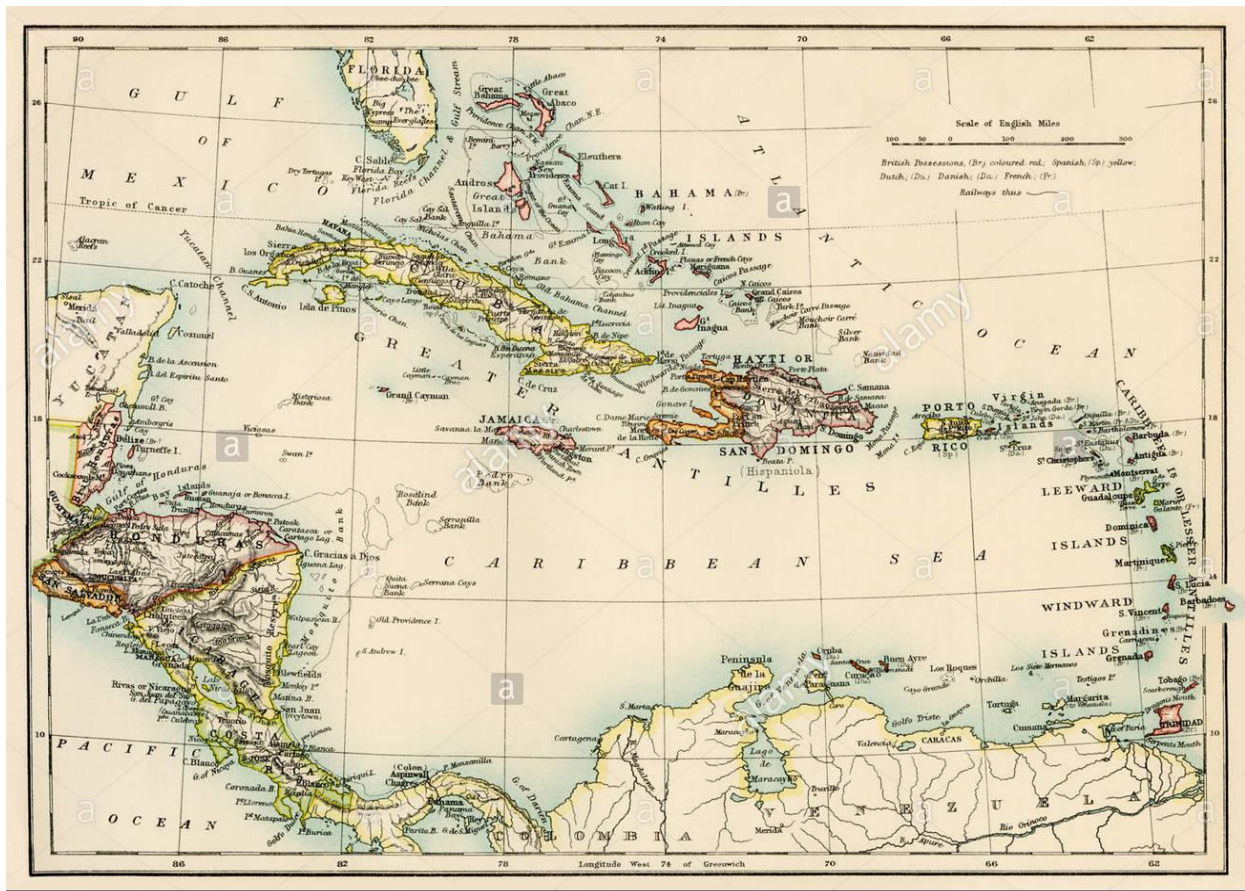




Universiteit Utrecht



1

Expansion of mass primary education: A case study of Jamaica and Trinidad & Tobago

Isabella Horswill

Supervisor: Dr. Auke Rijpma

15/08/2019

¹ Map of the West Indies and the Caribbean Sea, 1800s. Colour lithograph <https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo/vintage-caribbean-islands-map.html>

Expansion of mass primary education: A case study of Jamaica and Trinidad & Tobago

This thesis is writtent to complete the Master program History of Politics and Society, at Utrecht University.

Abstract

What are the causes of primary schools becoming more widespread in Trinidad & Tobago and Jamaica, from 1834 to 1940?.

This thesis investigates the causes of primary school education development and how a primary school system emerged in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago between 1834 and 1940. When the United Kingdom abolished slavery, the metropole implemented educational reforms for the masses of the islands. Educating colonial subjects provided an avenue for British hegemony to be infused into the colonies, as it increased access to metropolitan identity i.e. Language and customs. Studying primary school education in Jamaica and Trinidad & Tobago, utilising qualitative and quantitative data, shows how implementing British schooling experienced differences across socially and economically diverse colonies. While Jamaica is considered to be the largest and most developed island in the British West Indies, numerous factors including government underinvestment and data indicate the colony's primary schooling over the colonial period fell behind Trinidad and Tobago's efforts. This thesis presents a brief historical overview of primary schools in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago during the period following emancipation. Differences in the islands outcomes derive from local circumstances, government, Religious denominations, and approaches dealing with the economic changes triggered by the Emancipation of slaves.

Keywords: primary education, comparative historical analysis, Jamaica, Trinidad & Tobago, colonial development, Crown colony government.

Name: Isabella Horswill

Number: 6623492

Assignment: Thesis

Course: Theme's: Colonial Institutions

Supervisor: Auke Rijpma

Study Programme: Master History of Politics and Society

Institute: Utrecht University

Date: 15/08/2019

Word Count: 15,

Table of content

1. Introduction.....	4
Literature Embedding.....	5
Comparison	7
Methodology	7
2. Metropolitan policy and local initiatives found in T&T and Jamaica	10
Introduction	10
Transforming budgets and changing economies	11
From Private to Public concern.....	13
Trinidad and Tobago: A Blank Slate.....	15
A New Chapter for Primary School Provision.....	17
Jamaica	20
Pushing Primary schools forward in a new century	23
Legislating West Indian Schooling	27
. Conclusion.....	28
3. Framework for Colonial Education- Crown Colony v Representative Assembly.....	29
Introduction	29
Jamaica	32
Conclusion.....	37
4. Religious Missions and their Impact.....	40
Introduction	40
East Indian Arrival	42
Jamaica	44
Primary Education in the 1920s-late 1930s	47
Conclusion.....	48
5. Thesis Conclusion.....	50
6. Appendix A.....	53
7. References.....	54

Glossary

British West Indies (B.W.I)

Negro Education Grant (NEG)

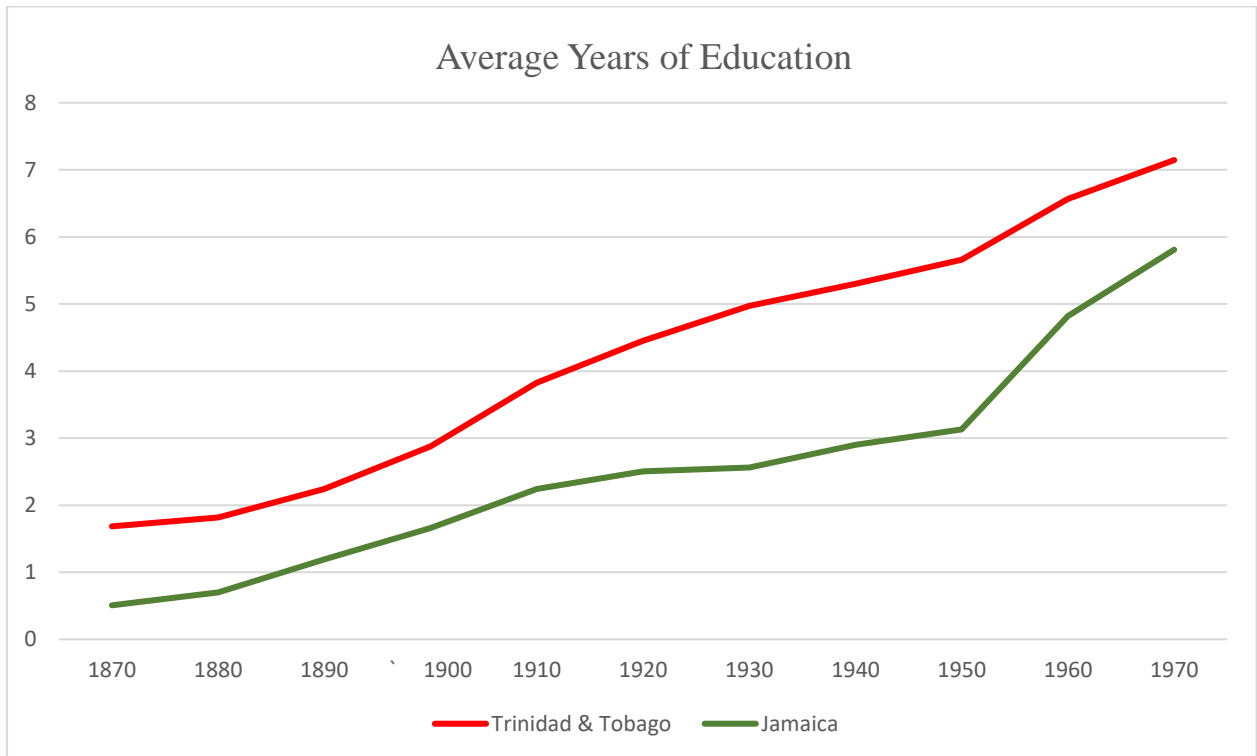
Plantocracy- Plantation Aristocracy

Trinidad and Tobago (T&T)

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (UK)

1. Introduction

Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago are two very similar islands that diverge on educational achievement. In graph 1 below show how by 1940 Trinidad and Tobago had an average of 5.30 years of education for its subjects while in Jamaica had an average of 2.90 years for their subjects.² Which is a measure that calculates T&T and Jamaica's educational attainment. This thesis seeks to analyse and examine possible causes behind this.



Graph 1: Average Years of Education 1870-1970.

Source: Clio Infra. *Average Years of Education*. <https://clio-infra.eu/Countries/Jamaica.html> and <https://clio-infra.eu/Countries/TrinidadandTobago.html>

The Research question guiding this thesis is: *What are the causes of primary schools becoming more widespread in Trinidad & Tobago and Jamaica, from 1834 to 1940?*. This thesis utilises four sub-questions to analyse the extent and nature of the subject within the case studies. The first sub-question investigates mass education being introduced as a means of ensuring social stability in the colonies through an Anglocentric lens. What served as the purposes behind

² Clio Infra. *Average Years of Education*. <https://clio-infra.eu/Countries/Jamaica.html> and <https://clio-infra.eu/Countries/TrinidadandTobago.html> Accessed March 28th, 2019.

funding education in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago? Analysing this provides insight on motivations for the implementation of primary schools embedded within a desire for continued British dominion over the islands. The second sub-question focuses on how the local government systems in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago began to develop their role in education funding and overseeing primary schools becoming established. Sub-question three examines the ruling elite's (plantocracy) role with the development of education. Studying the local plantocracy is relevant because their influence did impact the trajectory for primary schools in the time period under study. The final sub-question investigates the influence of Religious Missions affecting primary school provision in Trinidad and Jamaica. Their divergence on the two colonies, considering the influence of religion during the time period, provides some insight into the embedding of primary schooling in the region.

Literature Embedding

Case-specific literature relevant to research on the two islands, under study, peaked in the 1960s and declined for a few decades afterward. The British West Indies used different approaches to bring mass schooling to the islands, leading to different pathways in educating their populaces. The thesis uses administrative, governmental, local conditions, and positions on religious influence that informed the provision of primary schools. Both colonies developed different dual systems addressing primary schooling, which originated from the different social circumstances of the islands. Historian Mohammed Bacchus comparatively studies the birth of mass schooling in the British West Indies (B.W.I) and the issues found as it spread, ranging from parental concern over the kind of education to be given and employing qualified teachers. Bacchus details how Jamaica's trajectory in primary schooling began and details the shifts brought from the colony's government change while in Trinidad and Tobago education helped to enhance the legitimacy of the relatively new colonial power of the UK. Bacchus reaches conclusions examining primary schooling that it was initially highly stratified based on skin colour, and the large-scale introduction of sugarcane hurried the introduction of local schooling to the British West Indies. He also covers how the Plantocracy wished to reinforce society as it worked for them, although the liberalising attitudes of the metropolitan British systematically undermined shaping the primary schools how the Plantocracy hoped for.

Historian and Sociologist Matthew Lange's "*Lineages of Despotism and Development*" prescribes Trinidad and Tobago with a mixed legacy, while Jamaica is considered under Direct

rule with a settler/plantation economy.³ Lange's analysis concludes that direct colonial rule influenced the degree of bureaucratization, which if high allowed for the successful provision of social goods in the colonies. Factors such as the duration of British colonial rule, presence of plantation economies, and the extent of indirect rule play a role in development and for my case influence primary school provision. Yet developmentally, Trinidad and Tobago continually outperformed Jamaica on average levels of education throughout the time period under inquiry. Ewout Frankema's body of work has examined the nature of primary school expansion on a global comparative basis. Frankema utilises a political economy approach when examining whether primary school education experienced obstruction or prospered. His conclusions centre on political decisions for public resources and how this played out for primary schools.⁴ For the case studies I used, there was a consistent level of growth for T&T in this regard while Jamaica experienced some interruptions over time. Additionally, Frankema provides data that shows T&T, from 1871, had roughly double the tax revenue per capita to go around that Jamaica had.⁵ Frankema's also examines resource-based growth and concludes it hampered the expansion of public education in the colonies. This position is not neatly applicable to Trinidad with its oil-boom at the turn of the twentieth century. While the Plantocracy (Plantation Aristocracy) and agricultural landlords of Jamaica were key restraints on overall public financing in the colony.⁶ The economic historian Peter Lindert has published work that focuses on schooling in Latin America and the accompanying causes, conflicts, and indicators of success. Lindert provides analysis on how concentrating on the expansion of primary schools over secondary schools informs my study of Jamaica and T&T considering their diverging average for years of education gained.⁷

³ Lange, Matthew. *Lineages of Despotism and Development: British Colonialism and State Power*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009: 22-23.

⁴ Frankema, Ewout. "The expansion of mass education in twentieth century Latin America: a global comparative perspective." *Revista de Historia Economica-Journal of Iberian and Latin American Economic History* 27.3 (2009): 381.

⁵ Frankema, Ewout. Raising revenue in the British empire, 1870–1940: how 'extractive' were colonial taxes? *Journal of Global History*, 5 no.3 (November 2010): 472.

⁶ Frankema, Ewout. "The expansion of mass education in twentieth century Latin America: a global comparative perspective." *Revista de Historia Economica-Journal of Iberian and Latin American Economic History* 27.3 (2009): 387-388.

⁷ Lindert, Peter H. *Revealing failures in the history of school finance*. No. w15491. National Bureau of Economic Research, (2009): 4-5.

Comparison

Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago share numerous commonalities in their histories. Located within the same region, both were large population centres and were decolonised within the same year. Both would also, in the 1930s, see the Metropole provide local governments with a more central role concerning primary education matters. Examining these two colonies adds to Ewout Frankema's view of Britain exercising pragmatic discernment about their style of Empire-Building even in colonies within the same region. An outlook of similar-style British rule is broken down as these two colonies' approach to entrenching mass primary education saw two different timelines develop. There exists no known definitive comparative history for Jamaica and T&T colonial primary schools and the progression of how they arrived at their schooling outcomes. My analysis established a pattern where Jamaica had to continually have intervention from the Metropole in order to improve its primary school provision, suggesting a reliance on denominational and financing secondary schools did not translate into enhanced results for the population masses. Conversely, local conditions of T&T meant that the local government managed to improve the administration more on their own initiative with continuous recommendations by the Metropole. Comparing the trajectories of legislation and growing public expenditure in the two colonies provides insight on how managing primary schooling was viewed. Colonial Trinidad and Tobago shouldered more public responsibility and oversight for the primary school system earlier on than Jamaica. Researching the different legacies with primary schooling is interesting because both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago were under Crown Colony Governance for close to 100 years and more. Considering that the system of direct rule seems to have improved the colonies ability to address issues of importance to the colony, why is a disparity with educational outcomes present. Especially, as Frankema's work points to direct rule, with increased European settlement, improving a colony's institutional ability to deliver public goods.

Methodology

The analysis will cover the period of post-slave emancipation in 1834 until the end of World War Two, as momentum for mass primary schooling began within this time period. Providing a historiographical approach on the primary education system post emancipation of slaves and pre-Independence, will construct a timeline of mass schooling expansion for the colonies of Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica over the time period under study.⁸ The case studies under

⁸ Lange, Matthew. *Comparative-Historical Methods*. London: SAGE, (2013): 77.

scrutiny in this thesis, through its comparison of Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica, will add to the comprehension of how bringing primary schools to the populace occurred in the two colonies and why certain trajectories were taken. Considering Frankema notes how both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago recorded having the fastest rise in enrolment for the region, exceeding 50% by 1900.⁹ Local agency as a factor is examined as one of the drivers behind these statistical outcomes. The analysis covers the extent to which limited access and metropole-periphery relations informed developing primary schools. Examining their enrolment rates, number of schools, and available financial data informs the issues and progress found in expanding primary education to the masses.

A historical narrative of the development and tracing the defining features of the education system. To undertake this research both qualitative and quantitative sources will be utilised to build an analysis between Trinidad & Tobago and Jamaica. Statistics found regarding school enrolment, number of schools established, funding reports, average years of education are useful in charting the span of education development. The aim of this study is to explore the influences and factors which have aided in the development of primary schools in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.¹⁰ This thesis shall give the reader an understanding of the state of primary education provision as it stood post-emancipation and where primary schooling stood as World War Two, tracing the development in the two colonies. Especially as the timing of efforts for mass primary education in the West Indies came as the abolition of slavery occurred. This thesis focuses on the advancement of education through the factors of religion and governance, and takes a look at economic, social and administrative aspects that came into the fray. This methodology will inform my comparative-historical analysis.¹¹

My thesis will use primary sources from the 1869 Keenan Report, Lumb Report, and the 1938-1939 Moyne Report. I will also utilise Lord Grey's *The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration* to examine his comments on education in my two case studies in the 1850s. These sources cover early viewpoints on the state of schooling in the cases under study, which will aid understanding of where views were heading on primary schooling and expectations of how it should be done. Numerous government reports as well as available colonial blue books I could access, are also used. Due to location restraints I was unable to access all of the primary

⁹ Frankema, Ewout. "The expansion of mass education in twentieth century Latin America: a global comparative perspective." *Revista de Historia Economica-Journal of Iberian and Latin American Economic History* 27 no. 3 (2009): 90.

¹⁰ Lange, Matthew. *Comparative-Historical Methods*. London: SAGE, (2013): 66.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 27-28.

sources related to primary schools Secondary sources from government surveys, government documents, and international development reports will also be utilised.

2. Metropolitan policy and local initiatives found in T&T and Jamaica

Introduction

To ensure the British Empire's long-term health the Metropole would bend toward more active government initiatives for the B.W.I colonies to quell dissent. Room came in for Governors, who were sympathetic to improving the prospects of their subjects, to invest in social benefits i.e. education. In this chapter I look at the local implementation of metropolitan policies, economic shifts, schools becoming a public undertaking, and the efforts needed to get pupils enrolled. To do this, I will pay specific attention to the role of governors and their efforts to build and staff schools. Improvements in developing primary schools in the colonies will be noted with data on enrolment, number of schools, and education expenditure figures.

The egregious period of enslaving many indigenous and African slaves, and the role of master taken on by wealthy British investors would end in 1834. The Emancipation Act of 1833 (effective 1 August 1834) was a critical juncture for the ending of the slave system across the British Empire. The abolition of slavery serves as a critical juncture as it was a decisive departure for what had served as the economic underbelly for centuries in the world.¹² Abolition provided a whole segment of society with a greater capacity to advance their social mobility, a situation which would necessitate the British government and its Colonial Office reviewing how they would keep the colonies under the auspices of British imperial bureaucracy. The Act would also provide for 'religious and moral education of the negro population to be emancipated' where no formal provision of education had existed before for them.¹³ This Act shows the level of social stratification as it includes provisions for £20 million sterling as compensation to colonial slave owners.¹⁴ In Crown colony governments of the time, i.e. Trinidad, implementation of the Act was administered directly. The representative assembly of Jamaica were informed to adopt the measure without any modification, beyond a possible shortening of the mandatory apprenticeship period if desired.¹⁵ The apprenticeship period was concocted in an effort to negate any dramatic pitfalls that would occur in the economy. The purpose of an apprentice period was also considered a means of slowly integrating former

¹² Lange, Matthew. *Lineages of Despotism and Development: British Colonialism and State Power*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, (2009): 41.

¹³ King, Ruby. "Education in the British Caribbean: The legacy of the nineteenth century." *Educational reform in the Commonwealth Caribbean* (1999): 28.

¹⁴ Füllberg-Stolberg, Claus. "Economic Adjustments and the Fight for Cultural Hegemony in the British and Danish West Indies after Slavery." *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 31, no. 2 (2008): 146.

¹⁵ King, Ruby. "Education in the British Caribbean: The legacy of the nineteenth century.": 34.

slaves into a wage labour economic system and teaching trades as unfree labour was phased out.¹⁶ The momentum for changing the education prospects of those newly freed in the colonies derived, in part, from the same activists who had worked to end slavery. Funding primary schooling as the B.W.I would experience harsh economic changes, from no longer having unfree labour, would challenge getting primary schooling up and running smoothly.

Transforming budgets and changing economies

Colonising the B.W.I had been largely an economic-driven endeavour in identifying new products and expanding new markets for British capital to be driven into. By the time of Emancipation, Jamaica's total population stood at 377,400 in 1840 while in Trinidad and Tobago the population recorded 73,000 in 1844.¹⁷ Jamaica had been colonised by the British in 1655 and was granted a Representative Assembly by 1664, an incredibly quick transition for the rich and powerful to be granted with the responsibility of running the colony.¹⁸ Prior to emancipation, unlike legislative assembly colonies, the crown colonies of Trinidad and Guyana had a Protector of Slaves who would give legal rights to slaves while they were property. A policy first implemented in Trinidad in 1824, under pressures from humanitarians, by the Metropole who would appoint a non-slave owning man to serve as the legal advocate for slaves.¹⁹ This exhibits an early institutional approach to welfare issues regarding slaves as colonies such as Trinidad became a place of metropolitan concern and investment at a time when the slave trade had been abolished. The expansion of economic markets in the two plantation colonies had grown their respective slave populations, in 1832, to a reported 312, 876 in Jamaica while Trinidad and Tobago recorded, in 1831, a slave population of 34, 729.²⁰ These figures provide insight into the challenge for primary education provision to the newly freed masses. An outcome that would have to receive funding in order to obtain success amidst two colonies, who were facing economic pressures as slave labour changed into wage labour

¹⁶ Füllberg-Stolberg, Claus. "Economic Adjustments and the Fight for Cultural Hegemony in the British and Danish West Indies after Slavery.": 151-152

¹⁷ Harewood, Jack. "The population of Trinidad and Tobago." (*Port of Spain Trinidad*). (*CICRED Series: Trinidad and Tobago*) (1975): 4. / Eisner, Gisela. "Jamaica, 1830-1930. A Study in Economic Growth." Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press Publishers (1961) (Reprint 1974): 153.

¹⁸ Gardner, William James. "A History of Jamaica from Its Discovery by Christopher Columbus to the Present Time: Including an Account of Its Trade and Agriculture." *Sketches of the Manners, Habits, and Customs of All Classes of Its Inhabitants; and a Narrative of the Progress of Religion and Education in the Island*, Third Impression 1971, (1873): 34.

¹⁹ Fergus, Claudius. "The Siete Partidas: a framework for philanthropy and coercion during the amelioration experiment in Trinidad, 1823-34." *Caribbean Studies* 36, no. 1 (2008): 85.

²⁰ Higman, Bill. W. *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean 1807-1834* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, (1984): 414.

and former slaves left their jobs. The two colonies would both face difficulties in reaching primary-schooled aged children in rural areas, an issue which contributed to lower enrolments and poor attendance. Pre-emancipation had been a time when primary schooling was seen as largely within the purview of the home, charities, and private schools.²¹ The movement towards primary schooling, as slavery came to an end, would challenge the economic prowess and colonial budgets of the West Indies.

The balance of expenditures for colonial administrations shifted drastically after Emancipation. Emancipation and the directive for providing education to previously enslaved populations meant a massive expansion of the public sector. The state's authority increased enough to detract the plantocracy's influence for how former slaves would receive an education, although the colony would continually be criticised over education provided to islanders.²² A big shift when previously more than seventy percent of the Jamaican assembly's budget had previously been allocated for defense to cover issues such as slave insurrection and foreign invasion. This expenditure pattern reflected central concerns for the island's plantocracy and planters across the region.²³ Emancipation came with stipulations attached, for education the Negro Education Grant (NEG) would serve as its investment. The NEG served as the initial means for launching mostly primary education schooling across British colonies, its funding derived from a bequest by a Lady Mico. The Lady Mico bequest's goal was to improve the educational outcomes of the formerly enslaved population. Lasting ten years, the NEG gave money to British West Indian colonies to the amount of £30,000 sterling a year.²⁴ The initial steppingstone for introducing the expansion of primary schooling would now take place on the two islands. Their economies shaped the expansion of primary schools early on, although a failure to reorient to a post-emancipation economy early on complicated the ability to expand primary schools.

The economic and social fabric of the two colonies influenced the level of local funding driven into primary schools becoming established. Economically, the historian Matthew Lange describes both cases as Plantation colonies with vast inequality and social stratification to be

²¹ Pearse, Andrew. Education in the British Caribbean: Social and Economic Background. *Vox Guyanae*, 2. No.1, (1956): 9.

²² Higman, Bill. W. *A Concise History of the Caribbean*. Cambridge Concise Histories. New York: Cambridge University Press, (2011): 175.

²³ Ward, John R. "The profitability of sugar planting in the British West Indies, 1650-1834." *The Economic History Review* 31, no. 2 (1978): 196.

²⁴ King, Ruby. "Education in the British Caribbean: The legacy of the nineteenth century." *Educational reform in the Commonwealth Caribbean* (1999): 31.

found within them.²⁵ Trinidad was outperforming Jamaica, in terms of profitability, with the average rate of profit from plantations being 5.3 percent from 1820-1834 in Jamaica while measuring at 13.3 percent in Trinidad. Jamaica was overall much wealthier than Trinidad, however the economic potential of Trinidad's soils was starting to drive metropolitan investment with the latest agricultural tools.²⁶ Additionally, Jamaica later suffered a blow when the United Kingdom's Sugar Duties Act was passed in 1846, an act that eliminated Jamaica's traditionally favoured status as its primary supplier of sugar and implemented free trade.²⁷ This blow to the island economy coincided with the Metropole's push for primary school expansion, as the NEG was being phased out. Accomplishing this expansion contended with the Jamaican plantocracy's economic and social views remaining firmly within their self-interests, serving as a cause of the initial developmental lack of concise administrative rule for primary schooling in the colony.

From Private to Public concern

The advancements of primary education witnessed in the West Indies were influenced by primary schools being built in Ireland, and many textbooks used there would find their way to the B.W.I.²⁸ Only two years before the British government gave £25,000 for education in the B.W.I in 1835, it had given its first grant for primary education in England.²⁹ This development frames the speed at which mass schooling developed in the Metropole, as mass schooling was about to expand across the B.W.I. colonies. One notable figure who had been involved in the Irish then West Indian changes to education provision was Thomas Spring Rice, a Liberal Irish reformer who was influential in the provision of the Negro Education Grant (NEG) for the West Indies. Thomas Spring Rice, in the 1820s, argued for Catholics and Protestants in Ireland to have their education provided for under a government-funded initiative. Furthermore, Spring Rice would advocate for a combination of secular and religious education in order to improve

²⁵ Lange, Matthew. *Lineages of Despotism and Development: British Colonialism and State Power*: 22-23.

²⁶ Ward, John R. "The profitability of sugar planting in the British West Indies, 1650-1834." *The Economic History Review* 31, no. 2 (1978): 204.

²⁷ Crosbie, Barry, and Mark Hampton, eds. *The cultural construction of the British world*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016.

²⁸ Swartz, Rebecca. *Education and Empire: Children, Race and Humanitarianism in the British Settler Colonies ..., 1833-1880*. Cambridge: SPRINGER International Publishing/Palgrave Macmillan, 2018: 38.

²⁹ Parry, John Horace, Philip Manderson Sherlock, and Anthony P. Maingot. *A short history of the West Indies*. London: Macmillan, 3rd edition 1971: 323.

Irish morality.³⁰ Thus, the B.W.I inherited a system of mass schooling derived from nineteenth century Britain and Ireland.

One of the first steps in improving the outcomes of education was to build schoolrooms and having them appropriately staffed to ensure that the school-aged children of the islands would be fostered into becoming prosperous, loyal, moral and hardworking British subjects. This step was essential to the NEG's premise, helping to facilitate many schools being built and provide access for islanders to gain new skills. Becoming a primary school teacher, required teaching the three Rs to the new base of pupils; reading, writing, and arithmetic being standards of West Indian primary schools.³¹ Additionally, the schools, boarding houses, and schoolteachers provided an important channel for gaining information about the freed slaves and non-white populations of the islands. Schools were often the only point of contact between the freed population's children, missionaries and the colonial state.³² Colonial administrators could then access school records and reports to measure the progress of civilising the inhabitants of Trinidad and Jamaica, judge those who could receive funding, and report on the state of the school.³³ Accessing these documents enabled the colony and Metropole to have a more-complete understanding of the needs and direction primary schooling could be taking in the two colonies.

As graph 2 below shows, the population continually expanded across both colonies, a circumstance that would require the continued growth of primary schools. If the population's schooling needs were to be continually met over the time period, a rise in schooling expenditure and the addition of personnel would be needed. Population growth pushed the issue of mass primary schooling to be continually addressed through either religious or governmental means.

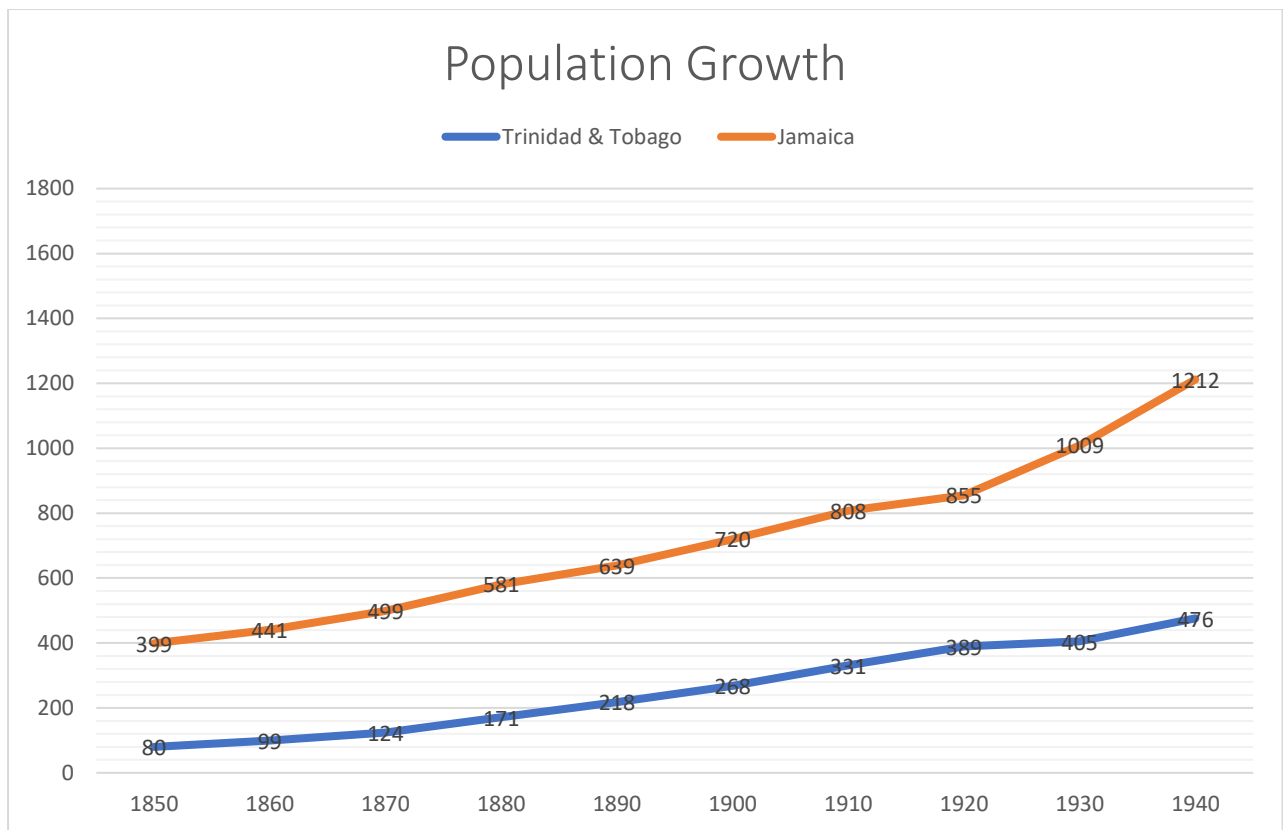
³⁰The Irish National School system was created in 1831, aided by a government grant of £30,000 for both Catholic and Protestant schools, would serve as a reference case for the implementation of the Negro Education Grant.

Swartz, Rebecca. *Education and Empire: Children, Race and Humanitarianism in the British Settler Colonies ..., 1833-1880*. Cambridge: SPRINGER International Publishing/Palgrave Macmillan, 2018: 39-42.

³¹ King, Ruby. "Education in the British Caribbean: The legacy of the nineteenth century." *Educational reform in the Commonwealth Caribbean* (1999): 35.

³² Campbell, Carl. "Education in the Caribbean 1930–1990." In *General History of the Caribbean; Vol. 5: The Caribbean in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Bridget Brereton. Paris and London: UNESCO and Macmillan, (2004): 613

³³ Swartz, Rebecca. *Education and Empire: Children, Race and Humanitarianism in the British Settler Colonies ..., 1833-1880*: 169-170.



Graph 2: Population Growth 1850-1940

Source: Clio Infra, *Total Population*, Accessed June 2nd, 2019. <https://clio-infra.eu/Countries/Jamaica.html>

Clio Infra, *Total Population*, Accessed June 2nd, 20129. <https://clio-infra.eu/Countries/TrinidadandTobago.html>

Trinidad and Tobago: A Blank Slate

In Trinidad, the final NEG investments would overlap with an experiment by Governor Lord Harris to tie school funding to municipal taxes. This type of arrangement for establishing school funds was largely undertaken in Spanish and French colonies.³⁴ Governor Lord Harris had witnessed an irregular system of approximately forty religious schools in 1842, aided through the NEG but not closely supervised by the Government, and he asserted it was attended by only 1,000 children. This low level of attendance and poorly funded schooling across the island led to Lord Harris announcing in the Legislature, on February 1, 1847, that he would enact an education ordinance to involve the Government in establishing a government-led primary school instruction. This educational programme was to carry out a more secularised, although

³⁴ Williams, Eric Eustace. *History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago*. Praeger, 1964.

not completely removed from religious teachings, approach.³⁵ This occurred at a point when imperial government spending on education in the West Indies, between 1833 and 1841, equalled what was spent on education in Britain itself. At a time when the West Indian population was a twentieth of the British population, signalling the monumental investment initially poured into the region for education purposes.³⁶ The Education Ordinance of 1851 established Trinidad's Board of Education to govern the standards of primary schools and endeavour to see the needs of the island and the island's pupils met. Lord Harris was the first to regularly organise the school system and strive to efficiently manage it.

Lord Harris's proposal befits terming the island of Trinidad as very experimental in its outlook on colonial education. His proposal from his report is detailed in Historian Eric William's book:

- (a) That no religious instruction whatever was to be imparted in the schools.
- (b) That under no circumstances were the schoolmasters to give the religious instruction.
- (c) That the religious instruction of the children was to be committed to their respective pastors who upon a day set apart for the purpose in each week - the schools being closed on that day - were to impart such instruction in the churches or elsewhere
- (d) That the instruction in the schools was to be of such a character as not to offend the religious susceptibilities of any of the inhabitants of the colony.
- (e) That no school fees were to be charged.
- (f) That the school expenses were to be met by local rates.
- (g) That the entire management and control of the schools, the appointment and dismissal of teachers, the determination of the course of instruction and of the books to be employed, were to be vested in a Board of Education.³⁷

Trinidad had been a multicultural state from almost the beginning, a former Spanish colony that had fallen to the British in 1797, it had been mainly neglected by the Spanish Empire and thus populated with French agriculturalists to make the island more productive for the Spanish. After Emancipation, all of these different groups saw different schools established, during the Apprenticeship period they were taught separately in French, occasionally, Spanish,

³⁵ Keenan, Patrick. *Report upon the State of Education in the Island of Trinidad*. Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1869: 9.

[file:///C:/Users/isabe/Downloads/ReportUpontheStateofEducationintheIslandofTrinidad_10921144%20\(1\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/isabe/Downloads/ReportUpontheStateofEducationintheIslandofTrinidad_10921144%20(1).pdf)

³⁶ Swartz, Rebecca. *Education and Empire: Children, Race and Humanitarianism in the British Settler Colonies ...*, 1833-1880: 48.

³⁷ Williams, Eric Eustace. *History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago*. Praeger, 1964: 198-200.

as well as in English.³⁸ All of these schools taught religious matters of one persuasion or another. For the British, the subsidization of Roman Catholic instruction was especially unattractive, and resulted in a strong push for secular schooling in Trinidad by the Crown colony government. Governor Lord Harris set up a system of secular government schools, between 1849 and 1867, funded from local municipal rates derived partly from concerns over religion. Harris is himself quoted as saying *“I decided on this plan with considerable anxiety and in no spirit of pride, but rather that of deep humiliation, for I am obliged to come to the conclusion that the unfortunate differences which exist in religion would prevent any united action. If that subject were introduced; and though I acknowledge to the fullest the immense importance of this subject in developing the powers of man, I thought it better, under the circumstances, that it should be left to be provided for by other means.”*³⁹ Religion was completely excluded from the curriculum and all classes were taught in English. The intention toward secularisation of the school system was derived from the British failing to anglicise and tackle the Roman Catholic population leading up to Emancipation. Efforts to integrate society together in the English culture, it was felt by figures such as Trinidadian Attorney General Charles Warner, could be achieved through government schools or dictation over school content.⁴⁰ These efforts enabled schools to be established in communities that had not been well served until Lord Harris implemented the ordinance.

A New Chapter for Primary School Provision

In 1870, Trinidadian Governor Arthur Gordon, following the advice of Patrick Keenan’s report, ended Lord Harris’ initial experiment with ward schools, and formally set up a dual form of education that divided schools into Government Schools and Assisted Schools. Keenan, a chief inspector of the Board of National Education in Ireland advised the schools of primary education to be divided into two Classes; first, Schools already established or later established by the Government and to be maintained entirely from the colony’s public funds, and secondly, assisted schools to be established and to which aid shall be contributed by Public Funds.⁴¹ While this ordinance presented some leeway for religious schools to expand on the

³⁸ Higman, Bill. W. *A Concise History of the Caribbean*. Cambridge Concise Histories. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011: 186.

³⁹ Keenan, Patrick. *Report upon the State of Education in the Island of Trinidad*. Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1869: 10.

⁴⁰ Campbell, Carl C. *Endless Education: Main Currents in the Education System of Modern Trinidad and Tobago, 1939-1986*. Barbados: Press University of the West Indies, (1997): 6.

⁴¹ Book of Trinidad Ordinances. 1865-1870. No.6: An Ordinance with regard to Education. Governor Arthur Gordon. April 28, 1870: 264. Online <http://laws.gov.tt/tddl-web/revision/download/65969?type=amendment>.

island, it came with a number of stipulations to fall in line with Government goals for education. For Governor Gordon, reforming the school system was important to keep the peace of the colony and reduce chances of animosity among the colony's diverse population.

Patrick Keenan's early awareness of the need to provide local content in the curriculum, in which doing so would keep locals content and amenable to continued British governance. Keenan's report included a recommendation for as he put it "*As the Irish element preponderates in the Irish books, so the Trinidad element ought to preponderate in the Trinidad books, which would then be as popular*" where more locally oriented education would better serve the island's children.⁴² Keenan also noted that wages for teachers in Trinidad ran high, making the calculation that the average salary was £87 pounds a year.⁴³ Concurrently, Jamaica's teachers in 1880 were commanding an average salary of £60 with financial grants and schools fees going toward it.⁴⁴ The report came as the 1870 Education Act was about to be passed in the United Kingdom, the first piece of legislation that dealt with the provision of education in the country and government involvement in it. The actions show the government taking on primary education as a more entrenched aspect of the social mores of the Empire and having to loosen their views on the expansion of denominational primary schools while still maintaining some control over them. Trinidad maintained a level of control by requiring teachers employed by denominational schools to hold a license from the colony's Board of Education.⁴⁵ This institutionalisation and recognition of standardising schools allowed more attributed value to be attached to staying in school and enhance the social mobility of those who would attend.

In 1895, a Commission was appointed to investigate the idea of providing free and compulsory education in the primary schools of Trinidad. The Commission ended up recommending making primary education free because they established it would provide better opportunities for the island's populace and this would be further improved with expanded pupil enrolment. In order to account for loss of school fee revenue the Commission would also recommend that the Assisted Schools should receive funds of £1.80 a year for each child in average attendance.⁴⁶ This Commission had followed an 1888 Education Ordinance which had expanded the Government's involvement in primary schools. The Board of Education was

⁴² Keenan, Patrick. *Report upon the State of Education in the Island of Trinidad*. Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1869: 39.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁴⁴ "The Governor's Report on the Blue Book and Department Reports, 1880-81," *National Library of Jamaica Digital Collection*, accessed June 21, 2019, <https://nljdigital.nlj.gov.jm/items/show/3078>: xix.

⁴⁵ Brereton, Bridget. *A History of Modern Trinidad: 1783-1962*. Oxford: Heinemann, (1989): 123-124.

⁴⁶ Campbell, Carl. *The Young Colonials. A Social History of Education 1834-1939*, Trinidad (1996): 210.

given an expanded role to oversee how students would be instructed on the island. The Ordinance also rewarded schoolmasters with a better remuneration and see the Government take on more responsibility by covering three quarters of the expenses of denominational schools.⁴⁷ By 1900, these improvements allowed Trinidad and Tobago expanded better access to primary schooling with 56 government primary schools, with 6, 973 students enrolled and an accompanying expenditure of £49, 545.60 accounted for. A further 183 assisted primary schools with 23, 146 students registered with an expenditure of £113, 222.40.⁴⁸ Increasing expenditure on education, and education outcomes, was assisted by the developing exploitation of oil reserves in the early 1900s. These actions improved the capacity of parents and children to invest more time in attending primary school. Thus, improving the overall enrolment rates in the colony and the capacity of the government to equip pupils with the capacity to enhance the chances of success in the Trinidadian economy. The Oil Boom began from the 1890s in Trinidad and transformed the economic landscape of the colony. This boom would maintain progress for mass primary schooling with Sahadeo Basdeo remarking that the boom saw “to a heightened interest in educational opportunities and general self-improvement; the result of this was an increased awareness of political and social affairs”.⁴⁹ This turn in the colony’s economy enhanced the reward of attaining schooling on the island, with many islanders now able to improve their upward mobility. The Oil industry in the 1930s would buffer the effects of the Great Depression, with education expenditure growing between 1931 and 1936, and meet the needs of the sector.⁵⁰ These occurrences show that Ewout Frankema’s premise of resource extraction downplaying the expansion of schooling was not neatly applicable to Trinidad and Tobago as the colony benefitted and could sufficiently meet the needs of schools.

A number of additional measures were put in place to improve the impacts of primary schools on the social and economic conditions of the colony. A Compulsory Education Ordinance would be passed in 1921 with the capital of Port of Spain and town St. James being the first to fall under its purview.⁵¹ Later on, the Marriot-Mayhew report 1931-1933, commissioned by the Metropole and headed by Frederick Marriot and Arthur Mayhew, was

⁴⁷ Bacchus, Mohammed. K. *Education As and For Legitimacy: Developments in West Indian Education Between 1846 and 1895*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, (1995): 35.

⁴⁸ Lilbert, Rodney A. *Practice of Education in Trinidad & Tobago Does It Infringe on the Human Rights of Disabled Students?* United States: Lilbert Education, (2007): 16.

⁴⁹ MacDonald, Scott B. *Trinidad and Tobago: Democracy and development in the Caribbean*. ABC-CLIO, (1986): 47.

⁵⁰ Campbell, Carl. *The Young Colonials. A Social History of Education 1834-1939*, Trinidad (1996): 148.

⁵¹ Lilbert, Rodney A. *Practice of Education in Trinidad & Tobago Does It Infringe on the Human Rights of Disabled Students?:* 17.

convened to investigate the system of education in place. Marriot was serving as the Director of Education for T&T at the time of the report while Mayhew had previously worked in India.⁵² Among its recommendations were to assist denominational primaries who were lacking funds, a situation exacerbated by the government having not provided funds for new denominational primary school buildings or equipment since 1902.⁵³ The report recognised Trinidad as advanced, when considering the Windward and Leeward islands, as a result of its professionalised workforce in administering the school system and the primary schools having more localised content.⁵⁴ Trinidad and Tobago had treated all of the colony's primary school teachers as civil servants from 1870. In Jamaica this administrative move would not be enacted until 1892 with the passing of an Education Law which brought primary schools under the government's purview.⁵⁵ This progression in the treatment of primary schools was also assisted by the men posted to the colony to oversee the efficiency and effectiveness of the system. One of these notable figures was J.O. Cutteridge, who became Director of Education in 1934, who felt that funds should be concentrated in compulsory primary education, school buildings, and accompanying medical services and school meals.⁵⁶ Previously a school inspector, in 1928 he was involved in the introduction of books specifically for West Indian children. Cutteridge, and Governor Hollis, saw enrolment figures rise by 11.3% and attendance improving by 24.4% in 1932, figures that would again rise before the end of the decade.⁵⁷ Additionally, under Cutteridge's tenure the "1935 Regulations for Primary Schools" were introduced to the colonies. The Regulations ended the uniform curriculum stipulation and required teachers to adapt their schooling to their community's needs.⁵⁸ These extensive administrative efforts are indicative of integrated policies and plans being enforced in the primary schools on the islands.

Jamaica

The Metropole's involvement in Jamaican primary schools had been negligible. By 1861, 8 percent of the islands total population were attending schools, thirty years later this figure

⁵² Figueroa, John J. *Society, Schools and Progress in the West Indies: The Commonwealth and International Library: Education and Educational Research*. Elsevier, (1971): 25-26.

⁵³ Campbell, Carl. *The Young Colonials. A Social History of Education 1834-1939*, Trinidad (1996): 147-148.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 146.

⁵⁵ Newton, E., and R. H. E. Braithwaite. "New Directions in Education in Trinidad and Tobago-Challenge and Response." *Comparative Education* 11, no. 3 (1975): 239. / Goulbourne, Harold D. "Elementary School Teachers and Politics in Colonial Jamaica: The Formation of the Jamaica Union of Teachers, 1894." *Caribbean Quarterly* 31, no. 3-4 (1985): 26.

⁵⁶ Campbell, Carl. *The Young Colonials. A Social History of Education 1834-1939*: 147

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 150.

⁵⁸ *Education 1800-1962: Historical Development of Education in Trinidad and Tobago* Trinidad and Tobago Independence Celebration Committee, (1962) <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00010880/00001/31x> : 4.

would stand at 15.6 percent which equated to 99, 760 pupils.⁵⁹ The Jamaica Schools Commission, 1879 came about from concerns of juvenile vagrancy in the colony and the environment in which children of the lower classes were growing up. The commission sent out a variety of questions to doctors, magistrates, ministers of religion and many others, although no primary school teachers were consulted.⁶⁰ The Commission recommended the introduction of compulsory education, as there were no laws compelling parents to send their children to school. Recognition was given to the debate over primary schooling being paid through an education tax, the Commission felt that parents were aware of the obligation to pay and how this income would augment schools finances. Another recommendation was the building of a Teacher training college for women being established, with a view of having primary schools taught by them. This would be done to ensure teachers were appropriately ‘certificated’ in order to raise the standard of education in primary school.⁶¹

In Jamaica, cost was one of the leading causes, beyond a lack of local schools, for children not attending or enrolling in primary schools, with many parents concerned over the loss of income if their children were not working. The Education Act of 1892 would abolish these fees and while a noted upsurge in school participation occurred, attendance tapered off as economic concerns regarding loss of income for families prevailed.⁶² This Act was a result of concerns regarding access to education for children, where denominational schools could refuse children to attend if they were of a different religion. A check was implemented where government grants could be withheld from schools who refused admission for a child of a different denomination, as the state took on greater responsibility for school funding to facilitate this check. An amendment to the law, in 1893 authorized the newly created Board of Education to examine the schools of the colony and assess whether there were too many.⁶³ Jamaica made strides in providing schooling for those aged 5 and above, in the 1890s snags came when government ordinances lowered the maximum age of attendance from 16, then 15 and ultimately to 14. A few years later the minimum age was raised to 6, this was from a drive to

⁵⁹ Bacchus, Mohammed. K. *Education As and For Legitimacy: Developments in West Indian Education Between 1846 and 1895*: 204.

⁶⁰ Gordon, Shirley. "Documents Which Have Guided Educational Policy In The West Indies: -No. 5: REPORT UPON THE CONDITION OF THE JUVENILE POPULATION OF JAMAICA, 1879." *Caribbean Quarterly* 9, no. 3 (1963): 17.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 20-21.

⁶² Moore, Brian L, and Michele A Johnson. 2004. *Neither Led nor Driven: Contesting British Cultural Imperialism in Jamaica, 1865-1920*: 213.

⁶³ King, Ruby. "Education in the British Caribbean: The legacy of the nineteenth century." *Educational reform in the Commonwealth Caribbean* (1999): 34.

save upwards of £4500 pounds a year on education provision.⁶⁴ Concern for funding schools, came amidst a global economic downturn during the 1890s, where the Metropole had to contend with the reality of labour prospects available on the B.W.I, keeping the economy robust, and seeing improved access to schooling for the island's children.

The Lumb Report of 1898, chaired by Judge Lumb, provides an account of Jamaica's primary school system. The Main tenet of the report, beyond secondary school recommendations, was for the colony to re-orientate the primary school curriculum to take account of more vocational agricultural education. Efforts to bring in more agricultural education had occurred in the past, however this had not been popular among citizens.⁶⁵ The Report also stated that priority should be given to implementing an efficient system of primary education for pupils before public money was invested in any secondary schools.⁶⁶ Focusing on developing good primary schools first, is noted by Peter Lindert to be connected to increased equality among the children of the island and improved outcomes for economic growth.⁶⁷ The report also stated that no new voluntary schools should receive state aid and that government schools should henceforth be built if an area was in need of a new school. The report also argued in favour of compulsory education as it would ensure state aid would not be wasted and '*make the schools effective for a greater proportion of the population*'.⁶⁸ Recognition of an expanding state role in primary schools by the report can be seen as a result of growing comprehension that bringing primary schooling to a broader swathe of society enabled the islanders skill sets that could enhance the social and economic goals of the island. Opening the door to increased state involvement, would see compulsory education become law by 1910, an act that had been discussed as far back as the 1880s in Jamaican newspapers and the 1879 report on juvenile vagrancy, although it was slowly implemented to the counties of the colony after 1912. The Act also enacted that should children not be in attendance of schools, fines were to be levied to their caretakers.⁶⁹ A stipulation that shows the colony's awareness of the benefits to be gained from mass schooling, its impacts on the Jamaican economy, and a means of enforcing attendance rates. The Lumb Report offered another recommendation to implement, a Dual System of voluntary and

⁶⁴ Moore, Brian L, and Michele a Johnson. 2004. *Neither Led nor Driven: Contesting British Cultural Imperialism in Jamaica, 1865-1920*: 215.

⁶⁵ Gordon, Shirley. "Documents Which Have Guided Educational Policy In The West Indies: (The Lumb Report, Jamaica, 1898) " *Caribbean Quarterly* 9, no. 3 (1963): 13.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁶⁷ Lindert, Peter H. *Revealing failures in the history of school finance*. No. w15491. National Bureau of Economic Research, 2009: 379.

⁶⁸ Gordon, Shirley. "*Documents Which Have Guided Educational Policy In The West Indies*: 14.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 218-219.

government schools, along the lines of which had been implemented in Trinidad. This was considered out of concern for the mounting financial pressures of running a school and recognition that the Government may need to step in and provide additional funding. However, a Dual System in Jamaica emerged along racial lines, as discussed by historian Errol Miller who describes the system as split between preparatory schools and teacher colleges created for the primary schools servicing the ex-slave population while the plantocracy continued to fund schools for their children. This Dual system reinforced a stratified society, while both streams received colonial funding and administration.⁷⁰

Pushing Primary schools forward in a new century

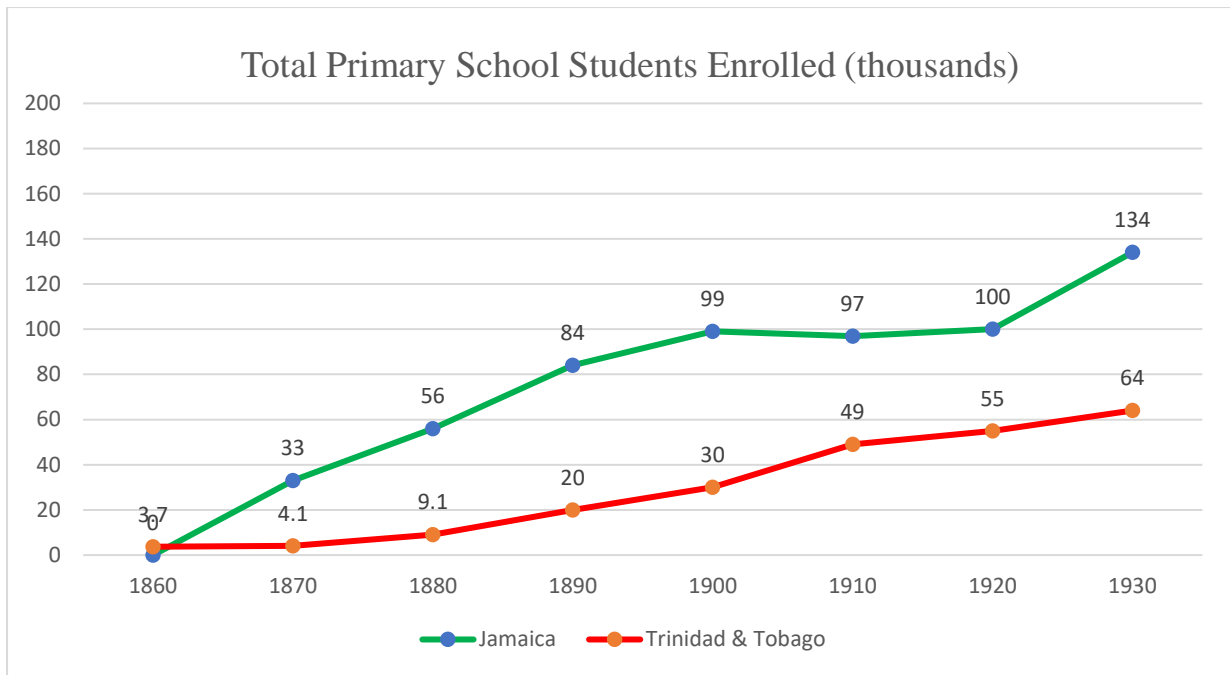
Agricultural education had not been popular in the post-emancipation era as a result of it being seen as landing former slaves and their children back on the plantation fields rather than enabling access to other forms of employment one could gain through a general education. By 1899, Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain sent out orders to the B.W.I colonies to institute agricultural education, saying "*every elementary school maintained or aided by the government. should be required to set apart a certain fixed time every day for industrial teaching, such teaching to include boys as well as girls*" and to fund it through transferring money from general education funds held by the islands.⁷¹ This push for reintroducing agricultural education came from a need for a sizeable labour force for the agricultural sector, a key component of the colonial economy. This move did not receive a warm embrace from the newly formed Jamaica Union of Teachers, established 1895, who raised concerns of this new directive going against those in the population who had gained social mobility in the colony through the non-agriculturally focused education.⁷²

Graph 3 below shows the progression of getting children enrolled in the colonial primary schools. This graph provides a sense of the number of pupils initially being reached by the colonies over the time period under study. Giving insight into how many pupils were benefiting from the expansion of primary schools through much of the period under study.

⁷⁰ Miller, Errol, and Grace-Camille Munroe. "Education in Jamaica: Transformation and Reformation." In *Education in the Commonwealth Caribbean and the Netherlands Antilles*. London: Bloomsbury, (2014):224-225.

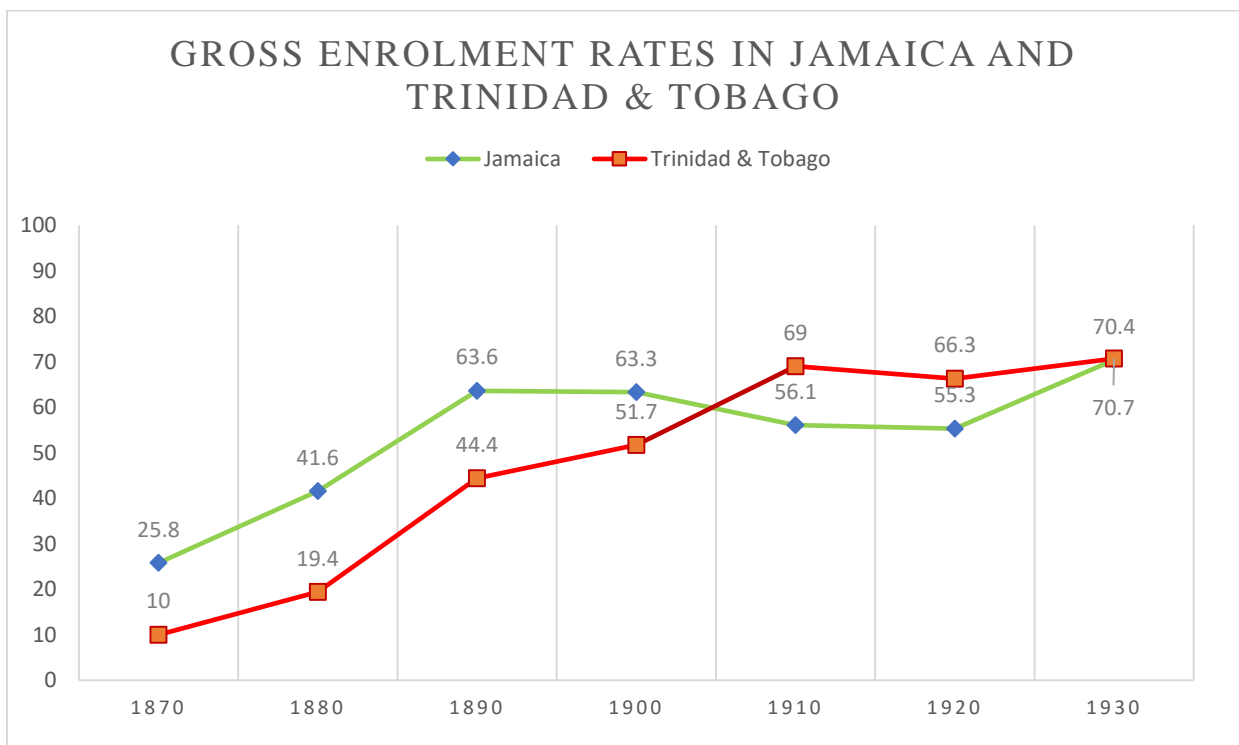
⁷¹ D'Oyley, Vincent, Reginald Murray, and Vincent D'Oyley. *Development and Disillusion in Third World Education, with Emphasis on Jamaica*. Symposium Series - the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 10. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, (1979): 231.

⁷² Moore, Brian L, and Michele a Johnson. 2004. *Neither Led nor Driven: Contesting British Cultural Imperialism in Jamaica, 1865-1920*: 222.



Graph 3: Total primary school students enrolled (thousands) 1860-1930

Source: Lindert, Peter H. *Growing Public: Social Spending and Economic Growth Since the Eighteenth Century*, Volume 2. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge, 2004: 124.

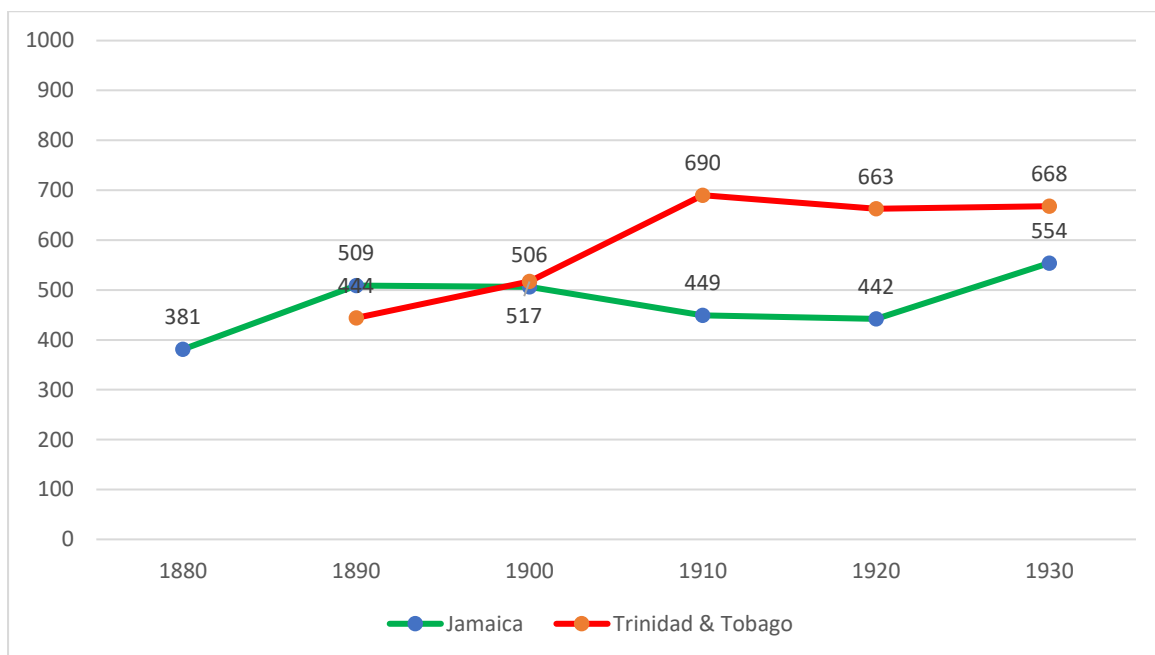


Graph 4: Gross Enrolment rates in Jamaica and Trinidad & Tobago

*Jamaica includes secondary school enrolment to 1895.

Source: Enrolment rates 1880-1920 obtained from Lindert (2004: p. 91-93)/ Frankema, Ewout. "The expansion of mass education in twentieth century Latin America: a global comparative perspective." *Revista de Historia Economica-Journal of Iberian and Latin American Economic History* 27 no. 3 (2009): 366-367.

The above, graph 4, compiled from Peter Lindert shows both colonies were reaching fifty percent of children for school enrolment by 1900. This graph exhibits increasing traction among the colonies of the worth brought from attending school and the impacts of While enrolments rose, the level of investment in primary school pupils diverged between the two colonies. Lindert’s research showed that for level of investment per pupil, Trinidad was approaching 2 dollars per pupil while Jamaica was recording just under a dollar in 1900.⁷³ These calculations provide insight into how improving state-oriented support for pupils increased educational attainment. This calculation of Lindert’s can inform how Trinidad managed to have more average years of education than Jamaica, as shown in Graph 1. The difference in investment points to a level of education quality and efficacy being attained in Trinidad and Tobago that was not being seen in Jamaica, even as Graph 5 below shows attending students per 1000 children were more numerous in Trinidad and Tobago than Jamaica.



Graph 5: Primary-school students per 1000 children of ages 5–14, 1880-1930

Source: Lindert, Peter H. *Growing Public: Social Spending and Economic Growth Since the Eighteenth Century*, Volume 2. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge, 2004: 127.

Until 1895 secondary school students are also included in Jamaica’s numbers.

⁷³ Lindert, Peter H. *Revealing failures in the history of school finance*. No. w15491. National Bureau of Economic Research, 2009: 53.

However, the plantocracy were determined to keep former slaves available for their economic interests, having failed to rein in their legal and physical freedom, could do so by having their primary education encourage avenues to work on plantations.⁷⁴ This position is evident, considering how in 1877, Trinidad was recorded as spending 42 shillings and 2 d (pennies) on each pupil while Jamaica was spending 12 shillings on each pupil.⁷⁵ Graph 3 shows the divergence in average number of pupils for the case studies, the fluctuations tell us the extent to which the schools were reaching pupils. The graph also shows both colonies being close in 1900 and then Trinidad continuing to make gains over Jamaica, this suggests that Trinidad was reaching a bigger segment of the primary school aged population than Jamaica was managing to. To cover these children financially, it would require an adequate number of state funds to maintain levels of enrolment. This divergence in expenditure on primary schools can be shown in table 1 below, which provides insight on the level of public expenditure being invested in both colonies pupils. The progression of expenditure boosts insight from Frankema’s study of mass education in Latin America, where higher levels of the public budget being spent on public primary education improved the overall state building of the colony and that Trinidad’s increased fiscal support for primary education allowed that sector to prosper.⁷⁶

Table 1: Public Expenditure on Education 1850-1930

	1854-55	1863-1864	1869	1899	1910	1920	1930
Jamaica	£573	£2, 137 1861: £3, 700	£2, 153 15 5	£66, 890 17s 3 1/4	£71,60 0.00 (8.9% of total budget)	£123, 012	£200,100.00 (9.8% of total budget)
T&T	(1838) £4,320		£29,280 (on its own schools)	£195, 937	£235, 425.60	£420, 340. 80 (Incl. 4 secondary schools)	(1925) £560, 588.60 (Incl. 6 Secondary schools)

Source: Eisner, Gisela. “Jamaica, 1830-1930. A Study in Economic Growth.” Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press Publishers (1961) (Reprint 1974): 361. / Parry, John Horace, Philip Manderson Sherlock, and Anthony P. Maingot. *A short history of the West Indies*. London: Macmillan, 3rd edition 1971: 248. Campbell, Carl. *The Young Colonials. A Social History of Education 1834-1939*. (Trinidad, 1996). / 315. Smith, James Patterson. "Empire and Social Reform: British Liberals and the “Civilizing Mission” in the Sugar Colonies, 1868–1874." *Albion* 27, no. 2 (1995): 264. *Education 1800-1962: Historical Development of Education in Trinidad and Tobago* Trinidad and Tobago Independence Celebration Committee, (1962): 3, 23, 24.

⁷⁴ Moore, Brian L., and B. W. Higman, eds. *Slavery, freedom and gender: the dynamics of Caribbean society*. University of West Indies Press, (2003): 137.

⁷⁵ Bacchus, Mohammed. K. *Education As and For Legitimacy: Developments in West Indian Education Between 1846 and 1895*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, (1995): 80.

⁷⁶ Frankema, Ewout. Raising revenue in the British empire, 1870–1940: how ‘extractive’ were colonial taxes? *Journal of Global History*, 5 no.3 (November 2010): 480.

Legislating West Indian Schooling

By the 1920s, British policy toward the B.W.I. took on a new tone, the Colonial office was aware of the rising demand for education across the region and colonial administrators would have to act. At the time primary schools numbers were reported at 693 schools with a gross primary school enrolment rate of 55.3 percent in Jamaica.⁷⁷ Trinidad, by 1920, had a gross primary school enrolment rate of 66.3 percent and recorded having 293 primary schools in operation.⁷⁸ Lord Moyne, an Anglo-Irish politician who was chairman of the West Indies Royal Commission, was tasked with carrying out an assessment of the B.W.I education amidst labour protests occurring in Trinidad and Jamaica. As the Great Depression of the 1930s heavily impacted the social and economic conditions of the colony, the West India Royal Commission under Lord Moyne was established. This report was also considered so controversial, while conducted in 1936, it would not become public until 1945.⁷⁹ The Moyne report's conclusions with regard to education noted that a lack of central control over the primary schools resulting in inefficiency in administration. Lord Moyne recommended having one officer for this purpose in each colony. It also pointed out that there was a lack of correspondence between the schools' curricula and the needs of those living in Jamaica.⁸⁰ On the whole, he recommended, the establishment of a West Indian Welfare Fund to be financed by an annual grant of £1,000,000 over a twenty-year period addressing education, health, and labour concerns. A recommendation of this amount, at the time of Moyne's report, represented a substantial ask. Tackling these concerns would be formulated into the 1940 *Colonial Development and Welfare Act* in order allocate funds for the B.W.I to address the population's grievances. Moyne's report also ascertained teachers should be paid through the government, if this occurs staff matters for the schools should then be administered by the government, and that all new schools should be

⁷⁷ Moore, Brian L, and Michele a Johnson. 2004. *Neither Led nor Driven: Contesting British Cultural Imperialism in Jamaica, 1865-1920*: 336. / Frankema, Ewout. "The expansion of mass education in twentieth century Latin America: a global comparative perspective." *Revista de Historia Economica-Journal of Iberian and Latin American Economic History* 27.3 (2009): 368.

⁷⁸ Frankema, Ewout. "The expansion of mass education in twentieth century Latin America: a global comparative perspective." *Revista de Historia Economica-Journal of Iberian and Latin American Economic History* 27.3 (2009): 369. / *Education 1800-1962: Historical Development of Education in Trinidad and Tobago* Trinidad and Tobago Independence Celebration Committee, (1962) <https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00010880/00001/31x>: 3.

⁷⁹ Gordon, Shirley. "Documents which Have Guided Educational Policy In The West Indies, No. 8: Report of the Commissioners Mayhew and Marriott on Secondary and Primary Education in Trinidad, Barbados, Leeward Islands and Windward Islands. 1931 – 32" *Caribbean Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (December 1964): 5.

⁸⁰ Part V, 'Conclusions and recommendations' in Great Britain, [Report of] *West India Royal Commission* (1938-1939) https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/history/students/modules/am217/syllabus/radicalism/west_india_royal_commission_1938-39_-_conclusions_recommendations.pdf: 428.

controlled by government.⁸¹ An aspect which would enhance the level of legal-administrative control within the two colonies. The level of institutional control can be seen in an indicator of their legal-administrative institutions by historian Matthew Lange. Lange's research using police officers suggests Trinidad had more highly developed administrative apparatus at 2.5 colonial police officers per 1,000 people than Jamaica did at 1.3 per 1,000 people.⁸² This indicates there was improved infrastructure in place dealing with education in Trinidad then Jamaica, allowing the colony to better respond to shifts in primary schools.

Conclusion

The transition of slavery, which had reduced the costs of plantation farming, to one without this cheap source of labour came at a time when Jamaica was not the economic crown jewel of the British Empire anymore. The Metropole's directives and local colonial actions for primary schools over the period ensured continuous efforts to improve children's access to schools. Primary education served the islands colonial economies in developing the potential of its subjects and fostering stability devoid of religious or racial animosities. As these benefits became clearer over the time period, local administrations slowly increased their involvement in school financing and oversight of primary schools, even as numerous government reports suggested this direction. In Jamaica, greater government oversight lagged behind Trinidad, with issues over religious aid to churches pushing education spending forward as a substitute in the colony instead. Trinidad's heavy metropolitan involvement and freedom as an "experimental colony" made room for reformist minded people to organise a system where there was better financing per pupil and laws to boost oversight for primary schools. The cases laid out here show how the different social and legal-administrative legacies lead to a more locally oriented approach to providing primary education in the Jamaican and Trinidad and Tobago colonies.

⁸¹ Part V, 'Conclusions and recommendations' in Great Britain, [Report of] *West India Royal Commission* (1938-1939): 429.

⁸² Lange, Matthew. *Lineages of Despotism and Development: British Colonialism and State Power*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, (2009): 48-49.

3. Framework for Colonial Education- Crown Colony v Representative Assembly

Introduction

There was a marked difference in the initial response to primary school provision in the colonies of Trinidad & Tobago and Jamaica, after the end of the NEG funds. While some of the same reservations may have been shared over the extent of local findings and the level to which they were taught, their approaches were very divergent in scope. Jamaica's representative government was full of white landed elites who did not hesitate to offload the funding of schools and surrender the responsibility of teaching newly freed slaves and their children, to voluntary and religious missions. This meant that an institutional groundwork for government presiding over education provision and administrative involvement emerged at a different pace to Trinidad and Tobago's experience. The institutional framework first set out by the Crown colony structure of Trinidad became deeply penetrative over time in the process and procedure of how schools would operate on the twin islands. Trinidad also set itself apart from Jamaica in applying this both to denominational and state schools before the end of the 1800s. Trinidad's influential Governor, Lord Harris, laid the groundwork for how primary schools would be provided for.⁸³ A standard of which would be path dependent by the beginning of World War two.

The pervasive influence of Jamaica's local plantocracy (Planter Aristocracy) meant that as abolition dawned, the vast majority of the people could not read or write. After Emancipation many planters, looking out for their self-interests, argued that education should be restricted to the teaching of technical skills i.e. agriculture to become workers on plantations, they had formerly been slaves on. The churches and the British metropole argued however for the establishment of schools that would impart the basic elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic, to produce ideal colonial citizens. The abolition of slavery meant that ensuring allegiance to the British Empire took on a new outlook into how this was to be accomplished. Education was one of the best avenues for the Empire to socially control the Caribbean colonies. The plantocracy regarded the freed islanders as people needing to be systematically civilized in European culture.⁸⁴

⁸³ Campbell, Carl C. *Colony & Nation: A Short History of Education in Trinidad & Tobago*: 27.

⁸⁴ Swartz, Rebecca. *Education and Empire: Children, Race and Humanitarianism in the British Settler Colonies ... , 1833-1880*, (2018): 39-41.

Trinidad

Concerning the existence of primary schools in Trinidad, the colony was ahead of the rest of British West Indies. There had been two municipal public schools established in the capital of Port of Spain before Emancipation would occur. Owing to its lack of an economic golden age, there were no Plantocracy-funded schools in the colony unlike what was witnessed in Jamaica. Therefore, Trinidad and Tobago would initial benefit as an experimental colony for English experimentation to generate primary schools for the masses. This movement coincided with the British Crown colony's desire to stamp British values and traditions on the culturally diverse island.⁸⁵ Allowing the local government to assess the ideal path for expanding primary schools that befitted remaking the island in the British image. Considering this, Historian James Millette's assertion that for "Trinidad in 1810, Crown colony government was based on race and on the need to reform slavery, and the desirability of using Trinidad as an 'island of experiment'" can be an outlook on the path Trinidad was put toward. This is especially prevalent after Emancipation, in terms of the extent of government involvement, throughout Trinidad's time as a British colony.⁸⁶ Government involvement reached back as far as 1817, when Governor Woodford required all schools be registered to the local government.⁸⁷ The entrenchment of British class interests were not as prevalent in Trinidad and Tobago, so a large number of the mixed raced population on the island, some of which were substantial men of property, could produce a fair amount of inertia behind the strong demand for local schools, especially for the advocacy of full-day curriculum schools for the children to attend.⁸⁸ These demands by the mixed races aligned with British colonial interests for the island, that had not been rid of Spanish or French Roman Catholic interests by the 1840s, in establishing Crown colony governance for an island not accultured to British loyalty.⁸⁹

Trinidad's crown colony status, beyond religious concerns, originated from the island's strategic position for the defense of the British West Indies. The Metropole felt its activities on the island would be easier to execute without Representative government in place. Another concern that swayed the Metropole to implement a Crown colony was direct control would

⁸⁵ Campbell, Carl. *The Young Colonials. A Social History of Education 1834-1939*. (Trinidad, 1996): 266-267.

⁸⁶ Millette, James. *Society and politics in colonial Trinidad*. Omega, (1985): 193.

⁸⁷ *Education 1800-1962: Historical Development of Education in Trinidad and Tobago* Trinidad and Tobago Independence Celebration Committee, (1962): 12.

⁸⁸ Campbell, Carl "Education, Religion, and Culture" in Knight, Franklin W, Jalil Sued Badillo, K. O Laurence, Jorge Ibarra, Bridget Brereton, B. W Higman, German Carrera Damas, and UNESCO. 1997. *General History of the Caribbean*. London: Macmillan Caribbean.: 491-492.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 504.

prevent illegal importation of slaves after the trade was abolished in 1807.⁹⁰ For the British, the subsidisation of Roman Catholic instruction was considered unattractive for ensuring colonial dominance and resulted in a strong push for secular schooling in Trinidad by the Crown colony government. The state was suspicious of non-British Roman Catholic priests and those having an association with non-British planter interests. A result of having no desire to slow down the colony's transformation into a civilised British colony and not fall along sectarian lines as the Roman Catholic church retained a level of prominence.⁹¹ These suspicions reinforced Governor Lord Harris's initial system of secular government schools funded from local municipal rates. A system with religion excluded from the curriculum and all classes to be taught in the English language.⁹² This secularisation of the school system was also brought about by the British failing to anglicise and tackle the Roman Catholic population leading up to Emancipation. This ultimately led to local Crown colony government structure taking on a route concerning education not as widely seen in other British colonies this early on.

Historian Brian Moore asserts how Crown colony control was initially “intended to provide the lower classes in particular with the ideological tenets to become civilised loyal British colonial subjects, and to equip them with basic skills of literacy and numeracy” in order to maintain a steady hand on the colony's subjects.⁹³ For education, the inspector of schools, Robert Guppy, in 1864 would remark on the influence of government schools, saying the education learned was “not confined to those who have immediately received it, but that the tone of whole districts has been raised by the increased intelligence and the higher views thereby diffused” showing that the benefits of schooling were beginning to entrench itself on the island.⁹⁴ In Trinidad, prior to 1875, Historian Mohammed Bacchus had found school enrolment figures were somewhat higher than some of the smaller West Indian colonies, as a result of school fees not being charged for government ward schools. However, the introduction of the 1875 Education Ordinance, implemented a condition, for schools receiving government grants, to raise a certain proportion of their revenues by levying fees. This hindered the island's poorest capacity to send their children to schools and thus a reduction in school attendance

⁹⁰ Brereton, Bridget. *A History of Modern Trinidad: 1783-1962*. Oxford: Heinemann, 1989: 42.

⁹¹ Pearse, Andrew. Education in the British Caribbean: Social and Economic Background. *Vox Guyanae* 2 no. 1, (1956): 13.

⁹² Higman, Bill. W. *A Concise History of the Caribbean*. Cambridge Concise Histories. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011: 186.

⁹³ Moore, Brian L, and Michele A Johnson. 2004. *Neither Led nor Driven: Contesting British Cultural Imperialism in Jamaica, 1865-1920*: 205.

⁹⁴ Bacchus, M. Kazim. *Education As and for Legitimacy: Developments in West Indian Education between 1846 and 1895*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006: 212.

occurred.⁹⁵ By 1890, another ordinance was introduced which provided for the government to meet the fees of the children of the very poor because the economic situation deteriorated on Trinidad in the late 1880s. This step helped to improve the attendance of children from poor families. Considering Trinidad's more forthright investment in primary schools early on, by 1896 records show Trinidad and Tobago spent £51, 798 on its immigration department compared to roughly £38, 248 on education for an estimated population of 268,000 people.⁹⁶

Tobago had had an illustrious turn of exchanging hands between colonial powers over thirty times until the British managed to hold control after 1814. It had been economically powered by agriculture, plantations of indigo, sugar and cotton plantations in the lead up to Britain finally gaining control.⁹⁷ Bridget Brereton describes Tobago's attachment to Trinidad, in 1889, as an "imperial fiat, the outcome of Britain's anxiety to shuffle off responsibility for an impoverished little colony by tacking it on to a more prosperous one" in order to consolidate their Empire.⁹⁸ An addition of Tobago's 28 primary denominational schools being consolidated into Trinidad's administration and added to the Board of Education's purview. The historian Robert Cassa points out how "Many of the industries of the British West Indies would not have developed without Crown colony government. Trinidad, the most prosperous from at least the last third of the nineteenth century, and an oil producer from as early as the first decade of the twentieth century, was also the mother all Crown colonies, pioneering that system in the early nineteenth century and being one of the last of the major West Indian colonies to leave it in the 1950s".⁹⁹

Jamaica

After the scaling down of the Negro Education Grant funding, the Representative Assembly of Jamaica was not persuaded to take on responsibility for funding primary public education until the mid-1850s. In Britain's B.W.I colonies, colonial governments were charged with legislating on the provision of government funding for schools. The Representative Assembly, in existence since 20 January 1664, was composed of the island's powerful English

⁹⁵ Bacchus, M. Kazim. *Education As and for Legitimacy: Developments in West Indian Education between 1846 and 1895*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006: 84.

⁹⁶ Bacchus, M. Kazim. "Education as and for Legitimacy: Developments in West Indian Education": 6.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

⁹⁸ Brereton, Bridget. *A History of Modern Trinidad*: 153.

⁹⁹ Cassa, Robert "The Economic Development of the Caribbean from 1880 to 1930" in Brereton, Bridget, ed. *General History of the Caribbean: Volume V the Caribbean in the Twentieth Century*. UNESCO, (2004): 192.

Plantocracy.¹⁰⁰ The body's legislators were content to keep schooling within the purview of private funders and the missions school keen to spread their message to the island's masses. The first measure passed by the Jamaican House of Assembly, when forced to act by the withdrawal of NEG, was an *Act to Encourage the Formation of Schools in the Several Parishes of this Island*, combining Moral and Religious Instruction with Agricultural Pursuits. 'The formation of schools was a misleading summation as the act only provided for a grant of £30 pounds in the current year to any school able to prove that: for teaching for about a year and with more than fifty pupils, agricultural pursuits had been taught for three hours at least four times a week to qualify. Only two already established schools qualified for the money in the Act's first year.¹⁰¹ This initial neglect of educating the children of ex-slaves who wished to educate their children, would see only one-fifth of the population achieving primary school by 1865.¹⁰² Day schools and Sabbath schools had been the majority purveyor of schooling in the colony up until that point outside of schools for the Plantocracy's families. Historian Shirley Gordon also noted how Church primary schools increasingly came to resemble their British counterparts by the 1860s.¹⁰³ By 1865, many of these day schools were being abolished by Missions and some Sabbath schools retained to keep the masses converted to their religions. The Plantocracy's lack of continued support for primary schools is observable in School Inspector John Savage's 1864 report on primary schooling. In the report, Inspector Savage referenced how of the 490 primary schools accounted for on the island, only 8 rated as first class with about 200 of them not rating at all for the four class-tiered system he had used.¹⁰⁴ This report came before the outlook on education provision would shift, after the Morant Bay rebellion caused a switch to Crown colony governance.

The direct rule of the two colonies was not completely representative of the colonies education outcomes, tempered by a failure to completely reorient Jamaica's economy after emancipation. Earl Grey would blame the planters and the Assembly for not sufficiently reorienting the society and economy, placing some blame on not expediently transforming the school system.

¹⁰⁰ Gardner, William James. "A History of Jamaica from Its Discovery by Christopher Columbus to the Present Time: Including an Account of Its Trade and Agriculture." *Sketches of the Manners, Habits, and Customs of All Classes of Its Inhabitants; and a Narrative of the Progress of Religion and Education in the Island*, Third Impression 1971, (1873): 34.

¹⁰¹ Gordon, Shirley C. "The Negro Education Grant 1835-1845: Its Application in Jamaica." *British Journal of Educational Studies* 6, no. 2 (1958): 148.

¹⁰² Gordon, Shirley C., *Our Cause for His Glory: Christianisation and Emancipation in Jamaica*. Barbados: University of the West Indies Press, 1998: 15.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 18.

He referenced how the Jamaican Assembly had fought everything the Metropole had proposed for thirty years, which for Earl Grey explained the Jamaican economy's dire straits as they also failed to set up a tax system amenable to the needs of the population, while the colonies of Trinidad and Guiana economies were increasingly prosperous.¹⁰⁵ Lord Grey's assertions of Jamaica's predicament feeds into Peter Lindert's analysis that the key to success in implementing mass education was a decent tax supply and investment in primary education.¹⁰⁶ This split of communication between the colony and Metropole, as Earl Grey discusses, shows a level of disunity over the direction of the colony in a post-emancipation world, where the plantocracy's unwillingness to realise the metropole's view of spreading a civilising, capacity-building education implicated them in not receiving a return on investment from schools that could have pushed their economy forward.¹⁰⁷ Lord Grey published his book to provide insight into the decisions behind Britain's colonial policy during his time in government and indicate why they were made under Prime Minister Lord John Russell's tenure. A slow uptake in establishing primary schools across the island did little to adequately remedy the vast social and economic differences pervasive across the island, undermining the level of social mobility the masses could reach through education.

The effects of the Morant Bay rebellion of 1865 saw Crown colony government enacted. The rebellion, a symptom of neglect felt by islanders, saw descendants of freed slaves and an emerging middle-class desirous of access to the privileges enjoyed by the Plantocracy. The rebellion itself was a result of those who had already achieved some social mobility and wanted more access to the spoils of the Plantocracy. The causes of the rebellion came from concerns over an unresponsive local action to unaddressed social problems, issues of poverty and not having basic civil rights such as voting.¹⁰⁸ Those who protested, an event sparked by a black man being convicted of trespassing on an abandoned sugar plantation, experienced harsh reprisals from the Governor Edward Eyre who enacted martial law. In a situation of crisis, the Plantocracy, in order to secure their vested economic and social interests, relented on Jamaica

¹⁰⁵ Grey, Henry George, Earl. *The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration*. 2 vols. London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, 1853: 170.

<https://archive.org/details/colonialpolicyof01greyiala/page/170>

¹⁰⁶ Lindert, Peter H. *Revealing failures in the history of school finance*. No. w15491. National Bureau of Economic Research, 2009: 27.

¹⁰⁷ Grey, Henry George, Earl. *The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration*. 2 vols. London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, 1853: 380-382.

<https://archive.org/details/colonialpolicyof01greyiala/page/170>

¹⁰⁸ Smith, James Patterson. "Empire and Social Reform: British Liberals and the "Civilizing Mission" in the Sugar Colonies, 1868-1874." *Albion* 27, no. 2 (1995): 255-256.

becoming a Crown Colony government in 1866. It would be up to the Colonial Office to decide on the type of constitution that should be followed, and all the members of the Council were to then be nominated by Sir John Peter Grant, the Governor of Jamaica.¹⁰⁹ This movement toward the Colonial office and Governors retaining power of primary schooling is significant, as before it had been left to the churches. Church bodies had had a relatively free hand concerning the kind of primary education they provided to the masses in the lead up to the Morant Bay rebellion. However, the aftermath of the Morant Bay rebellion and the 1866 switch to Crown Colony governance challenged the different religious groups authority over primary education, as the Metropole realised they had to work through population's social and economic grievances.¹¹⁰ The plantocracy's reservations over funding the expansion of primary schools in Jamaica, compounded by weakened economic prowess and no longer being a jewel of the British Empire, hastened their downfall for exercising influence in the Representative assembly.¹¹¹ This authoritative early dominance over the education sphere in Jamaica, saw that even by 1910 the government played a subsidiary role. In 1910, of the 693 elementary schools recorded only 68, less than ten percent, were government schools.¹¹² A remarkable improvement where the government had only begun to build public primary schools in 1885.¹¹³ These developments allowed schooling to

Historian Ronald V. Sire describes how the switch meant the Metropole could better hold the Plantocracy in check and have a chance at being better attuned to the rest of the population. A better consideration for the population is seen in Governor Sir John Peter Grant's approval of new grants-in-aid for schools, refashioning the judicial system, and placing the school system under great supervision through the state.¹¹⁴ The guiding reform after the Morant bay rebellion was to ensure the stability, security, and prosperity of the colony.¹¹⁵ This depended on enlightening and providing for the moral and social elevation of people through education. After the events of the rebellion, one school inspector, in 1879, noted that between

¹⁰⁹ Sires, Ronald V. "Government In The British West Indies: An Historical Outline." *Social and Economic Studies* 6, no. 2 (1957): 119-120.

¹¹⁰ Murray, Thomas, R. *Politics and Education: Cases from Eleven Nations*. Pergamon International Library of Science, Technology, Engineering, and Social Studies. Oxford Oxfordshire: Pergamon Press, 1983: 176.

¹¹¹ Figueroa, John J. *Society, Schools, and Progress in the West Indies*. Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1971: 16.

¹¹² Moore, Brian L, and Michele A Johnson. 2004. *Neither Led nor Driven: Contesting British Cultural Imperialism in Jamaica, 1865-1920*: 206.

¹¹³ Eisner, Gisela. "*Jamaica, 1830-1930. A Study in Economic Growth*." Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press Publishers (1961) (Reprint 1974): 333.

¹¹⁴ Sires, Ronald V. "Government In The British West Indies: An Historical Outline." (1957):120.

¹¹⁵ Robotham, Don. *The Notorious Riot: The Socio-Economic and Political Bases of Paul Bogle's Revolt'*. Working Paper No. 28. UWI, Mona: Institute of Social and Economic Research, (1981): 28.

1868 and 1878 school enrolment increased by over 160 percent. Thus, the embrace of government-sponsored secular primary schools and oversight can be directly attributable to the Morant Bay rebellion. Switching the administration of the colony allowed the government opportunity to suppress potential further rebellion while also giving educational opportunities that meant something for parents to enrol their children in.¹¹⁶ This increase in participation is also reflected in the number of schools, in 1867 they stood at 394, by 1881 there were 687 recorded on the island.¹¹⁷ These reforms stimulated the growth of the black middle class and increased access to education for their children. An indication of this is seen in 1871, where Mohammed Bacchus notes how bookkeepers were reporting the sales of school requisites (books, tools) was greater than sales in periods preceding.¹¹⁸ The Morant Bay rebellion would see the Metropole take a more active interest in retaining the Jamaican colony for its strategic place, to which education provision was improved as an aspect of maintaining the colony's social health.

Crown Colony Governance: Restructured

A pure Crown colony government structure would not last long in Jamaica, although shifting the colony's governance strategy improved their education outcomes. The elites of the island made repeated demands for an elective element in the colony, a demand finally granted in 1884. The newly appointed Legislative Council was to be composed of four *ex officio* members plus as many as five nominated persons. Additionally, nine elected members would be allowed a marginal concession where the votes of the *ex officio* and nominated members would not be recorded in support of a money bill if as many as six elected members had voted against it, or in support of any other bill if all of the nine elected members were opposed. It was stipulated however, that if a governor declared a money bill as "of paramount importance to the public interest." this provision was struck off consideration. This shows the minimal ways in which the views of the plantocracy could be subverted. The transition to this government structure did however bring a new direction for administrating and dictating on problems faced by primary schools in the colony. School Fees, abolished in 1892, in the colony resulting in an immediate and substantial increase in enrolment. A Jamaican inspector of schools at the time

¹¹⁶ Bacchus, M. Kazim. *Education As and for Legitimacy: Developments in West Indian Education between 1846 and 1895*. 2006: 204.

¹¹⁷ Moore, Brian L, and Michele a Johnson. 2004. *Neither Led nor Driven: Contesting British Cultural Imperialism in Jamaica, 1865-1920*: 335.

¹¹⁸ Bacchus, M. Kazim. *Education As and for Legitimacy: Developments in West Indian Education between 1846 and 1895*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006: 213.

noted in his 1893/94 report, that the prediction by some that with the abolition of school fees attendance would drop "has been signally falsified and . . . the reverse has been the result" a feat which shows some confidence in the education to be received and possible opportunities borne from completing school.¹¹⁹ Otherwise, the number of elected members expanded to fourteen and that of the ex officio and nominated element to fifteen, in 1895. The "paramount power" of the governor was retained, but it could not be used in practice unless the full complement of non-official members were appointed.¹²⁰ This dilution of Crown colony primacy was not replicated in Trinidad and Tobago until the 1920s.

Conclusion

It can be asserted that Trinidad and Tobago necessarily thrived under strong executive government with the capacity to authoritatively render decisions and financial decisions. The early Governors had to give more leeway to people in order to achieve the overarching goal of having the population become British-oriented with their legal-administrative structure, economy, and chiefly the dominance of English. Children were taught about the great Kings and Queens of Britain, and especially in Trinidad made to learn the English language in the schoolroom, infused with the political intent of loyalty to the UK; as Roman Catholicism still prevailed on the island for the first half of the nineteenth century.¹²¹ When the UK seized control over the island of Trinidad, the diverse population seemed fit for the establishment of Crown colony governance. This consolidation of power facilitated the island's initial approach to primary education provision post-Emancipation. This development is in contrast to the Crown colony governance of Jamaica, where the previous experience of representative assembly would not allow the colony to act as a pure Crown government system after 1885. The introduction of Crown Colony rule, despite being more authoritarian, enabled a shift of political authority from local planters to metropolitan administrators who favoured effective governance and policies regarding education, basic health care, sanitation.¹²² These operations inform how the two colonies related to the pathways of religious education on the island and the ability to get government-run primary schools up and running. In the sense of moulding the colonies in the image desired by the Metropole government, the plantocracy had an easier time

¹¹⁹ Bacchus, M. Kazim. "Education as and for Legitimacy: Developments in West Indian Education": 85.

¹²⁰ Sires, Ronald V. "Government in The British West Indies: An Historical Outline." (1957): 121.

¹²¹ Campbell, Carl "Education, Religion, and Culture" in Knight, Franklin W, Jalil Sued Badillo, K. O Laurence, Jorge Ibarra, Bridget Brereton, B. W Higman, German Carrera Damas, and UNESCO. *General History of the Caribbean*. London: Macmillan Caribbean, (1997): 504.

¹²² Owolabi, Olukunle P. "Literacy and Democracy Despite Slavery: Forced Settlement and Postcolonial Outcomes in the Developing World." *Comparative Politics* 48, no. 1 (2015): 60.

advocating for their economic interests as it pertained to primary education provision in Jamaica because they were largely British. Trinidad's previous history as a Spanish colony allowed the British to exude disregard for the local Plantocracy, allowing the authorities there invest and transform the capacity it would take to remake the island into the British mould. While transforming the island into a British was a clear objective, it allowed for many free creoles and a wider range of society to advocate on education matters. The system in Trinidad and Tobago improved because it had managed to establish a systemic institutional approach to how primary schooling would be conducted.

Roman Catholicism still prevailed on the island for the first half of the nineteenth century.¹²³ When the UK seized control over the island of Trinidad, the diverse population saw the Metropole establish Crown colony governance as the best fit for the colony. The island was ideally placed for strategy and defense and this could more easily be facilitated through without an argumentative representative assembly. The government also felt retaining direct control would prevent illegal importation of slaves from other islands.¹²⁴ This consolidation of power facilitated the island's initial approach to primary education provision post-Emancipation.. These conditions saw education more ferociously introduced and inculcated in Trinidad as opposed to Jamaica, especially brought about by their different styles of governance from the 1830s to mid-1860s. Jamaica's transition to a Crown colony, however was born out fears regarding slave rebellion and losing the colony, impact the number of primary schools established on the island.

While there were many things that the British Empire could have done to improve the establishment of primary education in the colonies it stands alone, as Carl Campbell asserts in *education, religion, and culture* "Of all the Metropolitan governments, The British did the most to get the education of the ex-slaves off the ground. It alone voted Metropolitan funds to subsidise new schoolhouses and teachers."¹²⁵ However, the local circumstances saw this applied according to the respective colonies issues. Trinidad was a great example of a Governor general's ability to experiment with the appropriate ways to ensure an education was made available to the island's children that was in line with the values of the British Empire. Jamaica on the other hand was an example of the entrenched Plantocracy and had a larger population of

¹²³ Campbell, Carl "Education, Religion, and Culture" in Knight, Franklin W, Jalil Sued Badillo, K. O Laurence, Jorge Ibarra, Bridget Brereton, B. W Higman, German Carrera Damas, and UNESCO. *General History of the Caribbean*. London: Macmillan Caribbean., (1997): 504-505.

¹²⁴ Brereton, Bridget. *A History of Modern Trinidad*,: 42.

¹²⁵ Campbell, Carl "Education, Religion, and Culture" in *General History of the Caribbean*: 504.

former slaves to be contended with in a highly unequal society. The Plantocracies in Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica were generally wealthy, free, and largely owners of plantations who were more often White in Jamaica and in T&T more mixed race. They held great sway in political issues on the islands, making their views known on policy, governance, morality and education of the subjects of the islands.¹²⁶ In Trinidad, this was less heavily rooted as a result of a more diverse population and the presence of planters with multiple nationalities, namely Spanish and French. These differences between the colonies challenged religious denominations experience with they would manage the provision of primary schooling to the masses under the colonial governments.

¹²⁶ From Our Own Correspondent W.G.S. *Emancipation in Jamaica.; Number six. The old plantocracy.* *New York Times*. Archived Online, (March 13, 1860): 9.
<https://www.nytimes.com/1860/03/13/archives/emancipation-in-jamaica-number-six-the-old-plantocracy.html>

4. Religious Missions and their Impact

Introduction

The advancement of religious primary education post-emancipation allowed for those formerly enslaved, of all ages, to advance reading, writing skills and be informed of the Bible's message. Prior to the emancipation of slaves in 1834 across the B.W.I, efforts for educating slave populations had focused on religious teachings without widespread efforts to expand literacy rates. The British W.I had experienced, from the late eighteenth century, a vast outpouring of Christian missionaries from the United Kingdom looking to convert the masses.¹²⁷ Religious sects such as the Baptists, Moravians, Methodists and the established Church of England all sought to convert and save the souls of countless slaves and the free coloureds of the islands. The Baptists and Methodists were particularly prevalent in Jamaica owing to effective missionaries, using local agents to spread their message, and being relatively removed from planter patronage.¹²⁸ Historian Susan Thorne discusses how missionaries understood the conversion of the poor at home and of 'heathens' in the colonies as 'two fronts of the same war, a necessary agent to have the poor and ignored masses fall in line for devotion to the message of God.'¹²⁹ Educating the urban masses was still in its infancy in the metropole itself, and largely provided through Church agencies, so the Churches colonial operations benefitted from this early experience in running schools. This chapter shows how efforts to convert the masses, through primary schools, transformed providing schools to the masses in the two colonies. An effort that helped establish primary schools and see pupils attain some education, as well as their motivations behind operating in the B.W.I.

Trinidad & Tobago: The Catholic Influence

Primary education in the colony became state involved early on, partly through the colonial administration's anti-Catholic bias, as opposed to resting all authority with Church groups. Roman Catholicism was heavily discriminated against by the British, however, when the British conquered colonies, i.e. Trinidad, formerly claimed by Spain and France, it was found

¹²⁷ Campbell, Carl "Education, Religion, and Culture" in Knight, Franklin W, Jalil Sued Badillo, K. O Laurence, Jorge Ibarra, Bridget Brereton, B. W Higman, German Carrera Damas, and UNESCO. *General History of the Caribbean*. London: Macmillan Caribbean, (1997):. 483-486.

¹²⁸ Ibid.,. 487.

¹²⁹ Thorne, Susan "'The Conversion of Englishmen and the Conversion of the World Inseparable': Missionary Imperialism and the Language of Class in Early Industrial Britain", in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. by Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper Berkeley: University of California Press, (1997): 240.

unfruitful to forcefully apply the same intolerance to Catholic settlers, if it wished to establish eventual loyalty to the British crown.¹³⁰ Throughout Trinidad's history many discussions took place over the role of the Church in providing education and religious instruction during school time. As a Crown Colony, with a robust French and Spanish speaking Roman Catholic presence, the government established schools and would for a time exclude the church schools from the public-school system.¹³¹ This was part of a deliberate attempt to anglicize Trinidad and curb the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, who were not seen as conducive to the spread of U.K. civility and ideals in the colony. This was a result of a failure to anglicise the island before Emancipation approached. This pervasive concern over Roman Catholic influence, saw Governor Lord Harris's 1851 Education ordinance have religious education in school prohibited and the management and control of the schools vested in a newly established Education Board.¹³² This attempt at removing a particular religious education, seen as inhospitable to British interests, would not be successful in the colony with as previously mentioned in the thesis, the British finding other means to ensure expanding primary schools did not contradict their interests in the colonies.

By 1870, denominational schools began to receive regular financial support through government grants. For the schools to maintain the grants, they were expected to minimize deliberate religious teaching and worship to certain points of the school day.¹³³ This position is indicative of space being made for denominational schooling in the colony with administrative oversight and stipulations in order to ensure pupils across the island had a chance at primary schooling. These efforts were partly the result of missionary education needing to comply with the project of systemization of education underway in Trinidad to ensure attendance and continued funding. To ensure access to educating East Indian children, Missions were made to balance their provision of religious to secular instruction, as well as the practical needs of the labour force determined from the Plantocracy's machinations. Their non-religious curriculum needed to satisfy the demands of the colonial administration, showing the intent by the authorities to take on a more substantial role in the education being offered to the island's children.¹³⁴

¹³⁰ Higman, Bill. W. *A Concise History of the Caribbean*. Cambridge Concise Histories. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011: 183.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 185.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 66.

¹³³ Campbell, Carl. *The Young Colonials. A Social History of Education 1834-1939*. (Trinidad, 1996): 224.

¹³⁴ Brereton, Bridget. *A History of Modern Trinidad: 1783-1962*: 68-69.

By the end of the 1930s, the *Trinidad and Tobago Independence Celebration Committee* outlines the primary school system as falling into two main categories, outside of private schools, for the island. One category consisted of the assisted denominational schools, controlled by Board of Management where teacher salaries were partially paid by the government. Furniture, books, equipment in the school were also majorly provided by the government. One of the conditions of the school must be open to all children without distinction of race, religion, nationality or language.¹³⁵ The other category is the state schools who enjoyed the benefit of having their entire salaries paid for by the government until 1901-2, when the government decided to pay the entire salary of teachers working at government-assisted schools. In 1912, a further step was made when the same teachers were allotted the same right to pensions offered to government-run primary school teachers.¹³⁶ These developments with primary schooling point to the state involvement becoming heavier over time in meeting the disparate needs of the schools. Where the state had set up a system to keep qualified teachers in their schools and extending their system to denominational schools allowed the quality in the schools to rise and the state could ensure the education was advisable for the state's objectives. Primary education in the island later developed into a dual system whereby the government and religious denominations, co-operated in the control and conduct of schools for children aged five to twelve.¹³⁷

East Indian Arrival

The coming of the East Indians (as indentured labourers) added another aspect to education provision for the colony of Trinidad. The Canadian Presbyterian Mission, founded by Rev. John Morton in 1868, assisted in educating the East Indians during this period. This led to the Indians being largely educated in institutions separate from the rest of the population. The Mission converted these children to Christian influence, taught the English language, while instilling Anglo-Saxon social customs and values. Educating these newly arrived East Indians would see a partnership develop between the colonial government, missionaries, and the local plantocracy. This partnership proved ideal for Planters as they managed to ensure teachings on

¹³⁵ *Education 1800-1962: Historical Development of Education in Trinidad and Tobago* Trinidad and Tobago Independence Celebration Committee, 1962: 12.

¹³⁶ Lilbert, Rodney A. *Practice of Education in Trinidad & Tobago Does It Infringe on the Human Rights of Disabled Students?* United States: Lilbert Education, 2007: 17.

¹³⁷ Gordon, Shirley C., *Our Cause for His Glory: Christianisation and Emancipation in Jamaica*. Barbados: University of the West Indies Press, (1998): 17.

current agricultural practices were included.¹³⁸ By 1850, subjects such as Writing, Arithmetic, reading, Geography and others served as the basics in teaching the East Indian children.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, with the Trinidadian government contributing three quarters of denominational primary school teacher salaries, the schools were more effectively meeting the needs of pupils and expanding the number of spots available.¹³⁹ A facet that aided the colony's goals of expanding mass schooling and bringing the new immigrants and their families more in line with Trinidadian society. Concerns for integrating immigrants from Eastern India lead the Governor of Trinidad, Sir William Robinson, in 1890, to proclaim an ordinance on primary education:

“Children whose parents or guardians are unable to pay for school fees and children of indentured Indians whose indentures have not expired shall be admitted to Elementary Schools free of charge; Provided that the inability of such parents or guardians not being indentured Indian Immigrants to pay school fees shall be proved to the satisfaction of Local Managers in which the school is situate or other public officer to be nominated by the Board”.¹⁴⁰

The origins of this Ordinance related to the island's economic state, where the cash crop of sugar suffered from competition with other sugar products on the global markets. Concerns over long-term financial success would see Agriculture officially added to subjects of instruction in elementary schools in 1899. This provided Canadian mission schools with the opportunity to make their educational efforts more practical and useful for East Indian children. The Colonial authorities felt that an agricultural education was practical in an island where cash crop production, i.e. sugarcane, cocoa, was important to keep the island's economy in a robust state.¹⁴¹ Adherence to the Crown colony's dictates relating to education was key for religious missionaries i.e. Canadian Presbyterian Naparima school, as otherwise the climate would be difficult to operate within the colony. The missionaries, aware of this Government position, especially after the turn of the 1900s, made sure to include agricultural education as part of their curriculum. Awareness of including this in their primary school curriculums came from Trinidad's Board of Education exercising control over the primary schools and the allocation of funds to them. The Board would be providing oversight on the school inspector and decide

¹³⁸ Campbell, Carl. *The Young Colonials. A Social History of Education 1834-1939*. (Trinidad, 1996): 48-50.

¹³⁹ *Education 1800-1962: Historical Development of Education in Trinidad and Tobago*: 12.

¹⁴⁰ *An Ordinance to amend the Education Act 1890, CO 297/13. T.N.A/U.K. found in Kissoon, F.N. The 'creole Indian': The Emergence of East Indian Civil Society in Trinidad and Tobago, C. 1897-1945*. Doctoral dissertation, King's College, London, (2014): 132.

¹⁴¹ Campbell, Carl. *The Young Colonials. A Social History of Education 1834-1939*. (1996): 78-79.

on granting state aid to denominational schools who applied.¹⁴² Considering these new stipulations for education, the Canadian mission school is known for consistently meeting them, which allowed their schools to be well-funded from the colonial government.¹⁴³ The mission had made inroads among the Indians, that while from a religious conversion standpoint had been less successful, which enhanced their ability to integrate into Trinidadian society. A Reverend, named Wilfred Green said, on leaving the colony in the 1920s, that after 25 years of service in Trinidad he was prepared to inform his Church's Foreign Mission Board that he did not believe schools were the best means of spreading the Christian message.¹⁴⁴

Jamaica

Initially, setting up primary schools in Jamaica experienced resistance from the Plantocracy if states resources from their taxes went to it. The Plantocracy had controlled the Representative Jamaica Assembly, so their viewpoints on mass education would, especially for the children of newly freed slaves, influence how primary schools were set up. The Plantocracy were amenable to well-established Churches taking on the role of educating the formerly enslaved masses keen as it mitigated funding pressure on the state. Indeed, the Jamaican Plantocracy believed moral and religious education would emphasise to the newly emancipated population that their divinely ordained place was as agricultural labourers and the wisdom of peacefully and orderly executing the duties of the labouring class.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, education was useful in stabilising social order rather than giving the masses a human capital-producing skill set initially. Concerning religious toleration for the teachings of other religions, Roman Catholics had suffered discrimination, achieving political "emancipation" only a few years before the abolition of slavery in Jamaica.¹⁴⁶ Religious schools in Jamaica experienced less resistance in their establishment, a result of British identity largely having been entrenched. One Moravian minister wrote in 1830, "The work of education in these parts is indeed still in its infancy, but we do not despise the day of small things" a sentiment which laid the path for an earlier scramble by religious organisations to educate and convert the masses in the colony.

¹⁴² Brereton, Bridget. *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad 1870-1900*: 67.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 82

¹⁴⁴ Pearse, Andrew. Education in the British Caribbean: Social and Economic Background. *Vox Guyanae* 2 no.1, (1956): 15.

¹⁴⁵ Bacchus, Mohammed. K. *Utilization, Misuse, and Development of Human Resources in the Early West Indian Colonies*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, (2006): 272.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 274.

Missionary education on the island of Jamaica followed a long-entrenched pattern. The Colonial authorities there made numerous attempts to influence the manner of education being offered to primary aged children across the island. Jamaica possessed a strong missionary presence; thus, missionary societies were in a strong position to establish schools post-emancipation. They heavily imparted Victorian values onto the ‘morally repressed’ freed slaves, equipping them with literacy and numeracy skills as a means of shaping them into civilised British subjects.¹⁴⁷ Mission schools after Emancipation benefitted from ex-slaves desire to become literate and for their children to gain an education that could guarantee freedom from the toil of plantation labour. Mission schools were selected by the British government to receive funding for the instruction of the ex-slave population. For the Plantocracy, it was hoped a religious education would create a docile, hard-working agricultural labouring class.¹⁴⁸ This viewpoint of the transition to a slave-free society and putting focus on agricultural education would only come much later, as initially parents were wary of sending their children to school, that still might only find the children doing plantation labour.

Religious bodies intended to use their schools to improve conversion rates and cement denominational loyalties among the islanders. Numerous missionary bodies struggled to establish and maintain schools across the B.W.I colonies because of monetary constraints and hostility to some churches being set up in some colonies, so where it was permissible they poured immense influence on the islands they could. Jamaica’s denominational schooling was influenced by men such as Enos Nuttal, an Anglican Archbishop of the West Indies, who advocated for religious education to civilise the Jamaican masses.¹⁴⁹ Nuttal also promoted having functional education suited to the economic conditions of Jamaica, out of his concern for improving the conditions of lower-class Jamaicans. By the 1890s, Nuttal was advocating for the colonial government to expand their role with mass education, as the funding was done by taxpayers.¹⁵⁰ Another religious denomination, The Baptists were successful in establishing primaries on the island, owing to their desire to instil citizenship, morality and encourage a healthy society in their congregations. Additionally, recognising a desire to own land by the families of freed slaves, the church created free villages with schools, that made education more

¹⁴⁷ Moore, Brian L, and Michele A Johnson. 2004. *Neither Led nor Driven: Contesting British Cultural Imperialism in Jamaica, 1865-1920*: 207.

¹⁴⁸ Gordon, Shirley C.,. *Our Cause for His Glory: Christianisation and Emancipation in Jamaica*. Barbados: University of the West Indies Press, (1998): 13.

¹⁴⁹ Bryan, Patrick E. *The Jamaican People, 1880-1902: Race, Class, and Social Control*. University of West Indies Press, (2000): 50-51.

¹⁵⁰ Bryan, Patrick E. *The Jamaican People, 1880-1902: Race, Class, and Social Control*. (2000): 117-118.

accessible for their children. The Baptists funded their operations through volunteer donations until 1870, only accepting a financial grant after the Church of England was disestablished in the colony.¹⁵¹ The Metropole did this to encourage religious churches to receive more state aid, as Governor Grant was concerned that without schools it would degenerate society in the colony.¹⁵² However, as is shown in Appendix A, after 1900's peak of 728 primaries, the number of primary schools declined, the result of a 1895 decision to stop the building of denominational schools and amalgamate competing schools in order to. Religious education, besides Roman Catholic schools, would no longer be linked denominationally and a secularisation of the syllabus would be introduced. A departure from the conception that Religion and education were inseparable from one another. These stipulations came at a time when it was becoming difficult for missionaries to secure funds covering their operations, increasing the Church-state partnership in the colony.

Churches were in fierce rivalries with one another over providing education to children as this was an ideal method of increasing Church membership. Children who were not a part of a particular religious denomination were refused entry to other denominational schools closer to their area. This practice was condemned and remedied in a Jamaican 1892 education law, using the colonial purse strings, of which many churches relied on for funds, to withhold money should church schools refuse admittance based on being a different Christian denomination.¹⁵³ It is however hard to determine the extent to which the education law was enforced, considering the spread of numerous mission schools across Jamaica's terrain. However, this expansion of mission schools led to a problem where some areas had too many competing schools and a scarce presence in other areas of the colony. A situation, that led to amalgamation of primary schools after an 1897 Education Commission recommended this action. Implementing this would elevate the standards of the schools, improve teacher salaries and prove more manageable for the colony to supervise.¹⁵⁴ Support for the primaries, would lessen complaints over access to materials and textbooks for pupils, as Jamaica's improvements to providing to religious primary schools improved these provisions toward the end of the nineteenth century. Historian Ruby King notes how more pupils were noted to have writing slates, reading books and some the latest geography books by the early twentieth century. Even a local text *The Times*,

¹⁵¹ Smith, James Patterson. "Empire and Social Reform: British Liberals and the "Civilizing Mission" in the Sugar Colonies, 1868–1874." (1995): 261.

¹⁵² Ibid., 262.

¹⁵³ Moore, Brian L, and Michele A Johnson. *Neither Led nor Driven: Contesting British Cultural Imperialism in Jamaica, 1865-1920*: 208.

¹⁵⁴ Eisner, Gisela. "*Jamaica, 1830-1930. A Study in Economic Growth.*" (1961) (Reprint 1974): 335.

geography, and history of Jamaica had been published and sent out, allowing pupils to compare their local surroundings to well-known parts of the world.¹⁵⁵

Primary Education in the 1920s-late 1930s

Toward the end of the colonial period, a complex arrangement of primary schooling was in place on the islands. In 1936, of the 652 Jamaican primary schools recorded, 23.2% of the schools were government-sponsored while 76.8% were denominational or recorded as other.¹⁵⁶ Statistics for Trinidad and Tobago show that the schools numbered 288 in 1929.¹⁵⁷ In terms of administration, T&T had just set up an Education Department with a Director of Education in 1918. This Director would have the final say on education in the colony and any grievances felt by all teachers employed in the colony.¹⁵⁸ Otherwise, education outcomes from the two colonies were showing diverging return on the investments and standards that had accompanied the growth of primary schools. This is witnessed where in reports such as the Marriot-Mayhew report space was given to the level and difficulty of courses to be found in primary schools.¹⁵⁹ The issues they brought to attention related to the financing of the school system, teacher training, improving the quality of schooling and the state of the school buildings in the West Indies. Both colonies had developed a Dual system that oversaw primary schools to the various populations of the islands. Both were administered under Crown colony governance, with secular and denominational schooling receiving different treatment since Emancipation. Control of Trinidad's dual system would administratively pass into the colony's Director of Education in 1918.¹⁶⁰ Concurrently in Jamaica the Dual system remained rooted in racial divisions, where there was a divide in the primary schools for the masses along largely socioeconomic lines.¹⁶¹ The governments and administrative apparatuses were taking on more liability for the schools.

¹⁵⁵ King, Ruby. Geography in the curriculum of elementary schools in late 19th century Jamaica, *Caribbean Geography*, 5 no.2 (Sep 1, 1994): 139.

¹⁵⁶ Keith, Sherry. "An Historical Overview of the State and Educational Policy in Jamaica." *Latin American Perspectives* 5, no. 2 (1978): 44.

¹⁵⁷ Campbell, Carl. *The Young Colonials. A Social History of Education 1834-1939*, Trinidad (1996): 315.

¹⁵⁸ *Education 1800-1962: Historical Development of Education in Trinidad and Tobago* Trinidad and Tobago Independence Celebration Committee: 12.

¹⁵⁹ Part V, 'Conclusions and recommendations' in Great Britain, [Report of] *West India Royal Commission* (1938-1939): 432.

https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/history/students/modules/am217/syllabus/radicalism/west_india_royal_commission_1938-39_-_conclusions_recommendations.pdf

¹⁶⁰ Campbell, Carl. *The Young Colonials. A Social History of Education 1834-1939*. Trinidad (1996): 104.

¹⁶¹ Keith, Sherry. "An Historical Overview of the State and Educational Policy in Jamaica." *Latin American Perspectives* 5, no. 2 (1978): 44.

Conclusion

Plantation owners eventually sought out immigrant labour from India and China to come and work on their plantations. Borne out of economic concerns, this transported another new group that Church groups and the colonial government would then have to provide a level of education for. The approaches to take on this matter would be dealt with as populations rose, and the metropole's concern grew over the colonies level of social stability. Bringing primary schooling to the masses would start off with a clear moral purpose by the Metropole, it would be compliance or disregard for fulfilling the aims of Emancipation which would decide the capacity of primary schools outcome to improve. Promoting the education of the masses would require the expansion of schools and commitment to providing an education parents felt their children could benefit from. Additionally, government involvement entrenched a level of authority with which the government could dictate its policy goals for primary schools. Setting standards to which primary schools were expected to attain in order to ensure pupils received some of the same skills and education that would benefit the island. This shows local governments recognising the necessity to work with denominational schools, in order to adequately reach the masses, while using the bargaining power of their funds to influence the how primary schools would be expected to operate.

Religious teaching in Trinidadian schools took on a slightly different approach then it would in Jamaica. Afterall, it is seen as having the ability to provide moral clarity and direction for those part of the lower classes in society. Colonial authorities concerned with maintaining a stable social order took on an approach that allowed them to know what was being taught in these schools, and ensure they were productive subjects for the colony.¹⁶² By the end of the 1930s in Jamaica and Trinidad & Tobago a dual system persisted in administering elementary schools. The first local Boards of Education and school inspectors were appointed, and the governments began to give financial support to church school.¹⁶³ Examining the pervasiveness of religion in schools and the reactions to it, informs the initial marked differences in dealing with religious schools in Trinidad and Jamaica. Differences that shaped the foundations for how primary schools would be considered. By the time of World War, primary schools in both colonies had achieved reaching over fifty percent of the school-aged population that were attending regularly. The Moyne Commission's recommendation in 1939 that "*In schools at present*

¹⁶² Moore, Brian L, and Michele A Johnson. 2004. *Neither Led nor Driven: Contesting British Cultural Imperialism in Jamaica, 1865-1920*, (2004): 208.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 210.

*managed by the Denominations, if salaries are paid by the government, complete control in staff matters should be assumed by the government; and new schools provided wholly from public funds should be in all respects administered by the government. The existing adequate facilities for religious instruction in Government schools should be maintained*¹⁶⁴ fits into Peter Lindert's findings that the addition of a public funding structure with taxation points toward improved education outcomes for a state. My analysis shows that Jamaica transitioning from religious to state control allowed it to improve the reach of the schools and provide more regularised funding that improved attendance and outcomes.

¹⁶⁴ Part V, 'Conclusions and recommendations' in Great Britain, [Report of] *West India Royal Commission* (1938-1939): 434.

5.Thesis Conclusion

After analysing the case studies of Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica, the groundwork laid by the British colonial government, local Governors, and religious missions improved people's ability to advance their economic and social prospects over time. The intervention and clear oversight for primary schools in Trinidad and Tobago is reflected in their outcomes. While in Jamaica, the antipathy of the plantocracy and the entrenched involvement of religious missions, slowed mass schooling's progression and development of quality primary schools. Failing to consistently build on the Negro Education Grant's initial investment in the island's children. Both colonies, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago had started with a relatively similar lack of proper schooling facilities for their newly emancipated population. As formal standards for administering a primary school and regularising funding became part of the norm, pupils in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, were able to enrol and gain more years of schooling over the time period. To reach this point, by the end of the 1930s, amid challenges brought on by local government interests, funding gaps, religious concerns, great inequality, and dealing with diverse populations on the islands.

Another cause for enacting primary schools, outside of moral compunction came from the need to spread the English language, with public primary schools in Trinidad mandated to teach in English while the pupils may have spoken French, Spanish, or Creole at home. Another facet to which Peter Lindert asserts that the rise of mass public schooling informed more by public rather than private supply of primary schools. The initial spread of English through government schools would entrench itself socially and would be the language of schools without government enforcement. This trend identified by Lindert speaks more to Trinidad's experience as opposed to what occurred in Jamaica.¹⁶⁵ The Metropole recognised expanding the reach of primary schools was an important method of integrating ex-slaves into the colonial economy and to keep the population peaceful. By the end of the 1930s, Trinidad and Tobago had adapted a more state-led, secular approach to primary school provision and administration in Caribbean. An approach that influenced Trinidad's education outcomes institutionally and additionally aided by the early 1900s exploitation of oil reserves. Part of Trinidad's success is owed to attracting proactive leadership which enhanced achieving mass public schooling for the island. This success is one of the arguments made by Peter Lindert when he examined what caused or

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 88.

delayed the expansion of primary schooling.¹⁶⁶ Initially control over primary schools derived from Trinidad's diverse population, prompting Governor Lord Harris's early secularising efforts to establish a path dependent thread that by the end of the time period under examination witnessed secularisation experiencing a renewed focus as independence from the Metropole was on the horizon

The institutional structure surrounding the two colonies was decisively turned by the entrenchment of both islands elites. The plantocracy of Jamaica was British and majorly protestant while Trinidad's was more diverse and mixed religiously. Thus, the administrative direction of the two colonies was influenced by concerns over religious control, political structure, social composition, and the power of a few Governors to steer the expansion of mass schooling forward. The social, religious, and administrative differences for the two colonies decisively influenced the level and quality of mass primary schooling to be gained over time, the data collected exhibits these shifts. Thus, the outcomes of the two colonies primary schools were a direct circumstance of the local issues at play. Trinidad's colonial government took on schooling to ensure the colony would better reflect its colonial power, while efforts to educate a populace were helped along by resource-based growth toward the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In Jamaica, failure to reorient the plantation economy and accompanying economic troubles hampered the economic capacity to see primary schooling continually growing post-emancipation, even after the Crown colony switch. Primary schooling had been largely left in missionaries hands who relied on voluntary funds, over time securing funding would become a problem for missionaries. A factor in causing increased state involvement to ensure the population was receiving a level of schooling that allowed them to be socialised within society. Even as Jamaica recorded more schools and had earlier investment in secondary schools, the stark difference in average years of educations shows, that Lindert's views on expanding mass primary schooling first allowed a broader range of pupils to be educated rather than investing in schools that only benefited a select number of pupils.

As Trinidadian Governor Lord Harris had hoped, education would make strides among the masses. By the beginning of world war two compulsory and free primary schooling were law in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. Trinidad and Tobago became a fully integrated British colony over time, and it led the way in the administration of primary schooling. A considerable feat when the administrative apparatus for schools was negligible at emancipation.

¹⁶⁶ Lindert, Peter H. *Growing Public: Social Spending and Economic Growth Since the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge, (2004): 87.

Trinidad being established as an experimental colony allowed new investments, new shifts in policy, and more direct control over the island, to shape its education development from an earlier stage than Jamaica. Indeed, Jamaica's stratified society impeded the colony's ability to adapt an administrative legacy for primary schooling that rivalled Trinidad's. Yet, in some ways, the two colonies were ahead of the United Kingdom in the reach of their education provision and the investments behind it. Additional further research could seek to compare the level of direct to indirect taxes within the two colonies. It would also be interesting to analyse the rise of public schooling of the working-class in the UK with a comparison to the freed slaves of the B.W.I. As my research has suggested that the delay in utilising tax dollars in Jamaica than occurred in Trinidad contributes to the difference in their education outcomes, a finding that elaborates on Peter Lindert's framework.

6. Appendix A

Table 2: Primary School Numbers

		1869	1882	1900	1905	1920	1936
Jamaica		397	668	728	706	693	652
		1869	1882	1900	1910	1920	1929
T&T		61	104	239	240	293	288

Sources: 1869: "Blue Book Island of Jamaica 1869," *National Library of Jamaica Digital Collection* , accessed June 17, 2019, <https://nljdigital.nlj.gov.jm/items/show/3079> :268.

1882-1920: Moore, Brian L, and Michele A Johnson. 2004. *Neither Led nor Driven: Contesting British Cultural Imperialism in Jamaica, 1865-1920*: 335-336.

1936: Keith, Sherry. "An Historical Overview of the State and Educational Policy in Jamaica." *Latin American Perspectives* 5, no. 2 (1978): 44.

T&T

1869-1882: *Education 1800-1962: Historical Development of Education in Trinidad and Tobago* Trinidad and Tobago Independence Celebration Committee, (1962): 2.

1900-1920: *Education 1800-1962: Historical Development of Education in Trinidad and Tobago* Trinidad and Tobago Independence Celebration Committee, (1962): 3.

1929: Campbell, Carl. *The Young Colonials. A Social History of Education 1834-1939*. (Trinidad, 1996): 315.

7. References

Secondary Sources:

Bacchus, Mohammed. K. *Education As and For Legitimacy: Developments in West Indian Education Between 1846 and 1895*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, (1995).

Bacchus, Mohammed. K. *Utilization, Misuse, and Development of Human Resources in the Early West Indian Colonies*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, (2006).

Benavot, Aaron, and Phyllis Riddle. "The expansion of primary education, 1870-1940: Trends and Issues." *Sociology of education* 61 no. 3 (1988): 191-210.

Brereton, Bridget. *A History of Modern Trinidad: 1783-1962*. Oxford: Heinemann, (1989).

Brereton, Bridget. *Race relations in colonial Trinidad 1870-1900*. Cambridge University Press, (2002).

Brock, Colin. "Contemporary Educational Issues in the Commonwealth Caribbean." In *Dual Legacies in the Contemporary Caribbean: Continuing Aspects of British and French Dominion*. London, England: Frank Cass & Co, (1986).

Bryan, Patrick E. *The Jamaican People, 1880-1902: Race, Class, and Social Control*. University of West Indies Press, (2000).

Campbell, Carl. "Education in the Caribbean 1930–1990." In *General History of the Caribbean; Vol. 5: The Caribbean in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Bridget Brereton. Paris and London: UNESCO and Macmillan, (2004).

Campbell, Carl "Education, Religion, and Culture" in Knight, Franklin W, Jalil Sued Badillo, K. O Laurence, Jorge Ibarra, Bridget Brereton, B. W Higman, German Carrera Damas, and UNESCO. *General History of the Caribbean*. London: Macmillan Caribbean, (1997).

Campbell, Carl C. *Endless Education: Main Currents in the Education System of Modern Trinidad and Tobago, 1939-1986*. Barbados: Press University of the West Indies, (1997).

Campbell, Carl. *The Young Colonials. A Social History of Education 1834-1939*. (Trinidad, 1996).

Clio Infra. *Average Years of Education*. Accessed March 28th, 2019 <https://clio-infra.eu/Countries/Jamaica.html>

Clio Infra. *Average Years of Education*. Accessed March 28th, 2019. <https://clio-infra.eu/Countries/TrinidadandTobago.html>

Clio Infra, *Total Population*, Accessed June 2nd, 2019. <https://clio-infra.eu/Countries/Jamaica.html>

Clio Infra, *Total Population*, Accessed June 2nd, 2019. <https://clio-infra.eu/Countries/TrinidadandTobago.html>

Cassa, Robert "The Economic Development of the Caribbean from 1880 to 1930" in Brereton, Bridget, ed. *General History of the Caribbean: Volume V the Caribbean in the Twentieth Century*. UNESCO, (2004).

Crosbie, Barry, and Mark Hampton, eds. *The cultural construction of the British world*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, (2016).

D'Oyley, Vincent, Reginald Murray, and Vincent D'Oyley. *Development and Disillusion in Third World Education, with Emphasis on Jamaica*. Symposium Series - the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 10. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, (1979).

Eisner, Gisela. "*Jamaica, 1830-1930. A Study in Economic Growth*." Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press Publishers (1961) (Reprint 1974).

Fergus, Claudius. "The Siete Partidas: a framework for philanthropy and coercion during the amelioration experiment in Trinidad, 1823-34." *Caribbean Studies* 36, no. 1 (2008): 75-99.

Figueroa, John J. *Society, Schools, and Progress in the West Indies*. Oxford, Pergamon Press, (1971).

Frankema, Ewout. Raising revenue in the British empire, 1870–1940: how 'extractive' were colonial taxes? *Journal of Global History*, 5 no.3 (November 2010): 447-477

Frankema, Ewout. "The expansion of mass education in twentieth century Latin America: a global comparative perspective." *Revista de Historia Economica-Journal of Iberian and Latin American Economic History* 27 no. 3 (2009): 359-396.

Füllberg-Stolberg, Claus. "Economic Adjustments and the Fight for Cultural Hegemony in the British and Danish West Indies after Slavery." *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 31, no. 2 (2008): 145-68.

Gordon, Shirley, *A Century of West Indian Education*, Longmans, London, (1963).

- Gordon, Shirley C., *Our Cause for His Glory: Christianisation and Emancipation in Jamaica*. Barbados: University of the West Indies Press, (1998).
- Gordon, Shirley C. "The negro education grant 1835–1845: Its application in Jamaica." *British Journal of Educational Studies* 6, no. 2 (1958):
- Gordon, Shirley. "Documents which Have Guided Educational Policy In The West Indies, No. 8: Report of the Commissioners Mayhew and Marriott on Secondary and Primary Education in Trinidad, Barbados, Leeward Islands and Windward Islands. 1931 – 32" *Caribbean Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (December 1964): 3-32.
- Gordon, Shirley. "Documents Which Have Guided Educational Policy In The West Indies: - No. 5: Report upon the condition of the Juvenile Population of Jamaica, 1879." *Caribbean Quarterly* 9, no. 3 (1963): 15-24.
- Gordon, Shirley. "Documents Which Have Guided Educational Policy In The West Indies: (The Lumb Report, Jamaica, 1898) " *Caribbean Quarterly* 9, no. 3 (1963): 12-24.
- Goulbourne, Harold D. "Elementary School Teachers and Politics in Colonial Jamaica: The Formation of the Jamaica Union of Teachers, 1894." *Caribbean Quarterly* 31, no. 3-4 (1985): 16-30.
- Harewood, Jack. "The population of Trinidad and Tobago." *Port of Spain, Trinidad. CICRED Series: Trinidad and Tobago* (1975).
- Higman, Bill. W. *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean 1807-1834* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press), (1984).
- Higman, Bill. W. *A Concise History of the Caribbean*. Cambridge Concise Histories. New York: Cambridge University Press, (2011).
- Keith, Sherry. "An Historical Overview of the State and Educational Policy in Jamaica." *Latin American Perspectives* 5, no. 2 (1978): 37-52.
- King, Ruby. "Education in the British Caribbean: The legacy of the nineteenth century." *Educational reform in the Commonwealth Caribbean* (1999): 25-49.
- King, Ruby. Geography in the curriculum of elementary schools in late 19th century Jamaica, *Caribbean Geography*, 5 no.2 (Sep 1, 1994): 136-142.
- Lange, Matthew. *Comparative-Historical Methods*. London: SAGE, (2013).

- Lange, Matthew. *Lineages of Despotism and Development: British Colonialism and State Power*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, (2009).
- Leacock, Coreen J., Benita P. Thompson, and S. Joel Warrican. "Education for the Future Shaking off the Shackles of Colonial Times." In *Readings in Caribbean History and Culture: Breaking Ground*, Lanham: Lexington Books, (2011).
- Lilbert, Rodney A. *Practice of Education in Trinidad & Tobago Does It Infringe on the Human Rights of Disabled Students?* United States: Lilbert Education, (2007).
- Lindert, Peter H. *Growing Public: Social Spending and Economic Growth Since the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge, (2004).
- Lindert, Peter H. *Revealing failures in the history of school finance*. No. w15491. National Bureau of Economic Research, (2009).
- MacDonald, Scott B. *Trinidad and Tobago: Democracy and development in the Caribbean*. ABC-CLIO, (1986).
- Map of the West Indies and the Caribbean Sea, 1800s. Colour lithograph
<https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo/vintage-caribbean-islands-map.html>
- Miller, Errol, and Grace-Camille Munroe. "Education in Jamaica: Transformation and Reformation." In *Education in the Commonwealth Caribbean and the Netherlands Antilles*, 221-47. London: Bloomsbury, (2014).
- Millette, James. *Society and politics in colonial Trinidad*. Omega, (1985).
- Moore, Brian L, and Michele A Johnson. *Neither Led nor Driven: Contesting British Cultural Imperialism in Jamaica, 1865-1920*, (2004).
- Moore, Brian L., and Bill. W. Higman, eds. *Slavery, freedom and gender: the dynamics of Caribbean society*. University of West Indies Press, (2003).
- Murray, Thomas, R. *Politics and Education: Cases from Eleven Nations*. Pergamon International Library of Science, Technology, Engineering, and Social Studies. Oxford Oxfordshire: Pergamon Press, (1983).
- Newton, E., and R. H. E. Braithwaite. "New Directions in Education in Trinidad and Tobago-Challenge and Response." *Comparative Education* 11, no. 3 (1975): 237-46

Owolabi, Olukunle P. "Literacy and Democracy Despite Slavery: Forced Settlement and Postcolonial Outcomes in the Developing World." *Comparative Politics* 48, no. 1 (2015): 43-78.

Parry, John Horace, Philip Manderson Sherlock, and Anthony P. Maingot. *A short history of the West Indies*. London: Macmillan, 3rd edition, (1971).

Pearse, Andrew. Education in the British Caribbean: Social and Economic Background. *Vox Guyanae* 2 no. 1, (1956): 9-24.

Robotham, Don. *The Notorious Riot: The Socio-Economic and Political Bases of Paul Bogle's Revolt*. Working Paper No. 28. UWI, Mona: Institute of Social and Economic Research, (1981).

Smith, James Patterson. "Empire and Social Reform: British Liberals and the "Civilizing Mission" in the Sugar Colonies, 1868–1874." *Albion* 27, no. 2 (1995): 253-277.

Ward, John R. "The profitability of sugar planting in the British West Indies, 1650-1834." *The Economic History Review* 31, no. 2 (1978): 197-213.

Sires, Ronald V. "Government in The British West Indies: An Historical Outline." *Social and Economic Studies* 6, no. 2 (1957): 109-132.

Swartz, Rebecca. *Education and Empire: Children, Race and Humanitarianism in the British Settler Colonies ..., 1833-1880*. Cambridge: SPRINGER International Publishing/Palgrave Macmillian, (2018).

Thorne, Susan "“The Conversion of Englishmen and the Conversion of the World Inseparable”: Missionary Imperialism and the Language of Class in Early Industrial Britain’, in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. by Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper. Berkeley: University of California Press, (1997).

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

Williams, Eric Eustace. *History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago*. Praeger, (1964).

Primary Sources:

An Ordinance to amend the Education Act 1890, CO 297/13. T.N.A/U.K. found in Kissoon, F.N. The 'creole Indian': The Emergence of East Indian Civil Society in Trinidad and Tobago, C. 1897-1945. Doctoral dissertation, King's College, London, (2014).

“Blue Book Island of Jamaica 1869,” *National Library of Jamaica Digital Collection* , accessed June 19, 2019, <https://nljdigital.nlj.gov.jm/items/show/3079>

“Blue Book Island of Jamaica 1898-99,” *National Library of Jamaica Digital Collection* , accessed June 19, 2019, <https://nljdigital.nlj.gov.jm/items/show/3444>

Book of Trinidad Ordinances. 1865-1870. No.6: An Ordinance with regard to Education. Governor Arthur Gordon. April 28, 1870: 264. Online <http://laws.gov.tt/ttdll-web/revision/download/65969?type=amendment>.

Education 1800-1962: Historical Development of Education in Trinidad and Tobago
Trinidad and Tobago Independence Celebration Committee, (1962)
<https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00010880/00001/31x>

From Our Own Correspondent W.G.S. *Emancipation in Jamaica.; Number six. The old plantocracy. New York Times*. Archived Online, (March 13, 1860): 9.
<https://www.nytimes.com/1860/03/13/archives/emancipation-in-jamaica-number-six-the-old-plantocracy.html>

Gardner, William James. "A History of Jamaica from Its Discovery by Christopher Columbus to the Present Time: Including an Account of Its Trade and Agriculture." *Sketches of the Manners, Habits, and Customs of All Classes of Its Inhabitants; and a Narrative of the Progress of Religion and Education in the Island*, Third Impression 1971, (1873)

Grey, Henry George, Earl. *The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration*. 2 vols. London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, 1853. Online <https://archive.org/details/colonialpolicyof01greyiala/page/170>

Keenan, Patrick. *Report upon the State of Education in the Island of Trinidad*. Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1869.

Part V, 'Conclusions and recommendations' in Great Britain, [Report of] *West India Royal Commission* (1938-1939)
https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/history/students/modules/am217/syllabus/radicalism/west_india_royal_commission_1938-39_-_conclusions_recommendations.pdf:

“The Governor's Report on the Blue Book and Department Reports, 1880-81,” *National Library of Jamaica Digital Collection*, accessed June 21, 2019.