
Jews to Trinidad

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According to the latest regulations, aliens do not require a British visa for Trinidad.

To judge by the number of enquiries we are receiving from refugees from Germany—who are prepared to go anywhere—Trinidad must expect a large influx of immigrants in the near future.

*Passport Control Officer, London,
November 8, 1938.¹*

The Jewish Association [of Trinidad] states that Trinidad is one of the few if not only place now offering temporary asylum to refugees.

*C.H. Hall, Jr., American Consul,
Trinidad to Secretary of State,
January 5, 1939.²*

Trinidad, long one of the world's more heterogeneous countries, experienced a further increase in racial complexity in the 1930s with the sizeable influx of Jewish refugees from Europe. With Hitler's military machine rolling over Germany's neighbours, with consequent attacks on the Jews increasing and with World War II looming on the horizon, thousands of Central European Jews could see the writing on the wall. By 1938 the mass destruction of their people was a mere three years away and efforts to escape the impending holocaust had assumed panic proportions. The United States and Great Britain, logical and obvious sources of assistance, both refused to open wide their doors to the desperate demands for asylum. It was left to the Jews and their supporters, with occasional help from the Nazis who were not reluctant

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to be rid of them, to seek refuge where they could. From Santo Domingo to Shanghai, they roamed the seas in search of an increasingly elusive safe haven.

Trinidad, a small colonial territory, with lax immigration laws and no popular control over its affairs, suddenly loomed large in the scheme of things. The same laws which incoming Syrian and Chinese merchants had taken advantage of in recent years, now prepared to bid welcome to yet another unlikely ethnic group.

Unlike Jamaica, Curaçao, Barbados and other areas in the Caribbean, Trinidad's history had not been characterized by the presence of a self-conscious, easily identifiable community of Jews. This is not to say that there had not been a number of Jewish descendants in its history. Many Portuguese and other European immigrants of earlier times had come in as Marranos or Christianized Jews, or had converted to Christianity at some point after arrival. A large number of common surnames in Trinidad today are said to denote Jewish ancestry, a fact which may prove surprising to some of the bearers of such names. Among them are Ferreira, Pereira, Teixeira, Goveia, Gomes, Gomez, Castro, Humphreys, Barcant, Siegert, Camps—Campins, Stollmeyer, DeLima, Hernandez, Nunez and Senior.³ Most of these names connote ancestry from the Sephardic Jews of Spain and Portugal.

Thanks to the energetic enquiries of a peripatetic United States Jew, H.O. Sandberg, and the active cooperation of the United States consul in Trinidad and Tobago, Henry D. Baker, we have a very valuable profile of the Jewish community in Trinidad in 1916. Sandberg, assistant trade expert for the Pan American Union, utilized his travels throughout the region to compile data on the Jews in Latin America and the Caribbean. His questionnaire was partially filled in by Baker and completed by Dr. J.I. Senior, a dentist and member of a prominent local Jewish family. "There is nothing of a conspicuous or interesting character to observe about the few Jewish families resident here," Dr. Senior reported.

The community numbered approximately twenty in all, with thirteen males and seven females. All lived in Port of Spain and the majority had come from Curaçao. Their principal economic activities Senior described as "commerce, agriculture and the professions." Five were in commerce and trade; one combined agriculture with trade and another combined an unnamed profession with trade; three were professional men, all dentists. Three were commercial clerks employed by others. Question number 18 on Sandberg's list asked, "As a class,

how do they rank financially?" Senior's answer was, "Very good." In his opinion their social standing in the community was also very high.

The Jews of Trinidad in 1916 mingled "freely with the native population" and intermarried with them. There were no Jewish organizations or publications and they did not maintain their own cemeteries (as they would after the influx of the 1930s). There were no temples or synagogues, no rabbis or other religious officials and the sabbath was not observed by keeping business places closed. "Only Kipur" of the high holidays merited the closure of business. In the absence of rabbis an older man performed such religious ceremonies as there were. Children were brought up in the faith and were educated both locally and abroad. Were there any local Jews from "the belligerent countries?" Sandberg asked, writing as he was in the midst of World War I. "All the Jews are Pro-Entente Allies," Senior replied. There were no organized efforts to aid "Jewish war sufferers," no Zionist or other movements and no published information on the Jewish presence in Trinidad. The longest resident Jew on the island, as far as Senior knew, had lived in Trinidad for forty years.⁴

The Seniors were an expansive and socially prominent family. Two brothers, Arthur (or Arturo) and J.I. Senior, practised dentistry in Trinidad. The latter (if not the whole family) was on very friendly terms with the resident United States consul, as already seen. Dr. J.I. Senior had moved to Trinidad from Caracas, Venezuela⁵ and the family maintained contact and exchanged visits with relatives in Curaçao, Venezuela and the United States, among other places.⁶ A Dr. Enrique Senior, son of one of the dentist brothers and himself a practising dentist in New York City, returned home in 1914 after an absence of eight years, to holiday with his father.⁷ A brother of Mrs. J.I. Senior died in Hamburg, Germany in 1916.⁸ Many of the refugees of the 1930s would ship out of that port.

At about this time the British authorities and United States consular representatives in Trinidad were confronted with a case which was to prefigure, in a mild way, the more difficult refugee cases of the 1930s. A "Russian Jewess," Esther Frank Abram, arrived in Trinidad in 1917 aboard a British transport from Egypt, intransit to the United States. Her husband had been killed while serving with British forces in Gallipoli. There was some uncertainty as to her ability to satisfy United States immigration requirements and the local British authorities were fearful that she might be deported back to Trinidad at Trinidad's expense.

The Trinidad authorities cabled her mother and brother, both resident in Brooklyn, New York. U.S. Consul Baker, a great friend of

the local Jewish community, interceded on her behalf with the inspector of immigration in New York and sought help for her from a welter of New York based organizations—the Jewish Big Sister Association (which contacted the Traveller's Aid Society), the Jewish Protector and Aid Association (which passed the information on to the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society), and the Hebrew Press Association.⁹

In her desire to reach North America, Mrs. Abram had to leave one of the four children accompanying her in Trinidad, while he underwent treatment for an eye disease that would have rendered him inadmissible to the United States. He remained in the care of Mrs. Paul Urich, wife of a wealthy Trinidadian. She was, according to Baker, "a Russian lady" and probably also Jewish.¹⁰

The Jews of Trinidad in this period moved in the highest echelons of colonial society. Unlike the case of Curaçao, where a large, well-established and centuries-old community provided the basis for elite competition with similarly well-established white Protestants,¹¹ the handful of Trinidad Jews found it more beneficial to integrate into the white Christian ruling class.

As indicated in the report of Dr. J.I. Senior, this integration was effected on the basis of substantial wealth. Dr. Senior himself owned a cocoa estate at La Puerta, an area which would in time see a large housing development organized by a later Jewish immigrant, Chimon Averboukh.¹²

The status of the Jews in this period was attested by their membership and leadership in the premier whites-only clubs of the era. It was in these clubs that much of the unofficial governing of the colony took place as British colonial administrators, the local merchant and planter elite and members of the diplomatic community interacted off the record. The most influential of these clubs was probably the Union Club, of which Alfred Pereira of Messrs Siegert and Sons was secretary.¹³ U.S. Consul Baker was also a member. Baker used the Union Club to great effect in his diplomatic work, as a privileged listening post among the politically powerful. "Almost all white persons of prominence in Trinidad are members," he reported to the U.S. Secretary of State in 1919. Mindful of popular discontent which had erupted shortly before this despatch, he explained further that the club was "composed entirely of white persons, or of those who belong predominantly to the white race, and could be relied upon in the event of any negro uprising."¹⁴

The *Argos* newspaper in 1913 reported the death of L.J. Bernstein, a Jew, a member of the exclusive Chamber of Commerce and of the

Union Club. He had been at the Colonial Hospital, "but on showing signs of insanity, was taken to the Lunatic Asylum, where he died." His remains were "conveyed direct to the Lapeyrouse Cemetery, he belonging to the Jewish faith." Slomon [sic] Pereira read from the Torah before his internment.¹⁵

Further evidence came from Consul Baker, who in 1919 requested favourable U.S. immigration treatment for Mrs. Nicholas Ferdinandoff, holder of a Russian passport and presumably Jewish. She and her husband were devoid of Bolshevik sympathies, he emphasized, and furthermore "they [stood] very well socially in Trinidad."¹⁶

As was the case in later periods, some Jews were also represented on the diplomatic corps. A Miss Senior was in 1918 said to be vice-consul for Venezuela.¹⁷

By the mid 1930s, on the eve of the great refugee influx, Trinidad's Jewish population (as opposed to Christian descendants of Jews) remained small. Lorna Yufe, who arrived as a child of eleven in May 1936, remembers "no more than 10 Jewish families" at the time.¹⁸ Her family was Polish, but came to Trinidad from Honduras. Several other members of the community had also come from South and Central America, fleeing "primitive" conditions or political instability¹⁹ and in search of a more congenial business climate. Austrian Hans Stecher, who arrived in Trinidad in October 1938, remembers only one practising Jew, an English Sephardic from Manchester, prior to the refugee influx.²⁰

The year 1938 marked the beginning of Trinidad's refugee problem. Germany overran Austria (the "Anschluss") in March, precipitating the flight of Austrian and German Jews. The newspapers reported twenty arrivals in April²¹ and their numbers increased steadily. By September the *Trinidad Guardian* thought that there were about one hundred and twenty-five in the island.²² The Colonial Office in London estimated one hundred and twenty arrivals from January 1st to November 29th, 1938. Twenty-three had arrived in the first quarter and ninety-seven thereafter.²³

By November the Colonial Office was ready to warn Trinidad of an impending deluge. Enquiries from Austrian and German Jews were on the increase and it was obvious that "some central Jewish bureau" had checked around and discovered Trinidad's almost open door policy on immigration. Due to a loophole in Trinidad's regulations a British visa was not required. The only substantial entry requirement was a refundable deposit of about 50 pounds, and that was waived if the immigrant could prove that he was unlikely to become a public charge.²⁴

Late in November came a request from The Council for German Jewry in London (cable address "Migrate, London") for permission to divert nine hundred refugees to Trinidad. They had won admission in principle from the United States, which nevertheless refused to accept them immediately since the year's quota was filled. They were set to leave Hamburg on December 12, about two weeks after the request to the Colonial Office. They hoped to arrive in Trinidad on December 22nd.

Colonial Office policy makers debated the request and decided against it. They objected to the short notice, the backlash effect that such a large group would have on other potential recipients of refugees, the unfair burden on Trinidad, which had already taken far more immigrants per capita than any comparable country, and the unreasonable attitude of the United States. "The colonies are not in a position to be made a dumping ground of this kind," one official observed, "particularly *for refugees which another country has actually agreed to take.*"²⁵ The acting governor of Trinidad concurred in the refusal. "Can't you request the United States to accept them without further ado?" enquired Sir John E. Shuckburgh of the Colonial Office, in his response to the Jewish organization's representative.²⁶ In the midst of this dialogue, a London doctor suggested his estate on the north coast of Trinidad for a Jewish agricultural settlement. He thought that the Jews' record in Palestine would augur well for such a settlement, a recurring theme during the refugee crisis. He was referred by the Colonial Office to the Council for German Jewry. In any event the acting governor did not think much of the agricultural potential of the doctor's estate.²⁷

Despite its refusal to accept the nine hundred, the Colonial Office simultaneously affirmed its anxiety to have the "Colonial Empire...play its part in furnishing a contribution towards the solution of this grave and most urgent problem."²⁸ It would become increasingly clear in the months ahead that the Colonial Office preferred planned, preferably large-scale settlement schemes over haphazard ad hoc sorties.

The timing of the 1938 refugee influx was objectively not good for Trinidad. The preceding year had seen the worst labour disturbances in the country's history, involving the landing of British troops and much loss of life. Unemployment was rife, the depression was in full swing and neither labour nor the professional classes welcomed competition from this unwelcome source. Housing was in short supply and there already was some discontent in labour circles concerning the immigration of Chinese and Syrian petty traders.

An Immigration (Restriction) Ordinance, No. 4 of 1936, had actually been passed in an ineffective effort to reduce the flow of Chinese and Syrian immigrants. While the act carefully refrained from ostensibly targeting any particular group, its real purpose was clear. Governor Sir Murchison Fletcher advised the Colonial Office confidentially in 1937 that the law was "frankly designed for the purpose of preventing entry into the Colony, and [was] aimed more particularly at Chinese and Syrians, against whom the labour leaders can readily incense public opinion. The deposits required of immigrants," he opined, "are much in excess of the cost of passages back to the country of origin...."

Fletcher may have been sanguine in his expectations for the deterrent effects of the law, but its impact was sufficient to elicit a strong protest from the Chinese ambassador in London. The Foreign Office assured the Chinese quite "emphatically" that no discrimination against them was intended. This response may not have been altogether dishonest. Governor Fletcher, notorious for his liberality and willingness to sympathize with Trinidad's workers, was to the left of at least some of the Foreign and Colonial Office people in London, on this issue.

Some Colonial Office policy makers suggested the immigration quota systems of Jamaica and Palestine as possible models for Trinidad. They were quite sure, however, that nobody in London desired a cessation of Chinese immigration. There was a feeling that locals lost out economically to the Chinese and Syrians through "their own demerit." The immigrants were assumed to be harder working, more honest, more content with small profits and more prone to accept low living standards than Trinidadians. Various complexities of history, the dynamics of race and class in a crown colony environment, hostile legislation and other factors were ignored. One Colonial Office functionary observed, and not incorrectly, "The situation is somewhat like that of the Syrians in West Africa."²⁹

When a more restrictive immigration law was eventually passed, early in 1939, it was aimed at the Jewish situation, rather than the Chinese or Syrians. Trinidad's anomalous open door policy seemed increasingly untenable as refugees entered, in the words of one Colonial Office analyst, "in such embarrassing numbers."³⁰ There was fear that the chaotic situation at Shanghai, caused by hundreds of unregulated arrivals, might replicate itself in Trinidad. There was also some upset at the German authorities, who were suspected of "actively conniving" at the rush of refugees to diverse places.³¹ On January 10, 1939, Acting Governor John Huggins issued an order under the Immigration

(Restriction) Ordinance of 1936, designed to stem the flow of refugees. Despite the fact that Colonial Office analysts had steered Huggins in this direction, the secretary of state for the colonies, Malcolm MacDonald, issued a seemingly mildly divergent circular in December 1938. He did not want colonies to change their immigration laws to favour refugees, he said. "On the other hand," he would "greatly deprecate the introduction of any restrictions expressly designed to render the entry of refugees from Germany more difficult."³² But this is precisely what the Trinidad order did.

The immediate context in which the order was introduced was sketched by C.H. Hall, Jr., U.S. Consul in Trinidad. "A considerable influx" of Austrian and German refugees had occurred in the month preceding the order. About four hundred were "temporarily resident" and one hundred and fifty more were expected in a week. All available bookings on ships leaving Europe for Trinidad had been engaged for the next six months.³³

The order prohibited all alien refugees with effect from January 15, 1939. Aliens were those who, within twenty-four months of the order, or at any time thereafter, had left any of the following places: Germany (including conquered Austria and annexed portions of Czechoslovakia); Hungary (including annexed portions of Czechoslovakia); Poland (including annexed portions of Czechoslovakia); Danzig, Memel, Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Italy.³⁴

Though Colonial Office analysts had urged such a law on Trinidad, they (and Foreign Office personnel as well) disapproved of the form of the order. They had hoped for a non-specific regulation, one that did not discriminate against named countries. The order as formulated ran the risk of conflicting with commercial treaties and was so "extensive in character as to be likely to involve His Majesty's Government in political difficulties." The way around the problem seemed simply to replace the named countries by a visa requirement. Then visas could be refused on the same grounds as the order, but without making the discrimination manifest.³⁵

Yugoslavia did in fact protest the order, since the wording tended to deem any Yugoslavian citizen inadmissible to Trinidad. Neither the Foreign nor Colonial Office found itself able to justify Trinidad's "irrational" order. The only way out, they resolved, was to pressure the acting governor to modify it.³⁶

The order had an immediate impact on the flow of refugees. Shortly after its issuance a local immigration officer mistakenly issued two hundred and fifty-seven admission permits at the request of already resident Jews. All were revoked. Some of the would-be refugees

involved were said to have already sold all their belongings in anticipation of coming to Trinidad. One man had allegedly been released from a German concentration camp only upon receipt of the admission permit and on condition that he leave for Trinidad. Nothing could be done to help these people.³⁷

The order had immediate consequences for the U.S. State Department as well. They were confronted with cases such as that of thirty-seven refugees intransit in the United States and in process of transshipment to Trinidad.³⁸ Typical also was the case of Max and Fanny Borg, caught on the high seas on the way from Germany to Trinidad at the time of the order.³⁹

A party of prospective non-Jewish refugees from Switzerland was also frustrated by the order. The Aid Committee for Refugees of the Evangelical Church Council of Zurich had hoped to send ten to fifteen carefully selected "Christians [who] confess the evangelic religion." These were people who had been forced to flee Germany because of their "democratic attitude." "Our little country," said the committee's spokesman, was already sheltering 20,000 refugees. It was dangerous for them to remain in Switzerland. Nothing could be done to help these people, however, despite a question asked on their behalf in the House of Commons. Their request had come after January 10.⁴⁰

Perhaps the most dramatic immediate result of the order was the case of the ship *Caribia* of the Hamburg-Amerika Line, which made a desperate but unsuccessful bid to beat the ban. Those responsible for arranging the trip were doubtless aware of the order. By the time notification came, however, sailing time was a few days away and the decision was taken to gamble rather than stay put. The *Caribia* left Germany with eighty-three refugees on board about five or six days after January 10.

The Council for German Jewry and other agencies kept up a steady pressure on the Colonial Office as the ship steamed with its hapless cargo to an unwelcoming destination. It was due in Trinidad on January 29. Norman Bentwich of the Council promised financial support for the passengers from United States Jewish sources. He even tried to lie his way around the situation, by claiming that the ship had departed before the order. "It did not!" wrote J.G. Hibbert of the Colonial Office in the margin of Bentwich's letter.

Eighty of the *Caribia's* passengers were duly refused entry into Trinidad. The ship then decided to try Belize. An urgent telegram to London from a refugee on board pointed out the uselessness of this course, since the British governor there had already indicated his unwillingness to take them in. The Colonial Office and Belizean

authorities now embarked on earnest discussions on what to do. Before they could come to a decision a *deus ex machina* appeared in the guise of Venezuela, which took them in.⁴¹

Similar to the *Caribia* was the case of the ship *Konigstein* of the Red Star Line, Hamburg. On the eve of the Trinidad order it appeared poised to transport two hundred and ninety-seven refugees, via special charter, to Trinidad. In this case the organizers seem to have lost their nerve and cancelled the trip.⁴²

These cases helped the Trinidad government refine its implementation of the January order. Exceptions were entertained in two circumstances, for refugees already en route when the order was made and for wives, and dependent children under sixteen, of already resident refugees.⁴³ One such resident may have been the German refugee reported to have lost most of his "family, children and sisters" in the sinking of the *Simón Bolívar*, bound from Holland for Trinidad in November 1939. By this time World War II had started. Many Trinidadians, caught in Europe by the outbreak of hostilities, had rushed to Holland in a frantic bid to get home on an ostensibly neutral ship. But the Nazis torpedoed it anyway and Jew and Gentile perished in the wintry waters of the North Sea, not far from the English coast, whence many of them had hurried to Holland.⁴⁴

The order of January 10 undoubtedly stemmed a potentially overwhelming flow of refugees to Trinidad. At the time of its promulgation, two thousand German Jews alone were said to have applied for passage to Trinidad.⁴⁵ As of February 29, 1940 a total of 585 refugees had entered the island. Eighty-seven had left, leaving a net balance of 498. Of the 585 entering 366 had been recorded under the Aliens Registration Order of 1939. Of these 366, three hundred and four were enemy aliens and 62 non-enemy aliens who had resided in enemy or occupied territories. The 219 non-registered aliens comprised 16 Germans (all of whom left before the war), 47 Poles, 2 Hungarians, 5 Palestinians, 10 stateless persons and 139 Rumanians. The 87 recorded as having left included 43 Germans (presumably in addition to the 16 unregistered ones), 29 Rumanians, 8 stateless persons and 7 Poles. These 87 departed to the United States (40), Venezuela (21), the U.S. Canal Zone (15), Germany (3), Rumania (2), Peru (2), Chile (1), Martinique (1), British Guiana (1) and England (1).

The war ushered in a new phase of the refugee problem. "Enemy aliens" were interned while others set about the task of accumulating wealth, with much help from their friends, local and foreign. For the first time in its history Trinidad became host to a visible, active Jewish community, complete with synagogues, Zionist and other organizations,

special voluntary Jewish education for its children and an exclusive burial ground. These and other facets of the new phase are however beyond the scope of the present paper.

NOTES

- 1 Public Record Office, London, Colonial Office records, CO 295/603/70036.
- 2 Record Group (RG) 59, 844G · 5562/1, records of the Department of State, National Archives of the United States, Washington, D.C.
- 3 These names and more were obtained from the following published sources, interviews and conversations—Frances P. Karner, *The Sephardics of Curaçao* (Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum and Co., 1969), 43; Arthur De Lima, *The De Limas of Frederick Street* (Port of Spain: Inprint, 1975), 1-6; Judy Raymond, "The Lost Tribe: the Forgotten Jewish Community of Trinidad," *Trinidad Express*, Feb. 6, 1990; interview with Hans (John) Stecher, October 22, 1990; informal conversations with Boscoe Holder, Port of Spain, April 25, 1987 and Sister Noel Menezes, Georgetown, Guyana, 1989.
- 4 RG 84, 840 4, American Consular Reports, Trinidad, 1916, National Archives. The reference to intermarriage in all likelihood referred to white locals.
- 5 *Argos*, December 29, 1915. The *Argos* was published from 1911 to at least 1920. Chinese merchant George Aldric Lee Lum was proprietor and publisher. The paper featured a Spanish section (with much coverage of Venezuelan news), an occasional article in French and masthead in Chinese under the English "Argos" title. In the years after World War I it championed Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association and the radical activities of the Trinidad Workingmen's Association, much to the dismay of local whites and British officials, who considered its Afro-Trinidadian editors anti-white. See Tony Martin, *The Pan-African Connection*, (Dover, MA: The Majority Press, 1984, first pub. 1983), 49-50.
- 6 Ibid, May 20, 1914 and Aug. 30, 1916 (Curaçao); July 2, 1914 (New York City); Jan. 24 1915 (Caracas).
- 7 Ibid, Jan. 29, 1914, July 22, 1914. In 1916 a Dr. Oscar Senior returned from New York—ibid, Dec. 19, 1916.
- 8 Ibid, May 26, 1916.
- 9 H.D. Baker, American Consul to Inspector of Immigration, New York, July 7, 1917, RG 84, 855, General Consular Correspondence, National Archives; ibid, Baker to Hebrew Press Association, July 7 1917; ibid,

- Baker to Jewish Big Sister Association, July 7, 1917; *ibid*, Orin C. Baker, general secretary, Travellers' Aid Society to Baker, August 29, 1917; *ibid*, Baker to Jewish Protectory and Aid Society, July 7, 1917; *ibid*, Irving W. Halpern, superintendent, Jewish Protectory and Aid Society to Baker, July 18, 1917; *ibid*, Jacob R. Fain, acting general manager, Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society of America to Baker, [n.d.]; *ibid*, American Vice-Consul, Trinidad, Raymond Phelan to Colonial Secretary, Aug. 15, 1917; *ibid*, S.W. Knaggs, Colonial Secretary to Baker, Aug. 16, 1917; *ibid*, Phelan to Mathew Costelloe, Detective Sub-Inspector, Oct. 27, 1917.
- 10 Helen Winkler, Chairman, The Council of Jewish Women to Baker, Oct. 27, 1918, RG 84,855, National Archives; *ibid*, Baker to Winkler, Dec. 23, 1918. Despite Ulrich's wealth and continued oversight of the child's well-being, he was accommodated at the Tacarigua Home, an orphanage, at Trinidad government expense. Baker undertook to meet the expense of repatriating the child.
 - 11 Karner, *The Sephardics of Curaçao*, *passim*.
 - 12 *Argos*, July 7, 1915 (re Senior); title search on property at 168 Duke of Edinburgh Avenue, Petit Valley, Trinidad—private document in possession of author.
 - 13 *Argos*, Jan. 13, March 17, 1913.
 - 14 Quoted in Martin, *The Pan-African Connection*, 55,56. See also *ibid*, 54 and 66. It is conceivable that "Those who belong predominantly to the white race" may have referred to some Jews, or persons of predominantly white origin with minute infusions of African blood, or both.
 - 15 *Argos*, Oct. 30, 1913.
 - 16 Henry D. Baker to Inspector of Immigration, New York, May 15, 1919, RG 84, 811-1, National Archives.
 - 17 *Argos*, June 4, 1918. An M.A. Senior was Inspector of Immigrants, Northern Division—*ibid*, June 16, 1915. Arthur De Lima, prominent merchant and Christian son of a Sephardic father and a Christian mother, (interview with Hans Stecher, *op. cit*) was named after Dr. Arthur Senior and may have grown up in a house (6 Victoria Avenue, Port of Spain), where Dr. Senior had resided previously—De Lima, *The De Limas of Frederick Street*, pp. xii, xv; *Argos*, May 25, 1918. The *Argos* of June 26, 1918, however, gives Dr. Senior's address as 6A Victoria Avenue. Hans Stecher has in recent times been consul for Poland. Arthur De Lima was consul for Panama: *Trinidad Guardian*, Nov. 3, 1938.
 - 18 Lorna Yufe, 'History of the Jews in Trinidad (1932-1981),' unpublished typescript contained in documents given to the author by Mr. Hans Stecher (hereinafter Stecher Papers).
 - 19 *Ibid*.

- 20 Interview with Hans Stecher, Oct. 22, 1990. The Seniors were no longer practising Jews by this time. Stecher also remembers a Dr. Lyons from this pre-refugee period.
- 21 *Trinidad Guardian*, April 27, 1938.
- 22 *Ibid*, Sept. 25, 1938.
- 23 J. Huggins, acting governor, Trinidad to Rt Hon. Malcolm MacDonald, Colonial Office, Nov. 29, 1938, CO 295/612/70036.
- 24 C.G. Stevens to Mr. Poynton, both of the Colonial Office, Nov. 18, 1938, CO 295/603/70036. The deposit was refunded after one year: Yufe ms.
- 25 Minutes of Nov. 29 thru Dec. 2, 1938; Norman Bentwich, The Council for German Jewry, to Sir John E. Shuckburgh, Colonial Office, Nov. 29 and Dec. 5, 1938, CO 295/603/70036. Emphasis in original.
- 26 J.E. Shuckburgh to Norman Bentwich, Dec. 2, 1938, CO 295/603/70036.
- 27 R. Galway Murray, MD to Rt Hon. Malcolm MacDonald, Nov. 27, 1938; H. Beckett to Murray, Dec. 6, 1938, CO 295/603/70036.
- 28 Circular despatch from Malcolm MacDonald to Officer Administering the Government (OAG), no name, Dec. 1, 1938.
- 29 Minute from Mr. Poynton, June 20, 1938, CO 295/603/70036.
- 30 J.G. Hibbert, minute of March 3, 1939, CO 295/612/70036.
- 31 J.G. Hibbert to H.E. Brooks, Jan. 20, 1939, CO 295/612/70036. "Actively conniving" were the words of Norman Bentwich of The Council for German Jewry.
- 32 Malcolm MacDonald, circular despatch to OAG (unnamed countries), Dec. 1, 1938.
- 33 C.H. Hall, Jr. to Secretary of State, Jan. 5, 1939, RG 59, 844 G. 5562/1.
- 34 *Gazette Extraordinary* (Trinidad), Jan. 10, 1939.
- 35 Mr. Poynton, minute of Jan. 11, 1939, CO 295/612/70036; Walter Roberts, Foreign Office to Undersecretary of State, Colonial Office, Jan. 19, 1939, CO 295/612/70036.
- 36 Chargé d'Affaires, Royal Yugoslav Legation, London to Secretary of State, Foreign Office, March 29, 1939, CO 295/612/70036; *ibid*, minute by Mr. Duncan, May 25, 1939.
- 37 Col. H.L. Nathan, MP to Malcolm MacDonald, March 7, 1939; MacDonald to Nathan, March 13, 1939; telegram, OAG Trinidad to Secretary of State, Colonial Office, Jan. 14, 1939, CO 295/612/70036.
- 38 Urgent telegram, Department of State to American Consul, Port of Spain, Jan. 10, 1939, RG 59, 844 G 55/10A.
- 39 Note from Hamburg, Feb. 23, 1939, RG 59, 844 G. 5562/2.
- 40 Secretary of State, Colonial Office to Miss E. Rathbone, MP, Nov. 1939 (no day); Governor Hubert Young to Rt Hon. Malcolm MacDonald, Sept. 30, 1939; A. Waldenburger to "Colonial Office of the Government of Trinidad," Feb. 9, 1939; J. de Nobrega for Acting Colonial Secretary to A. Waldenburger, March 11, 1939.

- 41 Norman Bentwich, Council for German Jewry to J.G. Hibbert, Jan. 27, 1939; OAG, Trinidad to Secretary of State, Colonial Office, Jan. 28, 1939; minute, Jan. 27, 1939; OAG, Trinidad, telegram, Jan. 28, 1939; J.G. Hibbert to H.E. Brooks, Jan. 20 and Feb. 4, 1939; minute, Jan. 9, 1939; minute by H. Duncan, Feb. 2, 1939; Malcolm MacDonald to Col. H.L. Nathan, MP, March 13, 1939, CO 295/612/70036. *Trinidad Guardian*, Jan. 31, 1939.
- 42 Minute by A. Poynton to Mr. Duncan, Jan. 7, 1939; Duncan to Poynton, Jan. 9, 1939; J.G. Hibbert to H.E. Brooks, Jan. 20, 1939 and Feb. 4, 1939, CO 295/612/70036.
- 43 Malcolm MacDonald to Col. H.L. Nathan, MP, March 13, 1939, CO 295/612/70036.
- 44 *Trinidad Guardian*, December 31, 1939. Interviews with Kathleen Warner, Trinidad, 1987.
- 45 J.G. Hibbert to H.E. Brooks, Jan. 20, 1939, CO 295/612/70036.