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Hinduism in the Indian Diaspora in Trinidad

Marion O'Callaghan
Trinidad

THE IMPORTATION OF Indian indentured labour into Trinidad covers the period 1845 to 1917.

Trinidad had, in the century before Indian indentured labour, changed from a peasant society to a plantation economy based on sugar, from a country of few settlers or slaves to a society with settlers drawn principally from French settlers and with a slave population drawn directly from Africa or from other Caribbean islands. It had changed colonial hands from Spain to Britain.

Indian migration was rarely family migration, with females reaching the proportion of 40/100 only after 1868.

Recruitment was first from Madras. This turned out to be unsuccessful. Recruitment was then mainly from the United Provinces – about 50.7%, but also from Bengal, Orissa, Oudh, Bihar, Nepal, the Punjab.¹

Permanent settlement turned out to be more attractive to Indian immigrants than repatriation. Of the 143,939 introduced into Trinidad over the period 1838-1917, only 29,448 returned. By 1918 Indians were approximately 34% of the population, rising to approximately 40% by 1990. The Indians were not all Hindu. 10.3% of all Catholics are Indian. In some areas Indian Pentecostals, who settled in these areas only from the end of the 1970s, are now the major Christian denomination, displacing Presbyterians and forming the second largest group (slightly below Africans) within Pentecostalism.

Religious Discrimination

Indians were in principle permitted the free exercise of their religion. In practice

however a number of factors intervened affecting equality between Hinduism and Christianity, and affecting the nature of Hinduism.

On the introduction of indentureship, it was established that while an Indian Christian marriage would follow the norm, i.e. that the duty of registration would be on the priest or pastor performing the ceremony, non-Christian marriages would be valid only if registered by the Protector of Immigrants or directly with the State registry. This meant that marriages according to Hindu or Muslim rites were not legally valid and that the offspring of such marriages were illegitimate. The transfer of property and inheritance were also affected while to “marry under the bamboo” often carried a social stigma.

No cremation sites were at first available. A crematorium was only established in Trinidad (Port of Spain) in the early 80s, while cremation by pyre was not permitted until the mid 50s.

In addition to these obvious deficiencies the structure of the working week as well as official holidays followed Christian custom. This in turn affected the organization of Hindu community celebrations. It also indirectly affected marriage dates: choosing an auspicious day for marriage was not only a question of astrology but also of the practical business of weekends.

Hindus were affected in a more general and pervasive manner by their designation as “pagans”. The word implied not only a multiplicity of deities but also meant “uncivilized”. It is not surprising therefore that the push of Hinduism has been to counter the charge of paganism and to

establish not only the parity but increasingly the superiority of Hinduism.

Caste

The question of caste and its retention or non-retention among the Indian Diaspora and in particular within Trinidad has been a matter of debate and of sharply opposing views among scholars, particularly given the importance of caste for Hinduism in India.

The problem is complicated by the lack of precise data as to the caste appurtenance of those Indians who did arrive.

The figures given by the Protector of Immigrants for Trinidad (1877-1918) are: the Artisan caste 7%, the Agricultural castes 30%, Muslims (who are considered slightly lower) 14% and Low Castes (slightly lower again) 35%.² Brahmins make up 13% of the total.

Krishna Haracksingh basing himself on a study done in Fiji argues that caste representation in the indentured population was roughly the same as in India. It was therefore a "slice of life transported."³

Non-Indians have often countered with the argument that high castes were not among the indentured labourers since crossing the "Kali-pani" – the Dark Waters – would have been considered pollution.

The broad Varna Castes were represented as well as some tribals outside of the Varna categories. However, *jati* or sub-caste representation was unequal and in some cases non-existent. Moreover in the case of female immigration there was a larger proportion of lower castes.⁴ Caste and particularly *jati* (sub-caste) endogamy was impossible. While caste (*Varna*) endogamy could be partly kept where marriages were arranged, this is difficult where marriages no longer are. Arranged marriages are today rare among middle class Hindus or Hindus in urban areas. While parents in rural areas still attempt to arrange marriages, the TV, ease of transport, the decline of the rural areas have served to weaken parental authority particularly in the area of marital choice.

Caste as a hierarchical organization of closed occupational groups was impossible under plantation conditions.

At the end of indentureship, the distribution of land was at the will of the authorities and did not take into consideration the caste distribution. Villages were never totally isolated but continually exchanged goods and services with the wider community. Geographical mobility undermined caste restrictions, while the main avenue of social mobility, education, while it was selective, was not selective according to caste criteria.

No caste organization exists. There is therefore no way of enforcing caste obligations including in the area of meat avoidance or of pollution.⁵ Vegetarianism is more likely to signal orthodoxy than caste. Alcohol avoidance is more rare. Libations of alcohol are sometimes made although, like animal sacrifice, increasingly frowned upon, and Hindus have been known to keep rum shops, particularly in Indian villages.

Caste can be assumed or can be awarded. It was possible for a higher caste to be assumed on emigration. That it was done is suggested by the terms used in Guyana: "Ship Brahmin" and "Ship Kshatruya".⁶ The term "Ship Brahmin" has its equivalent in Trinidad: "Red House Brahmin" indicating that the changing of caste membership occurs. Caste within the Hindu community is most operative with regard to ritual.

The insistence of the colonial government that permission for the Pundit to act as the marriage officer as was done in other religions could only be accorded if Hindus spoke with one voice, favoured centralized administration and a quasi-clergy similar to the organization of Christian churches. The Pundit as Brahmin was therefore strengthened and had as its corollary the decline of non-Brahmin ritual specialists. With Pundits being the major ritual specialists throughout Trinidad Hinduism, Brahminical Hinduism became

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practically the only form of Hinduism. However even the Pundit as Brahmin continues to be a subject of dispute in particular between the Sanatan Dharma Maha Saba and emerging sects or competing Hindu leaders.

Outside of ritual, caste and quasi-caste relationships are created as part of the legitimation of social, economic, or political status. Important leaders may be designated as Brahmins and can not only expect the deference due to Brahmins but are incorporated into Guru-Chela client relationships. These relationships include assistance particularly in time of need with the requirement of loyalty. But designation is also of Sudras as an indication of low social status rather than descent.⁷ In this case the "Madrassi" are uniformly placed in the category of Sudra.

The legitimation by caste or quasi-caste also operates with regard to the relationship between Indians and non-Indians. While intermarriages with Whites is preferred and intermarriage with Chinese and Coloureds tolerated, intermarriage with those of clear African descent is considered forbidden not by social custom, but by the caste regulations of Hinduism. It is the offspring of this last which is a "dougla"⁸ while the maintenance of separateness in culture and to some extent in education is argued in terms of the refusal of "dooglahrisation."

Caste or quasi-caste is also functional with regard to the elaboration of Hindu orthodoxy and the selection from forms of Hinduism.

The worship of individual godlings (*deota*) or village gods that are not in the Sanskritic Hindu pantheon is considered malevolent⁹ and associated with Chamars or Madrassi and with demonism. Romila Thapar points out that in India the

Hinduism of untouchables, tribal and other groups is characterized by a predominance of the worship of goddesses and spirits ... with libations of meat and alcohol ... For the upper caste Hindus these groups were (and

often still are) regarded as "mlecchas" or impure and certainly not a part of their own religious identity.¹⁰

This accords with the situation in Trinidad except that upper-caste Hinduism is no longer caste defined, but increasingly defines official Hinduism. This process accelerates as the saliency of caste even as a vague clustering of status within the Hindu community disintegrates, and as Brahminism is restricted to a ritual role. "Official" Hinduism has, however, not succeeded in eliminating "unofficial Hinduism" whether in forms of devotion, sacrifice, or pilgrimage. This unofficial Hinduism maintains forms of Shramanic Hinduism and establishes linkages with the Shouter Baptists and Orisha of African traditions.

Both official and popular Hinduism have been influenced by the wider society. In the case of the former, the development of both belief and practice have been influenced by conditions within Trinidad, by links developed with India at first by the Hindu missionaries of the 1930s and 40s and then by direct contact with Hindu groups in India, by Indian films, by meetings of the Indian Diaspora, by the rise of ethnic movements in the 1930s and the 1970s, and by the recent gains of Hindu nationalist parties in India. During the 1930s and 1970s Pan Africanism and Pan Indianism were translated within Trinidad as ethnic political mobilization.

Hinduism in Trinidad has always existed as a minority religion next to dominant Christianity. It is only since the victory of the present government in 1996 that Hindus have wielded direct political power and can directly influence government policies.

The Impact of Presbyterianism

There is much debate on the impact of the Presbyterian Canadian Mission on the Indian community as a whole and on "race" relations in particular. With regard to the latter, the Presbyterian policy of an exclusive mission to the Indians ensured that the majority of Presbyterians would be

Indian.

It is Presbyterians who first introduced the teaching of Hindi (Trinidad Indians had evolved a modified form of Bhojpuri (a dialect of Hindi) as the language of communication).

Presbyterian missionaries attempted to establish not only a racially exclusive mission but racially exclusive schools and agitated both with planters and with the government to implement this.¹¹ The aggressiveness of Presbyterians in their conversions, their predominance in Indian education, and their increasing emergence as an Indian Church prompted the rise of Hindu organizations whose agenda it was to stem the tide of conversions by the establishment of Hindu schools and of a network of Hindu temples. The ultimate form of the major organization, the Sanatan Dharma Maha Saba, was however dictated not by Presbyterianism but as a Brahminical reaction to the establishment of an Arya Samaj mission during the 1930s in Suriname and in Trinidad. The success of the Sanatan Dharma Maha Saba rested on its capacity to control ritual as well as to establish competing Hindu schools in every Indian area. The schools issue was particularly important given the colonial government's policy of restricting the number of government schools in areas where church schools existed. This in effect meant Presbyterian schools in Indian areas. The Maha Saba school program owed its success to the then Head of the Maha Saba Bhadase Maharaj. He also founded the Democratic Labour Party and for this used effectively the Guru-chela relationships. Loyalty to Hindu political leaders therefore was incorporated as part of the religious obligations of Hindus. This in the post 1970 period would be reinforced by the special position given to Tulsidas's Ramayana with its accent on obedience to authority.

Beliefs

Hindus in Trinidad have achieved a remarkable homogeneity of beliefs and of

ritual. Beliefs are transmitted through the prominence given to a Hindu creed. This is taught and displayed in all of the Maha Saba schools and has been since the 1950s. Sunday school classes as well as schools teach a question-and-answer catechism modelled on the pre-Vatican II catechism. The arguments for Hinduism are modelled on the former Catholic apologetics and arguments along these lines are the repertoire of even the most liberal Hindus. Articles carried weekly in the press reinforce dominant Hinduism. *Satsangs, pujas, yagnas* inculcate beliefs through commentaries, songs, and sermons. Weekly temple worship gives centrality to the sermon and the temple is arranged with chairs or benches.

Activities around the Divali Nagar – a cultural centre on land granted by the Government to Indians – ensures an exchange of views between Maha Saba pundits, those of other Hindu sects and unattached “gurus”. Beliefs are reinforced through contacts with the parent Maha Saba in India, by visiting Swamis and by the importation of Hindu literature from India.

In the homogenization of beliefs the Maha Saba has been of crucial importance. Indeed the Maha Saba is almost the sole authority over social and educational concerns and has successfully driven opposition groups such as the Arya Samaj out of existence or has severely limited their capacity for action.¹² The traditionally close links of the Maha Saba with politics ensure a coherence between beliefs and politics cementing the unity of Hindus.

There are few Hindus in Trinidad who would say that they did not believe in One God. This God is

only primal energy, Prakriti which is called the Supreme Truth, the Brahman or simply God.¹³ God is both transcendent and imminent in all creatures. He is therefore the unity of the universe.¹⁴ God has apparently become the world without undergoing any change. This is the mystery of it all, this is the concept of “Maya” illusion.¹⁵

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Sanatan Dharma includes the "eternal truths ... taken from the Vedic statement, God is One, Truth is One, Sages call him by many names".¹⁶ Religions therefore are essentially the same and only represent differing paths.

Hinduism is the supreme non-pagan religion. Surujattan Rambachan explains: "Idolatry is when I claim that God is limited to that form which I worship and that he is confined to only that form."¹⁷ The Christian Trinity is only a form of the Hindu Trinity of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. Laksmi is also Sita, Vamana, Dharani, Rukmini, or Kali.

The "Our Creed" lists the scriptures and their relationship to belief:

I believe that the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Puranas, the Shastras, the Mahabharata, the Ramayan and the Bhagavad Gita contain all the eternal truths of religion.

It is however the Ramayana of Tulsidas which has the most popular appeal throughout the Hindu community and is widely accepted by Indians outside of the Hindu community. Tulsidas himself is venerated as a great saint and a great prophet. The words "saint" and "prophet" are used. His translation therefore is in itself sacred. While the emphasis on the truths and revelation of the Ramayana is new belonging to the post-1970 Hindu Revitalization Movement, reading and acting the Ramayana was an integral part of popular rural Hinduism: The Ram lila plays and the celebration of Vijay dashmi – the day on which Rawan was supposed to be killed by Ram. Beside this structured Brahminical Sanatanist Hinduism there is also a strong Bhakti influence of personal devotions and individual pieties.

The recent emergence of a wealthy Indian middle-class and the sharp post-1970 decline in the achievements of Trinidadians of African descent with the spectacular growth of urban marginalization has had as its corollary an explanation not in social terms, but in religious or quasi-religious

terms. The Karma of each individual is chosen by him- or herself. Wealth therefore is part of merit. Indian success is due to "hard work, self sacrifice and their skilful art of thrift" while the inability of "some Blacks to achieve socio-economic mobility must be attributed largely, to a lack of self sacrifice and thrift on their part ...".¹⁸

The similarity of these arguments to Victorian Calvinism is striking and achieve the same effect. The impact of the Indologists, of Blavatsky, and of Bailey should also be underlined.

Religious Practices

A *Satsang* was a weekly or fortnightly gathering usually held in the absence of a pundit and rotating from house to house. It was the main congregational activity of Trinidad Hindus and served not only a religious purpose but also as village recreation. *Satsangs* today are modelled more closely on the prayer meeting and parallels the post-1970 popularity of Pentecostal, Evangelical, or Catholic charismatic prayer meetings.

The sanctity of Tulsidas' Ramayana is underlined at the *Satsang*. It is this – the book – which is in itself the *murti* to which offerings (usually of flowers or *prasad*) are given. The readings are interspersed with *bhajans* (sacred songs often called psalms). These may be sung by neighbours, by a group of children, and increasingly by professional *bhajan* singers (Ramayan singers) who are engaged for a fee. The importance of the harmonium is its use in *bhajan* accompaniment particularly at *poojas*. The harmonium has itself become quasi-sacralized as symbolic of the maintenance of Hindu culture.

Pujas are more closely associated with the family and are given in thanksgiving for prayers answered or as part of the demands of prayer. Their popularity since the 1970s now sees them given to celebrate birthdays, anniversaries, success in business or in exams. Here Hindu practice closely follows the multiplication of services (both in the

home and at churches) celebrating equivalent events in the Christian community.

During the period preceding Divali, the nine days of Nav ratri, pujas are held to a number of deities: Hancaman, Shiva, Saraswati, Laksmi. Pujas are preceded by a period of abstinence from alcohol, meat, and sex. The puja ritual is performed by a pundit who not only invokes the particular deity represented by a murti and makes the offering (the number varies) but also blesses the bamboo pole which will be placed in a hole, usually at the front of the house. In this hole a number of offerings to the deity is placed including milk, the tulsie leaf, while the bamboo pole is anointed with saffron. A pennant is then flown. The colour of the pennant (*jhandi*) represents the deity. These pennants are not replaced but allowed to disintegrate in the weather.

Puja also includes food both as *prasad* (offering to the deity), the distribution of *prasad* to those who attend and a meal usually of *roti* (a kind of chapati), vegetables, dhal, and rice. Food may also be distributed to the poor. The officiating pundit is given money and a ritual gift usually consisting of white cotton of a length which can make a dhoti, rice (the former habit of giving paddy or unmilled rice from the host's fields has been discontinued since fields are rare), and oil.

The Yagna is a more elaborate affair. It emerges out of the Bhagwat which was a seven day series of Pujas at which the Bhagavad Purana was read.

The post-1970s Revitalization Movement with its increased interest in the Ramayana saw the Bhagwat matched by the extended reading of the Ramayana over a period of nights. The Bhagwat then became one of a type: the Yagna. These may be arranged by wealthy individuals annually or bi-annually and have become a symbol of wealth. They may be arranged by groups and increasingly by temples.

The Yagna "tent" matches the Pentecostal crusade tent and emerges at the same period - the post-1970s. Singing too is

now modeled on modern Indian music. The Yagna, unlike the puja, is widely advertised drawing in participants from other parts of the island. The capacity to attract a congregation is the test of the status of the individual or of the temple.

The Yagna has been one of the principal methods of Hindu mobilization. Not only are songs popular but the widening of the catchment area has served to bond Hindus beyond their neighbourhood. Lead singers are well known and usually also sing over Indian TV or radio becoming local "stars". Particular Pundits are chosen according to the reputation of their discourses. Since Pundits rotate, their interpretations of the scriptures or of events circulate in the Hindu community having the effect of the preacher in Christian communities.

Pilgrimages

There are few pilgrimage sites in Trinidad. Perhaps the major and oldest pilgrimage site is that of Sooparee Mai. This site is also one of the most interesting examples of enculturation. Sooparee Mai for Hindus is also Our Lady of Siparia or La Pastora (the Divine Shepherdess) for Catholics. The statue, a brown Virgin, is regarded as miraculous by Catholics, Hindus, and the African-Christian "Shouter" Baptists. Its history is unknown. Its veneration pre-dates the arrival of Indian indentured labour and would seem to belong to the Black Virgin phenomenon of Latin America. While for Catholics offerings are of candles or money, for Hindus offerings include bits of jewelry (today usually costume jewelry), locks of hair, oil, or flowers.

For Catholics the day of pilgrimage is the Feast of the Good Shepherd. For Hindus it begins on Holy Thursday culminating on Good Friday. It is customary over this period to give a boy his first haircut offering the lock of hair to Sooparee Mai.

It should be noted that the pilgrimage does not receive the blessings of "official" Hinduism. Rather it is discouraged.

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Rites of the Life Cycle

Life cycle rites may include the hair-cutting rite for boys. The more important rite which is compulsory is the christening. This must be performed before marriage and is often performed in the teens. At this rite the teenager receives a godfather, usually a Brahmin pundit who will serve throughout life as a spiritual adviser or guru to the chela or disciple. It is he who will give the chela the secret mantra or prayer which is part of the ceremony.

Confirmation is only for the twice born castes and is the ceremony at which they receive the sacred thread. The use of Christian terms: godfather, christening, confirmation, for what are Hindu rituals emphasizes the similarity with Christian ritual. In the case of the guru-chela relationship, the client relationships established in creole society between a wealthy godfather and a poorer godchild is ritualized, with the same obligations of advice and if necessary of financial assistance. Marriage rites include the anointing with turmeric "to saffron" as purification, the suggestive dancing by women, the exchange of parched rice, the eating off banana leaves, the procession of cars, the presentation of garlands and gifts, the treading on the stone.

The former use of a saffron-coloured sari has been replaced by the traditional red which may be changed after the ceremony for a wedding dress. There is now a choice between the traditional wedding and the shorter and more Westernized form, the table wedding.

Cremation has increasingly displaced burial with cremation by pyre on the banks of the Caroni (the Shore of Peace) or the older site on the banks of the Oropouche preferred above the crematorium. The "wake" is similar to the wake in Christian homes with prayers, the drinking of strong coffee, and the eating of biscuits. Rum, although technically forbidden, may be available away from the main house. The "nine nights" of Catholics, where there are

prayers for the dead followed by a small dinner, is in the case of Hindus the ten nights of Hindu ritual followed by the partaking of a common meal and the shaving of the hair of the eldest male relative. This is performed near to water and a ritual bath is taken.

The dead will be honoured both on 1 November, All Saints, or during Pitri Paksh, the fortnight of honouring the ancestors.

Feasts

The major Hindu feast is Divali. Houses are cleaned and painted, new curtains put up, small electric lights may be strung up. Since it is a vegetarian festival the demand for vegetables is great enough to send up prices throughout most of the island. Deyas are lit in parks, before public buildings, stores on pavements, and before each Hindu home, as well as increasingly lit by non-Hindus. For Hindus in Trinidad Divali is the symbol of light conquering darkness. It is the feast of Lakshmi, deity of wealth and success, but also symbolizes Rama's conquest of Rawan, the conquest of malevolent forces sometimes interpreted as the non-Sanskritic deotas. It can however be given a political connotation as symbolizing the conquest of political power.

This increasing importance of Divali has been consciously fed by the Society for the Promotion of Indian Culture (SPIC). This is a university students group which came into existence during the Black Power Students' Revolt of 1970 and was then mainly directed at stopping Indian Student Participation in the Students' Revolt. It has produced a high percentage of the spokespersons of Hinduism today. For SPIC

In (the situation of Trinidad) the celebration of Divali as a symbol of the Great Tradition, which functions as an umbilical cord and as a compendium capable of accommodating local traditions, achieved a new importance it did not have in India ... for better or for worse the responses to the challenges posed by this special situation, the modern History of Hinduism is going to

be written.¹⁹

Of some importance is the secular public holiday of Indian Arrival Day. It is new, has increased in importance and acts as a mobilization agent for the entire Indian population although it shows a strong Hindu influence. Its accent on the importance of the Indian Diaspora links it to some extent with some elements of Divali.

Holi or Pagwa, once a simple village festival, has become increasingly the Hindu counterpart of Carnival. Khatik-Ke-nahan, at the end of the holy month of Khatik (October-November) which had been in decline has had a new rise in popularity. It is the time when Hindus travel to the sea for a ritual bath and jhandis can be seen particularly along the long seashore of Mayaro.

Hinduism in Trinidad has proved itself capable of re-working crucial aspects of Hinduism in India in order to bind Hindus abroad as an ethnic group and to provide a strategy for upward mobility, and in order to consolidate today's political dominance and growing economic dominance.

Notes

1. Here quoted from Steven Vertovec "Official' and 'Popular' Hinduism in the Caribbean: Historical and contemporary trends in Surinam, Trinidad and Guyana" in *Across the Dark Waters Ethnicity and Indian Identity in the Caribbean*. Edited by David Dabydeen and Brinsley Samaroo. (Warwick University, Caribbean Studies, Macmillan Caribbean 1996), p.113.
2. Protector of Immigrants - 1877-1918.
3. Krishna R. Haracksingh, "The Hindu experience in Trinidad", (Paper presented at the Third Conference on East Indians in the Caribbean 29 Aug - 5 September), pp.8- 9.
4. cf. letter of Murdoch to Rogers, 25 April 1865 and 2 June 1865 quote in Keith Laurence, "Immigration into Trinidad and British Guiana 1834-1871", Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, October 1958, Facsimile Vol II, p.302.
5. Vertovec argues that since actual caste relationships were no longer possible only vague identities and status relationships based on regional caste clusters remained. These were not enough to structure relationships as was the case in India. Steven Vertovec, op. cit., p.99 and also p.65. Schwartz gives seven specific social and cultural factors which indicate the non-existence of caste: Barton M. Schwartz: "The failure of Caste in Trinidad" in *Overseas Indian Communities*, edited by Barton M Schwartz, (Chandler Publishing Company, San Francisco, California 1967), pp.141-2.
Colin Clarke notes that in San Fernando the caste system as such has broken down if compared with traditional caste in 19th-century India. He nevertheless finds caste correlated with wealth. Colin Clarke, "Caste among Hindus in a town in Trinidad, San Fernando", in Barton M Schwartz, *The failure of caste in Trinidad*, pp.167-77.
6. On the other hand Morton Klass finds caste to some extent operative in Amity, a village in Central Trinidad: Morton Klass, *East Indians in Trinidad*, (New York Columbia University Press, 1961).
7. R. T. Smith and Chandra Jayardene, "Caste and social status among the Indians in Guyana in Overseas Indian communities", edited by Barton M. Schwartz, op. cit., pp.54-6.
8. For an illustration of this see Mahin Gosine, *Failure of Class over Ethnicity: East Indians and Black Power in the Caribbean. The case of Trinidad*. (African Research Publications), p.141.
9. A derogatory term meaning bastard. It is the term used for the offspring of an Indian and someone of African descent. For inter-marriage see also Arthur Niehoff and Juanita Niehoff, *East Indians in the West Indies*, (Milwaukee Public Museum, Publications in Anthropology, Number 6, Milwaukee Wisconsin, USA 1960), p.62; Morton Klass, *Singing with Sai Baba: the Politics of Revitalization*, (Boulder San Francisco and Oxford: West View Press, 1991), p.52.
10. A. Niehoff, *East Indians in Trinidad*, p.126.
11. Romila Thapar, syndicated Moksha in Seminar, 1985, No.313, The Hindus and their times, p.17.

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11. Carl C. Campbell, op. cit., pp.52-4.
12. Morton Klass, *Singing with Sai Baba: The politics of Revitalisation* p.157.
13. Praksh Persad, "The significance and use of Mantras". (paper), Undated, unpagged.
14. Article I of the Hindu Creed.
15. Anantanand Rambachan in an interview by Roodal Moonilan. (Published in *Society for the Promotion of Indian Culture*, Issue Divali 1987), p.9.
16. Savitri Nagoo in *Renaissance*, op. cit. Divali Issue 1988, p.37. See also Article III of Hindu Creed.
17. Surujrattan Rambachan: Thoughts on Divali - Many Gods.
18. Manhin Gosine, *East Indians and Black Power in the Caribbean*, (Africana Research Publications, New York 1986), p.217.
19. Unsigned in UWI *Society for the Promotion of Indian Culture: Renaissance*, Divali 1985 issue, p.2