated in an Act of Education in Barbados (Barbados Education Act, 1975).

Generally, the Commission's observations about the state of "neglect" in primary education were supported by the Imperial inspector, Savage, who was sent out in 1878 to investigate and report upon education in Barbados. He noted that, whereas the Barbados colonial government was prepared to spend £4,406 on the education of 456 pupils in the secondary schools, it was only spending £5,577 on the 15,565 pupils in the primary schools.

Secondary Education

Inspite of its findings, which implicated the upper classes and the Church in the class snobbery and racial prejudice in education, the Mitchinson Commission recommended a formula for education in Barbados which was acutely sympathetic to the class and colour distinctions already practised in Barbadian schools. At the level of secondary education, the Commission recommended that the three most exclusive and elitist schools in the island, Harrison College, Queens College and the Lodge School, be established as the three "first-grade" schools. These schools were expected to cater to children from the upper classes. A further subdivision of secondary schooling along discriminatory class lines was made with the proposal that a "second-grade" school should be established in every parish. Schools such as the John Alleyne School, Combermere, Boys and Girls Foundation, initially supported by private bequeaths and endowments, were expected to come under the auspices of the colonial Barbados government. These schools catered to children of poor whites, and in time, those children of the rising coloured middle classes.

In the Mitchinson definition of secondary schooling, the bulk of Barbadian children in the labouring population were excluded from a secondary education. Class distinctions were enforced through the exorbitant fees required for secondary schooling. Eric Williams, writing in 1950, drew attention to the social class snobbery in Barbadian education, which was still very much in existence in the 1950s:

> Barbados carries the snobbery of secondary education to the extreme. Secondary schools are divided into Grades A and B schools. The fees in Grade A schools are approximately double the fees in Grade B (Williams, 1968).

Indeed "A Memorandum on the Provision for Secondary Education in Barbados," submitted by the Director of Education, Howard Hayden to the Governor of Barbados on November 28, 1943 corroborates Williams' contention. The following statistical information in Table 6.2 illustrates the type of bifurcation of secondary schooling, by means of tuition fees, practised in Barbados.

Table 6.2

1943-44: A List of Tuition Fees Required by Grammar Schools

School	Preparatory Junior School	Middle School	Upper School
(First Grade) Harrison College	£2. 10. 0	£5. 0. 0	£5. 0. 0
(First Grade) Lodge	2. 10. 0	5. 0. 0	5. 0. 0
(Second Grade) Combermere	(under 1. 0.10 10)	(over 1. 3. 4 10)	(Forms 2. 1.10 IV&V)
(Second Grade) Foundation Boys'	16. 8	1.13. 4	1.13. 4
(First Grade) Queens College	Form I 1. 15. 4	Form 2 & 3 3. 6. 6	
		4. 8. 4 Forms 1&2	4. 8. 4 Forms 4&5
(Second Grade) Foundation Girls'	16. 8	1.11. 6	1.11. 6
			1.13. 4

(Source: Howard Hayden, 1943:6)

The Mitchinson Commission did, however, propose incentives for desirous students at the primary level of schooling prepared to make the climb up the educational ladder from primary to secondary education. The Commissioners recommended a number of exhibitions and scholarships to the "highest schools" in the island for those primary school children whose academic performance was exceptional. The 1875 Education Commission stressed "intelligence" rather than social class as the criterion of acceptance to secondary schools:

> The term second-grade education must not be confounded with middle-class education. It has nothing necessarily to do with a child's social rank or future prospects; it simply has reference to the amount of time that can be allotted to instruction before entering on the business of life, and to the estimated capacity of the pupil to profit by instruction
>
> (The Mitchinson Report, 1875).

Yet, in encouraging the provision of incentives for the "best" of the lower class children in the primary schools to aspire to first-grade secondary education, the Commissioners' rationale was typically couched in social class terms:

> But it is not only desirable that the best stratum in each primary school should gravitate upwards, i.e. should struggle into a more advantageous position socially speaking; it will also conduce to the interests of the community and the stability of its institutions, if the very best units, in that best stratum be placed, through means of access to our highest type of education, within reach of the best social and professional positions attainable in the colony. The hereditary aristocracy of England gains strength and influence by being frequently recruited from the middle classes. There will probably be but very few each generation who are worth this exceptional treatment. . . . It is however an experiment worth trying, and the existence of even one such exhibition per annum from primary to first-grade schools, will have a wholesomely stimulating effect on primary education generally
>
> (Ibid.).

The very nomenclature of the organisation of secondary education as proposed by the 1875 Commission, "first-grade"/ "second-grade", sanctioned inequality in the educational system. This definition of secondary education was further cemented by differences in (a) primary feeder sources to the respective types of secondary schools, first-grade as opposed to second-grade, (b) the academic objectives, (c) type of staffing, (d) and per capita financial allocations. The first-grade secondary schools received children who were privately and expensively tutored. All the first-grade schools provided primary education in their lower classes for privileged white children. The second-grade schools were similarly closed off to children from lower class backgrounds. Statistics provided in Howard Hayden's "A Policy for Education" of 1945 emphasised this continuing elitism fully seventy years after the Mitchinson Report. According to Hayden, in the year 1943-44 only 1.0 percent of the boys and 1.2 percent of the girls leaving elementary schools gained entry into the three first-grade grammar schools. However, 18.0 percent of the boys and 14.0 percent of the girls leaving elementary school gained entry to the second-grade schools in the year in question (Hayden, 1945:12).

As far as the educational and academic objectives of these schools were concerned, the feature of a double purpose in the Mitchinson recommendations emerges again. The 1875 Commission conceived of first-grade schooling as culminating in the Oxford and Cambridge Higher Certificate. Furthermore, they proposed that an annual scholarship, worth £150 per annum, should be granted to the

most outstanding student at the Higher School Certificate Examinations to enable him to enter the academic citadel of Oxford or Cambridge. "It is needless to observe," the Commissioners contended, "that this education in its most perfect form can best be had in the two great seats of learning in the Mother Country, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. It would indeed be a great advantage to the Colony if she could send her very best raw material to be worked up there into a cultivated article" (The Mitchinson Report, 1875).[7]

The second-grade grammar schools had as their ultimate objective, the Junior School Certificate (Hayden, 1945:3). The Mitchinson Commissioners defined second-grade education as "useful education" designed for those who were not capable of entering the "higher professions" or capable of absorbing "intellectual culture". They suggested that the curricular objectives at this level of secondary schooling should go beyond "the work of developing memory, attention, and intelligence." These latter objectives, in their opinion, constituted the frame of reference for primary schooling. Instead, there should be an effort "to train the [second-grade] pupil in the power of analysis, in accuracy, in skillful command of language, and to teach him to make use of his reasoning power and his faculty of observation " (Ibid.). To achieve these pedagogical goals, the Commissioners suggested that the curricular programme at the second-grade schools should consist of religious teaching, arithmetic, geometry and elementary mathematics, "to develop accuracy and reasoning power". English was to be taught in order to develop analytical power and the command of language, "as well as to enforce

accuracy". The Commissioners also added some of the natural sciences to the list of subjects, in order "to develop observation". Latin, though included, would be studied "as a language than as containing a literature" (Ibid.). The length of schooling at the second-grade level would normally be for a duration of six years (from the age of ten to sixteen).

In describing the curricular programme for first-grade schools, the Commissioners stated:

> This kind of education presupposes the average of the boys that avail themselves of it not to leave school much before eighteen years of age. And it proposes, in addition to the subject-matter of second-grade education, to educate the boy's taste, to inform his mind, and to create a desire for further information, and to impart to him that indescribable something which we call 'culture'. It may effect these objects by either classical or modern discipline (Ibid.).

In addition to the programme of the second-grade schools which was to be taught to first-graders from the age of ten to fourteen, classical education was heavily stressed -- "all boys intended for first-grade education should be drilled in Latin and Greek Grammar". At the age of fourteen when the "bias of [the pupil's] mind" could be determined, a choice of a "classical" or "modern" senior school education should be made. They argued that the "taste" of the classical scholar should be "developed by the careful study of the copious literature of Greece and Rome, accuracy and thoroughness ensured by a deeper insight into grammar and philology and culture brought about by that mastery in a more or less degree of the two classical languages " (Ibid.). For "Modern" education, the Mitchinson Report recommended that Greek and Latin should not be emphasised. The former should be "dropped", the latter "merely kept

up". Instead, "the backbone of the work is mathematics". Emphasis was also to be placed on the natural sciences — physics and chemistry.

Second-Grade schools were also to be distinguished from first-grade schools by the type of staffing. The first-grade schools drew their staffing from qualified degree holders from England. The second-grade schools were to be staffed by suitably qualified nationals. A detailed breakdown of expenditure on education is not available for the 1870s. However, figures provided in the Mitchinson Report of 1875 and Levy (1980) indicate that, in 1874, out of a total sum of £4,600 expended in Barbadian education, roughly 20 percent or £900 per annum, was "liberally" granted to one school, Harrison College. Howard Hayden's memorandum to the Barbados Governor in 1945, indicates this class bias in educational spending on the island. Table 6.3 illustrates the fact that on a per unit school basis, the first-grade schools were awarded almost 3 times the funding awarded the second-grade schools and more than 3 times the funding granted the elementary schools.

Table 6.3

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE PER UNIT SCHOOL
FOR THE YEAR 1943-44

Elementary School	Second-Grade Secondary School	First-Grade Secondary School
£ 738	£ 855	£ 2,291

(Source: Hayden, 1945:11)

This elitist programme of a three tiered educational system for Barbados — first-grade, second-grade grammar schools and the elementary schools at the bottom of the educational ladder, had different implications at each level of schooling for occupational stratification. In this latter respect, the Mitchinson Report, followed with remarkable fidelity, the prescription advanced by the Colonial Secretary of State on behalf of the Imperial Government in 1847. In this circular despatch of January 26, 1847, the Secretary of State suggested that, "a wise colonial government" would be aware of the advantages of cultivating, through the appropriate type of education, "a native middle class among the Negro population". This class, in the opinion of the Secretary of State, could thus be relied upon to protect and respect "private property". It was even anticipated that these educated Negroes would participate in the administration of "the machinery of local affairs which ministers to social order" (Augier & Gordon, 1963:234). The circular went on to state that a rudimentary knowledge of the 3Rs was appropriate for the education of the lower class labourer, to allow him to enter "into calculations and agreements".

The recommendations of the Mitchinson Commission were endorsed by the Barbados Legislature. In December 1878, "An Act to establish a General Education Board and to provide for the improvement of the educational system of the Colony" was passed. It was not surprising that Bishop Mitchinson was appointed the first president of the Education Board. Of the nine other members of this educational directorate, five were representatives of the planter-dominated

House of Assembly. Also included on the board were the Attorney General and the Solicitor General and two laymen.

Education and Employment

Despite their support for the major planks of the Mitchinson prescription, the Barbadian planter class continued its abrasive criticism of the Barbadian educational system. They were very concerned with its overly classical and academic biases. They were even more irritated by the fact that, in their opinion, the secular education of lower class children stimulated their aspirations for a future life outside agricultural labour. The Mitchinson Commissioners drew attention to the planters' "misgivings" about the education of the masses:

> A misgiving, no doubt, prevails that to teach the agricultural labourers' children is to unfit them for such labour as must necessarily be their lot in life (The Mitchinson Report, 1875).

In all fairness to the planters, their criticisms were much more incisive and wide ranging than the 1875 Education Commissioners suggested. Though never really above their accustomed partiality to their own interests, the planters' criticisms tended to focus on the issue of education and employment. In 1892, the planters' mouthpiece, the Agricultural Reporter, in its July 29 issue, charged that the education of Barbadian youths bore no realistic relationship to employment and employability:

> Thanks to our redundant population, the difficulty of finding suitable employment for our young men, and especially those of the better class, is becoming greater every day. We are spending large sums annually

> in educating them. We are teaching them Latin and Greek and Mathematics and all the other branches of learning which go to make up a liberal education, and we have even gone so far as to found scholarships to enable them to study at Oxford and Cambridge. But the very education which they are receiving renders it all the more difficult to provide them with employment (Agricultural Reporter, July 29, 1892).

The Agricultural Reporter recommended, as a solution to the education/employment problem, that "technical education" should be introduced into the school system. "What we want for the rising generation of young men in Barbados," the newspaper asserted, "is technical training. We want it for our agriculturalists and handcraftsmen. We want no less for those who may be desirous of entering the mercantile or other offices" (Ibid.).

There was however, notwithstanding, the accuracy of the planters' criticisms touching upon education and economy, little complexity in the economy itself. In which sector of the economy would these technically proficient persons go? And what occupations would they fill in an economy which had scarcely altered since sugar was first introduced in the 1640s? The problem was rather acute. Davis (1976:3) has noted that in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, there was very little employment in the Barbadian economy outside the sugar industry and the civil service; the situation was particularly severe for Negroes:

> There was high unemployment running at a rate of 41% in 1871. Apart from agricultural labour and domestic service, blacks could make a living as artisans, seamstresses, porters, carters and similar trades. Some were recruited into the teaching service for the infant and primary schools and a few were found in the Public Service as policemen or prison officers. Most of the clerks in Bridgetown were white or coloured. The typical black Barbadian was thus to be found on the plantation.

Levy (1980) makes similar observations about the employment situation in Barbados in the 1870s. In 1871, Levy informs us that "More than a quarter of the total population was employed in agriculture and another quarter was listed as unemployed". Some very revealing statistics about the nature of occupational distribution in post-emancipation Barbados, were compiled in the 1871 Population Census. Table 6.4 gives a breakdown of the Barbados population in 1871, in terms of occupations held.

Table 6.4

POPULATION OF BARBADOS BY OCCUPATION, 1871

Agricultural workers	42,270
Unemployed	40,829
At school	29,080
Domestics	14,486
Seamstresses	8,868
Engineers and mechanics	6,848
Traders and hucksters	4,620
Washerwomen	3,795
Proprietors and administrative employees	1,863
Sailors	1,720
Porters	1,558
Artisans	1,449
Accountants	953
Various	1,633
Military	777
Professional and teachers	569
Civil officers	446
Other laborers	231

(Source: Levy, 1980:184)

It must be noted that the limited flexibility in the Barbadian economy and occupational structure could not, justifiably, be blamed, on the lack of productivity and initiative coming from the lower classes. Indeed, the limited diversity that did emerge in the Barbadian economy was directly due to the innovative efforts of the labouring black masses, who though property-less, sought to market their skills as a means of establishing their independence from the plantation. Often in defiance of the planters and the Legislative injunctions of the Assembly, members of the lower classes established occupations in huckstering, small scale retailing, dressmaking and cartering. In addition, they attempted to grow their own food crops for subsistence on the small plots of land acquired under the plantation tenantry system.

In 1874, for example, some porters in St. Michael issued a strong protest to the legislature, requesting a remission of the excessive taxation on their handcarts. They stressed that they were unable to pay the tax of six shillings and sixpence. They contended that they were:

> ...poor and having large families to support (which is known to you gentlemen) and to have our children educated in the fear of God, and ourselves to support with the common necessaries of life . . . We do humbly pray your honourable House to take off the additional taxation of six shillings and sixpence, which we are to pay on the 14th of July, as we do assure your honourable House, we are not in a state, neither have we the means for so doing (House of Assembly Minutes, June 16, 1874).

Despite their efforts, the Barbadian Negro masses found their aspirations severely restricted, by the Masters and Servants Act enforced in 1840 and the located labour system (already discussed in

Chapter 5). These devices introduced by the Barbadian oligarchy, and sanctioned by the Imperial High Court in England, severely circumscribed the efforts of the labouring masses of Barbados to establish an economic independence. But, besides the social organisation of labour, the Barbados educational system reinforced occupational stratification in the society. Though statistics for the 1870's are unavailable, Hayden (1945) provides a comparative statement of occupations of school leavers from the three separate tiers of the Barbadian education system, primary, second-grade secondary and first-grade secondary. This gives us some insight into the rigid social class contours replicated in the relationship between education and occupations of school leavers. Tables 6.5(a) and 6.5(b) illustrate, in percentage terms, the "correspondence principle" that operated between schooling and occupations in mid-twentieth century Barbados.

It is to be noticed from the figures that the pupils leaving the elementary schools, predominantly lower class in origin, entered the volume of manual labour in agriculture or the domestic service or were listed as unemployed. In 1943-4 fully 24.0 percent of elementary school girls entered the domestic service and 17.0 percent of the elementary school boys went into agriculture. Another 25.0 of the boys and 22.0 of girls leaving elementary schools were unemployed. The figures for the secondary school leavers are also interesting. Whereas 0.0 percent of the male school leavers of the first-grade schools were unemployed, 21.3 percent of their counterparts from the second-grade schools were.

Table 6.5(a)

OCCUPATION OF LEAVERS FROM ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS
(Comparative figures for 1938 (earliest available records) and 1943-4)

Occupation	1938		1943-4	
	Boys %	Girls %	Boys %	Girls %
Second-Grade Schools	—	—	18.0	14.2
First-Grade Schools (Secondary Education)	— (10.0)	— (9.3)	1.0 (19.0)	1.2 (15.4)
Private Schools	—	—	0.3	1.4
Agriculture	25.0	12.7	17.0	8.0
Domestic Service	11.1	23.9	9.5	24.0
Work at Home	—	—	—	0.8
Business	3.5	1.7	6.0	1.7
Trades	18.0	20.9	14.5	18.0
Left the Island	—	—	0.7	0.7
Unknown	7.3	9.1	8.0	8.0
Unemployed	25.1	22.4	25.0	22.0
Total number of Leavers	1,197	1,138	1,547	1,364

Table 6.5(b)

OCCUPATIONS OF LEAVERS FROM FIRST-GRADE AND SECOND-GRADE SECONDARY SCHOOLS FOR 1943-4

Occupation	Boys %		Girls %	
	1st Grade	2nd Grade	1st Grade	2nd Grade
Other Schools	23.0	33.3	13.3	22.0
Universities	11.5	--	--	--
Professions	7.7	8.0	13.3	7.0
Agriculture	8.9	3.3	--	--
Sugar Technology	--	1.3	--	--
Business	29.5	13.3	30.0	6.0
Trades	—	8.0	—	1.0
H.M. Forces	6.4	--	--	--
Unknown	12.8	11.3	23.3	17.0
Unemployed	—	21.3	20.0	47.0
Total number of Leavers	78	150	30	100

Some 29.5 percent of the male school leavers of the first-grade schools went into business as opposed to 13.3 percent of the males leaving the second-grade schools. Unemployment among female school leavers from all levels of schooling was extraordinarily high, and the statistics suggest something of a sexist bias against the employment of girls which was manifested in all social class categories.[8]

In any event, though there were differences in the way the Imperial Government, the way the British Bishops such as Mitchinson, and the way the Barbadian planters viewed education, it was recognised beyond a shadow of doubt, by all these parties that, education should not pretend to challenge the social order. The Education Commission of 1875 held no doubts about who would play the principal role in determining the future of Barbadian education:

> Everything would depend on the cooperation of the planters and managers; but it is believed that very many of these would be farsighted enough to recognize the superior value of the labourer who had been under teaching and discipline to the entirely untaught child, and a few well selected examples would secure general conformity . . . from the rest (Mitchinson Report, 1875).

The Church and Cultural Imperialism

Throughout the nineteenth century, churchmen dominated the management of schooling and the content of education in Barbados. They were the chairmen of the management committees of the elementary schools, the school inspectors and they were also the teachers. Reverend Rawle was Principal of Codrington College and "Schoolmaster-General of the island" from 1847 until 1864. Bishop Mitchinson was the first president of the Barbados Education Board which was established by the

1878 Education Act. Mitchinson, even more significantly, chaired and was from all accounts, the dominant force of the Education Commission of 1875 which definitively drafted the blueprint of the present Barbados educational system.

The curricular programme of the elementary schools was heavily monopolised by religion and moral education. The 1850 Education Act emphasised this by requiring that the morning session of the elementary school day should be devoted to "religious and moral development" of the students. Indeed, the 161 elementary schools spoken of in the Mitchinson Report were predominantly church schools; Anglican, Methodist, Moravian or Westleyan. Clergymen had directed all the major reports and investigations into Barbadian education from the time of Emancipation to the end of the nineteenth century. It could thus be said that these churchmen, Sterling, Latrobe, Coleridge, Rawle and Mitchinson were the primary custodians of education in the colony. Of course, in their reports, their commissions and their deliberations, the clergy often operated in tandem with the planter class. It was in fact true to say, as Koright Davis (1976) bluntly states, that the Church in Barbados "was historically and traditionally, the Church of the planters, and for the planters".

But the Church, taken in the broadest sense of its corporeal organisation, was not a Barbadian, but a European cultural form. The Anglican and Nonconformists denominations were particularly English. They manifested in their very structure and organisation, social class values of hierarchy, dominance and subordination, authority and obedience, that prevailed in nineteenth century British society. The

Anglican church, for instance, consistently defended the right to private property and the right of the upper classes to the labour of the lower. The approach of the Church firmly endorsed the Imperial Government's policy on these issues. It is to be remembered that in the eighteenth century, when the British Government's policy was one of support for plantation slavery in the Caribbean, the Bishop of London advised the Anglican Clergy in the colonies that religion did not "make the least difference in civil property". Barbadian clergymen had slaves and the S.P.G. ran a slave plantation on the Codrington estate. In the 1830s, when coloured freedmen protested to the St. Michael Vestry that they were being excluded from the pews in the St. Michael Cathedral because of prejudice and made specific requests for seating accommodation, the church authorities made this astonishing reply:

> . . . as the pews in the area of the ground floor of the Church have been from the first erection of them set apart for the accommodation of, and belong to, the white inhabitants, they do not consider themselves authorized to interfere with the rights of property, and therefore cannot sanction the occupation by them [the free coloureds] of these seats (Davis, 1976:96).

The top ranks of the Barbadian clergy, even though they were among the most humanitarian individuals in the society, held negative views about the lower classes. As in England, the poor were considered responsible for their human predicament. Bishop Mitchinson, who headed the Poverty Commission of 1878, blamed the poverty of the Barbadian masses on their "idle nature and . . . lack of thrift". What is to be noticed here is the importance of the Church in setting the social and moral definitions for the colonial Barbadian society. These definitions were almost always informed by the English environment and the codes of social and moral behaviour prevalent in the mother country.

Emile Durkheim, in his seminal work, The Elementary Forms of Religious Life, defined religion as the embodiment of a people's culture, as the metaphysical essence of society. Said Durkheim, "religion is not only a social creation, but it is society divinized" (Aron, 1970). The burial of African gods and African religious forms through the oppressive system of slavery and their replacement via religious instruction and cultural conditioning by a completely different world view and moral system centred upon European christianity, constituted the most devastating blow served on the cultural assertion of African descendants in Barbados. In the new moral system propagated by the missionaries and the Anglican clergy, African society was considered as the harbinger of dark evils, an anathema to civilisation. This view was boldly celebrated by nineteenth century British intellectuals. Froude (1888) declared:

> The African blacks have been free for thousands, perhaps for tens of thousands of years and it has been the absence of restraint which has prevented them from becoming civilised. Generation has followed generation, and the children are as like their fathers as the successive generations of apes (Froude, 1888:125).

It is in this effort to repaint the African past, to blot Africa out of existence, that schooling for the Barbadian masses was directed. Religious and moral education and the entire elementary school programme constituted an attempt to infuse the stock of knowledge and values available in English elementary education into Barbados. The prime movers in this regard, as was the case in England, were the clerics. In 1849, the Reverend Richard Rawle in his "Suggestions for the Improvements of Church Schools," contended that the Barbadian and West Indian cultural environment was inadequate and did not provide the

appropriate stimuli for the promotion of the full intellectual development of Barbadian students:

> Our West Indian 'world' is too small and too much of a colour to supply children with a sufficient stock of fundamental ideas for the purpose of understanding the language of Books. Until some device of [English] education enlarges the horizon and endows the mind's eye with telescopic power to see things and customs and the social state of the country from which books come, not only will most little story books, meant particularly for the children's edification, appear full enigmas, but the Bible, the Liturgy and Sermons will in great part remain in language 'not understood of the people' (Gordon, 1963:63).

To provide a "sufficiency of the terms of communication", the Reverend Rawle recommended the following books for "pupils and teachers":

> Books on particular subjects for classes:
> Grammar: English Grammar with Explanatory Questions 1½ d. each S.P.C.K.
> Etymology: Wilson's Outlines, 1 d. each, S.P.C.K.
> History of England: 9 d., S.P.C.K.
>
> Books for Teachers:
> Grammar: Chambers' Part I, 1 s. 6 d.
> Hunter's Text Book (Longmans)
> Ditto Parsing Exercises
> Etymology: Oswald's Manual, 1 s. 6 d.
> Ditto Dictionary, 7 s. 0 d.
> History: Wilberforce's Five Empires
> Cleig's School History of England, 4 s. 6 d., S.P.C.K.
> Church History: Burton's or Palmer's
> Religion: Catechetical Series, Nos. 1 to 8, 1 s. 6 d., S.P.C.K.
> The Mother's Help, 1 s. 8 d., S.P.C.K.
> Trimmer's Teacher's Assistant, 3 s. 6 d., S.P.C.K.
> Trower's Epistles and Gospels, 1 s. 6 d. and 2 s. 3 d. S.P.C.K.
> (Gordon, 1963:63-64).

At the level of secondary education, emphasis was placed on European classical antiquity, the world of Homer's Iliad, Vergil Aenid and so on. Bishop Mitchinson and his commissioners saw this as introducing a measure of "culture" to the children of the Barbadian elite classes. Thus, the traditional British practice of maintaining

social distinctions through schooling was advocated for Barbados. That intangible word "culture," implicitly qualified by the epithet "English," defined the purpose of schooling of the Barbadian upper class. Barbados would have its own aristocracy, a "cultured" aristocracy, local men with English manners and mannerisms.

After the Mitchinson Report of 1875, and the incorporation of its recommendations in the 1878 Education Act, the die was cast in Barbadian education. The story of the period 1833-1876 in Barbadian educational history is the story of how an English model of education was transported overseas and took shape in a tiny English colony. It is also the story of social class struggles over educational arrangements on the local landscape. The education of the Barbadian masses, though a painful pill to swallow, was gradually accepted by the planter class as a necessary and pre-emptive measure for assuaging lower class resistance and vehemence. Nevertheless, throughout the nineteenth century, the Barbadian planter oligarchy placed their confidence more firmly in the local police establishment than in the education of the masses: in 1870 out of a total public expenditure of roughly £142,321 for Barbados, only 4.7% was spent on education (approximately £6,697) while 11.7% (or £16,667) was expended on the police (Barbados Blue Book, 1870). On the other hand, for the lower classes, education offered the social incentive of ridding oneself and one's offspring of plantation dependency. Education in the case of the latter was a kind of social investment.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Imperial involvement in local education would be less direct and more by suggestion via communiques. Yet, the structure of dependency established between the island and the mother country from the beginnings of Barbados' modern history was, in fact, quite secure, and Barbadians would, for a long time to come, look to England for their stock of educational ideas, for personnel and for financial aid in the development of local education.

POSTSCRIPT

Developing a new theoretical thrust in any scholarly enterprise is a difficult process. Breaking out of the path of the dominant paradigms — in the case of sociology of education, the functionalist and NeoMarxist paradigms, often involves delineating new theoretical territory that is unclear and even obscure. Often, the goal of maintaining the new directions is thwarted by the security and the seductiveness of the old. The tendency for residual aspects of existing theories and methodological approaches in a particular dis cipline to surreptitiously intrude into the "new" territory is virtually unavoidable (Khun, 1962). For example, Bill Williamson (1979) offers a brilliant critique of contemporary trends in sociology of education. His own work, Education Social Structure and Development, Williamson contends, is at variance with the positivistic and logico-deductive trends in sociology of education. Yet, much of Williamson's own "new" approach to sociology of education, depends upon the logico-deductive and quantitative methods

of analysis which he so forcefully criticises.

In this final chapter, an acknowledgement must be made of the difficulties in maintaining new theoretical ground in the discourse over the emergence of popular education in Barbados. It can be argued, for instance, that this thesis sometimes relies on the radical view of schooling of the NeoMarxists and the macro-theories of society of the dependency school -- two schools of thought which have been themselves criticised in the foregoing chapters. To some extent it is impossible to avoid the radical hypothesis of Carnoy (1974) and others that educational expansion from metropolitan countries to the colonies facilitated the steady process of imperialist domination of these subject territories. Indeed the historical evidence provided in the case of Barbados at least supports the view that there was strong metropolitan influence on the development of the Barbados educational system. This heavy-handed manipulation was evident in the Colonial Secretary's circular to the West Indian governors in 1847, detailing specific guidelines for local education (These guidelines have been discussed in Chapters V and VI). Also, the functionalist assertion that Imperial educational expansion led to a more "enlightened" standing of the history of education in the region, if the word "enlightened" simply refers to the initiation of the West Indian and Barbadian lower classes into the world of literacy.

The specific critique of the functionalist and radical approaches to the emergence of Barbadian education and society that has been offered in this thesis is that these theoretical approaches are not fully cognisant of the interactive nature of the history-making-process. In the works on the Caribbean (Schomburgk, 1848;

Froude, 1888; Gordon, 1963), the West Indian masses are not seen as responsible actors in the making of their own history. The playwright, Derek Walcott, reinforces this tendency to caricature the West Indian masses in his introduction to Dream on Monkey Mountain and Other Plays. He describes them as "silent spectators in the dark":

> So the people, like the actors, awaited a language. They confronted a variety of styles and masks, but because they were casual about commitment, ashamed of their speech, they were moved only by the tragi-comic and farcical. The tragi-comic was another form of self-contempt. They considered tragedy to be, like English, an attribute beyond them (Walcott, 1972:17).

As stressed in Chapter I of this thesis, the historical evidence is at variance with this negative concept of the West Indian lower classes as passive, taciturn, human beings. Fortunately, not all views of the historical past of West Indian societies insist on the "helplessness" of the West Indian people. C.L.R. James (1961) maintains, "In the Caribbean from the system of proprietary government through Crown Colony to Independence, people have been fighting for their freedom." Sidney King (1967:22) draws attention to the cumulative impact of mass rebellion against Imperial domination in the region:

> Blows delivered against the European system in 1750 or in 1850 served to shake the system, sometimes to its foundations and to cause it to make democratic concessions as a price of recovery.

J.E. Greene (1974:9) takes the argument further and suggests that, "The Maroon Rebellion, the Bush Negro Movement, 1730, the Berbice Rebellion, 1763, the Haitian Revolution, the Morant Bay Rebellion, 1865, the 1938 Revolt in Jamaica -- these early social movements

were as important to Caribbean Politics as the revolt of the American colonies in 1865, which came to be projected as the original type of colonial revolution and the forerunner of modern "republicanism."

Perhaps, the most significant contribution to a more interactive view of Caribbean history has been advanced by Edward Brathwaite (1974). Brathwaite asserts that the impact of the enslaved Negro masses on the dominant white planter class was more significant in the socio-cultural sphere of plantation society than in the political sphere. This impact according to Brathwaite, was cumulative and lasting and was manifested in the areas of language, style, mannerisms and general way of life of the planters. In the vital area of sexual and amorous relations their influence was profound:

> But it was in the intimate area of sexual relationships that the greatest damage was done to white creole apartheid policy and where the most significant — and lasting interculturation took place. Black mistresses made convenient spies and/or managers of Negro affairs, and white men in petty authority were frequently influenced in their decisions by black women with whom they were amorously, or at any rate sensually, connected . . . (Brathwaite, 1974:19).

It has been stressed throughout this thesis that the making of Barbadian educational history often (not always) took place in terms of this subterranean process of "negotiation", action and reaction, strategy and counter-strategy. The Imperial Government declared its educational objectives in trenchant terms to the colonial governors, the local planters resisted or ignored these "liberal" notions of education, the Barbadian masses defied both the planters and the Imperial Government and established their own schools whenever feasible as was instanced in the case of the Negro cabinetmaker

mentioned in Chapter V.

Accordingly, the major objective here has been to draw attention to these "areas of maneouvrability" within the external and internal socio-economic relations of the colonial society of Barbados and the impact of these on educational policy directives coming from the Imperial Government during the period 1833 to 1876. In this regard, Barbadian social structure, the phenomenon of class struggle and the internal dynamics of Barbadian society have been presented here as having a profound impact on metropolitan designs. To better achieve this, the author has attempted to take into account the impact of the variables of ethnicity, class and power. In so doing, it was necessary to depart from contemporary writers who have not accorded these variables major significance in their analyses of local education (Goodridge, S., 1981; Hoyos, 1978). The figurative illustrations and the data presented here, demographic statistics - population growth rates, emigration figures, mortality rates, family genealogies, and balance of trade statistics, have been used to illustrate the dynamic and interactive relationship between Barbadian education and the everchanging socio-economic and political contexts.

While such data reveal the broad socio-political similarities between Barbados and the rest of the Anglophone Caribbean colonies, they also serve to underscore the fact of Barbados' uniqueness. Barbados, for example, had a larger white population in percentage and numerical terms than any other Caribbean island for most of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Barbados had higher general population and higher slave and ex-slave population densities than any

of the other territories. There was also the problem of the scarcity of land in the Barbadian case as indicated in Chapters II and III. This meant that the Barbadian freed slaves, unlike the freed slaves of Trinidad and Jamaica, found it impossible to remove themselves from plantation labour. It also meant that this greater rigidity of the stratification system was reflected in the provision of educational institutions in the island -- a fact which was strongly reflected in the Mitchinson Report.

Though the Barbadian social structure was rigid, there was nevertheless some degree of social mobility. Education was seen from very early by all the social classes in the colony as a kind of "broker institution" and as an avenue for occupational and social class mobility. Thus, the Mitchinson Commission of 1875, an educational body which reflected the overwhelming presence of the upper classes, strongly recommended "the use of education as an avenue of social mobility" (Farrell, 1967). The Commission stressed:

> an avenue of advancement for the very able of all classes must exist to recruit a stable middle class, as in England (The Mitchinson Report, 1875).

The Barbadian upper classes had opted to champion their own social and political interests in the educational arrangement. Here again, it was clear that the planter class, though ever conscious of their English heritage, sought to direct educational developments in the island in ways that would further enhance their own interests. They conceived of an educational system for Barbados that would perpetuate their socio-economic dominance in the society, but they also sought to mollify the Barbadian lower classes by providing incentives of exhibitions and scholarships for deserving lower class

children in the primary schools who wished to pursue a secondary education. These incentives would serve to stimulate and gratify lower class aspiration for a middle class life while the privileged position of ruling groups and the hierarchical structure of the society remained unaltered.

Ultimately then, the author wishes to maintain that all human societies defy the purist definitions and abstractions of social science theory. The dynamics of social and economic relations, together with the complexity of the social configurations of given empirical societies are not static or wholly mechanistic but are indeed fluid and interactive. This was certainly the case of Barbadian society and the emergence of popular education in the nineteenth century.

The Caribbean Historian, and Future Directions for Historical Research on Caribbean Education

The Caribbean historian, the historian indigenous to the Caribbean and his counterpart from other places writing histories on the region, is far too often overburdened by the tenets of Eurocentric historiography and philosophy of history. History in this frame of reference is seen as a logical and coherent reconstruction of the past based on available evidence and "unpolluted" fact. Debbins in the introduction to Collingwood's Essays in the Philosophy of History defines the task of the historian in the following terms:

> Strictly speaking the historian does not construct the past, he reconstructs it, the basic difference is simply that the picture of the past is meant to be true and not a work of fiction, as say in the case of the historical novel (Collingwood, 1965:xviii).

V.H. Galbraith, even more uncompromisingly maintains that history is a "science" and asserts emphatically:

> By science we mean a body of knowledge that seeks to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth (Galbraith, 1964:3).

These tenets of "neutrality" and "objectivity" have been challenged, quite rightly, by a tradition of West Indian historians, beginning with Eric Williams' Capitalism and Slavery and British Historians and the West Indies and more latterly Walter Rodney's How Europe Underdeveloped Africa and A History of the Guyana Working People, 1881-1905. Both Rodney and Williams have argued that much of what passes for authentic historical accounts of the region by British historians are in fact saturated with racial prejudice and ethnocentricity. This has already been alluded to in this chapter in the instances of Carlyle's "Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question" (1849), Froude's The English in the West Indies (1888), and C.S. Salmon's The Caribbean Confederation.

In the light of this, it is being argued here that the Caribbean historian cannot afford the luxuries of a neoclassical purist -- a historian who, after the manner of Collingwood, writes "history for history sake". The "new" historian of the Caribbean has an emancipatory and liberating function. Williams (1966:12) makes this poignantly clear:

> The author seeks principally to emancipate his compatriots whom the historical writings that he analyses sought to depreciate and to imprison for all time in the inferior status to which these writings sought to condemn them.

It is in this vein that this thesis has been written. The task of history writing for the Caribbean historian involves a responsibility of rewriting and reinterpreting the past of a people whose history has been chronicled by their colonizers. Future historical research on educational developments or on other matters will hopefully focus more directly on the subject of mass involvement in the evolution of these societies. Much work has yet to be done on the educational history of the Caribbean and Barbados in particular.

Footnotes

[1]For the year 1871, Barbados' total exports were worth £1,298,546; exports to the other colonies in the British West Indies and to the U.S.A. were valued at £245,260 and £229,173 respectively. Expenditures for the same year were as follows: total expenditure on imports were £1,191,888, imports from the British West Indies were valued at £37,164 (Barbados Blue Book, 1871).

[2]The Barbadian masses, throughout the period, resisted the oppression of the planters and stood firm in the hard economic times. According to Levy (1980):

> . . . in 1859 [Governor] Walker informed the Colonial Office that a large number of people were arming themselves with knives and guns. The following year saw an increase in looting on estates, and 3,727 workers were arrested in 1863 for stealing. In jail the impoverished blacks became so violent that the Governor reluctantly agreed to revive corporal punishment as part of the prison discipline (Levy, 1980:130).

There were, indeed, riots throughout the 1860s and 70s culminating in the food riots (The Confederation Riots) in 1876.

[3]Trollope, in his The West Indies and the Spanish Main (1859) attacked the idea of a parliamentary democracy in Jamaica. In his opinion, a Westminster democracy would be reduced to a farce in this colony which, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, now had an electorate that was predominantly coloured. Trollope stated his strong reservations about Jamaica in the following terms:

> I do not think that the system does answer in Jamaica. In the first place, it must be remembered that it is carried on there in a manner very different from that exercised in our other West Indian Colonies. In Jamaica any man may vote who pays either tax or rent; but by a late law he must put in his claim to vote on a ten-shilling stamp. There are in round numbers three hundred thousand blacks, seventy thousand coloured people and fifteen thousand white, it may therefore be easily seen in what hands the power of elections must rest. Now in Barbados no coloured man votes at all (Williams, 1966:93).

[4]Actually, the Confederal idea for the Windward Islands and Barbados offered little of substance for these colonies. As Williams (1970) points out, the British interests were primarily in efficiency and reducing the cost of government of these islands. "What Britain wished to achieve," Williams asserts, "was a consolidation of these eighteenth-century anachronisms for more effective defence and to reduce costs by a more efficient centralised administration. The federation

was a British-imposed federation in Britain's interests. It was modesty incarnate -- a federal police force, a federal penitentiary, a federal lazaretto, a federal lunatic asylum, a federal auditor and a federal Chief Justice. This federation of policemen and paupers, convicts and lunatics, could hardly be expected to appeal to West Indian nationalist sentiment -- if there was such a thing"; (Williams, 1970:403).

[5]It would take another half century (1910) before a formal institution for Teacher Training (the Rawle Institute) would be established.

[6]A writer, in the Barbados Times of January, 1879 was even more critical of the planters' practice of employing children below the age of 12, on the plantations. He saw the planters as "enemies to the education of blacks". He warned further, that "any attempt on the part of narrow-minded men to stem it [education] would be as utterly vain and futile as trying to arrest the sun in his course" (The Barbados Times, January 1879).

[7]Students at Codrington College looked to Durham for their University education. Two annual "Island Scholarships" were offered to suitable "outstanding" students.

[8]There was prevalent in the organisation of education in the nineteenth century, a considerable sexist bias against girls -- in terms of numbers vis à vis boys who had access to education, the content of this education, and the level of education to which girls were allowed to aspire (Joyce Cole, 1981).

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