come first, ideological or economic factors, I would say that changes in economic organization over long periods shake the ideology and the patterns of behavior, while at particular times political and moral factors are in the ascendant.

**ADDED COMMENT RESPECTING THE WEST INDIES**

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In considering research problems bearing on the West Indies, I should like to start from the same point as Dr. Harris, when he considered the matter of slavery. Dr. Harris and I are both agreed that the question has barely been touched. Thus, when I was studying the question of the abolition of British slavery, I was struck by the fact that many of those who had written on the subject had, in the first place, not utilized any of the mass of original documents. In the second place, those students apparently failed to attack the subject except in a very limited way. Even the humanitarian aspect of the matter—the extent to which humanitarian ideals influenced the course of events—has not been touched upon.

A discussion of West Indian slavery should be related to the general questions of the rise of capitalism, and the extent to which British industrial development was made possible by the overseas trade, which means particularly the West Indian plantations and the sugar trade in the eighteenth century. The observation would similarly apply to France.

So far as I know, almost the only book touching on slavery in the British West Indies from about 1688 to 1833, when slavery was abolished, is far from complete. This work, W. L. Burn's *Emancipation and Apprenticeship in the British West Indies*, really covers only the apprenticeship period and four or five years after emancipation, when this apprenticeship system was instituted. It is, as a matter of fact, even somewhat weak on the question of emancipation, since this book of some three hundred pages devotes only about ninety to the emancipation movement.

The same charge of inadequacy of treatment or no treatment at all would also apply to the French colonies. Nobody knows
the reasons why slavery was abolished by France in 1848, especially why it came as late as 1848. The answer would seem to be that the cultivation of beet sugar, begun in the time of Napoleon, had developed to such an extent by 1848 that there was a conflict between beet sugar producers and cane sugar growers. By 1848 the humanitarian interest in the black slaves and the economic advantage of the beet sugar interests in France came to coincide. And while we can get figures on the extent of the increase of beet sugar production, you will not find any work that treats the problem of French emancipation from the point of view of the attitudes and conflicts of opinion expressed in contemporary documents.

This will perhaps make clear to this Conference just what Dr. Harris and I mean when we hold that it is so important to consider as a unit the question of slavery and the rise of capitalism, with special reference to the part which the black slaves played in the rise and development of capitalism in western Europe.

I may say something now about the social and economic conditions in the islands today, and I shall confine my remarks to the British islands, since I know these better than the others. For the last five years public attention has been focused on these British islands by reason of the recent labor troubles which have occurred. If we are not prepared to admit that the Negroes have "made trouble" just because the weather is too hot, or because they see too many American films, or because they are bad and immoral, I think we must realize that a great deal is to be gained by studying those social and economic conditions in the islands which caused this unrest among the Negroes. Some time ago Mr. Lloyd George called the British West Indies islands the slums of the Empire, and that best describes the status and condition of these islands today.

From the point of view of the economists, perhaps the most interesting question is the extent to which the plantation system, the unit of production in the slavery period, has survived the abolition of slavery, and has thereby stifled the development of peasant proprietorship.

One of the characteristic things about the British islands is the
number of commissions which have visited them, each commission repeating what its predecessors said without any improvement whatsoever in the years that have elapsed between one commission and the next. The biggest commission was that of 1897, which really attacked the question of peasant proprietorship. This report showed that in places where the laborer owned his land there was less crime, less vagrancy, taxes were better paid, and there was less immorality; on the other hand, it showed in general that the plantation system was not paying.

The system of peasant proprietorship has been considerably extended, particularly in Jamaica. In recent years Jamaica has concentrated on growing bananas, and this industry is to a large extent in the hands of very small peasant proprietors who are cultivating fairly successfully anything between two and ten acres. In some of the smaller islands, like St. Vincent and St. Kitts and one or two other places, peasant proprietorship has gained ground. But the system has gained its greatest victory in Trinidad. It has always been assumed that the peasant might grow various crops, but that there was one crop he couldn’t grow—the plantation crop par excellence, sugar. Today about 44 per cent of the cane produced in Trinidad comes from small peasant holdings, which are no larger than five to ten acres.

Commission after commission has pointed to the fact that in the islands where there is a system of peasant proprietorship the standard of living is much higher and the population more content with life than where there is no peasant proprietorship and where Negroes work as agricultural laborers. The best instance of that is Barbados, where the island is so small and densely populated that the poor laborer is lucky if he gets about a quarter of an acre of land on which to grow his green vegetables. That, incidentally, is one reason why the Barbadians have tended to emigrate in such large numbers, colonizing Panama, Costa Rica, and other areas of Central America. It is possible, certainly, to argue that Barbados needs colonies far more than Italy and Germany.

Yet despite the fact that we know peasant proprietorship is possible under certain conditions, we are quite ignorant concerning this important problem. Economists could tell us without
too much difficulty to what extent a system of cooperative enterprises, cooperative credit, and so on, might assist the peasant and wean him from his primitive and conservative ways. British Guiana has made great strides in the development of cooperative credit and cooperative enterprises. I understand there is some sort of village community dating back to emancipation days, when three or four hundred Negroes would get together and buy some abandoned estate and cultivate that estate in cooperation—perhaps a sort of primitive communism. A few books indicate this to have happened, but no one knows anything definite about it; and it is apparent that it would be both interesting and profitable to study.

The economists could also, for instance, tell us the weakness of a system of government which gets its revenue mainly from indirect taxation—taxes on food—rather than from direct taxation. The West Indian colonies are a paradise for the civil servant and for the upper-class Englishman, by reason of the low income tax. The greater part of the government revenue comes from taxes on food. All the colonies, the American as well as the British, show the peculiarity that they concentrate on export crops. Barbados has been concentrating on sugar for three hundred years; Jamaica on bananas; Trinidad at one time had cocoa, but now it is practically dependent on its oil. The greater part of the food-stuffs consumed (about 80 per cent today in Trinidad) is imported, so that the islands are at the mercy of all sorts of vicissitudes. With rearmament and the increase in shipping rates, prices have gone up; perhaps in the present war they can't even import the food they want—we do not know about this as yet—but certainly in the last war there was great hardship in the islands because they couldn't get their food, since they depended on the outside.

Respecting the class structure, as Dr. Harris mentioned, you have a small white aristocracy at the top, constituting about 2 per cent of the population, and at the bottom a mass of Negroes who are either peasant proprietors or laborers on the estates. Between these is a relatively small, fairly prosperous middle class of persons whose education, opinions, and ideas reflect the whites
with whom they have been in contact for some 150 years to such an extent that they are really black Englishmen or black Frenchmen. That is, they are English or French in outlook; so that when they say, "I am going home for the holidays," "home" means for them not Africa, but England or France.

The consideration of the class structure of society in the Islands entails the study of one especially important group—the mulatto middle class. Just how rapidly has this class grown? No one, for instance, can tell us the source of the wealth of, let us say, ten mulatto families in Trinidad. Nobody can tell us to what extent there has been white intermixture, or when it took place, or to what extent it led to the formation of these mulatto fortunes. But just how powerful is this class? It is easy to say that its membership comprises about 90 per cent of the professional men and about 80 per cent of the civil servants, but one cannot be certain even of this, except in roughest fashion.

Another peculiarity about some of the islands is the large percentage of British Indians, or as they are called in the islands, East Indians, people who came from India after the emancipation. These people were brought in as the result of a kind of brown slave trade that took the place of the black slave trade. In places like Guiana and Trinidad, where there was a great deal of fertile unappropriated land, the Negroes, when freed, preferred to become squatters on those lands instead of working for the planters. So the plantation owners resorted to Indian immigration in order to stimulate the Negro and force him to work. Trinidad is today about 36 per cent Indian, and in British Guiana the Indians constitute the largest numerical group in the colony.

Just what do these immigrants from India do? In Guiana they concentrate on growing rice. In Trinidad they are small peasant proprietors. The Negro prefers to work in the oil fields, and the Indian prefers to own his spot of land. The Indians were originally brought in for five years at very small wages. Like the apprentices just after slavery they could be punished by the magistrate with whipping for breach of contract, or for running away from their jobs to seek work elsewhere.

Immigration was so arranged by the planters that the Indians were introduced in the interest of the planters but at the expense
of the community, and therefore the Negro laborer, with whom the Indian laborer competed, indirectly paid for this immigration. Indian immigration has been stopped since 1917, but the problems it presents, both historical and economic, remain to be investigated.

The sociologist could trace the relation between the low wages paid—about twenty-five or thirty cents a day for the agricultural laborer for four days a week—and the malnutrition and high infant mortality rate that are so prevalent in the British Islands at least. In Barbados the infant mortality rate is about three hundred per thousand. What, also, is the relation between low wages and the high incidence of preventable diseases? About seventy per cent of the population in the whole British West Indian area are affected by hookworm, for example.

The sociologist could also trace the effect of the new immigration restrictions enforced by Cuba, Haiti, and the United States; the repatriation of these immigrants, particularly in Jamaica, and the effect of these repatriated persons on the consciousness of the Negro. They have gone back with American ideas, Cuban ideas, Haitian ideas; and constitute, so to speak, the advance guard of the wave of unrest which has been spreading for the past five years.

Others could tell you better than I to what extent the West Indian field supplies data for the anthropologist; or how far the religious customs, the dances, the pocomania of Jamaica, the shango of Trinidad, and so on, would be interesting subjects for anthropological research.

On the political side, the question of crown colony government must be assessed. The ethical justification for the existence of crown colonies is in the principle of trusteeship, which holds that these backward people should be guided until such time as they are fit to stand alone. We want to find out to what extent this precept is honored; to what extent a system which originally began as a humanitarian measure to protect the black slaves from the white planter has ended by being whole-heartedly accepted by the white planters as the best means of preserving their own domination of the state. Jamaica, in 1865, openly asked for the abrogation of its own Constitution, under which it had self-government, and the establishment of crown colony government,