CONTENTS

Illustrations · *xi*
Abbreviations · *xiii*

Introduction 1

PART I HOMEFRONT MOBILIZATIONS 17

CHAPTER 1 The "Color Question": War and the Racial Fault Lines of Imperial Belonging 19

CHAPTER 2 "Every True Son of the Empire": Martial Masculinity, Transnational Migration, and the Politics of Recruitment 51

PART II THE SOLDIER'S LIFE 105

CHAPTER 3 "Humiliations and Disillusion": Military Labor and Wartime Interracial Encounters 107

CHAPTER 4 An "Insubordinate Spirit Prevailed": Rights, Respectability, and the Battle Against Discrimination in the British Army 137

PART III POSTWAR RECKONINGS 173

CHAPTER 5 "Serious Discontent": Emigration, Rebellion, and Negotiation in the War's Aftermath 175

CHAPTER 6 "Equal Reward for Equal Service": Veterans' Politics in Postwar Trinidad 205

Epilogue 241

Acknowledgments · 253

Notes · 259

Bibliography · 327

Index · 355

Introduction

We are a new people, born out of a new day and a new circumstance. We are born out of the bloody wa[r] of 1914–18.

—MARCUS GARVEY

A detailed history of the B. W. I. Regiment in the War will be told some day.

—C. L. R. JAMES

TUBAL URIAH "BUZ" Butler convened the first mass meeting of the Grenada Union of Returned Soldiers on September 11, 1919, less than three months after he was discharged from the British West Indies Regiment (BWIR).[1] That Thursday afternoon, a large crowd of spectators, including over one hundred ex-soldiers, gathered in St. George's, Grenada, to listen as the twenty-two-year-old ex-private announced his bold plan for the colony's first veterans' union. Standing atop the platform in Market Square, Butler recalled the triumphs and hardships Grenadian soldiers had endured during World War I and celebrated their contributions to the Allies' victory. "It is no boast when I say—our comrades of other islands heard it over and over from the mouths of high officers—that Grenadians were the brain, the flower of the British West Indies Regiment," he proclaimed. "The large number of Grenadians who wore stripes and were put in power of discipline over others," he added, "proves that we tried hard to merit your hopes for us, and that our efforts had been recognised by those in command."[2]

Yet Butler also alleged that in the aftermath of the war, colonial authorities in Grenada disregarded veterans' sacrifices and offered them only meager financial support. Expressing the anger of many, he railed against the government's parsimony, characterizing the low scale of gratuities

awarded to ex-soldiers as "very ridiculous." "We take no pleasure in grumbling or in talking about what good we have done, but this is rendered necessary since those who should know, and feel, and act seem not be aware of these things," Butler asserted. "We did not expect to return to Grenada to be governors," he lamented, "but we did really expect to return to a grateful Government and people moved to help us resettle in civil life as comfortable citizens."[3] The state's refusal to provide adequate financial support to veterans, Butler concluded, was both a shocking act of ingratitude and a painful demonstration of imperial neglect.

Even as Butler publicly castigated colonial authorities, he advised veterans to respect the rule of law. The Grenada Union of Returned Soldiers was "not anti-Government or anti-law and order," he declared, and its members would seek redress solely through negotiation and other nonviolent tactics. "We are not going to fight the Government, except as we may in a constitutional way," he stressed. To secure support from civilians and garner their "minds and influences" for the union, Butler counseled that veterans must restrict their protests to respectable, sanctioned forms of dissent, taking great care not to behave in a "drunken and 'Tommified' way." The union's provisional president—pioneering black journalist and newspaper editor T. A. Marryshow—affirmed and echoed Butler's moderate stance. In an article about the new union published one day after the mass meeting, Marryshow stated plainly: "The Society has no desire to be anti-British, anti-Government, or anti-anything that may be rated disloyal or stupid."[4]

Butler's work to establish the Grenada Union of Returned Soldiers launched his remarkable, decades-long activist career as a trade unionist, politician, and preacher; while he asserted that he was not anti-government, colonial officials increasingly saw Butler as a threat to the colonial order. The same year that he founded the veterans' union, he also joined the Grenada Representative Government Movement, linking the fight for ex-soldiers to the campaign for voting rights and democratic governance. Two years later, in 1921, Butler migrated south to Trinidad, securing jobs in the colony's oilfields as a pipefitter, rig man, and pumpman.[5] Faced with stagnant wages and poor working conditions, he joined the Trinidad Workingmen's Association, a group led by fellow BWIR veteran Arthur Andrew Cipriani.[6] By the 1930s, Butler was the most influential working-class activist in Trinidad and head of his own political party, the British Empire Workers and Citizens Home Rule Party. Surveilled and persecuted by the colonial government, he endured years of imprisonment after being charged with inciting a riot and sedition in 1937.[7] Following his

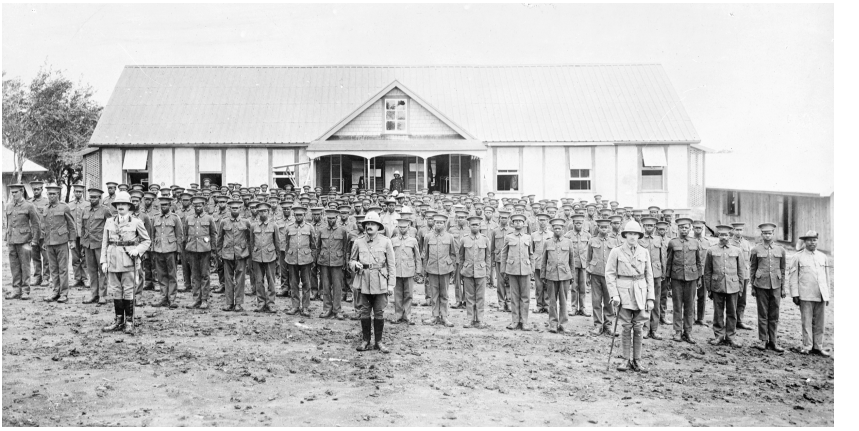

FIGURE 0.1. BWIR soldiers on parade in Grenada. © Imperial War Museum (Q 17129)

release from prison, colonial officials detained him again, this time insisting that Butler posed an imminent security risk. The decorated BWIR veteran, who had fought to defend the British Empire during World War I, would spend the entirety of World War II at a makeshift detention center on Nelson Island off the coast of Trinidad.[8]

World War I—for Butler, Cipriani, and other BWIR soldiers—was a period of revelation and reckoning. The war and its turbulent aftermath prompted soldiers to interrogate their status as British colonial subjects and fueled heightened and, at times, contentious encounters with the colonial state. *Democracy's Foot Soldiers* investigates how the war shaped West Indians' understandings of and engagements with the British Empire. It addresses pivotal questions about the war's reverberations in the Caribbean, a region that remains understudied in the vast scholarship on World War I. Through analysis of archival, literary, and ethnographic sources—alongside materials from the circum-Caribbean press—it foregrounds the social, political, and geographic trajectories of BWIR soldiers and their civilian kin from the outbreak of hostilities in 1914 to the popular upheavals of the postwar period.

The British West Indies Regiment was a unique experiment in colonial military mobilization. Established in 1915, the regiment welcomed men from every British colony in the Caribbean, as well as thousands of West Indians who enlisted while living overseas. In a sharp departure from many colonial units and the metropolitan British Army after 1916, the BWIR was an all-volunteer force, recruiting soldiers through material

incentives, patriotic rhetoric, and gendered appeals rather than conscription or impressment.[9] As one newspaper proudly affirmed, West Indians "rushed forward" to enlist, driven by "love and not by the lash!"[10] At its height, the BWIR swelled to include 15,601 soldiers organized into twelve battalions, making it the largest military force in the World War I-era British Caribbean. Most men who served in the regiment were not professional career soldiers; instead, they were first-time enlistees who pledged to serve for "the duration of the war," with the explicit expectation of returning to civilian life after hostilities ended.

Through universalist language, local recruiters mobilized a discourse that I describe as "martial interracialism," presenting soldiering as a crucial opportunity for West Indians to demonstrate masculine valor unencumbered by racial oppression.[11] They touted the BWIR as a model of racial equality, proclaiming insistently that men "irrespective of class, colour, or creed" could join in the empire's defense.[12] According to the recruiters, military service was the duty of all adult men, uniting subjects in the colonies with those in the metropole through shared sacrifice. As one Trinidadian recruiter declared to a crowd of potential volunteers, "There was no . . . colour distinction . . . in His Majesty's army. . . . Lord Kitchener welcomed everybody connected to the Empire no matter whether he was black, white, or green."[13] Yet, as this book reveals, martial interracialism was a pernicious myth.

Like other discourses of racial harmony in Latin America and the Caribbean, celebrations of martial interracialism during World War I sought to obscure structural inequalities and practices of exclusion that disadvantaged people of African descent.[14] In reality, soldiers of African descent—whether black or colored—were relegated to the BWIR's enlisted ranks, while only white men with "unmixed European blood" could lead in the regiment as commissioned officers. Military officials subjected BWIR enlistees to other forms of racial discrimination as well. The regiment's black and colored soldiers were often assigned to dilapidated housing, prohibited from recreational spaces reserved for British troops, and denied supplemental proficiency pay. In a major slight, the regiment was also barred from engaging in combat in Europe, meaning that most BWIR soldiers spent the war drudging as manual laborers rather than battling the Central Powers. Military service thus presented a path toward *unequal inclusion* in the British armed forces for black and colored BWIR volunteers. Furthermore, because enlistment policies restricted most Caribbean men of Indian and Chinese descent from joining the BWIR, the region's

FIGURE 0.2. BWIR soldiers stacking shells in Ypres, Belgium. © Imperial War Museum (E(AUS) 2078)

growing Asian communities were generally excluded from military service and the intense political struggles that it engendered.

Military deployment brought BWIR soldiers into contact with people from around the world—and across the color line. They experienced the global nature of the "world war" firsthand through daily encounters with civilians, military laborers, and servicemen from distant lands and diverse cultures. Trekking between theaters of war in Europe, Africa, India, and the Middle East, they served alongside soldiers from the British Isles and every corner of the British Empire while also interacting with troops from France and its empire, the United States, and other Allied nations. They observed contract laborers from China and the Middle East toiling away at military worksites, and they traded candies and played games with curious local children. They socialized with women at cafés, shops, homes, and brothels. Racial inequalities often, but not always, pervaded these encounters, as scholars have conclusively demonstrated.[15] Black and colored BWIR troops faced particularly intense hostility from their supposed comrades—white British soldiers. "The English Tommies do everything to cause us to lose control of our tempers," a Grenadian soldier detailed in an anguished letter. "Nigger, nigger, what you've come for. Bloke, see

a monkey in Khaki. These are common insults of every day." Capturing the sentiment of many BWIR soldiers, he added: "But words are nothing. There is, moreover, a hostile spirit of unkindness toward us."[16]

Determined to expose the injustice and humiliation that BWIR soldiers endured, the generation of radical Caribbean writers and activists who came of age during World War I emphasized the war's transformative effect on black servicemen. Jamaican writer Claude McKay, after meeting with demobilized black servicemen in London in 1919, reported that their "grievance against things British" was "rapidly growing greater." In a blistering exposé published in the *Negro World*, McKay proclaimed: "We should rejoice that Germany so blundered, so that Negroes from all parts of the world were drawn to England to see the Lion, afraid and trembling, hiding in cellars, and the British ruling class revealed to them in all of its rottenness and hypocrisy."[17] Likewise, militant trade union organizer and black nationalist Eduardo Morales asserted that black soldiers had been "baptized with the baptism of fire" and "washed in the blood of sacrifice" on the "battlefields of Europe and Africa," transforming them into men ready to lead the fight for "an everlasting Negro Democracy." In a public letter to BWIR soldiers in Panama, Morales insisted that black veterans emerged from the war as new creatures: "You have descended into hell in order to bury the 'Old Negro' and have now returned to us as a 'New Negro,' holding high the standard of our racial purity in the face of the entire world, demanding equal rights for the members of your race."[18] The Trinidadian journalist George Padmore, in an article published in *The Crisis*, argued that the war "marked a definite turning point in West Indian ideology." "Most of the men who served abroad came back more racially and politically conscious, stimulated no doubt by the Wilsonian slogans of 'Democracy and Self-determination' for oppressed peoples and races," he explained. "It is therefore not surprising that the most militant and articulate post-war leaders among the common people of the islands are ex-service men."[19]

Based on these early and insistent pronouncements, I journeyed into the archive eager to reconstruct how BWIR soldiers battled against British rule in the Caribbean. Yet, as I pored over the vast archival traces left by soldiers, a more complicated story surfaced. This book, the result of my explorations, argues that many West Indian servicemen who experienced racism and discrimination during the war did not dismiss the empire entirely; rather, they made heightened claims to the imperial state. BWIR soldiers embarked on their own "war for democracy" by demanding racial equality, fair compensation, and the power to shape veterans' policies.

My contention here deviates from the conclusions of prior scholarship, which suggest that the degradations of the war years drove "black soldiers away from their connection to the British Empire" and prompted them to "fight for the end of the British Empire, independence for their islands, and for black people to govern themselves."[20] Instead, as I will show, many disaffected soldiers articulated their grievances through the reformist language of imperial patriotism, clamoring for redress by positioning themselves as loyal subjects of the Crown who had risked their lives to defend "King and Country." They insisted that the state had an inviolable obligation to care for soldiers and their families and demanded compensation on the same scale granted to white servicemen in the metropole. In their appeals, BWIR soldiers called for substantive reforms to British colonial policy in the Caribbean *rather than an end to colonialism itself*. Reformist veterans sought to amplify—not disavow—their status as faithful soldiers and subjects as a strategy to secure pecuniary and political benefits. And they conspired to expose, discredit, and marginalize more militant BWIR soldiers and civilians who did seek redress through violence and mass uprisings.

Studying War

Based on research in nineteen archives in six countries, *Democracy's Foot Soldiers* brings together previously untapped archival, newspaper, literary, visual, and ethnographic sources from Barbados, Belize, England, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and the United States, along with selected press sources from Grenada, Guyana, Panama, and the Bahamas. To situate BWIR soldiers in the rapidly changing social, cultural, and political dynamics of the wartime British Caribbean, it analyzes information gleaned from colonial government reports, military documents, police surveillance accounts, consular files, and newspaper articles alongside heretofore uncited soldiers' letters, petitions, memoirs, oral histories, photographs, and declassified correspondence. Given that no stark boundary existed between the civilian and military worlds, this book is especially attuned to the transnational circulation of ideas, policies, and people within the British Empire and beyond during the war years.

Civil and military authorities produced voluminous records about the BWIR—tracking soldiers through attestation forms, nominal rolls, court-martial files, medical reports, pension records, photographs, regimental war diaries, and police surveillance accounts—during and after World War I. "British colonial regimes," as anthropologist Karin Barber asserts,

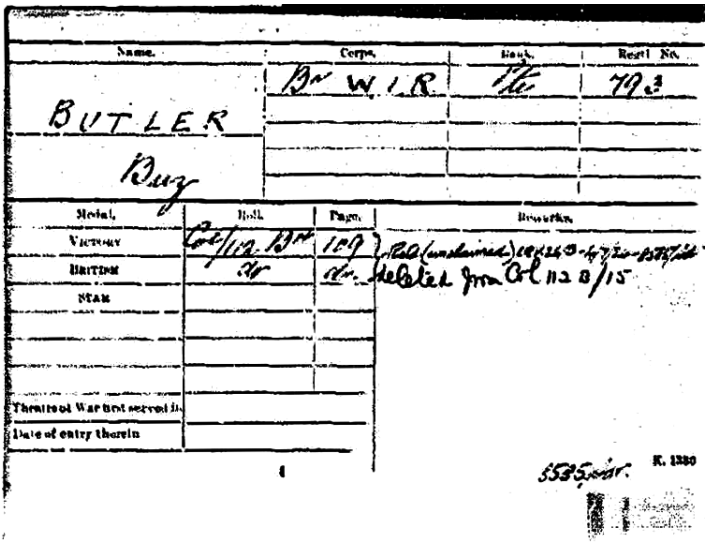

FIGURE 0.3. Medal card for Tubal Uriah "Buz" Butler. National Archives of the United Kingdom.

"made extensive use of documentary forms of domination" to monitor and regulate subject populations.[21] This was especially true for the British armed forces, where every soldier completed a detailed attestation form at enlistment, received a unique regimental number, and was issued a medal card that recorded their rank, service unit, and medals received, along with the theaters of war where they served (see fig. 0.3). Soldiers' service papers and other military records offer an important, albeit partial, window into the mundane and extraordinary aspects of military life, while also betraying the bureaucratic imperatives and deep-seated prejudices of their authors.

But it is the writings and recollections of British Caribbeans that anchor this book, shaping the narrative and arguments that unfold in the pages that follow. Armed with paper and pen, BWIR soldiers and their supporters also produced their own rich documentary record. Volunteers for the regiment, unlike other non-white colonial troops, were initially required to pass a literacy test prior to enlistment, ensuring that most BWIR soldiers could read and write in English.[22] Literacy levels in the BWIR, according to some observers, surpassed even those of white regiments in the British Army.[23] And literacy would quickly become BWIR soldiers' most potent weapon. Servicemen meticulously recorded their experiences, grievances, and demands through multiple forms of writing.

They dispatched letters to the editors of Caribbean periodicals, wrote to loved ones back home, authored journalistic accounts of military life, and even published memoirs. They used creative genres like poetry, too, producing introspective reflections on race, masculinity, empire, and war. And servicemen inundated authorities on both sides of the Atlantic with hundreds of letters and petitions demanding redress. By placing documents from Britain's extensive colonial archive in dialogue with sources generated by British Caribbean colonial subjects, *Democracy's Foot Soldiers* chronicles wartime political currents from above *and* from below.

War, as historian Thavolia Glymph reminds us, "exposes in fine detail the politics of the most powerful and the smoldering demands of the most vulnerable and exploited."[24] This book illuminates BWIR soldiers' claims-making practices while also attending to transatlantic debates about race, military labor, and imperial loyalty among officials in Britain, the Caribbean, and the battlefields of Europe, Africa, and the Middle East. It contributes to scholarly dialogues on the World War I era in three broad fields: Caribbean social and political history, labor and migration studies, and African diaspora studies.

Democracy's Foot Soldiers offers a novel approach for understanding imperial patriotism, an ideology that affirmed the shared historical, cultural, and political bonds between colony and metropole and stressed personal allegiance to the empire. Since at least the mid-twentieth century, nationalist activists and historians have increasingly insisted that the symbols, rituals, and rhetoric of imperial patriotism expressed by West Indians illustrated colonial subjects' enthusiasm for Britain's colonizing and civilizing missions in the region. According to political scientist Gordon K. Lewis, for example, "Colonialism generated in the Caribbean mentality a divisive loyalty to the metropolitan culture that explains the historical tardiness of the final arrival of national independence." The "continuing dependency of thought and sentiment," Lewis insists, "also explains why, ironically, the British West Indies were the first to join the British Empire and the last to leave it."[25] Lamentably, this perspective effaces how colonial subjects reinterpreted, refashioned, and redeployed the discourse of imperial patriotism to critique racial inequality and demand economic and political reforms in the British Empire.

Democracy's Foot Soldiers instead understands imperial patriotism as part of a dynamic political language deployed by elite as well as subaltern groups. The rhetoric of empire, as literary scholars and historians have shown, provided malleable language for black colonial subjects to articulate their own conceptions of sovereignty and community.[26] As

literary scholar Faith Smith writes, "imperial power provides the vocabulary through which people . . . imagine power or freedom" in the British Caribbean.[27] Building on these insights, as well as historian Gregory Mann's groundbreaking work on colonial armies in French West Africa, I posit that the language of imperial patriotism provided a common set of "words, images, ideas, and expressions of sentiment" through which individuals with deeply unequal access to power could articulate claims for political rights and social and economic privileges.[28] By reading declarations of imperial loyalty as strategic political maneuvers instead of transparent expressions of personal sentiment, I question the modernist "assumption of an inherent opposition between national consciousness and imperial loyalty" that marks historical scholarship on the origins of nationalism.[29] Rather than pitting imperial patriotism against protonational patriotism, *Democracy's Foot Soldiers* uncovers how British Caribbeans' nested local, regional, and diasporic identities coexisted with notions of imperial belonging.

My approach to analyzing expressions of imperial patriotism as a strategic political language follows the methodological shift pioneered by scholars of subaltern politics, including political anthropologist James Scott and historian Robin D. G. Kelley.[30] In his classic study of domination and resistance, Scott contends that "most of the political life of subordinate groups is to be found neither in overt collective defiance of powerholders nor in complete hegemonic compliance but in the vast territory between these two polar opposites."[31] This insight is particularly relevant for highly undemocratic, colonial societies like the World War I-era British Caribbean, where the realm of formal electoral politics was governed by patron-client ties and extremely limited in size and scope. Under Crown colony rule, most colonies in the region were administered by a governor who was appointed by the Crown and answered to the Colonial Office in London.[32] In Trinidad, for example, every member of the local Legislative Council was nominated by the governor, and the popularly elected Port of Spain Borough Council was abolished from 1898 to 1917 after its members had the temerity to question local fiscal policies.[33] In Jamaica, only 3 percent of the population met the qualifications to vote, and most of the members of the island's Legislative Council were nominated rather than elected.[34] Even in Barbados, which operated under the old representative system of government and had a fully elected House of Assembly, only a "small percentage" of the laboring class met the income qualifications to vote.[35] Thus, social and cultural histories of politics during this period must be attentive to the range of strategies that colonial

subjects employed to advance their interests with the exceedingly small cadre of decision-makers. We must also consider how British ideals of patriotism, justice, fair play, and loyalty provided a shared vocabulary for women and men with a dizzying array of political agendas.

The history of the British West Indies Regiment must also be understood in the context of the growing urbanization and transnational labor migration of the early decades of the twentieth century. During this period, the fluctuating price of tropical staples, the concentration of desirable lands hoarded by multinational corporations (such as the United Fruit Company), stagnant wages, and the over-taxation of smallholders pushed many working men and women to seek better fortunes overseas or in the cities.[36] Between 1881 and 1921, approximately 146,000 Jamaicans migrated to the Spanish-speaking circum-Caribbean and the United States, while others moved to Kingston in order to escape a declining agricultural economy.[37] Over twenty thousand Barbadian men departed for Panama under contract with the Isthmian Canal Commission, while another forty thousand women and men journeyed from Barbados to Panama on their own without labor contracts.[38] Other Barbadians, Grenadians, and Vincentians migrated south to Trinidad and British Guiana.[39] Islanders also set sail for Brazil and Venezuela or ventured northward to the United States and Canada.[40] "Migration," as Smith and others have established, "was the great feature of anglophone Caribbean life in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries."[41] Military mobilization during World War I would draw upon and reconfigure circum-Caribbean migratory networks, propelling itinerant workingmen eastward across the Atlantic in defense of the British Empire.

By demonstrating that BWIR servicemen were also part of a highly mobile working class, I contribute to a growing scholarly literature that reconceptualizes soldiers as transnational laborers.[42] *Democracy's Foot Soldiers* moves beyond local studies of World War I colonial troops to situate the mobilization for war as part of what historian Lara Putnam defines as "the circum-Caribbean migratory sphere."[43] Among the volunteers for the BWIR were sojourners who had already left home and were residing far beyond the borders of the British Empire. Islanders working in the rainforests of northern Brazil, on the Caribbean coasts of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, and in the US-controlled Canal Zone in Panama, all clamored to enlist during the war years.[44] In this book, I map the transnational networks that yielded thousands of soldiers for the BWIR, including over 2,100 men who enlisted in Panama alone. I also expose how colonial officials helped to facilitate emigration after

the war to rid the islands of discharged veterans. Between 1919 and 1920, over 4,700 ex-soldiers—approximately one-third of the BWIR—traveled to Cuba to work in the sugar industry. Other veterans departed for Venezuela, Panama, Colombia, Canada, and the United States, underscoring the continuing importance of overseas labor migration in the wake of demobilization.

Finally, I place the experiences of Afro-Caribbean soldiers in dialogue with African, African American, and African Canadian troops.[45] Studying the trajectories of black soldiers reshapes our understanding of the formation of the modern African diaspora, uncovering the role of the military in organizing the migration of millions of black soldiers and civilians during the twentieth century. World War I, as historian Chad Williams notes, "set . . . descendant Africans in motion through the demands of combat and labor, bringing them into contact with one another and fundamentally transforming the demographic, ideological, and imaginative contours of the diaspora."[46] During the war years, military bases in Belgium, France, and the Middle East became vibrant nodal points in the diaspora, connecting black servicemen from Africa and the Americas. As the editors of the Panama *Workman* explained in 1919, the mobilization for war had ignited a heightened diasporic identity among Afro-descendants: "The spirit of insularity and provincialism is dying out. We are fast approaching the time of intercolonial and international fraternization. All colored people are beginning to feel that they are related in aims, aspirations, demands, and interests. The accident of geographical conditions is becoming a diminutive proposition."[47] Similarly, in a 1928 essay, Martinican writer Jane Nardal suggested that the travails of the war years had helped to unify black people across the diaspora. The "sufferings of the war" and "similar infelicities of the postwar period," she argued, contributed to the rise of black internationalism.[48] This book explores how BWIR soldiers navigated their encounters with black soldiers from around the world and considers how these experiences spurred new understandings of the global color line and the racial stakes of the war.

Despite the massive mobilization of black soldiers during the two World Wars, scholarly accounts of twentieth-century black transnationalism rarely acknowledge the military as a central actor in the modern dispersal and resettlement of peoples of African descent. The unwillingness to grapple with soldiers as a particular class of diasporic subjects is surprising given the litany of black activists whose experiences as soldiers transformed their political imaginary. As my work demonstrates, attention to the roots and routes of black soldiers helps us to understand the

working-class origins of black cosmopolitanism and transnational black politics in the World War I era. Furthermore, attention to the trajectories of black servicemen reveals new migratory circuits within the African diaspora, pushing us beyond New York, Paris, and London to rugged military outposts, where working-class visions of New Negro modernity were also being forged.

Capturing the complexities of black soldiers' wartime experiences requires that we also interrogate the gendered expectations that shaped military service. In response to the exegesis of war, military recruiters and civilian commentators in the British Caribbean valorized men who possessed the qualities of a modern soldier: physical fitness, self-discipline, bravery, and an indefatigable work ethic. Constructions of martial masculinity differed from both prevailing working-class understandings of masculine reputation and middle-class definitions of gendered respectability.[49] Instead, wartime conceptions of manhood in the British Caribbean emphasized physical traits such as muscular strength as well as ideological ones such as fidelity to the empire and strict obedience to authority. Local women played a significant role in disseminating and policing these masculine ideals, as recent work by historian Dalea Bean has shown.[50] Despite their status as civilians, women organized military recruitment rallies in communities across the British Caribbean and even established their own recruiting committees, ultimately serving as "intermediaries between men's bodies and the Empire's needs."[51] Female speakers at recruitment rallies often pressured men to enlist by questioning their manhood and publicly taunted those who refused to join the BWIR by confronting them with skirts and handkerchiefs. Women also affirmed martial conceptions of masculinity by writing poetry and patriotic songs that linked soldiering to the defense of the family and home front.

For black men who enlisted in the BWIR, soldiering came with the additional burden of battling racist stereotypes about black manhood. In the Caribbean, white planters, colonial officials, and other elites routinely disparaged black men as indolent, irrational, untrustworthy, hypersexual, and irresponsible. In London, officials in the War Office questioned West Indians' military fitness, suggesting that black volunteers lacked self-discipline, physical stamina, and courage. White officers and military physicians at times also echoed these racist assessments, portraying black BWIR troops as disorderly and prone to contract venereal diseases. In the face of these pervasive and pernicious stereotypes, BWIR soldiers and their allies in the colonies insisted that black volunteers were dutiful "sons of the Empire" *and* valiant representatives of the race.

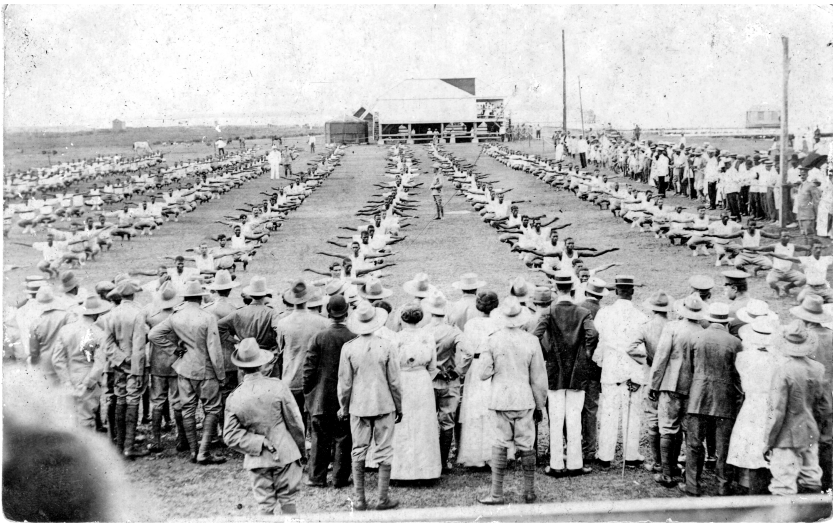

FIGURE 0.4. BWIR soldiers training in British Honduras. Courtesy of the Belize Archives and Records Service.

Organization of the Book

Democracy's Foot Soldiers unfolds in six chronological chapters. Like the itinerant soldiers it studies, the book traverses a vast and varied geographical terrain, moving from the Caribbean to military sites in Western Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East and back again. In chapter 1, I reconstruct the protracted debates about British Caribbean military service following the outbreak of war in Europe in 1914. Then, in chapter 2, I examine the official recruitment campaign for the BWIR, uncovering the discourses and practices that shaped recruitment in the Caribbean colonies and Panama.

Chapter 3 considers BWIR soldiers' wartime interracial encounters, following the men as they moved between military work camps and sites of leisure. The first contingents of BWIR soldiers arrived in England in the fall of 1915, training at camps near Seaford and Plymouth before deploying to distant theaters of war. Although officially classified as infantry soldiers, British Caribbean servicemen were often relegated to noncombatant duties because of the British Army's policy of banning black colonials from combat against white enemies. In chapter 4, I analyze BWIR soldiers' transnational campaign against discrimination in the British Army during their final year of military service.

After the signing of the Armistice on November 11, 1918, BWIR soldiers and colonial authorities prepared for demobilization. In chapter 5, I explore the fraught homecoming of nearly fourteen thousand BWIR veterans as former comrades battled with colonial officials—and one another—in search of redress. Chapter 6 scrutinizes competing efforts in postwar Trinidad to establish autonomous veterans' organizations and the rising calls for participatory democracy in a Crown colony. The book concludes by demonstrating how the political debates over racial equality, imperial belonging, and democracy engendered by World War I reverberated in the British Caribbean during the postwar years.

"Black soldiers," historian Adrienne Lentz-Smith argues, "offer a way to see the interconnections of history between local, national, and global scales. They are, after all, local people swimming in the currents of international affairs."[52] In the pages that follow, *Democracy's Foot Soldiers* traces these currents through the Caribbean Sea, the Atlantic Ocean, and beyond, surfacing a new history of the BWIR and the ongoing fight for equality in societies forged through the violence of empire.[53]

Note on Racial Terminology

Racial terms pervade the pages of this book, yet racial terminology in the British Caribbean during the World War I era was neither uniform nor fixed. Official documents used a variety of terms to connote what present-day observers would describe as "race." In Jamaica, for example, census takers categorized the island's population into five "colours": white, colored, black, East Indian, and Chinese.[54] Meanwhile, in Barbados, the census sorted the population by "complexion" into three broad groups: white, mixed, and black.[55] In the Leeward Islands, census takers also labeled residents according to a tripartite system, employing the terms *white*, *coloured*, and *black*.[56] Census records in other British Caribbean colonies omitted racial demographic data entirely.

In this book, I use the term *black* to describe people of African descent. Many of the historical actors that I characterize as "black" would have described themselves as "Negro" or, less commonly, as members of "the African race." The terms *colored* and *brown* refer to people of mixed African and European ancestry. These individuals generally had lighter skin than their black counterparts and occupied an intermediary place in the colonial racial hierarchy. I use the term *white* to denote people of European ancestry, whether they were born in Europe or in the Caribbean.

The term *East Indian* refers to people from the Indian subcontinent who immigrated to the Caribbean and their descendants, while the term *Chinese* signals Chinese ancestry. Finally, I use *British Caribbeans* and *West Indians* as collective descriptors for all residents of Britain's Caribbean colonies, regardless of race or ethnicity.

INDEX

Italic page numbers refer to figures.

abuse, 104, 112, 126, 130, 137–40, 165, 172, 219, 231
accommodations, 4, 84, 112–14, 120–23, 148
activism, 2, 6, 9, 12, 22, 118, 139, 180, 249, 251; and demobilization, 177, 179–80, 190; and recruitment, 47, 49; and veterans' politics, 200, 206, 208, 221, 226, 234
advancement, 23, 48–49, 149–50, 152, 156, 160, 162
Africa, 4–6, 9, 12–15, *35*–36, 42, 48, 72, *93*–94, 104, 179–80; and black transnationalism, 48; and colonial subjects, 19, 130, 133, 135, 144, 244; and discrimination, 147, 152, 166; East Africa, 32, 107, 109, 125, 213; North Africa, 14, 113; and slavery, 23, 242; Togoland, 69; West Africa, 10, 28–29, 69, 74, 118, 136, 171, 221; West African Frontier Force, 39, 147
African Blood Brotherhood, 182
African diaspora, 9, 12–13, 15, 23, 146
African Methodist Episcopal Church, 182
Allardyce, William, 178–79
Allen, H. T., 168–69
Allenby, Edmund, 138, 145–46, 153, 296n32
Allies, 1, 5, 41, 73, 125, 152, 213, 227, 244; and troops, 116, 126–27, 259n9
Amery, L. S., 153
Ancient Order of Foresters, 122, 161
Anderson, Samuel, 79
Anglicanism, 114
Anglo-Ashanti Wars, 28, 221
anti-colonialism, 143, 160, 163–64
Antigua, 66, *80*, 103, 176
Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society, 20
anti-whiteness, 166, 218–19
Armistice, 15, 139, 152–55, 159, 175, 177, 180–81, 241–42, 301n97
Army Council, London, 145, 170, 220; and imperial belonging, 29–30, 38–39, 45; and recruitment, 54–55, 60, 81
Army Order No. 1 (1918), 138, 140, 143–53, 156, 165–67, 169–72, 178, 295n21, 295n26, 304n147
Army Service Corps, 43
Army Veterinary Corps, 43
Ashdown, Peter, 197, 311n113
Ashwood, Amy, 48
Asian communities, 5, 95, 130, 133, 180. *See also* Chinese people
Aspinall, Algernon, 44, 148
Australia, *35*–36, 59, 144, 259n9; Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC), 110, 147
authority, military, 13, 74, 111, 141, 156, 158, 193–94, 199, 225. *See also* military authorities

Bahamas, 7, 25, 107, 119, 165, 262n32, 303n135; and demobilization, 178–79; First Bahamas Contingent, 83–84; and military labor, 114, 125, 131, 134; Nassau, 83, 108–9; and recruitment, 59, 69–*71*, 79–*80*
Balfour, Arthur, 20
Balfour Declaration (1917), 166
banana industry, 26, 184, 186
Barbados, 7, 11, 15, 102, 109, 221, 246, 250, 262n32, 303n135; Barbados Citizens' Contingent, 102; Barbados House of Assembly, 10, 150, 167; Barbados Legislative Council, 87, 148, 150; Bridgetown, 62, 87–88, 113; Combermere School, 83; and demobilization, 176–78, 181–82, 184, 186; and discrimination, 138, 141, 149–52, 154, 167; First Barbados Contingent, 83; and imperial belonging, 28, 31, 34, 36, 39–41, 44; Old Comrades' Association, 207; and recruitment, 53–54, 57–58, 73, *80*, 83, 87–88, 97, 103; St. Michael's, 82, *93*
Barber, Karin, 7
Barchard, A. E., 121, 163
Battle of Poelcappelle, 101
Bean, Dalea, 13, 65
Belgium, 12, 41, 109, 127, 130; Flanders, 101; Ypres, *5*
benefits, soldiers', 7, 56, 67, 139, 143–47, 152–53, 156–57, 167–70, 185; and

benefits, soldiers' (*continued*)
veterans' politics, 179, 183, 185, 206, 208, 214, 235–36. *See also* Army Order No. 1 (1918); compensation; wages
Bermuda, 115, 168
Billouin, Emanuel, 119, 121, 226
Blackden, L. S., 61, 116
Blackman, George, 250–51
black nationalism, 6, 19, 48, 180
blackness, 49, 74, 118–19, 122, 126, 131–33, 136, 161
black servicemen, 6–7, 12–15, 179, 212, 242, 244, 248, 250; and Caribbean League, 162, 164; and discrimination, 138, 141, 144, 146–47, 149, 151, 153–54, 156–57, 168; and Europe, 118, 127, 132–33, 136; and recruitment, 28, 31, 38, 50, 55, 73–74, 81–82, 84, 93. *See also* black West Indians
black transnationalism, 11–13, 15, 48
black West Indians, 4, 12–15, 133, 202, 239–42, 244, 250; black West Indian women, 25, 31, 67, 181; and Caribbean League, 161–62; and commemoration, 242, 244; and demobilization, 175–76, 179, 183, 185–86, 189–90; and discrimination, 146, 169–72, 294n12; and imperial belonging, 19–33, 36–43, 45–47; and racism, 111, 122, 169, 234; and recruitment, 53, 58, 61, 72, 75, 85–86, 92–94, 96–99, 101, 103; and reform, 49–50, 73; and uprisings, 187, 195, 197, 216–18; and veterans' politics, 216–17, 219, 221–23, 226–29. *See also* black servicemen
Boer War. *See* South Africa: Second South African War (Boer War)
Bolland, Nigel, 80
Bowen, A. S., 97, 99–100
bravery, 13, 40, 57, 72–73, 102–3, 113, 233
Brazil, 11, 48
Breeders' and Trainers' Association, Trinidad, 22
Briscoe, A. E., 66, 94
British Admiralty, 113, 115–16
British Army, 3–4, 8, 114, 250, 301n102; Army Chemical Warfare Department, 156; British Army Act, 147; County of London Regiment, 42; and demobilization, 177, 183, 189; and discrimination, 138–40, 143–45, 149, 151, 156–60, 167, 169–70, 177; Eleventh Battalion, Devonshire Regiment, 42; General Headquarters, 138, 156; and imperial belonging, 26–30, 32–33, 36–38, 40, 43–45; *Manual of Military Law*, 26–27; Nineteenth London Regiment, 43; and racism, 14, 111–12, 125–26, 135–36, 147, 149, 151, 162, 244; and recruitment, 52–53, 55–56, 60, 77–78, 80–81, 84, 93, 96–102; Royal Garrison Artillery, 43, 304n139; Third Royal Berkshire Regiment, 176; and veterans' politics, 180, 214–15, 220; Worcestershire Regiment, 156, 160
British Crown, 10, 41, 47–48, 92, 111, 179, 181, 185, 191, 262n32; and veterans' politics, 206, 211–12, 214, 218, 229, 233, 236. *See also* colonial governments
British Empire, 3–5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 240–44, 248; and blackness, 118, 131–33, 170; and Caribbean League, 161–62, 165; and commemoration, 241–42, 244; and demobilization, 175, 184, 189; and discrimination, 140–41, 143, 146, 149, 151–53, 156–57, 166–67, 169; and imperial belonging, 19–21, 23–25, 35–37, 44–46, 50; and military labor, 109–10, 117, 122; and racism, 112, 135–36, 169; and recruitment, 52, 54–55, 58–60, 69, 72, 74, 76, 90, 93–95, 181; and reform, 179, 182, 191; and veterans' politics, 189, 203, 205–6, 209–10, 213, 224, 229–30, 238. *See also* colonial governments; England; Great Britain; United Kingdom
British Empire Workers and Citizens Home Rule Party, 2
British Expeditionary Force, 171
British Guiana, 7, 11, 39, 148, 165, 178–82, 190, 303n135; and BWIR training, 120–21; Combined Court of British Guiana, 58; Demerara, 28, 73, 86, 176; First British Guiana Contingent, 83; New Amsterdam, 92; and recruitment, 57–58, 60–61, 67–68, 79–80, 84, 96
British Honduras, 14, 41, 47, 49, 165, 217, 246, 309n60; Belize Prison, 195, 202; Belize Town, 7, 62, 187, 189–90, 192, 194, 196–99, 201–4; British Honduras Contingent Committee (BHCC), 62, 198–202; British Honduras Employment Committee, 192, 198; British Honduras Legislative Council, 187, 192; British Honduras Supreme Court, 201; British Honduras Territorial Force, 195–97; Corozal, 181; and demobilization, 177, 182, 185, 187–92, 200; and discrimination, 135, 141–142, 147; and recruitment, 53, 59, 62, 66,

79–80, 93, 97; Returned Soldiers Welfare Committee, 187, 195; and veterans' politics, 201–2, 210, 219
British Raj, 131
British servicemen, 5, 55, 110–11, 119, 130, 197, 250; and discrimination, 126, 135–39, 143, 149–50, 154, 156, 159, 163, 166–68, 171; and imperial belonging, 19–20, 26, 29, 32, 37, 46, 50; and veterans' politics, 214, 216, 220, 225, 235–36
British subjecthood, 3–4, 6–12, 96, 146, 162; and BWIR, 110–11, 115, 117–18, 122, 126–27, 130–31, 133–34; and discrimination, 139, 141, 143, 145, 156, 168; and imperial belonging, 19, 23, 26–27, 31, 34, 41, 46; and recruitment, 61, 69, 72, 74–77, 79, 86, 90, 92–93, 95, 103; and reform, 179, 181, 191; and veterans' politics, 206, 229, 242, 244
British Treasury, 147, 168
British West Indies Regiment (BWIR), 1–9, 11–15, 279n103, 104, 279n106, 107, 279n109, 280n110, 280n118, 286n18, 289n86, 290n111, 291n129, 297n45, 298n64; and Army Order No.1, 137–59, 166–72; British Honduras Contingent, 187, 193, 201–2; and Caribbean League, 160–65; and commemoration, 244–50; and demobilization, 175–84, 186–89, 191–93, 196–98, 201–2, 308n46; Eight Battalion, 155, 158, 162, 215; Eleventh Battalion, 155, 158, 163; Fifth Battalion, 144, 291n120; First Battalion, 138–39, 144, 148, 153, 215, 299n68, 299n77; Fourth Battalion, 155, 158, 163, 250, 269n59; and imperial belonging, 23, 30, 43, 45–46, 49; Jamaican Contingent, 91, 241–42, 249; and military labor, 107, 109–25, 127–35; Ninth Battalion, 154–55, 157–58, 163–65, 300n83; and recruitment, 51–61, 63–67, 69–71, 73–86, 89–94, 96–104; Second Battalion, 139, 144, 215, 299n68, 299n77; Seventh Battalion, 155, 158, 163; Sixth Battalion, 155, 163; Taranto mutiny, 140–41, 143, 152–60, 163–65, 171, 177, 300n79, 80; Tenth Battalion, 155, 158, 161–64; Third Battalion, 155, 160–61, 163, 299n77; and veterans' politics, 207–11, 213–16, 219–28, 231, 233–40
Brown, Bernard, 122, 164
Brown, Vincent, 53
brown people, 15, 93, 101, 132. *See also* colored West Indians
Bryan, Herbert, 241
Burkett, Algernon, 221–36, 238–39
Butcher, John, 152
Butler, F. G. A., 100
Butler, Tubal Uriah "Buz," 1–3, 8, 206
Buxton, Travers, 20

cadets, 49, 83, 149–50
Cain, Hubert Hill, 49, 191
Cameroon, 39
Campbell, Joseph, 85–86
Canada, 11–12, 35, 48, 59, 77, 92, 126, 144, 259n9; Canadian Expeditionary Force, 79, 147; Halifax, Nova Scotia, 115–17, 247; Kinmel Park Camp, 159; Militia of Canada, 36; and servicemen, 110, 115–16, 119, 159. *See also* Newfoundland
Caribbean League, 160–65, 171, 177–78, 182, 215, 302n114, 302n119
Carnival, 62–63
Cary-Barnard, Cyril Darcy Vivien, 171–72, 245, 300n79
Cavell, Edith, 66
censorship, 138, 182, 289n86
Central America, 75–79, 177, 238, 294n14. *See also individual countries*
Central Powers, 4
Chancellor, John, 138, 153, 209, 232–36, 238–39, 246
Channel Islands, 144–45
children, 5, 210, 216, 242; black children, 25–26, 48–49; and demobilization, 190, 194, 200, 203; and interracial encounters, 117, 119; and recruitment, 53–54, 64–65, 67–68, 78, 89; white children, 218. *See also* youth
China, 5, 95
Chinese Labour Corps, 130
Chinese people, 126–27, 130, 147; Chinese Caribbean people, 4, 15–16, 95, 120
Christianity, 37, 110–11, 147, 154
Cipriani, Arthur Andrew, 2–3, 20–24, 30, 34, 36, 46, 236, 245; and military labor, 113–14, 122; and recruitment, 59, 62–65, 82, 85, 96–98, 100, 221; and veterans' politics, 224–26, 228, 235–36, 239–40, 247–48
civilians, 2–5, 7, 12–13, 107, 152, 171, 245, 248; and BWIR, 110–12, 115–16, 118–19, 121–22, 126–27, 130–32, 135; and Caribbean League, 160–61; and demobilization, 176–77, 179, 185, 187–89, 194; and imperial belonging, 23, 29, 31–33, 36; and labor, 155, 163;

civilians (*continued*)
and racism, 136, 138–39, 146, 148, 245–46; and recruitment, 53–54, 57, 64–66, 69, 73–74, 77, 79–80, 87–88, 90; and uprisings, 193–97, 200, 203; and veterans' politics, 148, 208–10, 212, 216–17, 221–22, 225–26, 228, 231, 236, 249. *See also* labor, civilian
Clarke, Eugent Augustus, 74–75, 250–51, 325n29
Clarke, F. J., 167
class, 4, 23, 46, 242; and BWIR, 118, 145, 149–50, 157; and demobilization, 176, 184–85, 187; and discrimination, 150, 154; and veterans' politics, 214, 217–19. *See also* elite classes; middle classes; upper classes; working classes
clergymen, 53, 119, 122, 130
climates, geographic, 37–40, 115–17, 120–23, 125, 127, 130, 154
clothing, 53, 66, 114–16, 130, 148, 190, 194, 198, 237. *See also* military uniforms
Cobham, Cecil, 223
cocoa industry, 20, 36, 211
Collman, Herbert C., 160–61, 164
Colombia, 12
colonial authorities, 1–2, 15, 33–34, 95, 116–17, 167; and Caribbean League, 162–66; and commemoration, 241, 244; and demobilization, 175–80, 182–87, 189–90; and discrimination, 138–39, 141, 143, 148, 150–53, 156–58, 160, 163, 170–72, 194; and imperial belonging, 26, 33–34, 36–37, 39–41; and racial conflict, 214–15, 217, 219; and recruitment, 53–59, 61–63, 76–77, 79, 81, 84, 88, 90–97, 99–100, 103; and uprisings, 196–200, 202–4; and veterans' politics, 205–9, 211, 213, 220–22, 224–40, 245, 248, 250. *See also* colonial governments; Colonial Office, London
colonial governments, 1–3, 6–7, 9–11, 15, 248; and demobilization, 177, 185; and imperial belonging, 20, 30, 47; and racial conflict, 214, 217–18; and recruitment, 56–57, 59, 62–63, 72, 76, 86, 88, 94, 101; and reform, 164, 179, 181, 191; and uprisings, 197, 202; and veterans' politics, 180, 187, 205, 208, 213, 221–27, 229–35, 237–38, 246. *See also* British Crown; colonial authorities
Colonial Office, London, 10, 219, 239; and Caribbean League, 164–67; and demobilization, 168–70, 176–77, 186; and discrimination, 141, 148, 152, 158, 167–70; and imperial belonging, 20, 24, 26–30, 37–40, 42–45; and recruitment, 54–61, 94, 97, 99–100, 103
color divisions, 5, 12, 29, 40, 51, 103, 127, 131, 133, 176; and discrimination, 144, 152, 154, 168–70; and veterans' politics, 217–18, 220, 228
colored West Indians, 12, 15, 44, 48, 244, 250; and BWIR, 4–5, 151, 248, 250; and demobilization, 176, 179, 183–85; and discrimination, 138, 141, 144, 146–47, 149, 151–54, 156–57, 164, 167–69, 171–72; and imperial belonging, 23–24, 26–27, 29–30, 32–33, 36–40, 42–47; and racism, 108–9, 111, 118, 169; and recruitment, 53, 55–58, 61–62, 73–74, 81–82, 84, 92–93, 96–97, 102–3; and reform, 48–50, 73; and veterans' politics, 186, 194, 197–98, 219, 223, 233, 236, 244. *See also* brown people
combat, 4, 12, 14, 50, 126, 133; and BWIR, 77, 109, 112, 126–27, 130, 133, 137–39, 151, 153–54, 219–20; 299n68; and imperial belonging, 24, 27, 31–32, 34, 39, 43–45
commanding officers, 104, 112, 121, 162–63, 172, 188; and discrimination, 138, 144–45, 154, 157
commemoration, 241–47, 249
commissions, 140, 143, 149–50, 156, 226, 298n64
compensation, 245, 248; and veterans' politics, 206, 208, 210, 213, 221, 223, 225, 231, 233, 235–39. *See also* Army Order No. 1 (1918); benefits, soldiers'; pensions; wages; war gratuities
complexion, skin, 15, 41, 43, 51–52, 74, 81, 97
conscription, 4, 52, 58, 92–95, 143, 181, 191, 259n9
Cordova, Michael de, 61
Corns, Cathryn, 159
Costa Rica, 11, 42, 76, 186
court-martialing, 7, 164, 199, 225
Cousturier, Lucie, 136
Cran, James, 187, 192–94, 196–97
Creole people, 22–24, 42, 61–62, 66, 100, 103, 146, 190, 219
criminalization, 88, 199, 201–2, 220, 222, 225
Crowe, J. H. V., 155–56
Cuba, 12, 186, 247
Cuban American Sugar Company, 186
Cubitt, B. B., 29, 55, 60, 146, 170, 304n150

Cunningham, Jacob Stanislaus, 123–25
Curaçao, 31

Dadd, G. J., 119, 122
Dale, Archibald "Arch," 35
Darnley, E. R., 29, 165, 169–70, 304n139
Darrow, Margaret, 133
Davis, J. A. Shaw, 77
Davis, Vernon, 216, 220
death, 100, 113–15, 133, 138, 152–53, 159, 213, 242, 248
de la Hire, Marie, 133
de Lisser, Herbert G., 24, 65, 81, 83, 116
demobilization, military, 6, 12, 15, 74, 152, 154, 159–65, 168–72, 208; and BWIR, 175–78, 181–89, 196, 206–11, 230, 235, 238, 245, 308n46
democracy, 2, 6–7, 14–15, 50–52, 112, 179–82, 191; and veterans' politics, 205–6, 214, 229, 240, 244
Diamond Jubilee, 179
disabled veterans, 116, 125, 185, 209, 239, 246–47; and disability pensions, 56, 117, 209–10
discharge, 1, 12, 31, 61, 87, 89–90, 101, 116–17, 121–22, 152, 169, 205; and Discharged Soldiers Central Authority (DSCA), 206, 208–14, 218, 223, 227, 231, 233. *See also* rejection, military
discipline, 1, 13, 27–28, 49, 97, 120–21, 139, 184, 193, 232; and discrimination, 155, 158, 165
discrimination, 4, 6, 14, 190; and British Army, 135, 137, 139–41, 149–50, 152, 156–57, 177, 215, 238, 248; and BWIR, 111–12, 126; and demobilization, 162, 165–66, 168, 171–72, 190; and imperial belonging, 26, 29, 42, 47; and recruitment, 52, 73, 81, 104. *See also* equality; oppression; racism
Distinguished Conduct Medal, 149
Domingo, W. A., 181, 197
Dominica, 30, 40, 69, *80*, 103, 141, 150, 176, 186
Douglas, Annie, 65–66
du Cros, Arthur, 20–21, 63
Dumas, Alexandre, 108
Dundonald, Douglas Mackinnon Baillie Hamilton Cochrane, 36, 38–39, 44
Dupuch, Etienne, 107–9, 111–14, 125–27, 130–31, 134–35, 291n120

East African Military Labour Corps, 144
East Indian people, 15–16, 24, 33, 61, 95–96, 98. *See also* Indo-Caribbean men
Eccleston, A. G., 72
economics, 6–7, 9–11, 158, 165, 240; and imperial belonging, 23, 31–32, 34–35, 37, 40; and recruitment, 52–57, 61, 67, 74, 78; and veterans, 181, 185–86, 190–91, 197–98, 201–3, 251; and veterans' politics, 207–13, 215, 220–21, 225–26, 228–31, 233, 235–38, 247
education, 65, 101, 103, 117–18, 162, 248; and BWIR, 145–46, 149, 157, 185; and recruitment, 47, 49, 51, 53, 83–84, 89, 96; and veterans' politics, 217, 238
Egypt, 37–39, 44, 72, 107, 109, 140–41, 144, 149; Alexandria, 112, 125; and BWIR, 111, 126, 152–53, 155, 194, 224–25; Egyptian Expeditionary Force, 138, 145
elite classes, 6, 9, 13, 23–25, 27, 29–30, 33–34, 49, 171, 210; and demobilization, 175–76, 184; and recruitment, 52–53, 60–62, 64–65, 69, 82, 94, 96–99, 102–3; white elites, 116, 166, 179, 195, 197, 209, 213, 218–19. *See also* planters; privilege; upper classes
Ellis, A. B., 28, 228
emancipation, 35, 48, 242
emigration, 11, 177, 186–87, 211. *See also* migration
Empire Day, 45, 203
employment, 2, 31, 37, 39, 44, 77, 96, 234; and demobilization, 180, 184–90; and interracial encounters, 107, 117–18, 133, 165; and veterans, 192, 198–99, 202, 225, 245, 247; and veterans' politics, 209–11, 214, 231–32, 234–38
England, 6–7, 14, 19, 126, *129*, 137, 279n109, 286n18; Birmingham, 32; Brighton, 121; Bristol, 118; and BWIR, 109, 111–12, 114–19, 147, 151–53, 165; General Federation of Trade Unions, 143; and imperial belonging, 28, *35*–37, 41–44; Liverpool, 118, 123; Newhaven, 121; North Camp, 119–23, 125; Officer Training Corps, 42–43; Plymouth, 113, 117, 119, 123, 145; and recruitment, 55–56, 61, 69, 72, 75, 78, 80, 92, 100–101; Seaford, 94, 118–20, 122–25, 290n111; Surrey Convalescent Home, Seaford, 123–24, 290n112; and veterans' politics, 182, 189, 215–16, 229, 235, 239, 244, 249–50; Withnoe Camp, 119, 123, 125, 296n37. *See also* London, England
English language, 11, 23, 49, 77, 89, 134, 179; and BWIR, 8, 61, 75, 81, 122, 127, 132, 147, 291n129, 294n14

enlistment, 3–4, 8, 11, 13, 194, 201, 279n107, 280n110; and discrimination, 143–44, 150–51, 154, 156, 167, 169; and elitism, 97–102; and imperial belonging, 21, 23, 26, 28, 33, 36–38, 42–46; and military labor, 107, 109, 111–12, 117, 122, 130–31; and recruitment, 51–53, 57–58, 60–61, 64, 66–68, *70–71*, 75–94; and veterans' politics, 209–11, 219, 221, 225, 227, 231, 235, 237–39, 244–45, 250
equality, 74, 81, 94, 141, 151, 153; and British Army, 160, 170, 176, 180, 191; racial equality, 4–6, 9, 15, 47–48, 135, 143, 146, 240; and veterans' politics, 208, 210, 229, 240, 244, 250
ethnicity, 16, 22, 27, 74
Europe, 5–6, 9, 14, 152, 179, 181, 210, 250; and demobilization, 176, 179–81, 189; and discrimination, 141, 144, 150, 152, 158; and imperial belonging, 19, 23–25, 27–32, 34, 36–40, 45, 47, 49; and interracial encounters, 125, 127, 132–35, 217; and recruitment, 51, 56, 74, 76, 93–94, 100, 103–4; and travel, 113, 118, 125, 154–55
Europeans, 4, 15, 42–43, 56, 62, 81, 132–35, 158–59; and veterans' politics, 189, 199, 203–4, 215

families, 7, 13, 22, 26, 149, 184, 186–88, 274n8; and BWIR, 222, 241; and interracial encounters, 107–8, 119, 134; and recruitment, 54–56, 61, 69, 79, 94–96, 101; and veterans' politics, 202–3, 210–12, 221, 229, 236–37. *See also* children; mothers; sons; wives
Fiddes, G. V., 38
Fiji, 148, 155, 168; Fijian Labour Corps, 126, 304n139
finances. *See* economics; fundraising
fitness, military, 13, 49, 120; and imperial belonging, 24, 27–28, 30–31, 39; and recruitment, 52, 58, 60–61, 74, 84–86, 89. *See also* medical exams
Fleming, Francis, 167, 303n135
Flowers, Annie, 202
Fogarty, Richard, 133
France, 5, 12, 19, 27, 43, 74, 92, 109, 259n9, 267n33; Abbeville, 100; Arras, 127; Boulogne, 126–27; and BWIR, 107, 109, 111–12, 125–36, 154–56, 189, 213, 219, 250–51; and colonialism, 58, 76, 135, 213; Dijon, 134; Fréjus, 136; Jura Mountains, 126; Marseille, 126–27, 155; Meuse, 136; Paris, 13, 126; Rouen, 127; St. Martin's Rest Camp, Boulogne, 126; and troops, 38, 40, 43, 58, 76, 92, 131–32, 135–36, 159; and women, 133–35; Ypres, 44. *See also* French language; French Revolution
Fraser, Percy, 176, 217
freedom, 10, 46, 74, 94, 111, 157, 160–62, 182, 187, 242
French language, 49, 132, 134
French Revolution, 23, 28
fundraising, 25, 44–46, 116, 188, 191, 221; and recruitment, 53, 62, 64, 76–77, 97, 99–100, 102

Garvey, Marcus, 1, 19–23, 47–48, 51, 69, 118, 177, 180–81
gender, 4, 13, 23, 49, 127, 160, 184, 221; and patriotism, 66, 133–34, 146; and recruitment, 69, 86, 104, 247. *See also* masculinity; women
George, Percy, 192–93, 195, 201
George V (King), 19–20, 36, 41, 44–46, 64, 69, 73, 139, 294n12; and commemoration, 241, 244–45; and demobilization, 184–85, 189; and recruitment, 74, 76, 86, 90, 93–94, 98, 103; and veterans' politics, 227, 233
Germany, 6, 24–25, 37, 39, 49–50, 94, 182, 203; and World War I, 32, 40–43, 69, 72–75, 77, 90–91, 115, 152, 163, 250
Glymph, Thavolia, 9
Gordon, William G., 97, 219–20, 229
Graham, J. A., 120, 123
Graham, Thomas, 192, 194
Grant, J. H., 194, 198
Great Britain, 9, 16, 127, 259n9; British House of Commons, 143; British House of Lords, 143; British Independent Order of Good Samaritans and Daughters of Samaria, 45; British Navy, 36, 72, 88, 115, 178, 202; British Parliament, 20, 229; and demobilization, 175, 177, 181; and discrimination, 141, 144, 148, 151–53, 156, 162, 165, 167; and imperial belonging, 20, 23–28, 30–31, 35, 37, 41–42, 46, 49; and recruitment, 58, 66, 72–73, 82, 86, 93; and veterans' politics, 208, 215, 225, 231, 233, 236, 242, 244, 250. *See also* British Army; British Empire; British subjecthood; England; United Kingdom
Grenada, 3, 7, 11, 141, 190, 289n86; Grenada Legislative Council, 88, 92; Grenada Representative Government Movement, 2; Grenada Union of

Returned Soldiers, 1–2, 206, 208; and imperial belonging, 36, 41–43, 46–47, 50; and recruitment, 59, 62, 69, 73, 79–*80*, 92, 102; St. George's, 1–2, 49, 83, 113, 206, 208
Grindle, Gilbert, 27, 29, 38, 56–57, 99–100, 158, 165, 167, 169, 175
Guadeloupe, 31
Guatemala, 182
Gullace, Nicoletta, *66*

Haddon-Smith, George, 57, 62, 153
Haitian Revolution, 23
Hall, Rufus, 194, 197, 201
Hamilton, Patrick, 195, 197–99
Hankey, Maurice, 175–76
Harcourt, Lewis, 19–20, 33, 37–39, 42, 44–45, *55*
Harper, Edwin, 212–13
Harris, Arthur, 216, 220
Havelock, E. W., 25
Hayes-Saddler, James, 167, 303n135
Haynes, Samuel, 187, 196–204, 240, 247
Hercules, F. E. M., 118
Hitchens, Leslie W., 77
HMS *Constance*, 187, 197
HMS *Dartmouth*, 216, 220
HMS *Magdalena*, 113–14
HMS *Verdala*, 112–13, 115–17, 249
HMS *Veronej*, 187
Hoar, William, 195, 202
Hodge, Samuel, 31, 269n59
Hodgeon, Frederic M., 167, 303n135
Hoganson, Kristin, 23
Homfray, J. R. H., 175–79, 305n14
Hope, J. C., 83, 149
Horner, Alfred, 110, 119, 126–27, 130–32, 134
hospitality, 119, 131–32, 135
hospitals, 88, 114–16, 123–24, 127, 133–34, 137, 144–45, 171, 216
Howard University, 48
Howe, Glenford, 88, 134, 150
Huggins, George F., 97–100, 209, 218
Hughes-Wilson, John, 159
Hulse, George, 194
Hulse, Greville, 197–98
humiliation, 6, 48, 63, 90, 107, 111, 149, 197
Hutson, Eyre, 187–90, 195–99, 202–3, 217, 314n162

illness, 39, 89, 114–15, 123–25, 137, 154, 171. *See also* medical ailments
imperial belonging, 10, 15, 20, 23, 34–35, 117–18, 241, 244
imperial patriotism, 7, 9–10, 13, 15, 20, 23, 30, *37*, 50; and BWIR, 95, 123, 156; and demobilization, 177, 180, 182, 184, 189; and recruitment, 52, 93–94; and veterans' politics, 206, 229, 242, 245, 247. *See also* patriotism
imperial troops, 139, 147–49, 159, 170, 191, 214, 233, *236*
impressment, 4, 23, 92
imprisonment, 2–3, 90, 94, 111, 158–59, 201–3, 220, 232, 245–46
India, 5, *35*, 59, 259n9; Indian Army, 27–28, 40, 110, 144, 267n33; Indian soldiers, 60, 125–26, 130–31, 144. *See also* East Indian people; Indo-Caribbean men
Indigenous peoples, 60, 67–*68*, 88, 126, 133
Indo-Caribbean men, 4, 60–61, 79, 89, 95, 218–19, 240. *See also* East Indian people
infantry troops, 127, 131, 136, 147, 156, 171, 177
interracialism, 4, 14, 46, 116, 177, 244; and BWIR, 127, 130–34, 217; and discrimination, 112, 139, 143, 149, 162, 166, 170, 172, 244; and recruitment, 52, 55, 64, 76, 81, 86, 91, 93, 97–98, 103–4
Irish people, 110, 119, 126, 203
Isle of Man, 144–45
Israel, 145
Italy, 107, 109, *129*, 213, 250; Cimino Camp, 154–55, 158; Italian Labour Corps, 155; Taranto, 139–43, 154–60, 162–65, 171–72, 175–77, 194, 215, 245–46, 300n79

Jamaica, 6–7, 10–11, 15, 48, 94, 303n135; Billy Dunn Estate, Half Way Tree, 32; and BWIR, 114–17, 120, 123, 131–32; and Caribbean League, 162–65; Central Supplementary Allowance Committee (CSAC), 185–86; Christiana, 26; Claremont, 42; and commemoration, 241–*43*, 244; Constabulary Force, 83; and demobilization, 176–78, 180–82, 184–85, 190, 192; and discrimination, 148, 154–55, 160, 162–65, 168; Duan Vale, 72; Gayle, 92; and imperial belonging, 20, 22, 24, 28, 30–34, 39, 41–43; Irish Town, 65–66; Jamaica Defence Force (JDF), 250; Jamaica Ex-Service Men Association, 207; Jamaica Federation of Labour (JFL), 184; Jamaica Legion, 251; Jamaica Legislative Council, 88, 94–95, 185; Jamaica Military

Jamaica (*continued*)
Headquarters, 183; Jamaica Military Museum, 250; Jamaican Gleaner Company, 69; Jamaica Old Comrades' Association, 246; Jamaica Patriotic League, 47–48; Jamaica War Contingent, 81–82, 86; Linstead, 103; Manchester, 48; National Club, 181; Ocho Rios, 69; Point Hill, 64; Port Antonio, 45, 161; Port Henderson, 85; and recruitment, 51–54, 57–62, 65–66, 69, 72, 74–85, 87–91, 94; Retreat, 102; St. Andrew, 87; St. Ann's Comrades of the War Association, 207; St. Elizabeth, 83, 184; St. Mary, 83; Up Park Camp, 32, 75, 86, 89, 92, 250; and veterans' politics, 206–7, 209, 217, 230, 238, 242–51; War Contingent Committee, 61; Whitfield Town, 26. *See also* Kingston, Jamaica
James, C. L. R., 1, 42, 51–52, 84, 101–2
James, Winston, 146
Johnson, Jack, 223–24
Johnson, S. A. G., 89
Jones, A. P., 160, 164
journalism, 2, 6, 9, 22, 46, 49, 118, 133, 181, 221, 230; and recruitment, 61, 65, 81, 93
Julien, W. E., 138–39, 149
justice, 6, 11, 19, 30, 46, 94, 114, 251; and demobilization, 180, 187, 199; and discrimination, 130, 147, 151, 156–57, 160, 162, 167, 169–70; and veterans' politics, 206, 233, 240, 242, 245

Kelley, Robin D. G., 10
Kennedy, E. C., 197
King's Royal Rifle Corps, 100, 144
Kingston, Jamaica, 11, 19, 25, 32–33, 46–47, 109, 161, 207; Chee Kung Tong Society, Kingston, 95; and commemoration, 242, 246–47, 250; and demobilization, 180, 183–85, 187; Kingston Public Hospital, 88; Memorial Square, 241; and recruitment, 67, 74, 83, 87, 91, 95
Kipling, Rudyard, 157
Kitchener, Herbert, 4, 28, 32, 42, 45

labor, civilian, 5, 11–12, 133, 219, 240, 248; and demobilization, 180, 183–86, 188, 190, 192; and discrimination, 147, 154–55, 163; and imperial belonging, 26, 31, 36, 45; and recruitment, 52–53, 65, 75, 77, 80, 84–85, 89, 92, 94–96, 103; and veterans' politics, 209–11, 221, 232, 234, 236; and Western Front, 126, 130–31, 133–35. *See also* labor movements; working classes; working conditions
labor, military, 4–5, 9, 133; and BWIR, 109–11, 126–27, 133, 137, 140, 147, 179, 213; and discrimination, 144, 154, 156–58, 171; and imperial belonging, 23, 32, 34, 37, 46, 49; and recruitment, 74, 93
labor and migration studies, 9
labor movements, 206, 208, 218–19, 221, 226, 234–35, 240, 248. *See also* labor, civilian
Laurence, Stephen, 233
Law, Bonar, 55–56, 96, 99–100, 143–44
laws, colonial, 2, 62, 74, 83, 88, 90, 94–95, 147, 151; and veterans' politics, 179, 197–98, 200, 217–18, 222–24, 230, 232
Lazare, Emanuel M'Zumbo, 179–80
League of the Empire, 83
Leeward Islands, 15, 26, 30, 59, 79, 178, 303n135; Leeward Island Contingent, 88, 150
Le Hunte, George, 20, 34, 58, 100, 148, 167, 275n22, 303n135
Lentz-Smith, Adriane, 15
Lewis, Gordon K., 9
literacy, 8, 53, 80–81, 83, 88–89, 103; and BWIR, 127, 141, 221, 291n129, 294n14
Llewelyn, R. B., 167, 303n135
local authorities, 167, 245; and demobilization, 178, 185–87, 195; and recruitment, 57, 59, 61–63, 74, 81, 90, 99–100; and veterans' politics, 200, 202, 205–6, 214, 217, 219, 225, 228–31, 233, 239
London, England, 6, 10, 13, 20–21, 26, 245; County of London Regiment, 42; and discrimination, 141, 148, 172; and imperial belonging, 34, 36, 40, 43; and interracial encounters, 118, 125; and recruitment, 54, 57, 92, 95, 99; and veterans' politics, 231, 245; West India Committee, 25, 33, 44, 96, 247; West Indian Contingent Committee, 120, 148, 166–67, 188, 297n47, 304n151. *See also* Colonial Office, London; War Cabinet, London; War Office, London
Long, Walter, 151–52, 156, 165
Louise, Princess Marie, 148
loyalty, 2, 7, 9–11, 117, 244; and demobilization, 176–85, 191, 199; and discrimination, 139, 143, 146, 156, 162, 168–69, 171; and imperial belonging, 19–21, 23–25, 30–31, 34–35, 37–39, 41, 45, 47; and interracial encounters, 111, 113, 117; and recruitment, 63, 69, 75,

94, 103; and veterans' politics, 196–97, 199, 201–4, 206, 219, 230, 242
Lynch, J. Challenor, 87–88, 148–52

Macpherson, Anne, 66
Mair, Ernest, 244–45
Mallet, Claude, 77–78
Malta, 155
Manley, Norman and Roy, 43–44
Mann, Gregory, 10, 74, 171
Manning, William, 20, 24, 31–33, 42–43, 57–59, 62, 94, 161, 275n22
Māori Pioneer Battalion, 126
marches, 67, 90–91, 120, 124–25 134, 155; and demobilization, 184, 189, 193–96; and veterans' politics, 207, 215–16, 219, 232–33, 245–47. *See also* parades
Marryshow, T. A., 2, 47, 49, 206
Martinique, 12, 31, 58
martial races theory, 27, 60
Mary of Teck (Queen), 189
masculinity, 4, 9, 13, 49, 101, 107–8, 139; and imperial belonging, 21, 23–24, 27, 34–35, 42; and recruitment, 53, 66–67, 72–74, 85–86, 91, 93
May, G. H., 216–17
McDonald, Frederick, 193–94, 196–97, 199, 201–2
McKay, Claude, 6, 175, 180
medical ailments, 85–89, 91, 116, 209, 221, 247; mental illness, 209, 247. *See also* fitness, military; illness
medical exams, 7, 33, 51, 53, 80, 83–87, 92
medical treatment, 83, 87–88, 114, 124–25. *See also* nurses; physicians
Meilke, Louis, 47–49
Mendes, Alfred Hubert, 100–101
Mesopotamia, 107, 109, 140–41, 194, 201, 213
methodology of book, 3, 7–13
middle classes, 13, 47, 49, 108, 118, 149, 184, 190; and recruitment, 62, 65, 84, 95, 97, 101–3
Middle East, 5, 9, 12, 14, 104, 109, 125, 219, 224, 250, 299n68, 299n77; and discrimination, 138, 140, 150, 154
migration, 11–13, 20, 31, 48, 95, 109, 154, 211, 263n41; and demobilization, 186–87, 189, 199; and recruitment, 51–53, 60, 64, 75–76, 79. *See also* emigration
militancy, 6–7, 136, 141, 161, 164, 171; and veterans' politics, 176–77, 180–81, 187, 194, 198, 201, 203, 208, 234, 244
military authorities, 7, 29, 95, 101, 112, 116, 130; and Caribbean League, 162–63, 166; and demobilization, 176, 183; and discrimination, 138–39, 148, 151, 156, 158–59, 170–71; and recruitment, 53–56, 60–62, 66, 76, 84, 86, 90, 92
military barracks, 75, 80, 85–87, 89, 92, 104, 119, 127, 131, 232
military boosters, 23, 30, 32, 36, 40, 46; and recruitment, 54, 57, 60, 62, 64, 72, 77, 81, 85, 88
Military Medal, 101
Military Service Bill, Jamaica, 94–95
military training, 14, 22, 27–28, 32–33, 37–40, 42, 49, 59, 100, 178; and BWIR, 53, 59, 82, 85, 87, 89–90, 94, 119–24; and discrimination, 137, 139, 161
military uniforms, 25, 33, *35*, 42, *142*, 249; and BWIR training, 102–3, 107, 115, 119, 121, 124; and interracial encounters, 107, 115, 121–22, 125–26, 131; and recruitment, 57, 67, 74–75, 81, 87, 90–91; and uprisings, 193, 196, 198; and veterans' politics, 209, 216, 219–20, 231, 250
militias, 28, 32–33, 36, 65, 83, 96, 121, 178–79, 187, 196, 227
Milner, Alfred, 165–67, 169–70, 176, 178, 184, 246, 308n44
Mitchell, W. H. Steele, 36, 42, 44
mobilization, military, 3, 11–12, 99, 109, 126, 133, 221, 247; and discrimination, 140, 143, 152, 162; and imperial belonging, 20, 23–24, 27, 31, 33, 45; and recruitment, 52–53, 57, 59–61, 63, 65, 67, 76, 79, 82–85, 96. *See also* demobilization, military
Montserrat, *80*, 150
Moore, W. A., 19, 36
Morales, Eduardo, 6
morality, 48, 65–67, 88, 90, 133, 170, 225, 228, 248
mothers, 26, 54, 66–67, 69, 84, 133–34
Moulton, Charles, 31–32
murder, 133, 136, 159, 203–4
mutinies, 137–43, 154–60, 163–65, 171, 176–77, 245–46
mutual obligation, 30, 46, 52, 94, 139, 143, 156, 180, 188, 235, 246
Myers, A. A., 40–41

Napoleonic Wars, 23, 25, 28
Nardal, Jane, 12
Nathan, Alonzo, 43
nationalism, 9–10, 48–49, 100, 135, 143, 160; black, 6, 19, 48, 180. *See also* patriotism
Negro World, 6, 180–82, 203, 244

Newfoundland, 59, 144; Royal Newfoundland Regiment, 147
New Zealand, *35–36*, 59, 92, 126, 144, 259n9; Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC), 110, 147
Nicaragua, 11; Bluefields, 76
noncombatant duties, 4–5, 14, 24, 126–27; and BWIR, 77, 109, 112, 130, 137, 153, 219–20; and Non-Combatant Corps, 144
nonwhite colonial troops, 27, 46, 127, 133, 141, 146, 149, 179, 244. *See also* British West Indies Regiment (BWIR)
nurses, 53, 63, 66, 123–24, 133–34

obedience, 13, 111, 120, 158, 194
O'Brien, Charles, 138–39, 150–52, 167, 176, 178, 184, 246
Olivier, Sydney, 148, 167, 303n135
oppression, 4, 6, 69, 131, 191, 244–45
Oxford University, 43, 149

Padmore, George, 6, 51
Palestine, 137–38, 140, 219, 299n68; Gaza, 145, 296n32
Pan African Association, 179
Panama, 6–7, 12, 14, 154, 161, 209, 279n107; Bocas del Toro, 75, 77, 89; Canal Zone, 32, 37, 52–53, 76, 181, 211, 269n60; Friendly Societies War Contingent Committee, 89; Isthmian Canal Commission, 11, 31, 48, 269n60; Panama City, 75, 77, 79; and recruitment, 32, 64, 78–79, *79–80*
parades, *3*, 65, 90, 120–25, 160, 184, 187, 215–16, 219–20, 224. *See also* marches
patriotism, 4, 11, 13, 113, 245, 248; and discrimination, 139, 156; and gender, 133–34; and imperial belonging, 19–20, 24–25, 30, 34, 48; and recruitment, 62, 64–66, 69, 75, 83, 90, 93, 103; and veterans' politics, 181, 191–92, 201, 212, 222, 224. *See also* imperial patriotism; nationalism
Peace Day, 184, 215, 217, 220–21
pensions, 7, 55, 180, 185, 229, 250–51; disability pensions, 56, 117, 209–10
physicians, 13, 42, 60–61, 84–85, 87–88, 114, 233
planters, 13, 20–22, 25, 29–30, 36, 42, 44, 149, 209, 219; and recruitment, 62, 64, 96–102
poetry, 9, 13, 72, 89, 101, 112, 123–25, 157, 180, 212–13, 244
Poincaré, Raymond, 19
policing, 7, 37, 44, 62, 65, 83, 90, 99, 159, 164; and demobilization, 178, 182, 189, 195–97, 202; and veterans' politics, 200, 209, 220, 222, 224, 232, 239
politics, 2–3, 5, 7, 9–13, 15, 161, 163, 166; and demobilization, 176–77, 179, 185; and discrimination, 139, 141, 150, 152, 161, 163, 166–71; and imperial belonging, 19, 23, 25, 28–29, 35, 38–39, 44–45, 47; and recruitment, 52, 63, *68*, 73–74, 77, 95, 99; and reform, 48–50, 118, 180–82, 190–92; and veterans, 201–2, 206, 208–9, 223–24, 228, 240, 242, 245–49
Port of Spain, Trinidad, 10, 20, 25, 46, 48, 112–13, 138, 248; and demobilization, 179, 187, 190; and discrimination, 137–38; Queen's Park Savannah, 215–16, 219, 221; and recruitment, 51, 57–58, 63–*65*, 67, 83, 87, 89–93, 98; Red House, 214, 235; and veterans' politics, 205–7, 224, 226–27, 230–32, 234–36; Woodford Square, 223, 234
Pouchet, Leon, 161–64, 302n114
Prada, Enrique, 97
Pratt, Mary Louise, 127
press coverage, 3–4, 6–7, 9, 12, 133; and BWIR discrimination, 137, 141, 246, 289n86; and BWIR travel, 116, 120; and commemoration, 242, 244–45; and demobilization, 183, 186, 190; and imperial belonging, 20, 24–25, 30–33, 35, 40–42, 46–48; and labor movements, 234–35; and recruitment, 54, 57–60, 62–69, 72–75, 77–78, 85–86, 89–94, 98, 102–3; and reform, 49, 179–82, 191; and veterans' politics, 192, 205, 209–10, 212–20, 223, 226–27, 230–32, 236–37, 239
privilege, 10, 23, 27, 33, 50, 60, 191, 214; and BWIR, 111, 127, 138, 179; and discrimination, 145–46, 149, 156, 158; and imperial belonging, 27, 33; and recruitment, 74, 77–78, 102. *See also* elite classes
Probyn, Leslie, 34, 40, 62, 103, 165, 176, 182, 186, 230
proficiency pay, 4, 55–56, 143, 145
propaganda, 37, 41, 133
property ownership, 96, 154, 180, 270n68; and veterans, 185–86, 192, 198, 211, 213–14, 236, 245, 247; and veterans' politics, 212, 218, 223–25, 231, 233
protest, 2, 7, 28, 47, 93, 162, 248; and demobilization, 170–71, 177, 183,

193–98, 201, 203; and discrimination, 136, 139–41, 148, 150, 153–56, 159, 167; and veterans' politics, 207, 217–18, 229, 231, 233–34, 239. *See also* uprisings
Putnam, Lara, 11

race, 4–6, 9, 12–13, 15–16, 175, 182, 244, 247; and British Army, 125–26, 187; and discrimination, 140, 144, 146, 161, 166–72; and imperial belonging, 22–24, 27–30, 33, 37, 40–43, 45–50; and interracial encounters, 127–*128*, 130–36; and recruitment, 52–53, 56, 60, 65, 69, 72–76, 82–86, 94, 96–103; and uprisings, 195, 201, 216–17; and veterans' politics, 215–21, 223, 228–29, 234, 242. *See also* equality; interracialism
racism, 4, 6, 13, 41, 48, 122, 161, 244, 250; and British Army, 151, 157, 159, 169–70, 172, 176–77; and BWIR, 118, 141, 146, 150, 300n79; and military labor, 111–12, 118, 135–36; and recruitment, 51–53, 81, 94, 98. *See also* color divisions; white superiority
radicalization, 6, 130, 159, 164, 175, 204, 217, 219, 234
rallies, 13, 53, 63–66, 69, 72, 80, 89, 95, 103
Ratepayers Association, 179
rations, 61, 113, 120, 130
recreation, 4, 14, 88, 111, 120–22, 127, 134, 171, 187, 189. *See also* social life
recruitment, 3–4, 13–14, 113, 120, 127, 138, 141, 148, 259n9; and demobilization, 178, 196, 199; and discrimination, 138, 141, 148–51, 153–54, 156, 163; and imperial belonging, 20, 30–32, 37, 39–41, 46–47; and martial masculinity, 63–87, 89–103; and veterans' politics, 213, 221, 225–28; and West Indies, 51–55, 57–62. *See also* military boosters
Red Cross Society, 53, 63, 66, 116, 124
Reddock, Rhoda, 184
reformism, 7, 9, 118, 164, 198, 248; and demobilization, 177, 179–80, 183, 190–92; and imperial belonging, 20, 23, 46–47, 49–50; and recruitment, 54, 62, 73; and veterans' politics, 202–3, 240
rejection, military, 36–37, 42–45, 51–52, 56, 61, 84–89, 101, 109. *See also* discharge
religion, 2, 4, 19, 64, 111, 122, 146–47, 182; and recruitment, 53, 64, 69, 76, 96. *See also* Anglicanism; Christianity
Renwick, C. F. P., 49, 62
respectability, 13, 107, 140–41, 145–46, 171, 246
Returned Soldiers' and Sailors' Council (RSSC), 205–8, 221–39
rights, political, 2, 6, 10, 23–24, 26, 30, 41, 244, 248, 251; and demobilization, 185, 191, 200; and discrimination, 146, 151, 167, 171; and interracial encounters, 111, 118, 121; and recruitment, 54, 57, 65, 73–74, 86; and veterans' politics, 206, 227, 234
riots, 2, 159, 165, 169–70, 195–97, 201–4. *See also* uprisings
Roberts, Charles, 139–39, 294n7
Roberts, Frederick, 27
Ross, James Ernest, 43
Royal Army Medical Corps, 42
Royal Field Artillery, 32, 43
Royal Flying Corps, 43
Royal Horse Artillery, 32
Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, 44, 113
Royal Marine Artillery, 175
Royal Marines, 176
Royal Warwickshire Fusiliers, 20
rural recruits, 83, 87, 94, 154
Rushdie-Gray, G. O., 43
Russian Revolution, 176, 182

sacrifice, 1, 4, 6, 35, 46, 67, 76, 119, 133, 154; and demobilization, 177, 179–81, 188, 191; and veterans' politics, 212–13, 223, 225, 231, 233, 235, 238, 241, 245–46
Samoa, 186
Sands, James Osborne "Doc," 107
Scott, James, 10
Scottish people, 92, 126, 203
sedition, 2, 164–65, 178, 182, 218
segregation, 48, 51, 171, 300n79
self-government, 47–50, 59, 73, 144, 161–62, 206
separation allowances, 55–56, 67–68, 144–45, 147–48, 156, 198, 274n8
sex, 133–35, 216–17
sexuality, 13, 66, 74
sex workers, 87, 134
Sierra Leone, 32, 38
Simpson, H. A. L., 94, 245
Singh, Kelvin, 208, 228
slavery, 20, 23, 28, 47, 72, 78, 181–82, 231, 242, 244
Smith, Claude, 200
Smith, Faith, 10–11
Smith, Maxwell, 162, 215

Smith, Richard, 133, 270n68
socialism, 180–82, 217
social life, 3, 5, 7, 9–10, 161, 221, 234, 251; and BWIR, 111, 113, 120, 157, 220; and discrimination, 141, 146, 152; and imperial belonging, 22–23, 35, 47–48; and interracial encounters, 126, 130–32; and recruitment, 52–54, 61, 64, 73–74, 78, 94; and reform, 50, 118, 181. *See also* recreation
social mobility, 53, 146, 210
Soldiers and Sailors Union (SSU), 206, 226, 233, 235
solidarity, 116, 150, 157, 203, 221, 234, 242
songs, 13, 72–73, 91, 132–33, 224
sons, 79, 84, 96, 99–100, 208, 213, 245
South Africa, 110, 126, 168, 295n26; Second South African War (Boer War), 25, 166; South African Native Labour Corps, 144; South African Overseas Contingent, 166; South African War, 29, 145; Witwatersrand, 178
South Pacific, 148, 186. *See also individual countries*
Spanish language, 11, 49
Stamfordham, Lord, 44–45
stereotypes, 13, 28, 118, 122, 132, 135–36, 225
St. Kitts and Nevis, *80*, 150, 176, 182
St. Lucia, 79–*80*, 141, 176, 186, 190
Stovall, Tyler, 135
Streets, Heather, 74
strikes, 111, 121, 159, 162–64, 178, 186, 208, 211, 231, 234–35
St. Vincent, 11, 79–*80*, 113, 164, 186
sugar industry, 12, 67, 96, 186
surveillance, 2, 7–8, 162, 164–65, 239
Sutherland, Charles, 194

Thomas, Herbert, 176, 182, 184, 217
Thullier, Henry, 156, 163–64
Thurn, Everard im, 148, 170
Toraille, Felix, 112, 115, 117, 119
Transvaal Town Police, 178
travel, 12, 44, 48, 186; and discrimination, 154–55, 159, 162; and interracial encounters, 100, 109, 111–18, 121, 125; and recruitment, 51, 56, 75–80; and veterans' politics, 181, 186, 191, 201, 211, 228
Treaty of Versailles, 215
trench warfare, 89, 101, 109
Trinidad and Tobago, 2–4, 6–7, 11, 15, 49, 245–46, 250, 286n19, 303n135, 324n21; Archer Coaling Company, 234; and BWIR, 90, 111–14, 118–19, 121–22; and Caribbean League, 161, 165; City Police Court, 62; and demobilization, 176–79, 181–82, 184, 190; and discrimination, 137–38, 141, 148, 153; and elitism, 96–102; Government House, 232–33; Greyfriars Hall, 225–26; and imperial belonging, 20–22, 25, 30, 34, 36, 39, 42, 46–47; Legislative Council, 10, 180, 209, 219, 233, 248; Merchants' and Planters' Contingent, 97–102, 233; Queen's Royal College, 51–52, 101–2; and recruitment, 52–54, 57–64, 67, 72–73, 75, 77–*80*, 82, 85, 87–93; Returned Soldiers' and Sailors' Council (RSSC), 205–8, 221–40; San Fernando, 190, 234; Soldiers and Sailors Union (SSU), 206, 226, 233, 235; St. John's Hall, 228; Trinidad Artillery Corps, 121; Trinidad Electric Company, 238; Trinidad Executive Council, 233; Trinidad Land and Finance Company, 234; Trinidad War Fund, 62; Trinidad Workingmen's Association (TWA), 2, 226, 234–35, 242, 244, 248; and veterans' politics, 205–40. *See also* Port of Spain, Trinidad
Trinidad Workingmen's Association (TWA), 2, 226, 234–35, 242, 244, 248
troopships, 109, 112–17, 123, 125

Union Jack, 23, 36–37, 67, 93, 114, 144, 161, 189, 241
United Fruit Company, 11, 42, 77, 186
United Kingdom, 20, 44, 144–45, 153. *See also* British Army; British Empire; British subjecthood; England; Great Britain
United States, 5, 7, 11–12, 111, 169–70, 203, 248; African American soldiers, 126, 132, 135; British West Indies World War Veterans' Association, 207–8, 246; Harlem, 180, 182, 208, 246; and imperial belonging, 31, 35, 48–49; New York, 13, 79, 181, 207–8, 211; and recruitment, 73, 76–77, 79, 259n9; U.S. Public Health Service, 48
Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League (UNIA), 19–20, 23, 47–48, 69, 177, 180–81, 203
upper classes, 61, 97, 101–2, 150. *See also* elite classes

uprisings, 7, 28, 157, 159, 177–79, 187, 192–203, 217, 219, 223. *See also* protest; riots
urban recruits, 83, 87, 89

venereal disease, 13, 87–88
Venezuela, 11–12, 211
Vernon, H. H. H., 62, 189, 193–94, 198
veterans, 15, 69, 83, 165, 171, 244, 247, 249; black veterans, 1–3, 6–9, 12, 15, 175, 177–79, 198, 206, 210, 231–32; British veterans, 208; colored veterans, 176, 185, 198; and commemoration, 245–46; and demobilization, 176, 178, 180, 184–88; disabled veterans, 116–17, 125, 185, 209, 239, 246–247; and discrimination, 145, 148, 161, 165, 167, 171; and employment, 189–90, 202; and imperial belonging, 31–32, 36–37; and politics, 180–84, 191, 205–21, 248, 250; and supports, 1–2, 6, 185–86; and uprisings, 192–93, 195–204; veterans' organizations, 1–2, 198–200, 202–3, 205–8, 223–40, 246; white veterans, 198
veterinarians, 42–43
Victoria Cross, 31
Victoria I (Queen), 179, 294n12
violence, 7, 15, 43, 159, 162–65, 223, 240; and interracial encounters, 123, 127, 132–33, 135–36, 216, 220; and protest, 139, 143, 155–56, 172, 177–78, 182, 187, 195, 201, 217, 231; and recruitment, 52, 69, 93
volunteerism, 3–4, 8, 11, 13, 181, 244, 246, 250; and demobilization, 175–76, 179, 196; and discrimination, 138, 143, 150, 167–69; and elitism, 95–103; and imperial belonging, 23–24, 26–27, 29–34, 36–40, 42–43, 46; and interracial encounters, 109, 133–35, 138; and recruitment, 51–58, 60–61, 63–64, 66–67, 69, 73, 75–79, 81–92; and veterans' politics, 201, 213, 226
voting, 2, 10, 185, 248

wages, 2, 4, 6, 11, 33, 36, 121, 248, 295n21, 295n23, 297n45, 304n147; and Caribbean League, 162, 165–66; and discrimination, 138, 140–41, 143–45, 147–50, 152–53, 156–57, 162, 167–68, 170; and labor, 130, 211, 234; and recruitment, 55–56, 67; and veterans' politics, 180, 183–84, 186, 188, 190–92, 215, 220–22, 225, 230, 234–35. *See also* Army Order No. 1 (1918); benefits, soldiers'; compensation; pensions; proficiency pay; war gratuities
Wales, 92, 126; Cardiff, 44
Walter, Robert, 182
War Cabinet, London, 27, 38, 153, 267n33
War Contingent Fund, 45
War Council, London, 175
war gratuities, 170, 183, 188–89, 229, 236–38, 245
War of 1812, 212
War Office, London, 13, 125, 229, 298n64; and Caribbean League, 164–66; and demobilization, 175–77; and discrimination, 138–39, 141, 145–50, 152–53, 155–59, 168–70; and imperial belonging, 24, 26, 29–30, 33–36, 38–45, 50; and recruitment, 54–57, 59–61, 63, 77, 79, 82, 104. *See also* Army Council, London
warships, 177–78, 182–83, 197, 202
Watterson, G. F., 145–46
wealth, 23, 44, 62, 96–97, 103, 134, 245
Western Front, 40–41, 44–45, 77, 100–101, 109; and BWIR, 112, 126–27, 130–31, 133, 145
West Ham Police Court, 44
West India Regiment (WIR), 28, 31–32, 34, 37, 39, 43, 221, 250; and demobilization, 179, 183, 187; and recruitment, 55–56, 92, 97; Second Battalion, 32
West Indies, 3–4, 6, 9, 23, 170, 246; and BWIR, 120, 122–24, 250; and Caribbean League, 160–62, 164; and demobilization, 176–77, 186–87; and discrimination, 137–39, 141, 146–51, 153–54, 156, 158, 160, 166–72; and imperial belonging, 20–21, 24–31, 33, 35–42, 44–45, 47–50; and interracial encounters, 127–36; and recruitment, 52, 54–55, 57, 59, 73–81, 90–93; and reform, 179, 181; and transatlantic travel, 107, 109, 111–12, 115–19; and veterans' politics, 211, 221; West Indian Federation Committee, 49. *See also* black West Indians; white West Indians
white men, 13, 15, 133, 170, 176, 180, 202–3; and BWIR, 110, 149; and Caribbean League, 161–62; and imperial belonging, 20, 22–25, 29–33, 42, 46, 50; and racism, 111–12, 126, 146; and recruitment, 36, 52–54, 61, 64, 82, 93–94, 96–99, 101–3; and veterans' politics, 206, 218. *See also* white servicemen; white superiority

white people, 14, 41, 46, 74, 143, 162, 175, 182, 187, 199; white civilians, 112, 118, 122, 133, 135, 155; white elites, 82, 98, 116, 166, 179, 195–97, 209, 213, 218–19, 227–28; white women, 65, 119, 133–35, 176, 216–18. *See also* white men; white servicemen; white superiority; white West Indians
white servicemen, 4–8, 13, 54, 150–51, 162, 179, 189, 198, 242; and discrimination, 101–3, 111–12, 126, 135, 154–56, 158–59, 161–62, 172, 244; and imperial belonging, 37–38, 42; and recruitment, 56, 61, 67, 74, 81, 85, 97; and veterans' politics, 215–16, 218–20, 224, 226–28, 233. *See also* British servicemen; white superiority
white superiority, 50, 52, 73, 146. *See also* racism
white West Indians, 110, 149, 154, 179, 185, 189, 195–97, 218–19, 239; and demobilization, 175, 179, 185, 187, 189, 195–97, 201, 203; and imperial belonging, 20–24, 29–33; and recruitment, 64, 82, 96, 98
Wickham, Clennell Wilsden, 109–11, 245
widows, 56, 183–84
Wilhelm II (Kaiser), 50
Williams, Chad, 12
Williams, Henry Sylvester, 118
Willis, Reginald E., 154–55, 157, 165
Wilson, William, 61, 167, 303n135
Windward Islands, 57–59, 84, 153, 178, 303n135
Wiseman, R. A., 27–29, 38, 60–61, 99
wives, 54, 56, 66–69, 87, 99, 117, 135–36, 202, 210
women, 5, 11, 13, 47–48, 53, 146–47, 246, 309n60; black West Indian women, 25, 31, 67, 180–81; and BWIR, 110, 119, 121–22, 131, 134–35; and Caribbean League, 160–61; and labor, 133, 148, 184; and recruitment, 64–68, 72, 88, 90, 93, 95; and veterans' politics, 183, 185, 190–91, 194, 200–203, 207, 223; white women, 65, 119, 133–35, 176, 216–18; Women's Recruiting Committee, 66
Wood-Hill, Charles, 107, 114, 125, 138, 153–54, 159
Woods, Phillip, 192
working classes, 2, 10–11, 13, 25–26, 44–45, 154, 184–85, 190, 234; and recruitment, 53, 62–63, 66, 75, 83–85, 94, 96–97, 100, 103; and uprisings, 200–201; and veterans' politics, 206, 208, 214, 217, 221, 234. *See also* labor, civilian
working conditions, 2, 139, 154, 251. *See also* labor, civilian
World War I, 1, 3–4, 6–7, 9–15, 101, 166; and BWIR, 109, 111, 118, 126, *129*–130, 133, 157; and commemoration, 241–42, 244, 246, 249–50; and demobilization, 175–76, 181, 183, 186, 188; and imperial belonging, 19–20, 23–27, 34, 43; and recruitment, 51–53, 58–59, 62, 69, 74; and veterans, 205–6; and veterans' politics, 213, 221, 239
World War II, 3, 12, 249–50
Wyatt, Robert, 189, 195–96, 202, 314n162

youth, 48, 51, 64, 90, 102, 109, 200, 210. *See also* children