

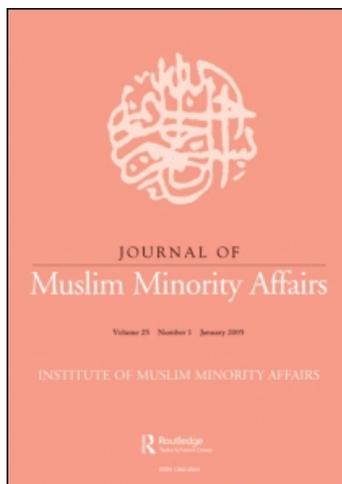
This article was downloaded by: [Khanam, Bibi H.]

On: 19 August 2009

Access details: Access Details: [subscription number 913043915]

Publisher Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title-content=t713433220>

170th Anniversary of the Arrival of the First Hindustani Muslims from India to British Guiana

Bibi H. Khanam; Raymond S. Chickrie

Online Publication Date: 01 June 2009

To cite this Article Khanam, Bibi H. and Chickrie, Raymond S.(2009)'170th Anniversary of the Arrival of the First Hindustani Muslims from India to British Guiana',Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs,29:2,195 — 222

To link to this Article: DOI: 10.1080/13602000902943583

URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13602000902943583>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Full terms and conditions of use: <http://www.informaworld.com/terms-and-conditions-of-access.pdf>

This article may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The accuracy of any instructions, formulae and drug doses should be independently verified with primary sources. The publisher shall not be liable for any loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

170th Anniversary of the Arrival of the First Hindustani Muslims from India to British Guiana

BIBI H. KHANAM and RAYMOND S. CHICKRIE

Abstract

*For the first time in 170 years after the arrival of the first Hindustani¹ Muslims in British Guiana, an attempt is being made to document the arrival of about 94 Muslims in 1838. This account will dissipate the myth that Muslims were not among the first set of indentured immigrants to the colony. We hope that this paper will fill the academic void of an important chapter in the history of Islam and Muslims in Guyana. This essay traces the arrival of Muslims from British India to British Guiana as early as the first batch who came onboard the first two ships—the *Whitby* and the *Hesperus* in 1838. The essay also highlights the fact that the first East Indians to rebel against the slave-like conditions were two Muslims—*Jumun* and *Pultun*—both indentured to Gladstone Plantation, *Vreed-en-hoop*. Upon abolition of slavery in 1834 in the British West Indies, the sugar plantations in the region were faced with a severe labor shortage when the freed Africans refused to work following emancipation. The plantation owners were forced to seek alternative sources of cheap labor and the majority of these “replacements” were recruited from the Indian sub-continent as indentured immigrants. This essay further attempts to chronicle the resurgence of Islam in British Guiana as well as some of the challenges faced by the East Indian indentured immigrants, notwithstanding the many obstacles that they faced in their new homeland.*

Introduction

Guyana, a former British colony, is the only English-speaking country in South America, covering an area of approximately 215,000 square kilometers (or 83,000 square miles), which is roughly the size of Britain. It is the third-smallest country in South America after Suriname and Uruguay. Guyana is situated on the North Eastern coast of the continent, and is bordered on the East by Suriname, on the West and South by Brazil, on the West by Venezuela and on the North by the Atlantic Ocean. Two of Guyana's neighbors—Venezuela and Suriname—are claiming substantial portions of its western and eastern territories, respectively. The capital city and main port is Georgetown, and is densely populated with more than 200,000 of the country's total population of about 750,000 inhabitants.

Christopher Columbus discovered the British Guiana coast in 1498; and the legend of the fabled golden city of El Dorado led the first British explorer, Sir Walter Raleigh, to Guiana in 1595. However, the Dutch were the first to settle in British Guiana in 1581 as three separate colonies—Berbice, Demerara and Essequibo; they established their first settlement on the Pomeroon River. Following the Dutch settlement, the colonies changed hands several times over the next couple of centuries going from the Spanish, French, Dutch and the British, culminating with the latter acquiring British

Guiana in 1814 when the British and Dutch signed the Anglo-Dutch Treaty. In 1831 the three colonies were consolidated into British Guiana, known as Guyana today (Figure 1).

Guyana's politics reflect racial division following the breakup of the People's Progressive Party (PPP) in 1957 when Linden Forbes Sampson Burnham left the PPP and formed his own party—The People's National Congress (PNC). In 1961, the Indian-dominated PPP won elections and Dr Cheddie Bharat Jagan was sworn in as Prime Minister; he vowed to achieve independence and install a socialist regime. The British and Americans' paranoia of the colony becoming another satellite country of the former Soviet Union in the West Indies, led them to a destabilization campaign with organized labor unrest (especially among the sugar estate workers). In 1964 the country erupted into a series of episodes of racial violence between the Africans and Indians (following perhaps the British divide and rule principle) that left hundreds dead in the aftermath. The effects of the racial violence are still evident in the country today and are more pronounced during and after the general elections. On 24 May 1966 Guyana was granted independence under the Burnham-led PNC government. The PNC Party paramourncy took a strangle hold of the people and economy and shortages of basic foodstuff led to a thriving black market economy. For almost three decades, Guyana experienced a mass exodus of brain drain where qualified professionals were forced to flee the country for fear of prosecution by the PNC government. The



FIGURE 1. Map of Guyana.

Source: Available online at: <http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/samerica/gy.htm>

PNC held on to power through illegitimate means (rigged elections) for 28 years, until 1992 when Dr Jagan was elected President following pressure from the Carter Center for free and fair elections.

Based on the results of the 2002 population census, in an article published by the *Guyana Chronicle* in October 2005, the ethnic breakdown is comprised of East Indians (43%); Africans (30%); Mixed (17%) and Amerindians (17%). The Muslim population was noticeably missing from this breakdown. Figure 2 shows the breakdown of the ethnic population by geographic region;² while Figure 3 gives the population breakdown by ethnicity, based on information published by the Guyana Bureau of Statistics.³

Also, according to information released by the Guyana Bureau of Statistics in 2005 which is based on the results of the 2002 population census, the composition of the religious affiliations showed a marked difference for the Muslim population when compared to a year earlier—decreasing by 2.7%, that is, from 10% in 2001 to 7.3% in 2002, as illustrated in Figure 4 below.⁴ Both authors dispute this figure since, based on field research and discussions with the various Islamic organizations in the country, they agree that there must have been some misrepresentation in the Bureau of Statistics' tabulations. In fact, the *2004 International Religious Report* released by the US Bureau of Democracy and Human Rights showed the religious affiliations as follows: Christian, 50%; Hindu, 35%; Muslim, 10%, and Other, 5%, maintaining the Muslim population at the 2001 figure of 10%.⁵

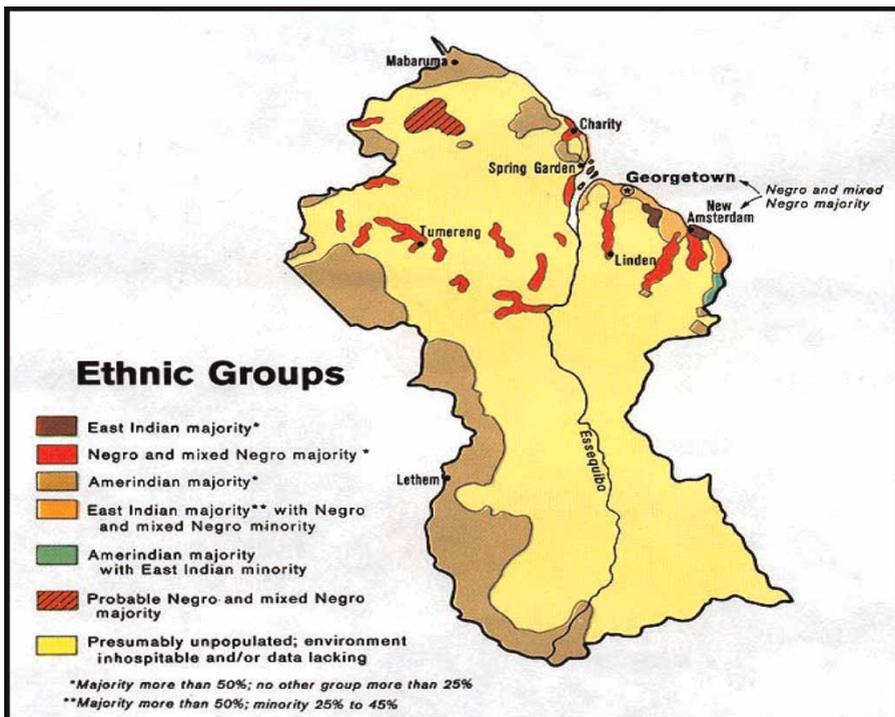


FIGURE 2. Geographic Distribution of Ethnic Groups in Guyana.

Source: Available online at: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/americas/guyana_ethnic_1973.jpg (accessed September 10, 2006).

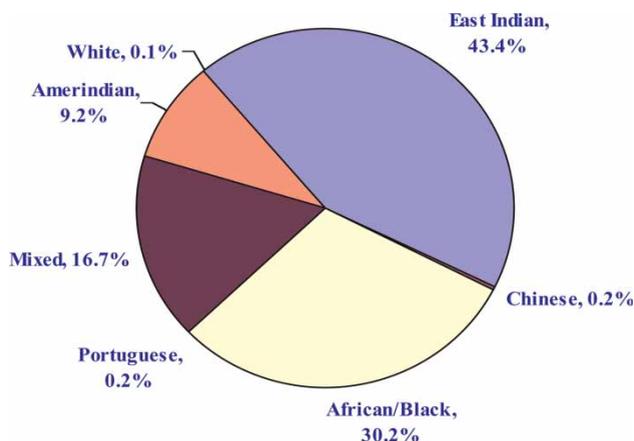


FIGURE 3. Population Distribution by Nationality Background/Ethnicity, 2002.
 Source: Bureau of Statistics, *Guyana: 2002 Population Census Report*, available online at: <http://www.statisticsguyana.gov.gy/cen02.html> (accessed September 10, 2006).

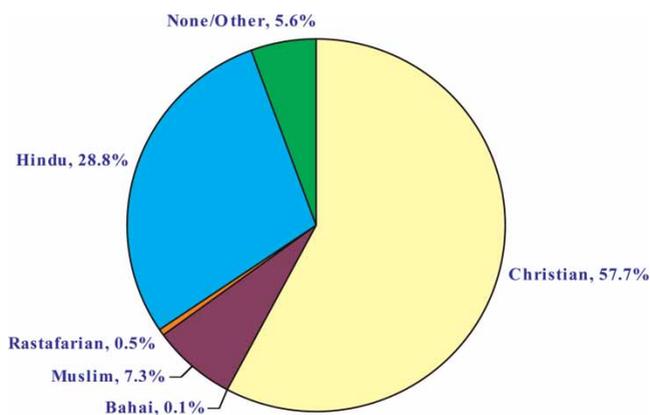


FIGURE 4. Distribution of Population by Religious Affiliation, 2002.
 Source: Bureau of Statistics, *Guyana: 2002 Population Census Report*, available online at: <http://www.statisticsguyana.gov.gy/cen02.html> (accessed September 10, 2006).

The Rise of Islam in Hindustan

Hindustan, which included present day India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and parts of Nepal and Afghanistan, was first invaded by the Arabs in 711 AD, led by Mahommed Bin Qasim—the first in a series of invasions. This resulted in the conquest of Sind and Punjab and ushered in the beginning of the Islamic era in the Indian Sub-continent. This was followed by several subsequent invasions led by other Arabs, Afghans and Turks, and around 1001, almost 300 years after the first invasion by Bin Qasim, Muhammad Ghazni, an Afghan Muslim, invaded Sind. The aim of these early invaders was not so much to spread Islam in Hindustan but to plunder the riches from the regions that the invaders attacked. It was not until 1191 that Muhammad of Ghaur, a Turk who was living in Afghanistan, invaded Sind and overthrew the existing feudal Rajput rulers and established his own empire which extended along most of Northern and Central

India. Following this period, he and his successors started their aggressive campaign to convert Hindus to Islam.⁶ One of Ghaur's successors, Qutb-ud-din Aibak, also a Turk, was the first to build many lavish buildings and mosques replete with ornate carvings; one such structure was the Qutub Minar in Delhi, which is the tallest brick minaret in the world and listed as one of UNESCO's World Heritage Sites.

Most of the other prominent monuments in India are of Islamic origin and were constructed during the Mughal rule. These structures incorporated Persian and Islamic architecture and garden-like settings in many structures that are still standing today. Some of these include the renowned "shrine"—The Taj Mahal, The Delhi Red Fort (also referred to as *Lal Qila*), Agra Fort, Jama Masjid, Badshahi Masjid, Fatehpur Sikri, and Shalimar Gardens. It has been widely speculated that Mughal invaders destroyed Hindu temples and in their place erected some of the famous *masjids* in India. In 1992, Hindu militants destroyed the majestic Babri Masjid, which was the largest *masjid* in Uttar Pradesh, a province home to some 13 million Muslims and where the majority of the Indo-Guyanese ancestors originate from. The *masjid* was built in 1528 by the Mughal conqueror Zahiruddin Mohammad Babur Khan, of Central Asia and the last of the Delhi Sultans, in Ayodyha—the birthplace of Ram. In 2005 Hindus built the Ram Mandir on the site of the demolished Babri Masjid. A similar claim has been made of the Taj Mahal: that Shah Jehan commandeered an ancient Shiva Temple known as Tejo-Mahalaya from the Maharaja of Jaipur, which he destroyed and built the tomb of his beloved wife Mumtaz Mahal in its place.⁷

In 1526, Zahiruddin Mohammad Babur Khan, with his army consisting of Persians, Turks, Arabs and Pashtuns, defeated Ibrahim Lodi and established the Mughal Empire. The Mughal Empire lasted until the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857, when the rule of the British East India Company was transferred to the British Crown after Bahadur Shah, the last Mughal Emperor, was exiled to Burma (present day Myanmar), and Lord John Charles Canning was named the first Viceroy representing Queen Victoria, the first Empress of India. The British somehow managed to convince the Hindus that the Muslims were behind the Mutiny, which laid the foundation for their "divide and rule" strategy in Hindustan. Shortly after the Mutiny, the British Prime Minister, Henry John Temple, in a letter to Lord Canning, instructed him that, "every civil building connected with Mahomedan tradition should be levelled to the ground without regard to antiquarian veneration or artistic predilection".⁸ In his reply to the Prime Minister, Lord Canning wrote,

... the men who fought against us at Delhi were of both creeds; probably in equal numbers and if we destroy or desecrate Mussulman Mosques or Brahman Temples we do exactly what is wanting to band the two antagonist races against ourselves ... as we must rule 150 million people by a handful of Englishmen, let us do it in the manner best calculated to leave them divided (as in religion and national feeling as they already are) and to inspire them with the greatest possible awe of our power.⁹

In a subsequent letter to the Governor of the North West Provinces, Canning defined specific guidelines regarding the employment of the natives from the different religions and castes. He reaffirmed that the

... exclusion of Mahomeddan, Rajpoots or even of Brahmans should be a matter of management rather than of rule; and indeed that it will be right to take an opportunity, though not just yet, to show by an exception here and

there, that the rule does not exist. It is desirable that no class should feel that it had henceforward nothing to expect from the government.¹⁰

The devastating policy of “divide and rule” adopted after 1857, fragmented Hindustan; even today its deadly effects are still seen in both India and Pakistan. The British implemented this “divide and rule” strategy in many of their colonies; just as in India and Pakistan, its effects on the two major races (Blacks and Indians) in Guyana are still noticeable today. This strategy is an interesting aspect of history in that rulers and policy makers do not always visualize the long-term effects of some of the policies they adopt.

While these early Muslim conquerors retained their Islamic identity; they nevertheless created new legal and administrative systems that challenged and usually superseded the existing systems of social conduct and ethics. They also introduced new cultural norms and mores that in some ways were very different from the existing cultural codes. While these were a source of friction and conflict, there were also Muslim rulers who, in much of their secular practices, absorbed or accommodated the local traditions. They did not interfere in their practices but encouraged them to continue with their religious observances during the course of their daily lives. The caste system also alienated many Indians (Hindus and Muslims alike, since the latter were also categorized into various castes) both economically and socially; the *zamindars* (landowners) for example, were like feudal lords in the villages of India, who totally controlled the lives of millions of their fellow villagers. This was perhaps one of the driving forces that attracted many Hindus to convert to Islam as well as its universal appeal of equality and brotherhood. India’s first Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru asserted that, “the invaders who came from the north, like so many of their predecessors in more ancient times, were absorbed into Hindustan and became part of her life”. Nehru was of the belief that these invaders “became Hindustani who integrated into the society through intermarriages and every effort was made not to interfere with the ways and customs of the local people”. He also noted that while there were other invasions of Hindustan prior to the introduction of Islam, he posited that “it is wrong and misleading to talk of a Muslim invasion of India or a Muslim period in India”. Similarly that, “it is wrong to refer to the coming of the British to India as a Christian invasion or to call the British period in India as a Christian period”.¹¹ This school of thought, however, is not held by many since they are of the belief that it was the Islamic and British presence that led to the partition of Hindustan in 1947.

Marginalization of Muslims in Diaspora Studies

With the exception of two articles published by R. Chickerie—“Muslims in Guyana” and “The Afghan Muslims of Guyana and Suriname”—very little has been written on the Guyanese Muslims.¹² A review of other literature written by non-Muslims on Islam/Muslims in Guyana showed that they focused mainly on the commemoration of the *Tadjah* or *Tazia* festival which was celebrated annually by the small Shia population in many villages around the country up until the 1950s. This event used to be observed on the tenth day of Muharram which is also known as the day of Ashura or the day of mourning to honor the martyrdom of Imam Husayn ibn Ali, the grandson and last member of Prophet Muhammed’s family. He was beheaded by Yazid Ibn Muawiyah Ibn Abu Sufyan, the sixth Sunni Caliph and the second of the Umayyad dynasty, during “the Battle of Karbala” in present day Iraq, which took place on the tenth of

Muharram in the year 61 AH (Latin words *Anno Hegirae* meaning in the year of the *Hijra*, which was on 10 October 680 according to the Gregorian calendar). This battle is central to the Shia Islamic belief.¹³

It is believed that those Guyanese scholars who wrote on *Tazia* probably seemed more fascinated by the gathering of Muslims (which later consisted of an increasing number of non-Muslims) partaking in these festivities where the consumption of alcohol became part of the celebration that took on more of a “carnival-like” atmosphere and which gradually lost its religious significance over the years. By 1917, towards the end of the Indian Indentureship system, the festival became so secularized that its annual celebration was promoted by owners of rumshops.¹⁴ On the occasion of Guyana’s independence in May 1966, Guyanese historian P. P. Dial wrote an article that briefly touched on the *Tazia* celebrations 100 years earlier—in 1866. He stated that in that year it was one of the biggest celebrations ever held in the colony where a growing number of Creoles took part in the revelry. The Creoles’ participation in the festival was a great concern for churchmen and Christian priests who feared that their “flocks” were being gradually converted to the Muslim and Hindu faiths with their participation in the East Indians’ religious celebrations (especially *Tazia* and *Holi*) with the beating of the drums, singing and dancing in the streets. It was suggested that Creoles who took part in these celebrations should be jailed and whipped, and greater efforts were made by the churches and even the government to prevent the Creoles from joining in Hindu and Muslim festivals. In March of the same year (1866), one churchman expressed the opinion, which was also held by most Christian priests, “that they have seen the Creoles taking part in these festivals and at all events it should not be and that they cannot afford to allow the Creoles of the colony who are removed ever so little from heathenism and savagery to relapse”.¹⁵ Mr Dial further went on to speculate that although the Christian priests may have meant well, they “unconsciously retarded Guyanese acculturation”, a viewpoint which is debatable by some Guyanese. It was also the belief that many Afro-Guyanese (or Creoles as they were referred to by the European planters) who took part in the celebrations were probably trying to reconnect with their “Fulani roots”. The Fulanis are primarily nomadic herders and traders and were the first African tribes that converted to Islam many centuries ago.¹⁶ They were also brought to Guyana during the period of slavery.

Additionally, we observed that most of the literature on the subject of Indian indentureship by Guyanese scholars demonstrated a pattern of neglecting the Muslim presence among the 239,000 East Indians who came to British Guiana during the period of indentureship (1838–1917), and in particular the 94 Muslims that came aboard the first two ships (*The Whitby* and *Hesperus*) to the Colony. Other West Indian historians have also highlighted the exclusion of Muslims in such studies; for instance, Sultana Afroz, a Jamaican scholar, noted that the significance of the Islamic culture brought by the Muslim indentured laborers to the Caribbean has largely been overlooked because of the dominance of the Hindu laborers in the indentureship system.¹⁷ Also, two Surinamese scholars Ellen Bal and Kathinka Sinha-Kerkhoff tried to explore this phenomenon further and in this context they posed the following question to their readers in general, but for Indians in particular, that is—“is the exclusion of Muslims because religion (Hinduism) is the core of defining the Indian Diaspora?” They concluded that, “studies on the Indian Diaspora are in fact studies on Hindus with Hinduism firmly rooted in the present day nation, and their exclusion means denying these Muslims their history as well as rendering them homeless”.¹⁸ However, some scholars on the other hand argued that since the fundamental attachment of Muslims is not to the homeland—

Hindustan—but to the *umma*, overseas Muslims of Indian origin should not be considered as part of the Indian Diaspora, as they do not consider Hindustan as their homeland.¹⁹

Also, two films released a few years ago—“Guiana 1838” produced by Guyanese Rohit Jagessar and “Jahaji Bhai”, a documentary produced by Suresh Pillai, an Indian national—both on the subject of Indian Indentureship, made no mention of Muslims in either Guyana, Trinidad or Suriname. They also ignored the fact that there were Muslims on board the first two ships that arrived from India to British Guiana in 1838. Last but not least, in an article written by Mark Ramotar on the results of the 2002 population census published on 13 October 2005 in the *Guyana Chronicle*, a Government-operated newspaper, Mr Ramotar provided detailed composition of the religious affiliations; however, the percentage of the Muslim population was noticeably missing from this breakdown,²⁰ although this breakdown was contained in the Guyana Bureau of Statistics summary table it nevertheless was not published in the news media.

To the casual viewer/reader of some of these materials, it would undoubtedly convey the message that no Muslims came to Guyana during the period of indentureship and that there are no Muslims living in Guyana presently. It is against this backdrop that we have decided to undertake this study to address some of these historical misrepresentations of the Muslim population in our society. It is our hope that this study will also clear some of the previously held misconceptions regarding the arrival of the earliest Muslims to British Guiana.

Abolition of Slavery and its Implications

Slavery was abolished on 1 August 1834 throughout the British Empire, including British Guiana, and as an interim measure the British Crown instituted a four- to six-year period of apprenticeship in order to encourage former slaves to continue working on the sugar plantations. However, by the end of the apprenticeship system planters were faced with a severe labor shortage since many of the freed slaves refused to work for their previous masters mainly because of the cruel and inhumane treatment that they were subjected to during slavery and which continued into their apprenticeship. About half of the men opted to continue working on the plantations; most of whom were trained factory workers such as—pan boilers, electrician, welders, etc. And about one-third of the women worked regularly, most of them as house servants. This reduced workforce, especially the cane-cutters, resulted in a continued drop in production levels on the plantations. The impact of the labor shortage dealt a severe economic/financial setback to many plantation owners and many contemplated the abandonment of their estates should they not get replacements for the newly emancipated Africans. In early 1834 Mr William Hillhouse wrote a letter to the local press warning the plantation owners of the implications of the labor shortage. This prompted Governor Light to issue an appeal to the planters urging them to provide better service to the soon to be freed slaves as an encouragement for them to continue working on the plantations, but he was not taken too seriously.²¹

The African Muslims and the Demise of Islam

It has always been a very popular belief held by many East Indians (both Muslims and non-Muslims alike), that Islam first made its way to the colony with the arrival of the East Indians Indentured Immigrants in 1838; however, evidence has shown this to the contrary. Islam first arrived in British Guiana during the days of slavery when Muslim

slaves from West Africa were brought by the British and the Dutch in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, to labor on the sugar plantations. Among them were the Ashantis, Mandingos, and Fulani tribes; the latter were traditionally pastoral and nomadic cattle herders of Western Africa many of whom were Muslims. The term “*fullah* man” was derived from the word *Fulani*, it is also a common language for countries in West Africa, and is still being used to describe Muslims in Guyana today, though for the most part not in a very pleasant context.

Historical records show that the conditions and long hours that these African slaves were forced to toil under were extremely harsh; they were subjected to severe cruelty at the hands of their slave masters on a daily basis. In addition they were not allowed to practice their religion or to speak their respective mother tongues. There was no family unit as relatives were purposely split up and dispersed to different plantations. Eventually, they were literally stripped of all semblances of their native life, traditions and rituals of the land of their birth. Ultimately, they were totally acculturated with the dominant forces at work in the colony, converting to the religion of their masters and in the process their African/Islamic names were also Anglicized. Thus, by the time slavery was abolished in 1834 in British Guiana any presence of Islam among the slaves in the colony had long since disappeared. Nonetheless, up until the early 1830s, a number of these Africans still bore their Islamic names such as—Bacchus, Mohamed, Mammadou, Sallat, Mousa, Hannah, Sabah, Feekea, Russanah, etc., as listed in the Berbice Official Gazette dating back to 1803, in which the names of a number of runaway slaves were published after being captured by bush expeditions during the years 1808 to 1810.²²

Despite the loss of their Islamic roots, traces of the Arabic language were referenced in the early 1800s in several books that ascribed to materials written by the slaves in Arabic that were found on the colony. Sylviane A. Diouf, in her book *Servants of Allah: African Muslims Enslaved in the Americas*, quoted from James Rodway’s *History of British Guiana from the Year 1668 to the Present Time*, which stated that evidence of Arabic writings was supposedly found on one of the sugar plantations. According to Rodway,

... in 1807 papers were found on a plantation in Essequibo, when a slave exposed a rebellion plot that was planned for Christmas Eve of the same year, based on the slave’s accusation 20 slaves were arrested. One piece of evidence that was presented during the trial was a letter supposedly written by one of the rebel in Arabic and addressed to the slaves, however since no member of the Court could read the letter its purport could only be guessed at.²³

The second book, an autobiography entitled *A Soldier’s Sojourn in British Guiana, 1806–1808*, written by Thomas Staunton St. Clair and published in 1834, also made reference to a slave plot on the colony in 1807.²⁴ St. Clair was a British soldier stationed in Demerara for three years from 1805 until June 1808. From his personal recollections he mentioned that “a slave woman who lived with a young Scottish overseer on the plantation betrayed the conspirators of a slave rebellion” and when they were found they had a piece of paper written in Arabic in their possession.²⁵ More importantly, in 1836, two years prior to the arrival of the first Hindustani Muslims in British Guiana, the London Missionary Society reported that Thomas Lewis a freed African who was educated in England had started a school in Union Chapel in New Amsterdam. Lewis was formerly a Hausa Muslim known as Toby who could read the Arabic text of the Holy Quran.²⁶ These are clear indications that the slaves were still literate in the Arabic language and some may have perhaps still maintained some of their Fulani or Islamic customs—

reciting from memory verses from the Holy Quran (as was in the case of Toby) and observing fasting and praying.

The Gladstone Experiment: A New Form of Slavery

After the emancipation of slavery, in their efforts to supplement the dwindling labor force the planters turned to different parts of the world—China, Europe, India, Madeira, Malta, the Azores, Southern United States, West Africa, and other islands in the Caribbean particularly Antigua and Barbados—looking for a cheap source of “forced” labor, which came to be known as indentureship. Working conditions under this new form of slavery turned out to be not much better than under slavery. During the period of Indian indentureship (1838 to 1917), the first phase was commonly referred to as “The Gladstone Experiment”, coined after John Gladstone, owner of Gladstone Estates and the initiator of the request to recruit “coolies”; it is estimated that approximately 239,000 servants were brought from the Indian sub-continent, (present day Bangladesh, India and Pakistan) mainly from the States of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal in the North, and Madras in the South, to labor in the cane fields. John Gladstone in his letter to Messrs Gillanders, Arbuthnot & Co., dated 4 January 1836 wrote:

... The number I should think of taking and sending by one vessel direct from Calcutta to Demerara would be about 100; they ought to be young, active, able-bodied people. It would be desirable that a portion of them, at least one-half, should be married, and their wives disposed to work in the field as well as they themselves. We should require to bind them for a period not less than five years or more than seven years. They would be provided with comfortable dwellings, food, and medical assistance. They would also, if required, be provided with clothing, or wages which for the able-bodied, would not exceed four dollars per month, and in that proportion for females and their children as they grow up; a free passage would be given to them to Demerara, where they would be divided, and 20 to 30 placed on one plantation.²⁷

In their reply to John Gladstone, Esq, dated June 6, 1836, from Messrs Gillanders, Arbuthnot & Co., in Calcutta, they wrote:

... The hill tribes, known by the name of Dhangurs, are looked down upon by the more cunning natives of the plains, and they are always spoken of as more akin to the monkey than the man. They have no religion, no education, and, in their present state, no wants beyond eating, drinking, and sleeping; and to procure which they are willing to labour. In sending men to such a distance, it would of course be necessary to be more particular in selecting them, and some little expense would be incurred, as also some trouble; but to aid any object of interest to you, we should willingly give our best exertions in any manner likely to be of service.²⁸

Thus, the stage was set for the commencement of the coolie slave trade, and the planters in the colony wasted no time in employing licensed immigrant recruiters, referred to as *chokedars* to act as their agents in their respective villages in Hindustan. These recruiters, however, utilized many dubious methods to snare their fellow Indians into this “new form of slavery”. It was also discovered that the trade of kidnapping coolies had been extensively carried out in the villages in later years in order for the agents to meet their quotas of immigrants; and this devious practice, however, did not stop there.

Prisons were set up at the various depots in the villages near Calcutta supposedly for the security of the “wretched creatures”, where they were held captives, treated like virtual prisoners, and guarded with the utmost jealousy and care, to prevent their escape until the “slavers” were ready for their reception in the colony.²⁹

The Arrival of the First Hindustani Muslims

On 5 May 1838, Islam was reintroduced in the colony when the first batch of 424 East Indian indentured servants arrived on the *Whitby* (with 267 passengers) and the *Hesperus* (with 157), to replace the freed slaves.³⁰ Upon their arrival in the colony, these East Indians were greeted with rude gibes and taunts from the Africans who were attracted to the docks by idle curiosity to gaze upon the unfortunate victims of a new slavery. Mr R. Duff, an Immigration Agent of the Colony, referred to these immigrants as “the advance guards of the race destined to have so great an effect on the future of British Guiana”.³¹

Based on the information compiled from the two ships’ logs of the immigrants, 94 passengers, or 21%, were found to belong to the Muslim religion;³² the second largest group after the Dhangur tribesmen and women. Interestingly enough, from the Islamic names of some of these Dhangurs, it is apparent that they may have converted to Islam prior to their recruitment as an indentured servant; however, on the embarkation list, Dhangur and other castes were recorded as their scheduled caste.

The *Whitby* was the first to set sail from Calcutta on Saturday, 13 January 1838, with 267 immigrants, and after 112 days at sea, it dropped anchor off the shores of Berbice on that eventful day, Saturday, 5 May 1838. A total of 181 immigrants were unloaded—166 men, six women who accompanied their husbands, two boys, five girls and two infants whose gender were not stated. Of the 166 males, 45 were Muslims, two of them—Ally Buckus and Chummare—were recruited to serve as mates on board the ship. Of the 45 Muslim men, five were teenaged boys ranging between the ages of 14 and 15 who were registered as indentured laborers to be paid wages in the amount of six farthings monthly. Among the six women, only one was a Muslim—Sheebah, aged 18 years, who accompanied her husband, Beejo, number 92 in the embarkation register.³³ Details on the passengers traveling on the *Whitby* are given in Annex I. This first batch of our ancestors was “bounded” to Plantation Highbury, East Coast Berbice, which was owned by Messrs. Davidsons and Company and administered by John Cameron.

Having unloaded its human cargo in Berbice, the *Whitby* then sailed to Demerara where the balance of the immigrants—comprising of 82 men, two women, one boy and one girl—were unloaded all of whom were indentured to James Matthews, Plantation Bellevue, Property of Andrew Colville, esq., of London. One Muslim man, Nophur aged 25 from Bancoorah (District of Bankura), State of West Bengal died on the voyage, while another Muslim—Jhurri—whose name did not appear on the embarkation list, was shown as having disembarked with the other passengers (Table 1). Of the 82 men, 17 were Muslim, one was a sardar, Nuthaw Khaw (spelt Nertha Khan on the disembarkation list), while Jhurreechuck (shown as Thurry Huck on the disembarkation list) served as a mate on board the ship. Khan converted to Christianity shortly upon his arrival in the colony and was looked upon favorably by the Minister of the Parish.³⁴ This trend of converting to Christianity continued throughout the years in the colony. Up until 1966 those Indians who converted were given preferential treatment and considered more suitable for certain jobs both on the sugar plantations and in the Public Service

TABLE 1. The Whitby—Distribution of Immigrants

Plantations	Male	Female	Children	Total
John Cameroon, Highbury Berbice	166	6	9	181
James Matthews, Bell-Vue, Vreed-en-Hoop	82	2	2	86
Total	248	8	11	267

Source: Extracted from the names of immigrants contained in “Report of the Hill Coolies”, pp. 34–37, Enclosure No. 6 from Governor Light to the Marquis of Normandy, 5 September 1839, available in the London Archives.

over the other Indians who chose to follow their Hindu/Muslim religion even though in some cases they were just as qualified as the ones who converted to Christianity.

The second ship, *The Hesperus*, laden with 171 passengers, departed Calcutta 16 days after the *Whitby* for British Guiana on Monday, 29 January 1838, and landed later the same day as *The Whitby* on Saturday, 5 May 1838, at Port Demerara with 157 servants—141 men, six women, five boys and five girls (which meant that 14 immigrants on the *Hesperus* died during the voyage). Ninety-four men and two women were bound to John Gladstone owner of Plantations Vreed-en-Hoop and Vriedestein. Among this batch of indentured servants on Gladstone Plantations 14 were Muslims, one of them—Jeewoon Khaw (Irrwan Khan) was accompanied by his wife (Bharrupp), there was also one Pathan—Coda Buckus, aged 26 or 27, from Ara, Bihar. The remaining 61 immigrants from the *Hesperus* comprising 47 males, four women and the ten children were bounded to John and Henry Moss Plantation at Anna Regina, Essequibo (Table 2). Among this latter batch there were 11 Muslim men, one of the men, Uckloo, was accompanied by his wife and four children.³⁵ At least two Muslim men died on the *Hesperus*—Soonawoolah, and Kryamti; while one immigrant—Kyut Alle—whose name did not appear on the embarkation list was shown on the list of passengers that disembarked from the vessel. Details on the passengers traveling on the *Hesperus* are given in Annex II.

The early period of Indian indentureship was extremely disorganized in many aspects; one area was in the recording of the passengers’ data in a systematic manner. There were tremendous discrepancies in the immigrants’ biographic data, assuming that the information were recorded correctly at the point of embarkation, the British agents who were assigned the task of recording the list of immigrants that landed in the colony made several mistakes in the compilation process. In comparing the two lists (embarkation and disembarkation),³⁶ the information on the immigrants that embarked on the vessels differ vastly from the disembarkation list. It certainly appears as if one set of immigrants boarded the vessel and a totally different batch disembarked. The inaccuracies were worst for those that came on the *Hesperus*. For instance, the ages

TABLE 2. The Hesperus—Distribution of Immigrants

By Plantations	Male	Female	Children	Total
Gladstone Estates, Vreed-en-hoop	94	2	0	96
John and Henry Moss, Anna Regina	47	4	10	61
Total	141	6	10	157

Source: Extracted from the names of immigrants contained in “Report of the Hill Coolies”, pp. 37–38, Enclosure No. 6 from Governor Light to the Marquis of Normandy, 5 September 1839, available in the London Archives.

given at the time of departure were totally different from the ages shown upon their arrival in British Guiana. For example, Deeallee, who came from Calcutta on the *Hesperus*, had his age as 24 and height as 5' 3" upon departure; upon arrival in Demerara, his age was shown as 60 years and his height as 5' 7". In addition, there were a number of names that appeared on the disembarkation list that were not on the embarkation list. There were also three names that appeared twice on the disembarkation list where the individuals were bounded for two different plantations.

The Urdu word for Muslim—*Musulman*—was spelt in various ways also, the different castes, states, districts, police depots and villages were all frequently misspelled on the immigration certificates. Although the majority of the names were bastardized beyond recognition, most of the Islamic names were a bit easier to recognize, while in some cases their scheduled caste was listed instead of their religion. For example, Coda (or Khuda) was a popular prefix to Bux (as we have seen in the case of Coda Buckus). Later Bux morphed into Baksh, another popular name among the men, which was mis-spelt repeatedly, and later became Bacchus. The origins of these names were derived mainly from the Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages; the latter used to be the official language of the Mughal Empire for a short time until it was replaced by Persian. Later, the Urdu language was developed from a combination of all three languages in the Indian sub-continent.

While most Muslims, on average, have three to four names the British Parliamentary records for these first Hindustani Muslims reveal only one or two names for them (and in some cases two names were combined as one), with Mohammed and Ally being the most popular names. A cursory glance at the brief information on each immigrant one can also get a good idea of the various cultural differences as well as the similarities that existed among the Indians, based on their caste and villages. In later years, some immigrants also came from as far away as Quetta in Baluchistan and a number of Pathans from the North West Frontier Provinces as well as from Kabul in Afghanistan.³⁷ However, regardless where these immigrants hailed from, they all developed a common kinship and bond on the voyage across the *Kala Pani* (black sea) to British Guiana—referring to their fellow travelers as *Jahaji Bhai* (boat brothers). For many of the immigrants, the kinship that they forged on the ships—regardless of which caste or religion they belonged to—represented a bond that lasted throughout their lifetime and some even spanned several generations. Some immigrants even got married on the ship.

Although the Indian indentureship system ended officially in 1917; however, between the period 1921 and 1922, over 400 immigrants were brought to the colony under contracts of service to work on various plantations. In addition, several others came as ordinary settlers.³⁸ In March 1926, the Governor of British Guiana received a telegram from the Viceroy of Hindustan informing him that migration of a limited number of indentured laborers was approved but on certain strict conditions. The plantation owners accepted these conditions readily since they were desperately in need of additional laborers to work in the fields. With their encouragement, the draft conditions were approved by the British Guiana legislature. The Viceroy was informed of the approval of the conditions, and the Hindustan Imperial Council finally approved the emigration proposals in late March 1926. Under this new contract, only 173 Indians (amounting to about 50 families) arrived in British Guiana in the same year. However, in the following year (1927), the British Guiana Government found that the costs of transporting the immigrants were too high, and thus further migration of servants from Hindustan was discouraged. Emigration from Hindustan finally ended in 1928.³⁹

The New Form of Slavery and Early Plantation Life

Upon their arrival in the colony, the Indians (both Hindus and Muslims) were housed in communal quarters either in “logies or bound coolies yards” that once housed the former slaves—referred to as the “nigger yards” (see Annex III which shows a list of allotment for weekly groceries, monthly wages and clothing per year for the immigrants). Very shortly after the introduction of the Indians, stories of severe ill treatment of the immigrants at the hands of the planters’ overseers, including flogging with the cat-o-nine tail, were reported to Governor Henry Light. On 31 January 1839, Special Justice Coleman was dispatched to inspect conditions on the five plantations. He found evidence of extremely harsh treatment with many suffering from wounds inflicted by the overseers and drivers some of the latter were former slaves. In Justice Coleman’s report, he also mentioned the incident of the first two immigrants (Jumun and Pultun, both of them Muslims from Bihar) indentured to Gladstone Plantation at Vreed-en-Hoop who were the first to rebel against the slave-like treatment and conditions under which they were forced to work. These two ran away from the plantation on 11 October 1838. Unfortunately, shortly after their flight for freedom, bodies of two men were found at Mahaica that were believed to be those of the first two Indian rebels.⁴⁰ K. O. Lawrence quotes Joseph Beaumont, who served as a Chief Justice in British Guiana, from his book *The New Slavery: An Account of the Indian and Chinese Immigrants in British Guiana*, in which Beaumont described this new form of slavery as “a rotten system, rooted upon slavery, grown on its stale soul, emulating the worst abuses, and only more dangerous because it presents itself under false colours, whereas slavery bore the brand of infamy upon its forehead”.⁴¹

Based on Justice Coleman’s inquiry into the rumors of ill-treatment of the East Indians, Mr Young, the Government Secretary, in a letter addressed to James Stuart Esq., the attorney to the property of John Gladstone, reported that, according to Elizabeth Caesar, a former house slave, she gave evidence that:

... The Coolies were locked up in the sick house, and next morning they were flogged with a cat-o’-nine-tails; the manager was in the house, and they flogged the people under his house; they were tied to the post of the gallery of the manager’s house; I cannot tell how many licks; he gave them enough. I saw blood. When they were flogged at manager’s house, they rubbed salt pickle on their backs.⁴²

Also, Guyanese historian Peter Ruhomon wrote about the treatment of the coolies:

... that the importers of Indians contemplated the grinding of sugar out of the bones and sinews of their Indian labourers, so long as they are fit to work, and as they wear out, to supply their places by fresh importations.⁴³

Another historian, Professor Hugh Tinker wrote of the Indians:

... if they were to survive as human beings their survival depended largely on their own powers of resilience. They devised their own past-times, recreating some semblance of the lost India in their festivals. But it was not much, and often their attempts to forget the cane fields ended only in drunken oblivion. When goaded beyond their apparently infinite endurance and patience, they would try to rebel; but the protest almost always ended in repression.⁴⁴

In a second report on ill-treatment of the Indians by Sir M. McTurk, another of the Commissioners appointed by the Court to report on the treatment of the immigrants, when he visited the hospital on the Gladstone plantation he observed that “the coolies in it were not suffering merely from sores; they had mortified ulcers, their flesh rotting on their bones, their toes dropping off and some of them were in a dangerous state from fever, and all were in the utmost despondency”. On Plantation Belle-Vue, it was reported that 20 immigrants had died from diseases contracted in the colony, and another 29 were

... in a wretched state from ulcers many of whom in all probability, will die; and should they survive, some of them would be rendered unfit to support themselves, from the loss of their toes, and part of their feet—the sick-house presents a spectacle pitiable to behold.⁴⁵

When news of their slave-like treatment reached Hindustan, the British Government suspended Indian immigration in 1841 due to anti-indentureship protests from within Hindustan.

During the first 18 months of their arrival on the plantations, 67 immigrants died in the colony, and upon expiration of their contract in 1843, a total of about 98 had died. At the end of their contractual obligations, a total of 236 Indians (206 men, 12 women, 14 boys and four girls) departed for India in two ships, the *Louisa Baillie* and *Water Ditch* (Witch), while about 90 immigrants opted to remain in British Guiana.

From the time of the arrival of the first batch of East Indians to the colony until today, there is one crucial difference between the freed Africans and the Indians who stayed on in the colonies with respect to their mental condition, and that is the question of their respective identity. Both groups went through basically the same soul-destroying conditions at the hands of the planters. While those experiences obliterated, for the most part, the cultural identity of the African slaves (including the loss of their religion and their native languages); the Indian laborers retained, *albeit* to varying degrees, much of what made up their cultural heritage. This today forms part of their daily routine and included elements of their language, religion, religious celebrations, dress, food, and music. These links to the ancestral land of the East Indians have always been a point of much controversial debate between Afro-Guyanese and Indo-Guyanese scholars from both sides. Some have claimed that Guyanese Indians are living in a house that the African built,⁴⁶ much to the consternation of others; while the Barbadian novelist George Lamming reminded us that,

... these Indian hands—whether in British Guiana or Trinidad—have fed all of us. These hands were to contribute, as much as the hands of African slaves and their descendants, to the Caribbean experiment of giving shape to a unique expression of human civilization. They have taught us by example the value of money; for they respect money as only people with a high sense of communal responsibility can.⁴⁷

Lamming also recognized that there can be no creative discovery of the “West Indian civilization” without the central and informing influence of the Indian presence in the colonies. And that further, there can be no history of Trinidad and Guyana that is not also a history of the humanization of the landscapes fashioned by the importation of the Indian laborers.⁴⁸

The Rebirth of Islam: The Second Wave of Muslims

No doubt the rebirth of Islam in 1838, and subsequent years when fresh “recruits” were brought into the colony from Hindustan, contributed to the religious diversity in the colony, the immigrants brought with them the richness of the Mughal culture—the Urdu language, arts, cuisine, fashions and lifestyle. They came from districts and cities where the Mughal culture proliferated—Lucknow, Ghazipur, Allahabad, Agra, Gorakhpur, Murshidabad, Azamgarh, Mirzapur, Shahabad, Sultanpur, Faizabad, Patna and Aligarh. Agra, founded by Sultan Sikandar Lodi in the year 1506, and Lucknow, Faizabad and Patna, to name a few states, were centers of great learning and culture of the Mughal Empire”.⁴⁹ Soon after their arrival in the colony, the Muslims became organized despite the lack of traditionally-structured mosques, with basic characteristics such as minarets or domes. These early Muslims nevertheless celebrated their traditional Islamic holidays such as *Eid-ul-Fitr* and *Eid-ul-Adha* as well as the *Tazia* festival.

In 1870, a visiting Royal Commission reported that there were only two temples in the colony,⁵⁰ and by 1891, 21 years later, when D. W. D. Comins visited the Caribbean on a mission from the Government of Hindustan to investigate the conditions of Indians, he reported that there were 29 mosques and 33 temples in British Guiana.⁵¹ By 1917, towards the end of the indentureship system, there were some 46 mosques and 43 Hindu temples. According to the Central Islamic Organization of Guyana (CIOG), today there are about 140 mosques scattered throughout Guyana. By the 1930s we saw the emergence of two Muslim organizations, the British Guiana Islamic Association (BGIA) by Maulvi Nasir in 1934, and the Sadr Anjuman-E-Islam of British Guiana by Maulana Syed Shamsuddin in 1936.⁵² Today there are several active Islamic groups that include the CIOG, the Hujjatul Ulamaa, the Muslim Youth Organization (MYO), the Guyana Islamic Trust (GIT), the Guyana Muslim Mission Limited (GMML), the Guyana United Sad’r Islamic Anjuman (GUSIA), the Tabligh Jammah, the Rose Hall Town Islamic Center, and the Salafi Group, among others.⁵³

It is believed that there were a number of highly educated Muslims among these early arrivals to the colony. According to one *imam*, several years ago there were two *hafiz-ul-Quran*, both bore the last name Khan who resided in Clonbrook on the East Coast Demerara, Guyana. Also, among these indentured servants there were a number of Afghan immigrants led by Gool Mohamed Khan who built the Queenstown Jama Masjid, one of the oldest mosques in Georgetown. Gool Mohamed Khan a member of the Nasruddin Khel tribe, was born in 1853 in a small village of Moorni, District of Dir in Afghanistan. He migrated to British Guiana on 14 February 1869, at the age of sixteen; he was very vocal in the small Afghan community in the colony and he mobilized them to build the *masjid*.⁵⁴

End of the *Tazia* Festival

Among the early Hindustanis that came to British Guiana, there was a handful of Muslims that were from the Shia sect, which was not unusual, since North India has a large Shia population. These Shias brought with them the practice of *tazia*, but which gradually lost its religious significance over the years, as mentioned above. As a result, on 4 December 1949 the United Sad’r Anjuman-I-Islam and the BGIA under the outstanding leadership of Rahaman Baksh Gajraj, during the Second All-Guiana Muslim Conference held on Sunday, 4 December 1949, passed resolution number 6, for the

cessation of the festival, copy to be forwarded to the Government for transmission to His Majesty in Great Britain. This historical resolution read as follows:

WHEREAS the observance of the martyrdom of Imam Hoosein and his family has lost entirely its religious significance, and

WHEREAS in this Colony persons of other religions take an active part in promoting Tazia, for the sole purpose of entertainment, debauchery and personal gain, all of which are contrary to the spirit and letter of Islamic Laws and regulations, and

WHEREAS such practices constitute a gross insult to the revered memory of the distinguish grandson of the Holy Prophet (O.W.B.P.), and are a flagrant distortion of these religious rites,

BE IT RESOLVED by this second All-Guiana Muslim Conference that Government be requested to pass legislation prohibiting the construction of such symbols, and both actual and implied, and such other indulgences falsely associated with the observance of Tazia.⁵⁵

Loss of Muslim Mother Tongue (Urdu)

The majority of these early immigrants spoke Urdu or Hindustani (which is a combination of Hindi and Urdu, in fact before the partition of India these two terms were synonymous), Koshali, Braj—which is more than 2,000 years old—Koeli, Bagheli, Hundeli and Bhojpuri, the latter being the dominant language of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. The British colonial government policies of “civilizing the natives” may have contributed to the loss of the Urdu language which was spoken mostly by the Muslims in India. Up until the 1950s both the *khutbahs* (Friday sermons) and *duas* (supplications) were read in Urdu while in many *masjids* today the *duas* are still recited in Urdu, unfortunately this is not the case for the *khutbahs* which are now delivered in English. Despite several applications by interested Muslims to get the British colonial government’s assistance to encourage Urdu and Arabic Education in the *madrasas* (schools), the government, for some reason did not entertain the applications and no efforts were made to pursue the matter further.⁵⁶ The Muslims alleged that without adequate government funding, a high standard of education could not be achieved and/or maintained and that the Muslim religious education was seen to be mediocre. In 1941 when the Muslims saw evidence that the Urdu language was on the verge of becoming “extinct”, the BGIA during a special conference called to discuss a uniform system of Muslim Religious Education in accordance with the requirements of the Education Code of British Guiana, adopted the following resolution:

WHEREAS it is an absolute necessity that all Muslim children obtain religious education to preserve and maintain the religion of Islam in British Guiana, and

WHEREAS there is no provision in Government-aided schools for any religious education to be obtained except that of the Christian religion, and

WHEREAS there are several Muslims Schools in British Guiana which are endeavouring to teach religion and are being carried on by voluntary Muslim donations which is a distinct hardship in most cases, and

WHEREAS these Muslim schools are not organized on any systematic basis of education, and

WHEREAS the Muslims of British Guiana are taxpayers similar to all other religious denominations and as such are entitled to receive Government assistance in this matter of education, and

WHEREAS the Education Code of BG provides that the Director of Education may grant Government aid to schools to teach East Indian languages, and

WHEREAS the said Education Code requires certain conditions to be observed before such aid may be granted, and

WHEREAS with the growing population of Muslim children in BG and the necessity of their religious education it is imperative to seem Government aid to carry out this most important object, and

WHEREAS without proper organization of the schools it will not be possible to obtain such aid:

BE IT RESOLVED that this Special Conference of representative Muslim Leaders of British Guiana immediately form a Governing Body in accordance with the requirements of the Education Code of BG to control and regulate Muslim religious education in British Guiana along with an Advisory Committee, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Governing Body in consultation with the Advisory Committee immediately begins to organize the system of Muslim education in British Guiana with a view of applying for recognition by and aid from Government in this direction.⁵⁷

However, nothing came out of this resolution and gradually the Urdu language suffered a slow death. Based on the authors' field research, up until the 1950s many immigrants and their families corresponded with their relatives back in Hindustan in Urdu.

Marriages, Male/Female Disparity and its Effects on the Social Fabric

The male/female ratio on the first two ships was almost 28 males to one female. Although this trend improved slightly over the years of indentureship, the shortage of women naturally led to many serious problems. In an article published in the *Royal Gazette* on 8 May 1838, just three days after the arrival of the East Indians in British Guiana, it highlighted the gross "disparity between the male-female ratio and the effects this had on the male psyche".⁵⁸ Also, K. O. Laurence, in his book *A Question of Labour*, wrote that the colonial government ignored the religious and social problems of the immigrants caused by the shortage of women. This led to lawlessness and sexual promiscuity, which in turn resulted in the murder of wives or sexual partners because of jealousy. Laurence attributed this social breakdown to the "absence of proper marriage law".⁵⁹ This disintegration of home and family affected both the Hindu and Muslim communities; however, since the Quranic laws and code of conduct bound the Muslims, this to a large extent sheltered them from some of these social problems.

Added to the shortage of women was the issue of the lack of recognition in the colony of weddings solemnized according to both Hindu and Muslim rites. There was an outcry by some of the immigration representatives in Hindustan "that marriage celebrated according to the personal laws of both parties should be registered and recognized" in the colony. Throughout the period of indentureship the colonial authorities consistently refused to grant Hindus and Muslims the same marriage rights as Christians. Although in 1860 the British Colonial Government passed the "Heathen Marriage Ordinance No. 10"⁶⁰ however, this was a very flawed law since it did not recognized non-Christian marriages. In 1913 an inquiry commissioned by the British in Hindustani which was

comprised of James Mac Neill and Chimman Lal visited British Guiana. They recommended that inspectors of immigrants and a limited number of Hindu and Muslims priests should be allowed to register marriages.⁶¹

Under the Heathen Marriage Ordinance, before a marriage was contracted the parties were required to sign a declaration that no impediment exists against the proposed union either by previous or existing marriage, blood relation or parental dissent. The district magistrate then gave each party a certificate to produce to the immigration agent-general in Georgetown, who then validated the marriage and issued a marriage registration certificate for a two dollars fee. Between 1860 and 1871 an average of 12 marriages were registered annually under the 1860 ordinance and seven between 1904 and 1914. Consequently, most of the non-Christian marriages were considered invalid by colonial law which meant that the majority of children were registered as born out of wedlock and therefore illegitimate, as such there were considerable difficulties over succession to properties. One reason why several marriages were not registered was because one or both of the contracting parties were below the prescribed legal age limit, 12 years for girls and 15 for boys. The raising of the minimum age for girls to 14 years in 1888 may have served as a further disincentive for parents. Another reason for the lack of registration of marriages among the immigrants was that the situation allowed fathers to "sell and re-sell" daughters several times without penalty. For instance, Sarah Morton wrote of a case in 1916, in which a father sold his daughter nine times for money and goods. On each occasion of her "marriage", he refused to deliver her to her husband.⁶²

It was not until the early 1960s under Dr Jagan's Premiership that marriages performed by Muslim (and Hindu) religious leaders were recognized. Prior to that all marriages conducted according to religious rites were not recognized by the colonists, hence when a man died his property was taken over by the planters since they could not be transferred to his widow or any children born from the union. Dr Jagan also nationalized over 51 primary schools in the early 1960s because he saw them as "mouthpiece of the Christian denomination".⁶³ He saw that the control of education in British Guiana by the Church as a grave injustice to non-Christians. He asserted that Indians are "not accommodated within the social hierarchy that they were regarded as outcasts . . . but they stuck to Hinduism and Islam despite efforts by the Christian missionaries to proselytize them".⁶⁴

Efforts to Convert Muslims

Just like the forced conversion of the African slaves to follow the teachings of Christianity, the Catholic missionaries also tried to convert the East Indians but they were not very successful in their quest. Islam survived in an ocean of evangelism which started in 1838. When Nuthaw Khaw (Nertha Khan) converted to Christianity shortly upon arrival in the colony, he "was looked upon very favorably by the Minister of the Parish (Page 10, Ref. No. 5, Governor Light to the Marquis of Normandy, 12 August 1839). Reverend E. Solomon who was in British Guiana in 1885, responded to a question as to why the missionary wanted to convert the Indians his reply was—"For salvation there can be only one true path . . . it is of vital importance that all who have souls be saved should be guided to the right road irrespective of rank or color".⁶⁵ Reverend Solomon also stated that the "Mussalman Mullahs" and the Indians are "ignorant and careless" and that they have "few religious books".⁶⁶ Laurence also noted that "Christian missionaries waged a strong crusade and saw themselves, "in a state of perpetual warfare against Hinduism

and Islam". These missionaries considered the Prophet Muhammad "false" and Hindu gods "wicked". Not surprisingly, the Muslims were strong in their faith and resisted conversion and that they impressed all the missionary groups as being generally harder to approach than the Hindus. There were several examples of determined resistance and fierce opposition to conversion by relatives of candidates, and violence was sometimes threatened.⁶⁷ And as Bisnauth pointed out the Muslims were suspected of being *fakirs* (religious ascetics) and not suitable for recruitment since they were stereotyped as being lazy, immoral and responsible for disrupting the tranquility of village life by their "fanaticism".⁶⁸

Despite attempts at conversion, humiliation and subjugation, Islam survived in Guyana, and it is an ongoing struggle. Hindustani Muslims in Guyana have had a long history of resistance dating back to 1838, when two Muslims, Jummun and Pultun, escaped the clutches of the *gora sahibs* (white masters) and their bodies were discovered shortly afterwards in the bushes at Mahaica. We also saw the Rosehall uprising of 1913 where mainly Muslims were at the forefront "battling" imperialism—Moula Bux, Jahangir Khan, Dildar Khan, Chotey Khan, Aladi, and Amirbaksh stood up to the injustices on the plantations.⁶⁹

Conclusion

No doubt, the arrival of the Muslims from British India to the colony of British Guiana marked an important chapter in the history of Islam and Muslims in the Americas. It ushered in the rebirth of Islam and transformed the colony's social landscape when about 94 Muslims on board the first two ships to the colony—The *Hesperus* and The *Whitby* arrived on the shores of Guyana in 1838. Despite the pressure from Christian Missionaries to convert the immigrants, the Muslims resisted all attempts and prevailed, firmly planting the seeds of Islam in Guyana. In addition, the absorption of a steady stream of immigrants (from 1838 to 1917) of diverse ethnic, cultural and religious characteristics into a society which was not clearly defined presents a fascinating subject for sociological analysis. The process of assimilation and integration is still at work but the surprising thing about British Guiana is not the diversity of the segments of its population, but the extent to which common ideals and aspirations have replaced sectional isolation.⁷⁰ Today in Guyana as compared to the 1970s there is less controversy as to the cultural aspects that Muslims brought from the Sub-continent beginning with their migration in the year 1838. The schism that existed between two camps in Guyana, one comprising the younger generation who prefer to get rid of our "Indo-Iranian" heritage in terms of our religious practices (and replace it with Wahabbi practices) while the older generation who would like to preserve the Hindustani Islamic tradition, is abating. The steadfast adherence of older generations to their culture, religious beliefs and practices through the centuries together contributed to the resurrection of Islam in Guyana, which firmly planted the seeds for a vibrant Muslim community in this English-speaking South American nation.

NOTES

1. Early East Indians in Guyana referred to themselves as Hindustani from Hindustan, the Persian/Urdu name for India.
2. "Ethnic Groups", available online at: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/americas/guyana_ethnic_1973.jpg (accessed September 10, 2006).

3. Bureau of Statistics, *Guyana: 2002 Population Census Report*, available online at: <http://www.statisticsguyana.gov.gy/cen02.html> (accessed September 10, 2006).
4. *Ibid.*
5. "Guyana", United States Department of State, available online at: <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2004/35542.htm> (accessed October 2, 2005).
6. Babasahed Amdebkar, "Writings and Speeches, Vol. 8", *Pakistan or the Partition of India*, Chapter IV: Break-up of Unity, Bombay: Education Department, Government of Maharashtra, 1990.
7. P. N. Oak, "Taj Mahal: The True Story", *A Hindu Temple*, 1965, available online at: http://www.hindunet.org/hindu_history/modern/taj_oak.html (accessed July 12, 2006).
8. John Henry Temple, "Letter to Lord Canning, Viceroy of India", Canning Papers, No. 9, 9 October 1857, India Office Library, National Archives, London, England.
9. John Charles Canning, "Letter to the British Prime Minister and President of the Board of Control", Canning Papers, Number 94, January–December 1857, India Office Library, National Archives, London, England.
10. John Charles Canning "Letter to the Governor of North Western Provinces", Canning Papers, No. 18, March 1856 to February 1862, India Office Library, National Archives, London, England.
11. Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, London: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 238.
12. R. Chickrie, "Muslims in Guyana: History, Traditions, Conflict and Change", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 19, No. 2, October 1999, pp. 181–191.
13. "Ashura", available online at: <http://www.ashura.com/> (accessed February 2007).
14. Dale Bisnauth, *The Settlement of Indians in Guyana 1980–1930*, London: Peepal Tree Press, 2000, p. 131.
15. P. P. Dial, "Guyana in 1866", *Guyana Chronicle*, 1966, available online at: www.silvertorch.com/arts/ppdial.htm (accessed December 10, 2006).
16. "Africa Guide", available online at: <http://www.africaguide.com/culture/tribes/fulani.htm> (accessed December 10, 2006).
17. Sultana Afroz, "The Moghul Islamic Diaspora: The Institutionalization of Islam in Jamaica", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 20, No. 2, October 2000, pp. 271–289.
18. Ellen Bal and Kathinka Sinha-Kerkhoff, "Muslims in Surinam and the Netherlands, and the Divided Homeland", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 25, No. 2, August 2005, pp. 193–194.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Guyana Chronicle*, available online at: <http://www.guyanachronicle.com> (accessed October 13, 2005).
21. Peter Ruhomon, "Centenary History of the East Indians in British Guiana, 1838–1938", *Daily Chronicle*, British Guiana Edition Series, No. 10.
22. *The Berbice Gazette*, Note by the Honourable Court of Policy and Criminal Justice of the Colony Berbice, Saturday, May 22, 1813, No. 451.
23. Sylviane A. Diouf, *Servants of Allah: African Muslims Enslaved in the Americas*, New York: New York University Press, 1998, pp. 133, 134.
24. Thomas Staunton St. Clair, *A Soldier's Sojourn in British Guiana*, London: Richard Bentley Publishing, 1834, p. 232.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Odeen Ishmael, "The Growth of Education Before 1840: The Guyana Story", Internet Edition, Chapter 59", 2005, available online at: <http://www.guyana.org/features/guyanastory/chapter59.html> (accessed November 20, 2006).
27. John Scoble, "Report of the Hill Coolies", Parliamentary Papers, LII, No. 180, 1837–38, MF41, pp. 413–414.
28. John Scoble, "Report of the Hill Coolies", Parliamentary Papers, LII No. 232, 1837–38, MF41, pp. 413, 414.
29. John Scoble, "Report of the Hill Coolies", Parliamentary Papers, XXXIX, No. 463, 1839, MF42, pp. 266, 267.
30. "Correspondence on the Condition of the Hill Coolies in British Guiana", Governor Light to the Marques of Normandy, No. 6, September 5, 1839, pp. 1–26.
31. P. Ruhomon, "Centenary History", *op. cit.*, p. 26.
32. "Correspondence on the Condition of the Hill Coolies", No. 6, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
33. *Ibid.*
34. "Correspondence on the Condition of the Hill Coolies in British Guiana": Governor Light to the Marques of Normandy, No. 5, August 12, 1839, p. 10.
35. *Ibid.*

36. "Correspondence on the Condition of the Hill Coolies", No. 6, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
37. K. O. Laurence, *A Question of Labour*, New York: Ian Randle, 1994, p. 106.
38. Odeen Ishmael, "The Guyana Story—From Earliest Times to Independence", Chapter 98, 2005, available online at: <http://www.guyana.org/features/guyanastory/chapter98.html> (accessed December 10, 2006).
39. *Ibid.*
40. K. O. Laurence, *A Question of Labour*, *op. cit.*
41. Joseph Beaumont, *The New Slavery: An Account of the Indian and Chinese Immigrants in British Guiana*, London: Ridgeway, Vol. 8, 1871, quoted in K. O. Laurence, *A Question of Labour*, *op. cit.*
42. *Ibid.*
43. P. Ruhomon, "Centenary History", *op. cit.*
44. Hugh Tinker, *A New Form of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas 1880–1920*, London: Oxford University Press, 1974, p. 274.
45. *Ibid.*
46. Tom Dalgety, "Letter to the Editor", *Stabroek News*, November 24, 1998.
47. George Lamming, "The West Indian People". A speech given at the Conference on West Indian Affairs, 1965, published in *New World Quarterly*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1966, pp. 63–74.
48. *Ibid.*
49. P. J. Marshall, *The New Cambridge History of Indian Bengal: The British Bridgehead Eastern India 1740–1828*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1987, p. 39.
50. T. R. Smith, *British Guiana*, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1962, p. 108.
51. D. W. D. Comins, "Note on Emigration from India to British Guiana", Calcutta, 1893.
52. R. Chickrie, "Muslims in Guyana: History, Traditions, Conflict and Change", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 19, No. 2, October 1999, pp. 181–191.
53. *Ibid.*
54. R. Chickrie, "The Afghan Muslims of Guyana and Suriname", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 22, No. 2, October 2002, pp. 381–399.
55. "Special Muslim Conference, Tazia Resolution", *Nur-E-Islam*, Sad's Anjuman- Islam, Georgetown, British Guiana, January 1950, p. 16.
56. "Special Muslim Conference, Education Discussed by the Urdu Secretary", *Light of Islam*, Georgetown, British Guiana, August 1941, p. 16.
57. *Ibid.*, pp. 280, 281.
58. National Archive of England, London, May 8, 1838. CO 111/154, Vol. 1.
59. K. O. Laurence, *A Question of Labour*, *op. cit.*, pp. 250, 251.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*
62. Moses Seenarine, "Recasting Indian Women in Colonial Guyana: Gender, Labor and Caste in the Lives of Indentured and Free Laborers", August 26, 1996, available online at: <http://www.saxakali.com/Saxakali-Publications/recastgwa.htm> (accessed July 2, 2006).
63. Cheddi Jagan, *The West on Trial*, West Indies: Toronto: Hansib, 1997, p. 200.
64. *Ibid.*, pp. 200–292.
65. E. Solomon, "The Coolie Mission in British Guiana", *West Indian Quarterly*, 1885, pp. 235–240.
66. *Ibid.*
67. K. O. Laurence, *A Question of Labour*, *op. cit.*, p. 272.
68. Dale Bisnauth, *The Settlement of Indians*, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
69. Basdeo Mangru, *Indenture and Abolition*, Toronto: Tsar Publications, 1993, p. 86.
70. T. Raymond and T. Smith T, "History—British Rule Up to 1928", in *British Guiana*, Chapter III, available online at: http://home.uchicago.edu/~rts1/chapter_iii.htm (accessed December 8, 2006).

ANNEX I. WHITBY: Muslims that arrived in British Guiana on 5 May 1838

NAME listed upon							
Embarkation	Disembarkation	District	State	Age	Height ^a	Complexion ^a	Distinguishing marks
JOHN CAMERON, HIGHBURY, BERBICE							
Ally Buxus (Mate)	Ally Buckus	Churaman	West Bengal	25	5' 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Brown	Small pock
Amrith	Amzit	Soojgurraw		23	5' 1"	Copper	Sharp nose
Aukul		Nagpur	Chhattisgarh	20	4' 11"	Brown	Ears bored
Bahaundoo	Bahandoor	Gazepore	UP	24	5' 4"	Brown	
Becarree	Beecairee	Modafapore	Bihar	29	5' 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Dark brown	small pock
Bejoo (wife Sheebah)	Beetoo	Nagpur	Chhattisgarh	23	5' 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Dark brown	Right shoulder
Bhoyrub		Fatielwooh	Bateeah	20	5' 3"	Brown	Right ears bored
Bhucktowar, 2nd	Bhucktowur	Buxar	Bihar	24	5' 4"	Brown	
Bhurrut (boy)	Burrut	Midnapore	West Bengal	15	4' 10"	Black	Ears bored
Bhuttoo		Hazareebagh	Jharkhand	28	5' 3"	Brown	On the chin
Bucktowar, 1st	Bucktowur	Lucknow	UP	29	5' 2"	Brown	Small pock
Buckus		Meerut	UP	26	5' 7"	Copper	on the forehead
Burgun	Beegun	Nagpur	Chhattisgarh	20	5' 0"	Brown	Left cheek cut mark
Bustom Chum		Wooresaw		27	5' 8"	Brown	
Chitroo (boy)	Cheetroo	Chuprah	Bihar	14	4' 9"	Brown	
Chummare (Mate)		Ramghur	UP	27	5' 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Brown	Scar right temple
Coda Buckus (Boy)		Chupah	Bihar	14	4' 9"	Dark brown	
Dhurrum Dee	Dhurrundee	Hazareebagh	Jharkhand	24	5' 3"	Copper	Scar left cheek
Fuckeram	Tuckee Ram	Moonghur	Bihar	27	4' 11"	Brown	Scar right shoulder
Goorkaw	Gooz Kaw	Hazareebagh	Jharkhand	25	5' 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Dark brown	Ears bored
Hodee	Koo Dee	Cossee	West Bengal	26	5' 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Black	Cut on the forehead
Ihurry	Jhurry	Sarabang	Orissa	27	5' 0"	Brown	Small pock
Jummere	Jumere	Burdwan	West Bengal	27	5' 2"	Brown	on the chest
Khuddaroo	Khaddaroo	Chupraw	Bihar	27	5' 3"	Copper	

(Continued)

ANNEX I. Continued.

NAME listed upon							
Embarkation	Disembarkation	District	State	Age	Height ^a	Complexion ^a	Distinguishing marks
Kyloo		Hazareebagh	Jharkhand	24	5' 2"	Copper	Ears bored
Modoosudden	Modoosudden	Bancoorah	West Bengal	21	5' 1"	Brown	
Moodoosudden	Medoosuden	Bancoorah	West Bengal	25	5' 6"	Copper	Mole on the chin
Moonooruddee	Moonoo Ruddee	Bancoorah	West Bengal	25	5' 1"	Copper	
Mungullav	Mungullam	Burdwan	West Bengal	25	5' 4"	Dark brown	
Noofhur	Nofhur	Burdwan	West Bengal	24	5' 5"	Black	
Nuzur Ally	Not listed	Modafapore	Bihar	25	5' 8"	Brown	Small pock
Peertum		Hazareebagh	Jharkhand	28	5' 4"	Brown	Small pock
Phuckeraw	Puckee Ram		Behar	27	5' 2"	Brown	On the chest
Ram Joy	Ranyay	Bancoorah	West Bengal	29	5' 2½"	Brown	
Ramjuan		Patna	Bihar	25	5' 4½"	Brown	on the face
Rum Buckus (boy)	Ram Buckus (boy)	Bundelkhand	UP	15	4' 6½"	Copper	
Shack Deloo (boy)	Shaik Deeloo (boy)	Burdwan	West Bengal	15	5' 0½"	Copper	
Shack Jumer	Shaik Jameel	Modafapore	Bihar	28	5' 7"	Brown	
Sheebah (wife of Beejoo)				18		Clear	Ears bored
Soomaree	Somare	Hazareebagh	Jharkhand	26	5' 0"	Dark brown	Ears bored
Soonawtun	Sonatun	Ramghur	UP	24	5' 2"	Dark brown	Ears bored
Summode		Hazareebagh	Jharkhand	23	5' 5"	Dark brown	sharp nose
Summoodee	Summo Dee	Hazareebagh	Jharkhand	29	5' 1½"	Brown	Hair on the chest
Surnaum		Gundav		29	5' 3"	Black	
Toofannee		Pungray		25	4' 10"	Brown	Spots on the face
Wootim	Woolim	Hazareebagh	Jharkhand	23	5' 3½"	Black	One eye blind

JAMES MATTHEW, BELLE-VUE-, VREED-EN-HOOP, DEMERARA

Buxoo	Buxoo	Sarabang	Orissa	24	5' 5" (5' 4")	Copper	
Bhoyrub	Bhayrut	Bancoorah	West Bengal	27	5' 5½"	Dark brown	
Bucktowur	Bucktower	Benares	UP	20	5' 3"	Copper	
Bhucktow		Midnapore	West Bengal	23	5' 2"	Brown	Mole on the neck
Damnodur	Dammo Dhur	Hazareebagh	Jharkhand	26	5' 2½"	Dark brown (Copper)	on the chest

Doyallee		Nagpur	Chhattisgarh	28	5' 4"	Brown (Copper)	Right ear bored
GoorsaidKaw	Gooroosawkaw	Cossee	West Bengal	29	5' 2"	Brown	
Jhurreechuck (Mate)	Thurry Huck	Lucknow	UP	26	5' 6"	Brown (Copper)	Small pock
Naywool		Gura	West Bengal	20	5' 5"	Brown (Copper)	Mole on the forehead
Nuthaw Khaw (Sirdar)	Nertha Khan	Allahabad	UP	25	5' 7"	Brown (Copper)	Small pock
Peertum		Hazareebagh	Jharkhand	28	5' 4"	Brown	small pock
Not listed	Jhurri^b			27	5' 1"		
Ramjuan		Hazareebagh	Jharkhand	28	5' 6"	Brown (Copper)	Mole on the neck
Soodeen	Soodien	Serang	Orissa	23	5' 6"	Brown (Copper)	
Soomaree	Soomare	Ramghur	UP	27	5' 6"	Brown	on the face
Sur Dhur		Curobhur		24	5' 7"	Brown	
Thurry		Hazareebagh	Jharkhand	29	5' 6"	Brown	
Probably died during the journey							
Nophur		Bancoorah	West Bengal	25	5' 6"	Brown	None

^aIn the two columns (height and complexion) the text in brackets indicate the information shown on the disembarkation list Which differs from the information on the embarkation list.

^bThe individual "Jhurri" was shown as disembarking from the ship, whereas no person by the same name was listed upon embarkation.

ANNEX II. HESPERUS: Muslims that Arrived in British Guiana on 5 May 1838

Name listed upon							
Embarkation	Disembarkation	District	State	Age ^a	Complexion ^a	Height ^a	Distinguishing marks
JOHN GLADSTONE, VREED-EN-HOOP, DEMERARA							
Aukool		Bancoorah	Bihar	24 (31)	Copper (dark)	5' 2½" (5' 7")	
Bharrupp (Jeewoon's wife)				21	Copper	4' 11"	
Buxsoo	Booxsoo	Burdman	W Bengal	23 (50)	Black (dark)	5' 2½" (5' 5")	scar on the chest
Codabuckus (Pataun)	Coda Bux	Agra	UP	26 (27)	Brown (copper)	5' 8" (5' 5")	Hair on the chest
Deallee		Dunyapur	Punjab	24 (60)	Copper	5' 3" (5' 7")	on face
Dursun	Dursoun	Hazareebagh	Jharkhand	24 (29)	Dark brown (dark)	5' 1½" (5' 7")	
Jeewoon Khaw	Irrwan Khan	Mynpore	UP	29 (28)	Brown (copper)	5' 6"	
Jummun		Gyah	Bihar	27 (26)	Brown (dark)	5' 4" (5' 7")	Small pock
Kyamdee	Kyam Dhee	Ramghur	Punjab	24 (46)	Dark brown (copper)	5' 1½" (5' 1")	
Moolamdee	Morlan Dhee	Cusbaw	Punjab	21 (41)	Copper	5' 4" (5' 10")	
Naufur		Bistopore	Jamshedpur, Jharkhand	24 (52)	Dark brown (dark)	5' 3" (5' 6")	
Puthau	Pultun	Chuprah	Bihar	28 (41)	Brown (dark)	5' 5" (5' 7")	Scar left cheek
Shack Doubut	Shaik Dowlett	Agra	UP	30 (46)	Brown (copper)	4' 10½" (5' 6")	Small pock
Ubdood		Nagpur	Chhattisgarh	23 (50)	Brown (copper)	5' 4½" (5' 1")	
JOHN AND HENRY MOSS, ANNA REGINA, ESSEQUIBO							
Bhuggor	Bhuggun	Ajodyha	UP	24 (52)	Dark brown (copper)	5' 8" (5' 7")	
Cangallee		Midnapore	W Bengal	25 (36)	Brown (dark)	5' 2" (5' 9")	
Bucktowur		Ajodyha	UP	27 (23)	Black (Copper)	5' 4½" (5' 4")	
Gooljar	Gool Jaw	Tajighur	Jharkhand	26 (48)	Brown (dark)	5' 2" (5' 11")	
Junahwollah	Joonanwoollah	Rajo Dero	Sind Pakistan	30 (42)	Brown (copper)	5' 5" (5' 10")	
Shaik Mohobut (Mate)				27 (40)	Brown (copper)	5' 6" (5' 8")	Scar left cheek

Shuck Gopee	Shaik Gopee	Agra	UP	25 (38)	Copper (dark)	5' 3" (5' 6")	Scar, left temple
Sulloowan	Sullowar	Hurdawar		27 (39)	Copper (dark)	4' 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (5' 9")	
Sultaw Khaw	Suttan Khaw	Patna	Bihar	20	Dark brown	5'	
Uckloo (wife & four children)		Nagpur	Chhattisgarh	28 (27)	Dark brown (copper)	5' 1" (4' 10")	
Moonah (Uckloo's wife)				25	Copper	4' 10"	
Child # 1 (Sookhur)				12	Copper	3' 8"	
Child #2 (Mungurrah)				10	Copper	3' 11"	
Child #3							
Child # 4							
Kyramt	Kyut Alle	Allahabad	UP	27 (37)	Brown (copper)	5' 4" (5' 10")	Small pock
Probably died during the journey							
Soonawoolah		Burdwan	W Bengal	27	Copper	5' 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	

NOTE: ALL PASSENGERS ON THE DISEMBARKATION LIST WERE SHOWN AS MAHOMETAN

^aIn the three columns (age, height and complexion) the text in brackets indicate the information shown on the disembarkation list which differs from the information on the embarkation list.

ANNEX III. Wages and Allowances to the Coolies, by plantation

Description	Bellevue	Vriedestein	Vreed-en-Hoop	Anna Regina	Waterloo ^c	Highbury
Wages (monthly)	Amt	Amt	Amt	Amt ^f	Amt	Amt
Coolie sirdar	6 Rupees	3½ dollars				3½ dollars
Coolie mate	5 Rupees	3 dollars				3 dollars
Coolie ordinary laborer	4 rupees ^a	2½ dollars	2½ dollars ^b	2½ dollars	2½ dollars	2½ dollars
Groceries (weekly)						
Rice	14 chittacks ^c	13 lbs	14 chittacks	14 chittacks	14 chittacks	14 chittacks
Doll (pease)	2 chittacks	—	2 chittacks	2 chittacks	2 chittacks	2 chittacks
Ghee/butter or oil	½ chittacks	¾ lbs	½ chittacks	½ chittacks	½ chittacks	½ chittacks
Salt fish/dried fish	¼ chittacks	1½ lbs	1 chittacks	1 chittacks	1 chittacks	1 chittacks
Salt				¼ chittacks	¼ chittacks	¼ chittacks
Tumeric and tamarinds	1 chittacks	—	1 chittacks	1 chittacks	1 chittacks	1 chittacks
Onions/chillis/pepper	½ chittacks	¾ lbs	½ chittacks	½ chittacks	½ chittacks	½ chittacks ^g
Clothing (per person/year)						
Blankets	2	2	1	2	1	2
Chintz mujaa	1	1			1	1
Dhooties or wrappers	2	2	2	2	2	2
Jacket	1	1	1	1	1	1
Lascar cap	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wooden bowl	1	1	1	1	2	
Dolah, brass cup or bowl ^d	1	1	1	1	1	1

^a1 bitt per diem is stopped from their wages every day they report sick.

^b1½ farthing to be stopped, and will be paid on their completing their servitude as per agreement (towards the repatriated funds).

^c1 chittack is equal to about 18 oz.

^dShared between four persons.

^eThey also receive some rum, tobacco and sugar weekly.

^fOccasionally, they receive higher wages and additional allowances.

^gDaily.