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## Flying Fish in the Great White North: The "Culture" of Black Barbadian Migration to 1967

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Graduate Program in History

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree in Doctor of Philosophy

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FLYING FISH IN THE GREAT WHITE NORTH: THE “CULTURE” OF BLACK  
BARBADIAN MIGRATION TO 1967

(Thesis format: Monograph)

by

Christopher Stuart Taylor

Graduate Program in History and Migration & Ethnic Relations

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

The School of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies  
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London, Ontario, Canada

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## Abstract and Keywords

Notwithstanding First Nations peoples, Canada is a nation of immigrants. As a settler colony, the French and English charter immigrant “solitudes” created a paradigm of “White Canada” nation-building defined by exclusionary and hypocritical immigration policies. Canada was a “White man’s country” built by non-Whites on the stolen lands of colonized Aboriginal peoples, where discriminatory anti-Black immigration policy, particularly during the early twentieth century up to the immigration policy reforms of the 1960s, was designed to restrict and prohibit the entry of Black Barbadians and Black West Indians. The Canadian state capitalized on the public’s fear of the “Black unknown” and the negative codification of Black identity and used illogical fallacies such as climate “unsuitability” to justify the exclusion of Black Barbadians and West Indians.

This dissertation challenges the perception that Blacks were simply victims of a racist and discriminatory Canadian and international migration paradigm as it emphasizes the agency and educational capital of Black Barbadian emigrants during the mid-twentieth century. Utilizing extensive archival research at the Barbados National Archives (BNA), this dissertation argues that overpopulation, upward social mobility, and a highly educated population facilitated emigration off the Island between the late nineteenth century and 1967. This argument challenges Dawn I. Marshall, Alan B. Simmons and Jean Pierre Guengant’s theory of a Caribbean “culture-of-migration,” where West Indians migrated due to inherited and unconscious cultural attributes to fulfill the innate need and desire for exodus in the structured, racialized, and oppressive international migration system. By creating the concept of the “Autonomous Bajan” and the “Emigrant Ambassador,” this dissertation argues that Blacks and most notably Black women, with the assistance of their Barbadian Government through educational reforms in the early twentieth century and sponsored emigration schemes since the late nineteenth century, found autonomous agency and challenged Canadian immigration policies designed to exclude Black West Indians. This dissertation utilizes the intersectionality of race, gender, and class, and how it both restricted and facilitated the emigration of Black Barbadians and West Indians during this period.

Barbados, Canada, West Indies, Britain, Race, Gender, Black Barbadians, Canadian Immigration Policy, Barbadian Education System, *The Commonwealth Immigrants Act*, Emigrant Ambassadors, Autonomous Bajan, “culture-of-migration”

## Acknowledgements

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I would like to say thank you to my friends and family in London (Ontario), London (England), Mississauga, and Barbados, for the meals, sounding boards, beds, drives to archives and libraries, pick-ups and drop-offs from airports and train stations, vacations (near and really far), for teaching me the art of patience, and for keeping a positive and encouraging environment for me to succeed. I have to say thank you for all you did – and didn’t do – that kept me grounded and on track.

Mom, Cara – thank you. The past year or so has been trying, but we stuck together and got our lives moving forward. Life changed in a blink of an eye in December 2011 and it’s the two of you who gave me the strength to be where I am today. Adversity and hard work build character and this dissertation is as much yours as it is mine.

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## Introduction:

### Flying Fish in the Great White North: The “Culture” of Black Barbadian Migration to 1967

*...These first generation migrants had used the name and concept of Barbados as home not only as a mantra, but as a beacon in the dark.*

Marcia Burrowes, 2009<sup>1</sup>

*Their understanding of being Barbadian gave them solace and meaning within the space/s of their exile.*

Marcia Burrowes, 2009<sup>2</sup>

*In plenty and in time of need  
When this fair land was young  
Our brave forefathers sowed the seed  
From which our pride is sprung  
A pride that makes no wanton boast  
Of what it has withstood  
That binds our hearts from coast to coast  
The pride of nationhood*

*We loyal sons and daughters all  
Do hereby make it known  
These fields and hills beyond recall  
Are now our very own  
We write our names on history's page  
With expectations great,  
Strict guardians of our heritage  
Firm craftsmen of our fate*

The Barbados National Anthem<sup>3</sup>

Under the yoke of slavery, colonial domination, poverty, and racism, the pride and industry of a nation was born. The epitome of human capitalist greed and disregard for human life – the Transatlantic Slave Trade and the institution of slavery – laid the foundation for the creation of the Black Barbadian beginning in the seventeenth century. Europeans perfected a

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<sup>1</sup> Marcia Burrowes, “Collecting the Memories: Migrant Voices in the Barbadian-UK Migration Project,” in *Freedom and Constraint in Caribbean Migration and Diaspora*, ed. Elizabeth Thomas-Hope (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers, 2009), 138.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Irving Burgie, “The National Anthem of Barbados,” Barbados.org, <http://www.barbados.org/anthem.htm>. [accessed November 27, 2012].

system of ideological genocide; they destroyed the Self, the being, and the existence of the African and created his new being as property. It was a legalized system needed, not for the survival and welfare of European societies, but to provide a luxury for those ignorant to its origins and amass wealth for the few, shielded a continent away from the brutality they created. The Slave Trade was designed to exploit and to profit. It was not a symbiotic relationship; Africans, now slaves in the Americas, did not enter into a binding employment contract with paid wages and benefits. Phenotypic terrorists broke, castrated, and raped their bodies, and destroyed their existence.<sup>4</sup> The institution of slavery was a calculated act of terrorism against humanity and human dignity. Seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth century Barbados and the West Indies were not the tourist paradises that they are now, but a theatre of war, where the enemy disguised itself under a cloak of lies, violence, and greed. Men engaged in the trafficking of human flesh as the insidious ideology of race was created to justify the unjustifiable. To be of a darker skin tone meant enslavement; however, the masters perverted the binary colour stratification once the derivatives of sexual terror compelled them to enslave their own. Fathers raped mothers, and whipped daughters. Husbands were emasculated, as wives were raped and brutalized. Mothers cried as their sons died slow painful deaths. Welcome to Barbados. This is where the story begins.

The loyal sons and daughters of the Rock on the easternmost reaches of the Caribbean Sea fought hard and struggled to sow the seeds that created what Barbados is today. Industrious perseverance is a Barbadian characteristic. Barbadian ancestors survived the Middle Passage; they overcame the brutality of chattel slavery; they recreated and retained

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<sup>4</sup> For an example of an eighteenth century White West Indian “phenotypic terrorist,” see Trevor Burnard’s *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 2004). Thistlewood was a sadistic murderer, rapist (forced sex with over 3,000 slaves), and a physical, psychological and emotional terrorist. One can argue that he was not the exception, but an example of the atrocities committed by White planters and slave-owners throughout the West Indies during the institution of slavery.

their identity in the face of a well-calculated and deliberate ideological genocide; and they carved out a prosperous existence in the face of colonial domination.<sup>5</sup> Despite generations of insurmountable odds, Black Barbadians did not suffer defeat, nor did they accept the negative codification of their ideological Blackness.<sup>6</sup> Black Barbadians pursued excellence and upward mobility as means to overcome the debilitating nature of poverty and the incendiary goals of racial discrimination as slaves, Free Blacks, British colonial subjects, and finally as proud and independent Barbadian citizens. Hundreds of years of subjugation forged the yeomen characteristics that defined the early twentieth century Barbadian. Whether coerced or voluntary, hard work lies at the foundation of Barbadian attitudes towards life. Tens of thousands of Barbadian emigrants have embodied this spirit of dedication to self-improvement and the collective uplifting of the Barbadian nation-state and a prosperous Diaspora abroad.

I have coined both the terms “Emigrant Ambassador” and “Autonomous Bajan,” which are at the heart of this study. The Autonomous Bajan (“Bajan” is the colloquial term

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<sup>5</sup> The “ideological genocide” was the process by which European deliberately dehumanized Blacks through the implementation of chattel slavery (Blacks and their progeny defined as property) and how Whites justified the institution through the reified hegemonic belief of “natural” Black inferiority.

<sup>6</sup> Some clarification on terms I use throughout my dissertation is needed: I capitalize the “B” as a proper noun when I refer to Black Barbadians, West Indians, or Black people. I recall the Barbadian-born Donald W. Moore’s “sore point” regarding the widespread and accepted use of a lowercase “n” for Negro in the 1950s and I feel the same way with the widespread and accepted use of a lowercase “b” when describing Black people in the twenty-first century. On February 28<sup>th</sup>, 1955, Moore wrote to Edmond Cloutier, the Queen’s Printer in Ottawa questioning the use of a lowercase “n” for Negro in the Hansard. Moore wrote, “It has now become the accepted practice with leading newspapers, magazines and periodicals in Canada and the United States to use a capital ‘N’ when using the word Negro. It has been such a long while since I have seen this departure from common usage, that the appearance of the common ‘n’ in Government publications seem quite glaring” Donald Moore, *Don Moore: An Autobiography* (Toronto: Williams-Wallace Publishers, Inc., 1985), 121. There is absolutely no difference when describing a Jewish man, an Italian boy, an African-American girl, or a Black woman as human beings. If “black” was simply an innocuous colour descriptor and adjective similar to blue eyes or brunette hair, a lowercase “b” would be acceptable. However, that is not the case and as Moore fought for the capitalization of Negro in Canada in the 1950s – the Spanish word for “black” – I am doing the same for Black in the 2010s. I do not put “race” in quotation marks, but it is understood that race is a social construction. Throughout my research in the Barbados National Archives, many of the official documents I came across capitalized the “G” when they referred to the Barbados Government. I have adopted the same practice here when referring to the Barbados Government and Canadian Government. I have also capitalized the “I” in island when I write “the Island” as a synonym for Barbados as a proper noun and country.

for “Barbadian”) embodies the independent nature and agency of all Barbadian emigrants as they navigated the racialized and oppressive structures of the international migration system. As will be explained further in this introduction and engaged thoroughly in Chapter Five, the Emigrant Ambassador builds on the concept of the Autonomous Bajan but refers specifically to the Black Barbadian and Black West Indian women that spearheaded and challenged Canada’s discriminatory immigration policy during the 1950s and 1960s. Aided by the concepts of the Autonomous Bajan and the Emigrant Ambassador, this dissertation attempts to capture, as accurately as possible, the spirit of the nurses, the domestics, the teachers, the bus conductors, and all of the young Barbadian emigrants. They left the sunny tropical paradise of Barbados for the cold abyss of the unknown, in search of a better life for themselves, their unborn children, and the Island. The terms need to be adopted to clearly identify and emphasize the role that the individual, female emigrants in particular, played in the history of international migration.

### **Thesis: Arguments and Themes**

This dissertation has three main arguments regarding Black Barbadian emigration push factors and three central themes throughout. The themes of this study act as threads that connect the dissertation from start to finish and situate the historical arguments in a broader theoretical and interdisciplinary analysis. First, I argue that since the late nineteenth century the Barbadian Government attempted to solve the chronic problem of overpopulation on the Island through sponsored emigration. Then, using this argument as a foundation to assert the idea of emigration as a form of Barbadian foreign policy, I contend that the Government facilitated the emigration of its people, most notably women, through sponsorship

programmes. More importantly, the Government equipped Black female and male Barbadians with the skills and training needed through its emphasis on education. Finally, I argue that due to high educational standards in Barbados and the need to attain socio-economic advancement abroad, individual Black Barbadians left the Island. Those are the three main arguments in regards to Barbadian emigration push factors up to 1967. The main focus of the dissertation is on the emigration of Black Barbadians: the “push” and not simply the “pull” of migration. I have chosen to begin this study following Emancipation in 1834 and the end of Apprenticeship in 1838 in the British West Indies to focus on the voluntary emigration of Black Barbadians. I have chosen to end this study at 1967 since the more liberalized and objective Points System enacted by the Canadian Government significantly altered the role race played in the exclusion and selection of immigrants.

The first central theme of this dissertation is that Barbadians as a collective and as individuals challenged the White perceptions, specifically Canadian nineteenth and twentieth century views, of Black identity and Black undesirability as immigrants. I demonstrate this through my concepts of Emigrant Ambassadors and Autonomous Bajans and through my thorough discussion of Black Barbadian identity and Canada’s anti-Black and racist immigration policy. Barbados is a case study of how Canada dealt with Visible Minority members of the Commonwealth. Barbados is singled out as a case study to demonstrate how Canada deterred and excluded non-White members of the Commonwealth from immigrating prior to 1967. The Barbadian Emigrant Ambassadors were active agents of their government’s strategic foreign policy; the Barbadian Government used the Emigrant Ambassadors as a means to circumvent Canada’s racist immigration policy. This dissertation adds to the historiography and conversation regarding the history of Barbadian and Canadian foreign policy by incorporating the study of emigration and immigration as government-

based initiatives. The Emigrant Ambassador argument is also supported by the thematic use of individual Barbadian migrant case studies, narratives and their settlement stories. It must be noted that most Barbadians profiled in this dissertation during this period settled in the Greater Toronto Area and Montreal. The second theme is my theoretical analysis of race in Canada, Barbados, and the Black British Atlantic. Race is not only a theoretical framework, but race, racialization, and anti-Black racism are constant themes throughout the dissertation. I argue that race was a fundamental feature of Barbados and British history in the Americas and contributed to Canada's immigration policy up to its official de-racialization in 1962. I address and discuss in detail other economic, political, and social factors involved in the international migration of Black Barbadians; however, I have chosen race as a mode of historical analysis since it was one of the main reasons why Black Barbadians were excluded from the United States, the United Kingdom, and most importantly from Canada. The third central theme is the disaggregation of Dawn I. Marshall, Alan B. Simmons, and Jean Pierre Guengant's argument of a Caribbean "culture-of-migration." Throughout the dissertation I dispute the concept of a "culture-of-migration" through my arguments regarding education, overpopulation, and Barbadians as agents of their government's deliberate policy of emigration. The themes of this dissertation also focus on the intersections of race, gender, and class in immigration, Canadian and Black Canadian history, and oral histories and personal narratives. This study challenges current and historical perceptions of Black identity, the undesirability of Black immigrants and the myths used for border control.

## Purpose and Context

This dissertation assesses the political, economic, and social characteristics and implications of Barbadian emigration, using historical documents and archival evidence. While British, Barbadian, and Canadian governments facilitated the means and flow for movement, the individual's autonomy and personal choice precipitated and dictated transnational migration. Every day Barbadians – or the Autonomous Bajan – defined the roles and boundaries of migratory social mobility. Respective governments created legislation which both restricted and expedited the emigration and immigration of Barbadians due to social demographics and race; however, the Autonomous Bajan did sit amongst the autocratic and bureaucratic policymaking elite. The struggle to survive by any means necessary conditioned the Barbadian to achieve more. Hardship, colonialism, and racism, influenced the Barbadian's character. It simultaneously indoctrinated a sense of pride and perseverance that defined the autonomous Bajan's transnational *habitus*. Black Barbadians worked within an inherently discriminatory and racist colonial system, one characterized by epistemic violence.<sup>7</sup> The hegemonic power of epistemic violence marginalized the Black Barbadian's self-worth and identity. It created a system in which his subaltern existence reflected the institutionalized racism of colonial Western society. They lived in a system designed for their assigned marginality and degradation; an ideologically reified class of inferiority, encapsulated by the

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<sup>7</sup> Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak highlighted that the “clearest example of such epistemic violence is the remotely orchestrated, far-flung, and heterogeneous project to constitute the colonial subject as the Other. This project is also the asymmetrical [sic] obliteration of the trace of that Other in its precarious Subjectivity. It is well known that Foucault locates epistemic violence, a complete overhaul of the episteme, in the redefinition of sanity at the end of the European eighteenth century.” Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?” in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, eds. Carey Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (London: Macmillan, 1988), 24-25.

mechanisms of colonialism and racism. Individual Barbadians suffered under the yoke of oppression. However, these extraordinary individuals triumphed and succeeded. Every day was a struggle for survival as they fought to procure the necessary educational, cultural, and social capital to emigrate and integrate and subsequently contribute as loyal Commonwealth brethren and naturalized Canadians in a hostile new environment.<sup>8</sup>

It is difficult to create a complex sample size of individual stories and experiences with the ambitious, and frequently erroneous, view that twenty, fifty, or one hundred people are an “authentic” representation of thousands of individual wants, motives, desires, and personalities. It is a futile pursuit, and subject to misrepresentation. One may argue that an adequate sample size may allow for suitable generalizations as the logistics in procuring all possible individual statements goes beyond the scope and necessity of most scholarly research. While true, the purpose of this dissertation is to engage in the human side of the story. Each statistic is a person: a mother, a father, a son, and a daughter. Embedded in the pages of this study is the story of one man’s trials and tribulations as a Barbadian emigrant in the United Kingdom and Canada. He was a Barbadian-Canadian in every sense of the contentious hyphenated moniker. This dissertation is dedicated to the life of my father Reginald Eric Taylor. It is understandable that the deeply personal nature of this dissertation may be a cause for concern; however, Taylor’s migrant history is one that must be told. I have gone to great lengths to use scholarly and archival evidence to support his personal journey and his story acts as a narrative that bridges academia and the public sphere. His life

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<sup>8</sup>For example in 1965 a total of 560 people emigrated from Barbados to Canada – 327 sponsored and 233 unsponsored. By 1967 and the Points System, the number rose to 1,181 Barbadian emigrants in Canada. Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG 76, vol. 820, file 552-1-533, Commonwealth Caribbean-Canada Conference, Ottawa, July 6-8, 1966, June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1966; LAC, RG 76, vol. 1241, file 5850-3-555, Immigration from Barbados & Letter to J.B. Bissett, Director General, Foreign Service Region from R. Martineau, Chief, Western Hemisphere, January 29<sup>th</sup>, 1975. The scope of the dissertation does not discuss the Points System; however, future studies on Barbadian emigration to Canada should compare and contrast the immigration statistics before and after 1967 and if the “pull” of the Points System superseded the “push” of Barbadian social, economic, and political factors.



story begins with his struggles as a child stricken by the ubiquitous poverty of pre-Second World War Barbados and his educational possibilities and limitations are examples of the many Barbadians forced to leave school as young adolescents. The narrative of his life within the pages of this dissertation continues with his employment opportunities as a trade apprentice and his personal desire to emigrate and the unique recruitment process in Barbados. His life moved with the tide of the Atlantic and the course of history as he faced the challenges of living and working in post-war England. Finally, Taylor brought peace to the ghosts of his deracinated ancestors as he rooted himself in Canada in pursuit of educational and professional upward mobility as part of the Barbadian and African Diasporas.<sup>9</sup>

Canadians love to hear an immigrant success story, typically how one downtrodden individual climbed his or her way out of poverty and persecution “back home,” overcame insurmountable odds and came to this land of opportunity. Canadians emphasize the socio-economic immigrant “pull” factors that accentuate benevolence. However, the emigrant “push” factors are oftentimes neglected. The promoted positive nature of the “pull” was greater than the supposed all-encompassing negativity of the “push.” Why else would someone leave the Caribbean island of the Flying Fish for the cold unknown of the Great White North? Why would Taylor, a young man without secondary education, leave Barbados on the eve of its independence in 1966? The strong winds of independence blew across the Island following the Second World War, so why did thousands of the best and brightest Barbadians emigrate knowing they had a chance to contribute to the newly independent nation-state that needed them? Taylor is an example of Barbadian agency; he chose to emigrate and he chose to pursue educational opportunities abroad that he could not

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<sup>9</sup> See Chapter Two for more on Reginald Taylor’s life.

obtain on the Island. The keyword is “choice.” Barbadians did not live within a vacuum of domestic and international policy makers, devoid of any and all autonomy; they were equal participants and actors of their own fate, and not simply acted upon. Despite institutional barriers (racist immigration policies), Barbadians chose to migrate and their Government leaders were vocal in promoting change to Canadian immigration policy.

### **Sources and Situating the “Culture-of-Migration” Theory**

It must be noted that this dissertation has relied on considerable archival research of Barbadian and Canadian government publications. I spent considerable time at the Barbados National Archives (BNA) at the Lazaretto, St. Michael, Barbados located near the University of the West Indies’ Cave Hill campus. It was there where I located and analyzed the Colonial Reports between 1927 and 1963 to contextualize and understand the social, economic, and political environment that influenced Barbadian emigration push factors. The Colonial Reports were the most accurate primary sources available. They provided a comprehensive and objective quantitative and qualitative position of Barbadian economic, political, and social affairs, which could be compared and analyzed equally over a thirty-six year period. At the BNA I was able to locate several official documents related to sponsored emigration dating back to the late nineteenth century and Barbadian Government publications of the 1950s and 1960s. Documents included *Advice to West Indian Women Recruited to Work in Canada as Household Helps* and *Information Booklet for Intending Emigrants to Britain* that directly influenced my creation of the term Emigrant Ambassador. At Library and Archives Canada (LAC), I utilized documents that contextualized Canada’s anti-Black West Indian immigration policy and analyzed official correspondence. These

included letters and memoranda from Canadian, Barbadian, and West Indian authorities such as discussions between the Governor of the Windward Islands in Barbados, Robert Duncan Harris Arundel, and the Canadian Minister of Citizenship and Immigration J.W. Pickersgill in the mid-1950s. However, this dissertation is dedicated to the agency of the Autonomous Bajan and refutes the claim that Barbadians remained docile migratory bodies of labour at the mercy of governmental and cultural forces.

Specifically, this work challenges Alan B. Simmons and Jean P. Guengant's assessment of a Caribbean "exodus" and "Caribbean culture-of-migration" in their work, "Caribbean Exodus and the World System."<sup>10</sup> The authors argue that "such a culture emerged from the uprooted history of the Caribbean population, first as slaves or indentured labourers from abroad."<sup>11</sup> The study challenges Simmons and Guengant's argument and contends that Black Barbadians chose to migrate for a variety of individual, economic, and social reasons. I am deconstructing Simmons and Guengant's definition of "culture-of-migration" in the Barbadian historical context and disaggregating what they believed constituted as historically conditioned involuntary migration as opposed to deliberate and conscious decisions made by the individual and facilitated by the Barbadian Government. One of the main issues in their definition is the ambiguity around the term "culture" and the subsequent essentialized and generalized reduction of all Caribbean peoples as one homogenized group with a shared history. The idea of the Caribbean as a monolith negates Barbados' unique position in the British West Indies as the only island to implement government sponsored emigration schemes in the late nineteenth century.<sup>12</sup> Simmons and

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<sup>10</sup> Alan B. Simmons and Jean Pierre Guengant, "Caribbean Exodus and the World System," in *International Migration Systems: A Global Approach*, eds. Mary M. Kritz, Lin Lean Lim, Hania Zlotnik (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 94-114.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 103.

<sup>12</sup> See Chapter Three on the history of Barbadian emigration schemes.

Guengant's concept cannot be applied equally to all Caribbean and West Indian islands. The "Caribbean culture-of-migration" argument stereotypes Black Barbadian emigration as an innate cultural phenomenon, and negates the individual, his personal autonomy, and economic, social, and political conditions. Overpopulation and unemployment in the Island; government sponsored emigration and employment schemes; the natural movement of a highly skilled and educated populace with little opportunity for upward social and economic movement due to the Island's literal and figurative diminutive size and finite growth; and an individual's want and desire for social mobility abroad and for those back home, facilitated mass Barbadian emigration. A loosely-based and ideological "culture-of-migration" was not the push for emigration.

### **Black Barbadian and West Indian Immigrants: Historiography and Literature Review**

Neglecting the Barbadians' migratory autonomy perpetuates the historical, political, and scholarly marginalization of Black and Black historiography, specifically in Canada. The "culture-of-migration" conclusion negates the need for further explanatory discourse with regards to why Black Barbadians, and West Indians, chose to migrate.<sup>13</sup> Cultural factors may have contributed to the desire to emigrate; however, the generalization restricts avenues for further research and scholarship of late nineteenth to mid-twentieth century Black West Indian migration. The historiography will continue to represent Blacks in Canada as powerless clients of an unjust system as topics within the framework of Black Canadian history are routinely marginalized on the periphery of accepted and mainstream scholarship.

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<sup>13</sup> At times throughout this dissertation I will refer to both Black Barbadians and Black West Indians. When I refer to Black West Indians, it includes all Blacks from the West Indies, including Barbadians. When I refer to Black Barbadians, I am just referring to Blacks from Barbados. The interchange does not affect the argument.

James W. St. G. Walker argued, “*History as it is understood* (author’s emphasis) enters a political discourse, it becomes a participant in a power dialectic and it influences power relationships...the writing of history is a political act.”<sup>14</sup> As a political act, the writing of Canadian history, specifically the history of immigration of Black Barbadians and those of the Black Diaspora, must be viewed critically and within a theoretically racialized paradigm. Theories of race and racial discrimination contextualize the historiographical and social objectification of Black Barbadians in the immigration process. This framework must be understood as a defining characteristic of Canadian immigration policy and domestic hostility towards Black Barbadians in Canada. According to John Price, Canada is reluctant to admit the “role of racism” in its national history and race has been “formative, even while being marginalized” in the historiography.<sup>15</sup>

Racism is a fundamental part of Canadian history and the Canadian narrative must reflect its prominence and historical influence. There must be a great deal more written on Black immigrants and ethnic groups and race to add to Canadian historical and contemporary scholarship. Black Canadian historiography has made considerable strides since Robin Winks’ seminal, and much criticized, book in 1971. However, more needs to be done, specifically in the twenty-first century, and this dissertation will serve as a critical step in the production of Black Canadian history. Black ethnic and immigrant history in Canada, and Black Canadian history as a whole, is a relatively new study; for all of the strides it has made in the past forty years the field is still marginalized. The historiography lacks a large breadth of studies concerned specifically with Black West Indian emigration to Canada during the early to mid-twentieth century. Most scholarship with respect to Barbadian emigration in the

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<sup>14</sup> James W. St. G. Walker, “Allegories and Orientations in African-Canadian Historiography: The Spirit of Africville,” *Dalhousie Review* 77 (1997): 171.

<sup>15</sup> David Webster and Laura Madokoro, “John Price. Orienting Canada: Race, Canada, and the Transpacific,” *H-Diplo Roundtable Review* 13 (2012), 2 & 19.

mid-twentieth century to Canada has focused on the Domestic or Nurses Programme completed during the 1990s. Such scholarship includes Agnes Calliste's "Canada's Immigration Policy and Domestic Workers from the Caribbean: The Second Domestic Scheme," in *Race, Class, and Gender: Bonds and Barriers. Socialist Studies: A Canadian Annual* and "Women of 'Exceptional Merit': Immigration of Caribbean Nurses to Canada in *Canadian Journal of Women and Law* 6 (1993); Linda Carty's "African Canadian Women and the State: 'Labor Only, Please,'" in "*We're Rooted Here and They Can't Pull Us Up*": *Essays in African Canadian Women's History*; and Audrey Macklin's "Foreign Domestic Workers: Surrogate Housewife or Mail Order Servants?" in the *McGill Law Journal*.<sup>16</sup> Despite the limited research of Black Barbadian immigrant history in Canada, notable scholars in the field including Winks and Walker have laid the foundation for Black Canadian history, Black immigration history, and racial discrimination in Canada.<sup>17</sup> The historiography is recognized by its scholarship regarding late eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth century Black emigration from the United States, slavery and the Underground Railroad, human rights, and racial discrimination in Canada.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Agnes Calliste, "Canada's Immigration Policy and Domestic Workers from the Caribbean: The Second Domestic Scheme," in *Race, Class, and Gender: Bonds and Barriers. Socialist Studies: A Canadian Annual*, vol. 5, ed. Jesse Vorst (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1989); Agnes Calliste, "Women of 'Exceptional Merit': Immigration of Caribbean Nurses to Canada," *Canadian Journal of Women and Law* 6 (1993); Linda Carty, "African Canadian Women and the State: 'Labor Only, Please,'" in "*We're Rooted Here and They Can't Pull Us Up*": *Essays in African Canadian Women's History*, ed. Peggy Bristow (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); and Audrey Macklin, "Foreign Domestic Workers: Surrogate Housewife or Mail Order Servants?," *McGill Law Journal* 37 (1992): 681-760.

<sup>17</sup> Walker also wrote notable works on Blacks and race including: *A History of Blacks in Canada* (Ottawa, 1980); "*Race, Rights, and the Law in the Supreme Court of Canada* (Toronto: Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, 1997); *Racial Discrimination in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1985); *Identity: The Black Experience* (OECA, 1979); *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870* (London: Longman and Dalhousie University Press, 1976). See also the works by Barrington Walker and Harvey Amani Whitfield, respectively, listed in this introductory chapter and the comprehensive work on Black Canadian literature, history, and identity by George Elliott Clarke, *Odysseys Home: Mapping African-Canadian Literature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).

<sup>18</sup> For more on Black Canadian historiography, see Chapter One and the following texts: Donald H. Clairmont and Dennis William Magill, *Africville: The Life and Death of A Canadian Black Community* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1999); Afua Cooper, *The Hanging of Angelique: The Untold Story of Canadian*

With the increase of Black ethnic diversity, specifically the large scale migrations of the heterogeneous Caribbean Blacks during the 1960s onwards, several scholars noted the relationship between immigrant status, race, and Blackness in Canadian society. Walker's *The West Indians in Canada* argued that since the implementation of the Points System in 1967, "West Indians as a group come closest to the desired immigrant to Canada," and that "West Indians are doing a great deal to destroy the old stereotypes and to break the barriers which have restricted Black Canadians."<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, in *A History of Blacks in Canada*, Walker explicitly addressed and admonished the erasure of Blacks in Canadian historiography and their subsequent marginalization in Canada society. Walker stated that "to overlook black history is, therefore, to distort our image of ourselves as Canadians and the historical forces that have made us what we are," and "Canadian history as presently understood is not true, and that by including black history (along with others) we can get closer to the truth and closer to the 'historical forces' which are operating in Canadian society."<sup>20</sup> What is most profound in the previous statements is how Walker relates the marginalization of Black history to how Black people are treated in Canadian society. Frances Henry's *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism*

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*Slavery and the Burning of Old Montreal* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 2006); Karolyn Smardz Frost, *I've Got a Home in Glory Land: A Lost Tale of the Underground Railroad* (Toronto: Thomas Allen Publishers, 2007); Crawford Killian, *Go Do Some Great Thing: The Black Pioneers of British Columbia* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1978); Ross Lambertson, "'The Dresden Story': Racism, Human Rights, and the Jewish Labour Committee of Canada," *Labour/Le Travail* 47 (2001): 43-82; Daniel McNeil, "Afro (Americo) Centricity in Black (American) Nova Scotia," *Canadian Review of American Studies* 35 (2005): 57-85 ; R. Bruce Shepard, *Deemed Unsuited: Blacks from Oklahoma Move to the Canadian Prairies in Search of Equality in the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Only to Find Racism in their New Home* (Toronto: Umbrella Press, 1997); Allen P. Stouffer, *The Light of Nature and the Law of God: Antislavery in Ontario, 1833-1877* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992); Michael Wayne, "The Black Population of Canada West on the Eve of the American Civil War: A Reassessment Based on the Manuscript Census of 1861," in *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s-1960s*, eds. Franca Iacovetta et. al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998); and Harvey Amani Whitfield, *Blacks on the Border: The Black Refugees in British North America, 1815-1860* (Burlington, Vermont: University of Vermont Press, 2006).

<sup>19</sup> James W. St. G. Walker, *The West Indians in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1984), 22-24.

<sup>20</sup> Walker, *A History of Blacks*, 3 & 6.

reiterates Walker's sentiment of Canadian anti-Black racism with respect to Black Caribbean peoples in the Greater Toronto Area.<sup>21</sup> Henry argued that racism was, and is, a real barrier to successful integration and inclusion, and "shapes and forms much of [Black West Indian] life in Canada."<sup>22</sup> Racism, as this dissertation argues, dictated British, American, and Canadian immigration policy in the early to mid-twentieth century. The racist White British creation and codification of Blackness in Barbadian society must be highlighted to understand the foundation for ideological exclusion of Black people through Canada's immigration policy. It was the perpetuation of the belief of Black inferiority throughout the Western world and rooted in Barbados during slavery by British ideologues that formed the fundamental basis for exclusionary immigration policy; the "White Canada" ideology was supported by the belief of White superiority and Black inferiority.

### **Contextualizing Canadian Racial Attitudes and Black Immigrants in Canada**

I must provide an explanation for my reference to a "White Canada" ideology. It is true that Canada did not have an explicitly articulated belief in the "virtue of [Anglo-Saxon] homogeneity" as pronounced as it was in Australia in the early twentieth century; however, "the social identity of *whiteness* (author's emphasis) drove the political discourse" of citizenship and settlement in Canada.<sup>23</sup> With respect to the immigration of the "Asian races," British Columbia Member of Parliament H.H. Stevens stated in 1913 that this "problem" needed to be addressed if "Canada was to remain a white man's country and develop

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<sup>21</sup> Frances Henry, *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, x.

<sup>23</sup> Daniel Gorman, *Imperial Citizenship: Empire and the Question of Belonging* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 169.



*properly* (author's emphasis)."<sup>24</sup> In "White Man's Country: Canada and the West Indian Immigrant," John Schultz examined the roots and bureaucratic mechanisms that kept Canada "White" in the early and mid-twentieth century. He also emphasized anti-Black racism in Canada.<sup>25</sup> It must be noted that this dissertation focuses primarily on anti-Black racism – the exclusion of Black migrants based on colour or socially and historically constructed perceptions of the Black or African "race" – in Canadian immigration history. This distinction is important as this dissertation is a case study of Black Barbadian and West Indian emigrants and how Canada excluded them based on their race and "Black" identity. While Canada did exclude other "races" in the late 1800s up to the 1960s based on racialized characteristics, this dissertation is concerned with anti-Black immigration practice and policy. This pervasive insidious nature of Canadian anti-Black racism was also exemplified in Barrington Walker's, "Finding Jim Crow in Canada, 1789-1967."<sup>26</sup> Walker argued that race and racism in Canada was "influenced by the British," and that "ideas about the biological fixity of 'race' were always teeming just beneath the surface of 'liberal' racial attitudes and practices in the British Empire, particularly from the late eighteenth century until the late 1860s."<sup>27</sup> The relationship between the mechanisms and ideas of race in Canada and the British West Indies played a significant role in the former's anti-Black immigration policy.

One may argue that Canada, as a member of the British Empire, articulated the same racist characteristics of British slave societies in Barbados and the West Indies. However, unlike Whites in the Caribbean region, Canadians did not have to act on their fear of the

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 168.

<sup>25</sup> John Schultz, "White Man's Country: Canada and the West Indian Immigrant, 1900-1965," *American Review of Canadian Studies* (1982): 53-64. See Chapter Two for more from Schultz and on "White Canada."

<sup>26</sup> Barrington Walker, "Finding Jim Crow in Canada, 1789-1967," in *A History of Human Rights in Canada: Essential Issues*, ed. Janet Miron (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2009), 81-96.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 81 & 83.

Black West Indian “Other” until faced with the prospect of a substantial Black Barbadian and West Indian immigrant population in the early to mid-twentieth century. What must be emphasized, particularly as an underlying theme of this dissertation is the arbitrary nature of Canadian immigrant selection prior to the Points System in 1967, is that no laws racially “codified white supremacy,” and that the “constant presence and power of illiberal views of racial difference meant that the law in Canada did support racial discrimination in Canada – but passively so – upholding the individual’s right to discriminatory treatment against minorities.”<sup>28</sup> Chapters Four and Five highlight how Canadian attitudes towards Blacks and Blackness dictated their immigration policy for West Indian applicants. In his edited collection published in 2012, *The African Canadian Legal Odyssey: Historical Essays*, Barrington Walker argued that immigration policy prior to its de-racialization in 1962, “was a major vector of state power through which Jim Crowism (anti-Black racism and social segregation) was institutionalized in Canada,” and he provided examples of the 1906 and 1910 *Immigration Acts* that excluded Black migrant settlement through invasive and unnecessary medical examinations.<sup>29</sup> These exclusionary measures limited the size of the Black population in Canada and between the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century most Black Canadians were native born.<sup>30</sup> Black West Indians thus found it nearly impossible to gain admittance through sponsorship initiatives associated with post-war immigration policy reforms since the Black immigrant population was deliberately restricted

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 83. See also Barrington Walker’s *Race on Trial: Black Defendants in Ontario’s Criminal Courts 1858-1958* (The Osgoode Society and University of Toronto Press, 2010), for more on anti-Black Canadian racism and how ideas of Blackness were presented and interpreted in Canadian law.

<sup>29</sup> Barrington Walker, *The African Canadian Legal Odyssey: Historical Essays* (Toronto: Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, 2012), e-book introduction,

<http://books.google.ca/books?id=tIM5GBM4S8QC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

to maintain the White “character” of Canada since the late nineteenth century.<sup>31</sup> Walker is skeptical of the post-Second World War “post-racial” period and the liberalization of immigration policy as the “fount of unprecedented racial equality for Blacks in Canada.”<sup>32</sup> He explores the insidious and binary relationship between the rise of Black legal freedoms and citizenship rights that exist “alongside pervasive systemic barriers to full citizenship and equality.”<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, Walker argues that Blacks in Canada “continue to live in the shadow of slavery.”<sup>34</sup> Chapter Two’s discussion on the roots of Barbadian Black identity during slavery supports Walker’s assessment of this diachronic relationship.

One must understand how racism and White hegemonic power work in Canadian society to truly comprehend the Black Barbadian emigrant struggle. This is a relatively new focus of scholars of Black Canadian history in the late 2000s and early 2010s. Recent works by Barrington Walker highlighted the historical indoctrination of White supremacy in Canada, while Carla Marano examined the means that early twentieth century Black West Indians in Canada took to rectify their negatively codified Black identity and challenge White Canadian hegemony. In “‘Rising Strongly and Rapidly’: The Universal Negro Improvement Association in Canada, 1919-1940,” Marano argued that Marcus Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) facilitated an “outlet to create and express a unique ethno-racial identity,” one represented by the “archipelago of blackness (West Indians, African-Canadians, African-Americans, Africans)” and she highlights the importance of ethnicity to the formation of cultural and racial identities for blacks in

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<sup>31</sup> See Chapter Four and Chapter Five for a discussion on post-war immigration reforms, specifically P.C. 2856. With the new regulations along with cases of “exceptional merit,” Black West Indians could be sponsored by immediate relatives in Canada.

<sup>32</sup> Barrington Walker, *The African Canadian Legal Odyssey*, e-book introduction.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

Canada.<sup>35</sup> Prior to the mass migration of Black West Indians in the 1960s, Blacks and Black West Indians in Canada challenged the collective negative representation of Black Canadian identity. This creation of a positive and distinct ethno-racial identity forced Canadians to reinterpret their misconceived preconceptions of Black West Indian migrants. That being said, Cecil Foster's work, *A Place Called Heaven: The Meaning of Being Black in Canada*, challenged how far Canadian society has accepted and embraced ethnically heterogeneous Black people in Canada at the turn of the twenty-first century.<sup>36</sup> Foster argued that there is no such thing as a homogenous Black community, yet "we are all blacked out into a common community. And if the dominant culture agrees that the black community – a people that sold itself into colonialism (by coming to Canada) – is a community, then a community we become. That is how we are forced to relate to the wider society, as a community, even if members are from different backgrounds and circumstances."<sup>37</sup> This is not only important to the integration and acceptance of the ethnically diverse Black communities in Canada, but to how this generalization of a single "Black" experience is reflected in the historiography. One may relate this misrepresentation of the history of Ontario as representative of Canadian history from the Pacific to the Atlantic Oceans. It is clear that despite comprehensive and profound works, Black Canadian history continues to be neglected in popular and mainstream Canadian historical narratives. There is a small, but dedicated, group of professional and amateur historians committed to the writing and preservation of Black Canadian history, but a new generation of scholars must soon take its place.

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<sup>35</sup> Carla Marano, "“Rising Strongly and Rapidly”: The Universal Negro Improvement Association in Canada, 1919-1940," *Canadian Historical Review* 91 (2010): 233 & 237.

<sup>36</sup> Cecil Foster, *A Place Called Heaven: The Meaning of Being Black in Canada* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 1996).

<sup>37</sup> Foster, 25.

This new group of historians, most notably second-generation Canadians and those of West Indian descent will build on the foundations created by their academic predecessors. This study examines the missing aspects of Sheldon Eric Alister Taylor's 1994 dissertation, "Darkening the Complexion of Canadian Society: Black Activism, Policy Making and Black Immigration from the Caribbean to Canada, 1940s-1960s." His study looked particularly at the political influences that led to increased immigration from the Caribbean. Taylor highlighted the Black Canadian community and how it pressured the federal government to eradicate racist immigration policies in the early to mid-twentieth century. He examined how Black Torontonians, including the Barbadian-born Donald Moore and the Negro Citizenship Committee (NCC) and the Negro Citizenship Association (NCA), "banded together to challenge Ottawa's racist immigration policy."<sup>38</sup> Taylor's work spotlighted the immigration of Black West Indians, and how the Black community – Black Canadians and West Indians in Canada – influenced Canadian immigration policies; his Canadian-centric work provided the basis to understand the socio-economic and political environment adverse to Black emigrant and Black West Indian settlement during the early to mid-twentieth century. This dissertation provides considerable discussion on the emigration of not only Black West Indians to Canada, but Black Barbadians throughout the Caribbean archipelago, the United States, and the United Kingdom during the mid-twentieth century. The study acknowledges the seminal work conducted by Taylor in the mid-1990s, but differs considerably with my focus on Barbados as an independent nation-state and its citizens as active players in their immigration and settlement in Canada. It emphasizes how Barbadians and West Indian political figures and emigrants were influential actors in their migratory choices using

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<sup>38</sup> Sheldon Taylor, "Darkening the Complexion of Canadian Society: Black Activism, Policy-Making and Black Immigration from the Caribbean to Canada, 1940s-1960s," Doctoral Thesis (Toronto: The University of Toronto, 1994), 163.

archival sources from the BNA. Caribbean, Canadian, and international factors dictated the “push” and “pull” factors needed for emigration and settlement of Black West Indians and specifically Black Barbadians. These included the tireless efforts of the NCC, NCA, and other organized labour movements and pressure from the Caribbean trading partners (Trade Commissioners); the British Government’s desire to alleviate the social pressures of mass emigration of West Indians to Britain with the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* of 1962; and the West Indian governments and politicians that cried foul on Canada’s racist and exclusionary immigration policy. Along with the pull factors that Taylor outlines, these international “push” factors paved the way for the increased immigration of Black West Indians beginning in the 1940s post-war economic boom and its culmination in 1962 with Canada’s official de-racialization of immigration policy and the adoption of the Points System in 1967.<sup>39</sup> Unlike Taylor’s emphasis on Black West Indian immigrant activists and actors in Canada and the international determinants of migration, this dissertation gives substantial focus to the local “push” factors in Barbados for potential emigrants. It argues that overpopulation, a highly educated, autonomous, hardworking and upwardly mobile local population facilitated Barbadian emigration policy and the emigration of thousands of Barbadians to Canada and beyond throughout the early to mid-twentieth century.

This dissertation also utilizes and builds on the works of several social scientists and scholars of West Indian migration to Canada during the twentieth century. In Barry B. Levine’s edited volume, *The Caribbean Exodus*, Frances Henry’s “Caribbean Migration to Canada: Prejudice and Opportunity,” highlighted the settlement of approximately 220,000 West Indians in Canada between 1946 and 1982 and how they navigated Canada’s racist

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 163. See Chapter Three for a comprehensive examination of the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act*.

immigration law during this period.<sup>40</sup> In the same edited volume, Dawn Marshall's, "A History of West Indian Migrations: Overseas Opportunities and 'Safety-Valve' Policies," will support this dissertation's argument regarding government sponsored emigration of Barbadians following Emancipation in 1834 and the end of Apprenticeship in British West Indian colonies in 1838. She argued that the movement away from plantations by Free Blacks following slavery on such a small island meant emigration from Barbados and that by 1871 and 1873, "the Barbadian legislature passed an act that actually made provision for assisting certain poor classes to migrate."<sup>41</sup> Marshall continued, "A new policy toward emigration had evolved in Barbados – from a policy of active discouragement to one of active encouragement."<sup>42</sup> While moving beyond the 1967 scope of this dissertation, Marshall's work also supports and addresses the highly skilled and qualified nature of Barbadian and West Indian immigrants in Canada following 1962. The author revealed, "75 percent of immigrants admitted to Canada directly from the West Indies entered after 1962: 149,741 between 1962 and 1976...except for those entering Canada under the Domestic Scheme, the movement has been highly selective for professional, white collar, and skilled workers."<sup>43</sup> Her work validates Canada's stringent selection criteria for Barbadian and West Indians discussed in detail in chapters Four and Five. David Timothy Duval's "Expressions of Migrant Mobilities among Caribbean Migrants in Toronto, Canada," in *The Experience of Return Migration: Caribbean Perspectives*, complemented Marshall's study and the dissertation's argument that Britain's 1962 *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* diverted Black

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<sup>40</sup> Frances Henry, "Caribbean Migration to Canada: Prejudice and Opportunity," *The Caribbean Exodus*, ed. Barry B. Levine (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1987), 214-222.

<sup>41</sup> Dawn Marshall, "A History of West Indian Migrations: Overseas Opportunities and 'Safety-Valve' Policies," in *The Caribbean Exodus*, 16.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

West Indians to Canada in the 1960s.<sup>44</sup> The study also utilizes the earlier sociological research of the Barbadian and West Indian immigrant experience in Canada, including the works of scholars W.W. Anderson, Subhas Ramcharan, and Anthony H. Richmond.<sup>45</sup> This dissertation builds on previous Black Atlantic scholarship and adds to Barbadian, West Indian, and Canadian historiography.

### **Scholarship on Racism and Canadian Immigration History**

Canada is defined by its role as an immigrant receiving country. One of the most commonly cited works on Canadian immigration history, Valerie Knowles' *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-1997*, is a comprehensive historical narrative of Canadian immigration.<sup>46</sup> However muted and subliminal, racism was, and arguably is, an inherent characteristic of Canadian immigration. She asserted that the *Immigration Act* of 1919 outlined that "cultural and ideological complexion weighed most heavily in the [immigrant] selection process"; Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King in 1947 publicly declared his discriminatory selective stance in Canadian immigration; and the 1952 *Immigration Act* gave the Cabinet unrestrained power to discriminate on the basis of race and ethnicity.<sup>47</sup> Historically, Simmons argued Canada's world image was constructed

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<sup>44</sup> David Timothy Duval, "Expressions of Migrant Mobilities among Caribbean Migrants in Toronto, Canada," in *The Experience of Return Migration: Caribbean Perspectives*, eds. Robert B. Potter, Dennis Conway, Joan Phillips (Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005).

<sup>45</sup> W.W. Anderson, *Caribbean immigrants: a socio-demographic profile* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1993); Subhas Ramcharan, "The Adaptation of West Indians in Canada," Doctoral Thesis (Toronto: York University, 1974); and Subhas Ramcharan, *Racism: Nonwhites in Canada* (Toronto: Butterworths, 1982); Anthony H. Richmond, *Immigration and Ethnic Conflict* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: The MacMillan Press, Ltd., 1988).

<sup>46</sup> Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-1997*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997).

<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, one must not overlook Canada's reforms and the official de-racialization of its immigration policy. Ellen Fairclough, Canada's first female cabinet minister and Secretary of State, presented new



ideologically through an “imagined future” promoted by political leaders for the international system. The neo-colonial period from the 1870s to the early 1960s promoted a White Christian Canada; during the early 1960s to the recession of the 1980s, multiculturalism and non-racist immigration policy was a political tool that gave Canada clout on the international stage as the emerging middle power; and Canada is currently recognized as a sophisticated global niche player, where economic hurdles shroud racist immigration policy.<sup>48</sup>

Using a similar methodological framework, Christopher G. Anderson in *Canadian Liberalism and the Politics of Border Control, 1867-1967* examined the liberal democratic foundations of Canadian immigration policy and ideology since Confederation up to the period examined in this dissertation. He argued that for the first twenty years of post-Confederation history, border control and exclusion was not a primary concern as highlighted by Canada’s first immigration law, the 1869 *Immigration Act*.<sup>49</sup> Between 1887 and 1914 Anderson argued that the Canadian Government “expanded the scope” of its race-based exclusion, specifically towards Chinese, Japanese and East Indians, “on the grounds that the equality and due process rights of non-citizens were secondary to the sovereign right of states to control their borders.”<sup>50</sup> It was during this period that Canada codified a race-based exclusionary immigration policy with the 1910 *Immigration Act*. The state further expanded its restrictive immigration policy between 1914 and 1945 as the “due process and equality

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regulations for the elimination of racial discrimination as a requirement for Canadian immigration. The Points System implemented in 1967 and the introduction of the three classes of immigrants in the *Immigration Act* of 1976 followed in line with Canada’s equitable immigrant policies. By the 1970s “White Canada” was no longer a basis for Canadian nation building and immigration. Knowles, 107, 131, 138.

<sup>48</sup> The “racist criteria” for Canadian immigration includes, but is not restricted to, certain levels of education needed for the points system unattainable by many sending countries, and the fee payable to process the immigration proceedings upon arrival. Alan Simmons, “Racism and Immigration Policy,” in *Racism & Social Inequality in Canada: Concepts, Controversies & Strategies of Resistance*, ed. Vic Satzewich (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing Inc., 1998), 87 & 88.

<sup>49</sup> Christopher G. Anderson, *Canadian Liberalism and the Politics of Border Control, 1867-1967* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 8.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

rights of non-citizens [were] tightly circumscribed.”<sup>51</sup> The immediate post-war period (1945-1952) represented an ongoing debate in Canadian immigration control policies as the state was confronted by expanded human rights discourse and the passage of the restrictive 1952 *Immigration Act*. A non-discriminatory approach to Canadian immigrant selection characterized Anderson’s final period of 1952-1967. However, he argued that these changes in the 1950s and 1960s “hearkened back to claims that had been made on behalf of non-citizens since the late nineteenth century [that] provided the foundations for a new era in Canadian control, and as a result, Canadian national development.”<sup>52</sup>

Theorizing the history of Canadian immigration, Madeline A. and Warren E. Kalbach described the first century of Canadian immigration (1867-1967) as a “series of pragmatic reactions to relatively short-term interests and pressures, influenced by the emergence of the concept of Canada’s ‘absorptive capacity’ for immigrants at any given time.” The “second flowering” period followed the Second World War (1947-1967). This period was economically driven and Euro-centric immigration appealed to international humanitarianism. Canada promoted a non-racist, non-European, non-White, and globalized immigration policy during the period between 1951 and 1998.<sup>53</sup> This new concept of the “globalization framework” explained the “new regulation of Canadian immigration policy.”<sup>54</sup> Simmons postulated that political leaders have had difficulty addressing the “racist influences and outcomes in [the] immigration” framework, “without challenging major assumptions in the framework itself.”<sup>55</sup> Jeffrey G. Reitz supported the institutional

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>53</sup> Madeline A. Kalbach and Warren E. Kalbach, “Becoming Canadian,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 31 (1999): 3-4.

<sup>54</sup> Alan Simmons, “Canada’s Unemployment-Immigration Linkage: Demographic, Economic, and Political Influences. Commentary,” *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 19 (1994): 527.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

framework argument writing, “[the] institutional framework in each country shapes the impact of immigration in that country.”<sup>56</sup> Immigration policy is thus a reflection of institutional racism and discrimination embedded within Canadian society.<sup>57</sup> These concepts are crucial in understanding the place of Black Barbadians in the United Kingdom and Canada and how racism manifested itself in Canadian institutions and Canadian society.

### **Terminology and Orientation**

“Flying Fish in the Great White North” explores the dichotomous and dependent relationship between Barbados and Canada in the mid-twentieth century. Despite both being former British colonies, Canadian and Barbadian relations developed unequally in part due to Canadian interests and foreign policy in the West Indies. The study highlights the autonomous agency of the Barbadian state and its citizens in their respective foreign and migration policies. The research emphasizes that Black Barbadians were not simply objects influenced by Canadian immigration “pull” factors, and that Barbados and its citizens chose to migrate for a variety of domestic and international reasons. Black Barbadians were agents and key players in their choice to emigrate and conscious in their decision to settle in Canada and contribute to Canadian society as citizens. Research data collected from the BNA on the Barbadian perspectives of migration, including settlement and emigration reports, supports this argument. However, the study evaluates inherently racist and contradictory immigration

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<sup>56</sup> Jeffrey G. Reitz, “Immigrant Success in the Knowledge Economy: Institutional Changes and Immigrant Experience in Canada, 1970-1995,” *Journal of Social Issues* 57 (2001): 604.

<sup>57</sup> For more on immigrant integration in Canada and immigrant identity, see Peter S. Li, “Deconstructing Canada’s Discourse of Immigrant Integration,” *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 4 (2003): 315-333; Victoria M. Esses and John F. Dovidio, “Immigrants and Immigration: Advancing the Psychological Perspective,” *Journal of Social Issues* 57 (2001): 375-387; Monica Boyd, “Educational Attainments of Immigrant Offspring: Success of Segmented Assimilation?” *International Migration Review* 36 (2002): 1037-1060 and Kay Deaux, *To Be An Immigrant* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006).

political rhetoric. Canada was a nation-state defined by racism and xenophobia as embodied in its immigration policies. The Barbadian immigration case study up to the 1960s begins to explore the racialization of the Canadian state apparatus and its foreign and immigration policies.

I must clarify my use of data on West Indian emigrants to supplement the limited available data on Barbadian migrants to Canada prior to 1967. Barbados gained its independence from Britain November 30<sup>th</sup>, 1966 and before that date the Island was a British colony in the West Indies.<sup>58</sup> This is important to note since most of the evidence used for the period of this study was while Barbados was a British colony and most of the Canadian immigration statistics recognized the region as one homogenous “West Indian” group. Between 1946 and 1960 a total of 4,311 “Negroes” emigrated from the British West Indies out of total of 11,588 West Indian emigrants to Canada. The term “Negro” and the “racial” identifications were further problematized as “many of those claiming ‘British’ or ‘other’ ethnic origin were in fact of mixed race. Some of them were of white origin in the paternal line, while others who appeared to be otherwise suitable immigrants were given the benefit of the doubt when their applications were reviewed.”<sup>59</sup> It was difficult to define who or what was “Black” or “Negro.” Furthermore, Statistics Canada and the Canada Year Books between 1910 and 1967 did not indicate Barbados under “Birthplaces of immigrant arrivals,” “Origins of immigrant arrivals,” “Citizenship of immigrant arrivals,” or “Nationalities.”<sup>60</sup> Black Barbadians were not explicitly identified and were ostensibly grouped under the “West

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<sup>58</sup> Barbados was briefly a member of the short-lived West Indies Federation from 1958-1961. For more on the Federation see Chapter Four.

<sup>59</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt 2, Immigration from the British West Indies since the Second World War.

<sup>60</sup> “Canada Year Book Collection,” [www66.statcan.gc.ca/acyb\\_000-eng.htm](http://www66.statcan.gc.ca/acyb_000-eng.htm), [accessed May 14<sup>th</sup>, 2013]; “Immigration and emigration,” [www65.statcan.gc.ca/acyb01/acyb01\\_0009-eng.htm](http://www65.statcan.gc.ca/acyb01/acyb01_0009-eng.htm), [accessed May 14<sup>th</sup>, 2013].

Indian (Not British)” nationality, “West Indies” as their birthplace, “Britain and colonies” as their citizenship, and the overarching and subjective “Negro” racial category as their origin.<sup>61</sup> Besides confirmed statistics of 560 (327 sponsored and 233 unsponsored) Barbadian emigrants settling in Canada in 1965, there were very little Canadian immigration statistics of Barbadians prior to 1967.<sup>62</sup> Thus it was necessary to use West Indian statistics from Canadian sources as a supplement to Barbadian emigration data when analyzing Barbadian emigration to Canada during this period. The following table is an indication of the number of British, Negro, and “Other” (arguably Asian migrants) that emigrated to Canada between 1945 and 1957.

Table Intro.1 Emigrants from the West Indies by Race to Canada, 1945-1957<sup>63</sup>

<b>Fiscal/Calendar Year</b>	<b>British</b>	<b>Negro</b>	<b>Other</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>1945-46</b>	193 (65%)	66 (22%)	39 (13%)	298
<b>1946-47</b>	274 (65%)	89 (21%)	57 (14%)	420
<b>1947-48</b>	285 (70%)	72 (19%)	47 (11%)	404
<b>1948-49</b>	220 (56%)	108 (28%)	63 (16%)	391
<b>1949-50</b>	224 (58%)	105 (28%)	55 (14%)	384
<b>1950-51</b>	255 (64%)	69 (17%)	75 (19%)	399
<b>1951-52</b>	414 (62%)	65 (10%)	187 (28%)	666
<b>1952-53</b>	434 (61%)	80 (11%)	203 (28%)	717
<b>1953-54</b>	560 (61%)	112 (12%)	244 (27%)	916
<b>1954</b>	525 (64%)	122 (14%)	202 (22%)	849
<b>1955</b>	325 (41%)	262 (33%)	206 (26%)	793
<b>1956</b>	380 (36%)	416 (39%)	256 (25%)	1052
<b>1957</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A	1168
<b>1958 (11 Months)</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A	1085
<b>Total (1945-1957)</b>	4089 (56%)	1566 (21%)	1634 (23%)	7289

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG 76, vol. 820, file 552-1-533, Commonwealth Caribbean-Canada Conference, Ottawa, July 6-8, 1966, June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1966. In 1963 in a visit of Canadian immigration officers to Barbados, 23 immigration cases of 53 people were rejected and 15 cases of 18 people were approved. LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, Memorandum to A/Chief of Operations. From Head, Administration Section, February 28<sup>th</sup>, 1963.

<sup>63</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt 2, Immigration from the British West Indies since the Second World War.

I must also clarify the apparent disconnect between my use of Black West Indian female domestics and Black Barbadian female educators and their roles as Emigrant Ambassadors. Similar to the process explained above on the use of statistics on West Indian emigrants to Canada prior to 1967, I used the same methodology for the discussion on Black female West Indian emigrants as Emigrant Ambassadors. Canadian immigration sources focused mainly on West Indian domestics as a homogenous group and I used the information to include Black Barbadian women. Barbadian women were involved in the Domestic Scheme from its inception in 1955. With respect to this dissertation's focus on Barbadian emigrants specifically, when I address domestics as Emigrant Ambassadors I also deliberately refer to the first twenty-five Black Barbadian women involved in the Scheme. During this study the difficulty arose in finding Barbadian women like Grenadian-born Jean Augustine who came to Canada as a domestic and became an educator. Her story is well documented and fully supports the role the 1955 Domestic Scheme played in challenging Canada's anti-Black immigration policy. Moreover, Augustine's story followed the narrative of the Emigrant Ambassador and provides the link in Chapter Five of the Black West Indian woman who came to Canada as a domestic and subsequently became a Canadian educator. Through interviews with former Toronto District School Board principal and Barbadian emigrant Cyriline Taylor, I was able to amass details about one Barbadian woman, Cecelia Hoppin, who emigrated to Quebec as a domestic and then became an educator in Canada. As Hoppin's case could not be confirmed, I utilized Augustine as the link between West Indian domestics and Barbadian educators in Canada. Furthermore, I drew parallels between the Barbadian Government's emphasis on education and the individual Barbadian's choice to become an educator in Canada. Overall, the purpose of this dissertation is to situate Black Barbadians as active agents in Canadian immigration history.

## Chapter Outline

The dissertation begins with a thorough discussion of Black Canadian historiography. Chapter One situates how “Flying Fish in the Great White North” fits within Black Canadian historiography. The chapter provides the context of how this dissertation is a product and representative of James W. St. G. Walker’s five orientations to the study of Black history in Canada in, “Allegories and Orientations in African-Canadian Historiography: The Spirit of Africville.”<sup>64</sup> This explanatory chapter provides the historical context of the Black condition in Canada and serves as the foundation for the state’s anti-Black immigration policy. More importantly, the chapter clarifies the politicized nature of the dissertation and describes how other historians of Black Canadian history have oriented their personal and academic positions in their writing.

To contextualize the racialization of Canadian immigration policy, it is crucial to understand the creation of slavery, race, colour, and specifically the negative codification of “Blackness” in Barbadian history. Scholars must not neglect the roots of the ideology of race and Blackness, and they must correctly interpret and contextualize the historical legacy of racialization. This assessment is needed to contextualize the foundation of the dissertation’s theoretical framework of race, the fallacious basis of Canadian anti-Black immigration policy, and the ideology of degradation which Black Barbadians circumvented to create new uplifting and positive identities. Black Barbadians overcame the globalized nihilistic structure of racialized identity, and established their autonomous agency within the oppressive structure of a former slave society and British colony. Chapter Two examines the

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<sup>64</sup> James W. St. G. Walker, “Allegories and Orientations in African-Canadian Historiography: The Spirit of Africville,” *Dalhousie Review* 77 (1997).

creation of the Black Barbadian and the ideology of colour, race, and Blackness, within the Western world generally and Barbadian slave society specifically. The chapter also examines the creation of Black Barbadian colonial identity that provided the basis to challenge Canadian perceptions of what constituted a “rightful” or “authentic” British subject. Barbadians were Black; however, their identity was decidedly British in nature. This section will also raise the argument that academic success was a form of nationalism in Barbados. The chapter provides a comprehensive foundation for not only the dissertation’s discussion of race and Blackness, but will also challenge what it means to be Black in the Western World.

Barbadian emigration is not a twentieth century phenomenon. Scholars including Simmons and Guengant argued that Barbadians have left the Island – coerced or under their free will – since Africans and creolized African-Barbadians began to grow in numbers across Barbadian plantations. By the mid-twentieth century, Barbadians emigrated due to the lack of employment, overpopulation, and as a means for social mobility. This practice was not novel to the mid-twentieth century, nor was it restricted to isolated cases. During the nineteenth century, the Barbadian Government legislated and facilitated emigration as a means to alleviate the social burden of a highly dense population. It was not a historically conditioned and unconscious “culture-of-migration” as defined by Simmons and Guengant, but a deliberate Barbadian Government initiative to control overpopulation.<sup>65</sup> The period up to 1967 saw many Barbadians leave for a variety of reasons. Chapter Three begins with an introduction to the political history of the Barbadian Government during the 1930s to 1960s. This is needed to contextualize the political environment that facilitated the emigration of

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<sup>65</sup> However, some may argue that because of the Slave Trade and Barbados’ small geographic size and surplus slave population and subsequently its large and landless Free Black population following Emancipation, the Barbadian Government had to find avenues for emigration and control overpopulation.



Barbadian emigrants during the post-war period. This chapter examines the history of formal education in Barbados and provides the historical framework to support the dissertation's argument that a highly educated and overpopulated British colony sought opportunities for upward mobility outside of the Island.<sup>66</sup> The study then provides a thorough examination of the waves of Barbadian emigration following the emancipation from slavery in the mid-to-late-nineteenth century and government initiatives of sponsored emigration and settlement colonies to abate the ominous threat of overpopulation and unemployment. Early twentieth century emigration initiatives, including legislated emigration schemes and regulations up to and including the Second World War, will follow. The chapter concludes with an examination of Barbadian emigration to the United States of America and the United Kingdom focusing primarily on the Domestic Workers Scheme, sponsored Barbadian emigrants, and the controversial *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* of 1962. The United States prior to the implementation of the *McCarran-Walter Act* of 1952, and particularly the United Kingdom prior to the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act*, were the two main host countries for potential Barbadian emigrants.

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<sup>66</sup> In 1955, out of a total population of 229,119 Barbadians, 35,577 children were enrolled in primary schools. This equates to approximately 16% of Barbados' total population in primary school. Out of that number there was almost complete gender equality in primary schools for boys (18,289) and girls (17,688). In Canada in 1955, out of a total population of approximately 15,601,000, a total of 2,681,000 children were enrolled in grades 1 to 8. This was approximately 17% of Canada's total population. See Appendix A and B for more information on Barbadian population demographics and education. "Canada Year Book 1956," [www66.statcan.gc.ca/eng/acyb\\_c1956-eng.aspx?opt=/eng/1956/195601810151\\_p.%20151.pdf](http://www66.statcan.gc.ca/eng/acyb_c1956-eng.aspx?opt=/eng/1956/195601810151_p.%20151.pdf), [accessed June 6<sup>th</sup>, 2013]; "Table W1-9: Summary of total full-time enrolment, by level of study, Canada, selected years, 1951 to 1975," [www.statcan.gc.ca, http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/sectionw/W1\\_9-eng.csv](http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/sectionw/W1_9-eng.csv) (CSV Version, 2kb), [accessed June 6<sup>th</sup>, 2013]; "Table W10-20: Summary of total full-time enrolment, by level of study, related to relevant population, Canada, selected years, 1951 to 1975," [www.statcan.gc.ca, http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/sectionw/W10\\_20-eng.csv](http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/sectionw/W10_20-eng.csv) (CSV Version, 3kb), [accessed June 6<sup>th</sup>, 2013]. For more information on education and gender in Ontario and Canada in the nineteenth and twentieth century, see Ruby Heap and Alison L. Prentice, *Gender and Education in Ontario* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1991) and Prentice and Susan E. Houston's edited collection *Family, School & Society in Nineteenth Century Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975).

Chapter Four first discusses the history of West Indian-Canadian relations, followed by Barbadian-Canadian relations. The historical relationship of Canada's involvement in the West Indies is marked by the Atlantic provinces' shipment of cod to feed African and African-American slaves on British West Indian plantations, the recruitment of West Indian labour in the development of the Maritimes in the early twentieth century, and Britain's seventeenth to early twentieth century imperialism in the Caribbean and the Atlantic world. The former colonies were intrinsically linked through British imperialism, mercantilism, and colonialism. The chapter underscores the political and economic relationships between Canada and the West Indies including the establishment of Canadian financial institutions and Trade Agreements in the region in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. An assessment of *The Canada West Indies* magazine will highlight social relations. It concludes with an in-depth discussion of Canada's exclusionary, racialized and anti-Black Canadian immigration policy during the post-war period to its official de-racialization in 1962. This provides the foundation for Chapter Five's examination of the history of Barbadian emigration to Canada within the context of Barbadian migration schemes and discriminatory immigration policy.

Female emigration is often confined to the pages of gender history or neglected; the female migrant experience has often been seen as an adjunct to a husband's or father's immigrant story. Their identity, triumphs, and struggles are reduced to their homogenized, gendered group characteristics, stereotypes, and both positive and negative representations. The female migrant may still have agency; however, it produces a sterilization of the impact of her triumphs, struggles, failures and accomplishments. Chapter Five argues that the Barbadian and West Indian female migrant overcame the gendered, sexist, and class-based structures of a migration system designed to facilitate the movement of male labour. The

racialization of their bodies and precarious position as immigrant and expendable labour in Canada made them vulnerable to sexual violence and discrimination. However, their class position and gender identity created opportunities that directed the course of West Indian emigration for future generations. This dissertation has identified and classified these Black women as Emigrant Ambassadors of Barbados and the West Indies; they embodied the pride and industry of their nation, challenged the racist, gendered, and class-based discrimination of Canadian immigration policy, and acted as the highly qualified representatives of their Island's government. As Emigrant Ambassadors of their Island, race, and gender, Black Barbadian and West Indian women, overcame misogyny and racism, challenged Canadian perceptions of "Blackness," and facilitated the emigration of an entire generation of Black men, women, and children. Black West Indian women had to negotiate a racialized and gendered Canadian split labour market where Blacks were believed to be only suited for menial and servile occupations.<sup>67</sup> According to Carmela Patrias these racialized beliefs "intensified" during the Second World War.<sup>68</sup> Identifying these women explicitly as Emigrant Ambassadors is original to this study. Scholars including Yvonne Bobb-Smith, Ann Denis, Calliste, Karen Flynn, Henry, Michele A. Johnson, and Makeda Silvera have all explored how Black West Indian women overcame the oppressive racialized and gendered structures in Canadian immigration policy and Canadian society, but none have explicitly identified them as ambassadors of their respective West Indian island nations and governments. They were selected to represent the best qualities of Black West Indians and

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<sup>67</sup> Carmela Patrias, "Race, Employment Discrimination, and State Complicity in Wartime Canada, 1939-1945," *Labour/Le Travail* 59 (2007): 11. For more on the split labour market and that Blackness is both a racial and class category – a "sub-proleterian, marginal working class," see Edna Bonacich, "Class Approaches to Ethnicity and Race," *Critical Sociology* 25 (1999): 166-194. Specific reference on the Black class is from page 15. For more work from Patrias on Visible Minority rights in the early to mid-twentieth century see Carmela Patrias and Ruth A. Frager, "This Is Our Country, These Are Our Rights': Minorities and the Origins of Ontario's Human Rights Campaigns," *Canadian Historical Review* 82 (2001), 17-35.

<sup>68</sup> Patrias, 11.

this challenged the negative stereotypes and perceptions held by White Canadians. As Donald W. Moore stated when he addressed new arrivals in Montreal under the Domestic Scheme in 1955, “Be an ambassador! For the things you say and do will materially affect your progress and the future migration of others to follow. They will in large measure affect the Negro growth in Canada. Remember first impressions are not easily forgotten.”<sup>69</sup> His statement characterized how much was invested in the Emigrant Ambassadors for the future of Black immigration and settlement in Canada; these women had a duty to fulfill as ambassadors of themselves, the West Indies, and of their phenotypic kin.

The chapter begins with an overview of Black Barbadian women’s history from slavery up to the mid-twentieth century to contextualize the social, political, economic, and historical environment that created the Barbadian Emigrant Ambassador and underline some of the factors that contributed to her emigration off the Island. This chapter aims to build on previous scholarship on the subject of Black female emigration and rightfully – and explicitly – recognize these individuals as the catalysts for change to Canada’s immigration policy. Chapter Five will also capture the Emigrant Ambassador stories of female Barbadian educators in Canada; a representation of Barbados’ emphasis on education and these women’s willingness to integrate and contribute to Canadian society as Canadians, despite exclusionary institutional systems. The women involved in the Domestic Scheme reflect the role of female Emigrant Ambassadors generally throughout the West Indies, while the profile on nurses and particularly educators addresses and provides specific examples and cases of Barbadian Emigrant Ambassadors. In sum, this dissertation argues that supported by the Barbadian Government, overpopulation, the pursuit of education and social mobility were the push factors that facilitated Barbadian emigration up to 1967. This study also disaggregates

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<sup>69</sup> Moore, 156.

the “culture-of-migration” theory and examines the role race, class, gender, and Blackness played in Canadian immigration history and Canada’s relationship with Barbados and the West Indies.

The collective misrepresentation of the Underground Railroad and African-American history during Black History Month in Canada has become some of the few outlets for the dissemination of Black Canadian history to public, elementary, secondary, and even tertiary levels of education. Canadian historiography has reverted to the idea of the Black Achiever – the one who has “made it” in Canadian society.<sup>70</sup> The ideologies of multiculturalism and de-racialized immigration policies have obfuscated the reified presence of ethnic and immigrant silos in Canadian society. Whether it is the Black immigrant success story, or overcoming racism and discrimination, Blacks are marginalized objects on the periphery of Canadian society and historiography.

The way in which Black Canadian history is made and disseminated must be addressed and improved. It must reflect Canadian society and its diversity. The framework must be reinvented to include the presence of balkanized Black immigrant ethnic groups and remove the idealist notion of common primordial bonds between all peoples of the same, or similar, phenotypes. This study of Black Barbadian immigrants in Canada must facilitate future comparative research of other Black West Indians, South Americans, Europeans, Africans, and those belonging to the Black Diaspora worldwide. The dissertation will serve as a potential framework for comparative and interdisciplinary research. Black ethnic history must capitalize on the same paradigm as Walker’s five orientations to the study of Black

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<sup>70</sup> Walker argued the writing of Black history fell within five individual, but fluid, conceptualized categories. These included Black Clients, Black Victims, Black Achievers, Black Community, and Black Survivors. James W. St. G. Walker, “Allegories and Orientations in African-Canadian Historiography: The Spirit of Africville,” *Dalhousie Review* 77 (1997): 155-177.

history in Canada in, “Allegories and Orientations in African-Canadian Historiography: The Spirit of Africville.”<sup>71</sup> His theoretical framework of the Black Community, while incorporating elements of the objectification and racialization of Blacks as Clients, Victims, and Survivors; the altruistic but denegrifying nature of the Black Achiever; and the passionate and emotional catharsis of Traumatic Rage, is paramount to the survival and sustainability of Black Canadian historiography.<sup>72</sup> The field must evolve with the evolution of Canada’s multicultural society and its immigration policy. The historiography must reflect the changing demographics of Black Canada, while remaining true to historical documents and research methods. White Canadians, as much as immigrant and ethnic Blacks, must be able to relate to African-Canadian and Black Canadian history.

With the emergence of a large community of Black ethnics, including Black Barbadians, and the progeny of those immigrants who came in the 1960s, the unified paradigm of the Black Community will, and must, change. Immigrant and second-generation Black Canadians will not read, nor will they create, history that represents Blacks as a homogenous community. The historiography may continue in its geographical and temporal framework, or it may be usurped by an emphasis on Black ethnic communities. Walker believed the Black Community is “the key” in understanding Black Canadian history, and a “powerful political impulse.”<sup>73</sup> The reality of what the Black community is presently in Canadian society will reinvent the way that the historiography is read and made. Black ethnicity, as created through historical immigration policies and as a historical and a theoretical framework, will be at the forefront of future Black Canadian scholarship. The following historical study aims to continue in this direction.

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 172.

## Chapter One:

### The History of Anti-Black Racism in Canada: Black Canadian Historiography

*There are and always will be some who, ashamed of the behaviour of their ancestors, try to prove that slavery was not so bad after all, that its evils and its cruelty were the exaggerations of propagandists and not the habitual lot of the slaves. Men will say (and accept) anything in order to foster national pride or soothe a trouble conscience.*

C.L.R. James, 1962<sup>74</sup>

This chapter examines the historiography of anti-Black racism in Canada and Black Canadian history. It will also situate this dissertation into the historiography. This chapter presents a historical framework of Blacks in Canada, and contextualizes the roots of anti-Black racism in Canada. This context is needed to provide historical proof of a British North American and Canadian anti-Black racism that was not adopted from the United States, but was firmly rooted in Canada's British colonial history and its "liberal racial order."<sup>75</sup> This chapter will also examine the historiography of Canada's reluctance to accept and integrate African-American and Black immigrants since the nineteenth century. Another purpose of the following is to disaggregate anti-Black racism and racism of other Visible Minority groups with respect to Canadian history and its immigration history. The historiography shows that Blacks in Canada have been excluded simply because they were "Black."<sup>76</sup> It is important to understand that Canadian anti-Black racism developed prior to the "threat" of Barbadian immigration during the mid-twentieth century; British North America and Canada excluded Blacks on the basis of colour and an idea of "race." Anti-Black racism was not adopted from the United States, nor were these racial attitudes simply transferred to Canada

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<sup>74</sup> C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 13.

<sup>75</sup> Barrington Walker, "Finding Jim Crow in Canada, 1789-1967," in *A History of Human Rights in Canada: Essential Issues*, ed. Janet Miron (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2009), 81. See Chapter Two for further discussion on the liberal racial order.

<sup>76</sup> Chapter Two will discuss what it meant to be seen as "Black" and Black Barbadian slave and colonial identity.

with Barbadian migrants in the twentieth century. Canadians racialized Blacks prior to Confederation and this chapter provides the historical context for how Canada dealt with Blacks and Black immigrants during the nineteenth and twentieth century. The chapter emphasizes Canada's historical anti-Black racism and will contextualize how the state treated Black Barbadian members of the Commonwealth. More importantly, the chapter explains the politicized nature of the dissertation and how it fits within the political movement of other Black Canadian scholarship.

The historiography of this chapter will be organized using James W. St. G. Walker's five orientations to the study of Black history in Canada in, "Allegories and Orientations in African-Canadian Historiography: The Spirit of Africville."<sup>77</sup> Walker argued the writing of Black history fell within five individual, but fluid, conceptual categories. These included Black Clients, Black Victims, Black Achievers, Black Community, and Black Survivors.

Black Clients referred to the Canadian altruistic myth of the Underground Railroad, where "black people enter the story as recipients of white justice and white philanthropy," as benefactors of supposed White benevolence. Blacks became the clients of White agents and actors. Black Victims paralleled Black Clients. It was the story of "Black history [which became] the story of what was done *to* black people, rather than what was done *for* them, while the black characters remain *do-ees* instead of *do-ers* (author's emphasis)." As for the Black Achievers, Walker explained, "African Canadians are central, their individual equality is recognized and their contributions are celebrated, but to be classed as a contribution they had *to do something in and for white society* (author's emphasis). The liability was that these outstanding black people had to stop being black to win historical recognition." Blacks and

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<sup>77</sup> James W. St. G. Walker, "Allegories and Orientations in African-Canadian Historiography: The Spirit of Africville," *Dalhousie Review* 77 (1997).



Blackness were rendered “raceless” to validate their contributions in the White community. The Black Community thus recognized the achievements of Black people, for Black people, within Black institutions. Walker highlighted the emergence of Black power and Black pride within this field, and “[the Black Community] produced recognition of the things that made black people distinct from whites,” collective Black struggle, and “the rehabilitation of black culture.” The Black Survivors is the most recent conceptualization of Walker’s Black Canadian historiography. Walker contended, “[the] focus is on black people but the perspective is back with the oppressor; African-Canadian history becomes the story of ‘persons living with discrimination (and racism),’ however, the Black narrative, “enters the contemporary discourse of power with black people as objects rather than subjects.”<sup>78</sup>

While Walker’s paradigm was used as an organizing principle, the politically driven discourse of racialized history, specifically Black Canadian historiography, has transcended newly developed and defined structures in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. One must recognize the existence of overt racial discrimination, whether intentional or unintentional, displayed in the historiography. The idea that Blacks were at fault for their condition – “Blacks to Blame” – recognized the historical bigotry embedded in our Canadian narrative. The concept is not novel to Black Canadian history, nor is it exclusively defined in terms of race; the erasure of historically marginalized groups in Canada and the defence of their “self-inflicted” position in society, represents widespread academic and social bigotry.

I also contend that the concept of Traumatic Rage as developed by Steven Wineman in *Power-Under: Trauma and Nonviolent Social Change* characterizes the racial culpability of White historians.<sup>79</sup> White Guilt is manifested through the apologetic and revisionist

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<sup>78</sup> Walker, “Allegories,” 167-171.

<sup>79</sup> Steven Wineman, *Power-Under: Trauma and Nonviolent Social Change* (Steven Wineman, 2003).

rhetoric towards the marginalization of Black history, the history of racism and discrimination in Canada, and most notably the Black condition in present-day society.<sup>80</sup> Black authors also demonstrated emotionally charged catharsis within their interpretations of the Black Canadian historical narrative. These authors embodied present-day discrimination. One may argue that as Blacks, writing about Blacks, the subjective nature of their writing is prone to bias and misconstrued facts. However, as Blacks, this perspective may be *the* only true representation of Black history. With the existence of the Traumatic Rage of White and Black historians, the underlying theme within the historiography is whether one “race” can write about another’s history. Furthermore, can Blacks write, and have they written, objective Black history? Is the “we” versus “they,” “Black” versus “White” literary dichotomy one to be explored, ignored, or does it present itself as a cause for concern?

### **Black Clients**

The myth of the Underground Railroad and the idea of Canadian benevolence characterized the early and mid-nineteenth century race treatment of Black American immigrants. The Black Client was the creation of supposed White Canadian altruism. Black agency remained insignificant in comparison to the contributions of White institutions and individuals; Canadian piety and moral integrity distinguished the treatment and reception of Blacks in Canada as compared to the United States. Jason H. Silverman examined the myth of Canadian moral superiority over the United States in *Unwelcome Guests: American Fugitive Slaves in Canada, 1830-1860*. Silverman contended, “The growing disaffection of

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<sup>80</sup> With respect to this chapter and dissertation, the concept of White Guilt refers to White people’s self-condemnation of the historical injustices, racism, and discrimination committed by their phenotypic kin towards Black people.

Canadians with fugitive blacks was partially mitigated by anti-American sentiment...By permitting blacks to settle there with the same legal rights as any white citizen, Canadians hoped to prove their moral superiority over the United States.”<sup>81</sup> The anti-slavery movement in Canada was an anti-American movement. It was a socio-economic position against slavery and individuals involved in Abolition profited from the end of slavery. Allen P. Stouffer’s *The Light of Nature and The Law of God: Antislavery in Ontario, 1833-1877*, recognized the aforementioned futility of Canadian benevolence towards Black American immigrants and fugitives.<sup>82</sup> Michael Wayne challenged the assumption that for nineteenth century Blacks coming to Canada that “race mattered more than class, gender, religious affiliation, or nationality in defining who they were or in determining their place in Canadian society.”<sup>83</sup> The author further challenged the historical oversights in the enumeration of the Canadian Black population in the mid-nineteenth century and the exaggeration of the extent of the Underground Railroad by Abolitionists and historians, respectively. Historians estimated Black American emigrants – Fugitive Slaves – made up a population of up to 40,000 people, but in fact through a close reading of the census of 1861, he determined the figure to be 17,053 or approximately 23,000 including estimates.<sup>84</sup>

African-Americans emigrants in Canada and African-Canadians became a White political tool against the United States’ economic, legal, and moral hegemony. Silverman, Stouffer, and Wayne each exemplified the objectification of the Black condition in the nineteenth century and a sense of moral superiority masked Canadian racial attitudes and its

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<sup>81</sup> Jason H. Silverman, *Unwelcome Guests: American Fugitive Slaves in Canada, 1830-1860* (Ann Arbor Michigan: University Microfilms, 1985), 36.

<sup>82</sup> Allen P. Stouffer, *The Light of Nature and the Law of God: Antislavery in Ontario, 1833-1877* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 17-18.

<sup>83</sup> Michael Wayne, “The Black Population of Canada West on the Eve of the American Civil War: A Reassessment Based on the Manuscript Census of 1861,” in *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History*, eds. Franca Iacovetta et al (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 70.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

liberal racial order. One may also argue that anti-Black sentiment was simply a by-product of Canadian, or British, political, economic, and social antagonisms towards the United States. Black refugees and immigrants simply became a politicized tool – or client – of nineteenth century Canadian foreign relations. Wayne maintained that, albeit with highly contested and subjective methodology regarding his use of inaccurate census data, historians greatly over represented the number of enumerated Blacks in Canada. Wayne alluded to the presence of Antebellum Abolitionist propaganda as a reason for the population inflation. Nevertheless, as a scholarly debated historical work, he, along with Stouffer and Silverman, brought attention to the continued misrepresentation of Blacks in the historiography as clients of Canadian philanthropy.

### **Black Victims**

The historiography has represented the Black character as the “do-*ee*” rather than the “do-*er*.” The Black Victim was, and is, a popular image of Black Canadian history; it removed Black agency and cast blame on White Canadians and institutions. There is considerable fluidity between both the Black Victim and the Black Client as each group is a reductionist essentialization of the Black condition and Black history in Canada. In each case, Black Canadians and Black immigrants were written as stereotyped objects lacking agency and voice – pawns within a larger paradigm of power and dominance in which they lacked control. Black racialized objectivity operated through the structures of White benevolence, malevolence, and ambivalence.

Barrington Walker’s, “Finding Jim Crow in Canada, 1789-1967,” published in 2009, paralleled Walker’s *Racial Discrimination in Canada: The Black Experience*, written in

1985. Barrington Walker explored the existence of Jim Crow in Canada and the liberal racial order. He notes that Canadian laws did not racially “[codify] white supremacy,” however, “[a] constant presence and power of illiberal views of racial difference meant that the law in Canada did support racial discrimination in Canada – but passively so – upholding the individual’s right to discriminatory treatment against minorities.”<sup>85</sup> Walker revealed the presence of anti-Black racial discrimination as a historical phenomenon, and “the historical record reveals that the basic issue in Canada has been racial stereotyping – the assignment of personal characteristics, economic opportunity, and social acceptance on the basis of perceived attributes – and, further, that these stereotypes were founded on ignorance, hearsay, and coincidence.”<sup>86</sup> Walker determined the roots of Black discrimination in Canada began with slavery, followed by international racist doctrine and the nineteenth century pseudo-science of race. The author concluded, “[Anti-Black racial discrimination] is embedded in history, and historical understanding is essential to unlocking solutions with any promise of success.”<sup>87</sup> Both James W. St. G. Walker and Barrington Walker, respectively, agreed racial discrimination towards Blacks and anti-Black racial attitudes in Canada were a historical process rooted in Canada’s colonial past.

A process of transfer of racial attitudes from the United States, but rooted in British racial ideology, has also been explored. R. Bruce Sheppard’s *Deemed Unsuitable: Blacks From Oklahoma Move to the Canadian Prairies in Search of Equality in the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Only to Find Racism in their New Home*, underscored the presence of North American racism, and portrayed its origins through “[the] longevity and adaptability of a

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<sup>85</sup> Barrington Walker, “Finding Jim Crow in Canada, 1789-1967,” in *A History of Human Rights in Canada*, ed. Janet Miron (Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press, 2009), 81.

<sup>86</sup> James W. St. G. Walker, *Racial Discrimination in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1985), 22-24.

<sup>87</sup> Walker, “Finding Jim Crow,” 81.

white European racism, elements of which can be traced back centuries, and of virulence of a white British strain.”<sup>88</sup> Through a close reading of Ontario newspapers during Reconstruction, Allan P. Stouffer contended that a debased, second-class, perpetually inferior view of Blacks in the United States migrated to Canada through the ideological viewpoints of newspapers and their editors. However, he found the roots of Black discrimination in British ideologies of race.<sup>89</sup> Sheppard highlighted the victimization and exclusion of African-American immigrants to Canada because of their race; the historiography examined the ideological racialization of Blacks, reified through Canadian immigration laws and legal institutions.

Race was a tool for the perpetuation of Black victimization through various Canadian institutions. Walker’s *“Race”, Rights, and the Law in the Supreme Court of Canada* displayed the omnipresence of race enshrined in Canadian values and Canadian legal doctrine.<sup>90</sup> The state implemented legal arguments and the law to justify racial discrimination in Canada; “discrimination justified discrimination,” and “racial discrimination per se was legally acceptable.”<sup>91</sup> The author continued arguing Canada fit within a Westernized worldview of race and racial discrimination, which “provided a mechanism for the [Canadian] manifestation of principles that were broadly current throughout Western civilization, and beyond.”<sup>92</sup> The official indoctrination of race and racism in Canadian legal policy was complete with the introduction of the term “race” in the

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<sup>88</sup> R. Bruce Sheppard, *Deemed Unsuitable: Blacks From Oklahoma Move to the Canadian Prairies in Search of Equality in the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Only to Find Racism in their New Home* (Toronto: Umbrella Press, 1997), 63.

<sup>89</sup> Allan P. Stouffer, “A Restless Child of Change and Accident: The Black Image in Nineteenth Century Ontario,” *Ontario Historical Society* 76 (1984): 128-150.

<sup>90</sup> James W. St. G. Walker, *“Race”, Rights, and the Law in the Supreme Court of Canada* (Toronto: Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, 1997).

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 149 & 151.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 304.

*1910 Immigration Act*.<sup>93</sup> This is important to note as the Canadian state determined “race” – a socially constructed ideology – to be a prerequisite for entry as an immigrant. The *1910 Immigration Act* effectively determined that Black immigrants could be excluded solely on the basis of their colour and “race.” Anti-Black racism referred specifically to the exclusion of Black immigrants through the basis of such illogical fallacies as the “Black race” being unable to withstand the rigours of the cold Canadian climate.

Historians including David Murray and Constance Backhouse have both explored the existence of a racist legal system and a legal history of racism and anti-Black racism, respectively, in Canada. Blacks were victims of the legal system. Backhouse substantiated Walker’s position through the twentieth century legal case studies of *Viola Desmond, R. vs. Phillips* and the Ku Klux Klan in Oakville in 1930. Similar to the arguments within *Racial Discrimination in Canada* and “Finding Jim Crow in Canada,” Backhouse found the law was used as a shroud for racial discrimination. In each instance, legal doctrine circumvented the racist grievances put forth by the defendants. As was the case with Desmond, legal procedural issues nullified her claim of exclusion and segregation based on her race.<sup>94</sup> David Murray presented an assessment of a racist legal system in Upper Canada. He wrote, “African-Canadians were over-represented in court statistics...The legal freedom they found in this northern sanctuary did not free them from the rigours of the British colonial justice system, or from racial persecution.”<sup>95</sup> Walker, Murray, and Backhouse asserted the intrinsic racism of the Canadian legal system. The presence of racism permeated a wide variety of Canadian institutions and employment practices since the nineteenth century. Potential

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Constance Backhouse, *Colour-Coded: A Legal History of Racism in Canada, 1900-1950* (Toronto: Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, 1999).

<sup>95</sup> David Murray, *Colonial Justice: Justice, Morality and Crime in the Niagara District, 1791-1849* (Toronto: Osgoode Society).

Black Barbadian emigrants in the twentieth century thus had to navigate the barriers of systemic, institutionalized and legal racism that had been firmly established in Canada since the nineteenth century. The Canadian state legally codified a liberal racial order based on eighteenth and nineteenth century British and European views on race.

The racialized servile nature of the railway porter, and his limited opportunity for socio-economic mobility, paralleled the victimized Black stereotype in the late nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth century. Sarah-Jane (Saje) Mathieu's "North of the Colour Line: Sleeping Car Porters and the Battle Against Jim Crow on Canadian Rails, 1880-1920," investigated the existence of White supremacy in Canadian labour history generally, and the railway system, specifically.<sup>96</sup> Mathieu revealed the battle against "Jim Crow trade unionism and segregationist employment policies on Canadian rails...unmasked white supremacy in every aspect of their lives as working men and Canadian citizens."<sup>97</sup> She continued: "Canadian companies imported black workers, even considering for a time the annexation of a Caribbean island (St. Kitts) as a source of cheap labour, because they viewed black men as a malleable class of workers, softened by Southern Jim Crow and colonial rule."<sup>98</sup> The Black racialized and reified image of the porter, defined employment practices, the labour market, and Canadian foreign policy. Similar to the racialization of Black West Indian domestic workers in the mid-twentieth century, the Canadian state relied on negative and servile perceptions of Black immigrants to fit a subaltern position in society and a split labour market. Agnes Calliste's article, "Sleeping Car Porters in Canada: An Ethnicity Submerged in Labour Market" explored split labour market theory and labour markets divided on the grounds of race. She asserted that "the submerged split labour market in which whites

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<sup>96</sup> Sarah-Jane Mathieu, "North of the Colour Line: Sleeping Car Porters and the Battle Against Jim Crow on Canadian Rails, 1880-1920," *Labour/Le Travail* 47 (2001).

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*



monopolized the higher paid positions (for example, sleeping car conductor and dining car steward) and restricted blacks to portering was a result of market conditions (i.e., the need for cheap labour) and institutional racism.”<sup>99</sup>

Institutionalized racism was the fundamental organizing principle of the Black Victim theory. Black immigrants and Black Canadians were victimized because of the racialization of their phenotype and historicized ideas about their inferiority. The previous authors touched upon the discriminatory reification of racial ideologies, and the manifestation of race as a quintessential othering classifier of nineteenth and twentieth century Canada. The Black Client and Black Victim represented the embodiment of Black inferiority in employment and legal institutions.

### **Black Achievers**

The Black Achiever is arguably the most altruistic category of Walker’s five original organizing themes. Some would argue that “Flying Fish in the Great White North” fits in this category of Black Canadian historiography as the filiopietistic tone of the dissertation is too “triumphalist” or “celebratory.” It may be viewed as arguing that Black Barbadians, and by extension all Black people, were somehow “better” than White Canadians and it was their “right” to be admitted to Canada regardless of their skills or qualifications. A misinterpretation of the Black Achiever assumes that Black people, and historians (ostensibly triumphalist Black historians) who utilize this framework, are somehow superior to Whites and that all White Canadian historical figures and White institutions should be condemned as

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<sup>99</sup> Agnes Calliste, “Sleeping Car Porters in Canada: An Ethnically Submerged Split Labour Market,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 19 (1987): 1-2.

racist. A misreading of this concept assumes that the Black Achiever is a Black supremacist; an individual or group of individuals who strove to destroy the system and not simply fit within it. In reality, Blacks were recognized – and rightfully so – for their achievements within the White community despite the ominous and omnipresent threat of enslavement or re-enslavement, deportation, discrimination, racism, and physical violence. However, as stated by Walker, “to be classed as a contribution they had *to do something in and for white society*. The liability was that these outstanding black people had to stop being black to win historical recognition.”<sup>100</sup>

In theory, the Black Achievers eschewed the derogatory and negative codification of their “Black” identity, but their achievements distanced their kinship and primordial ties to the Black community. Not only did their achievements distance themselves from their Black community, it sanitized the role race and anti-Black racism played in Canadian society since the Black Achiever was able to overcome seemingly insurmountable odds. Some would argue that since there was a trickle of Black emigrants in Canada during the nineteenth century, anti-Black racism could not have been a fundamental barrier to the settlement of Black Barbadians in the twentieth. This dissertation addresses the question of individual agency. By singling out Barbados as a case study for Canada’s treatment of non-White immigrants from the Commonwealth, “Flying Fish in the Great White North” argues that individual Barbadians – Emigrant Ambassadors and Autonomous Bajans – and the Barbadian Government were active agents in attempting to circumvent Canada’s discriminatory immigration policy. The case study highlights that Barbadians were not simply “exceptions to the rule” of Black inferiority as Black Achievers, but as a form of foreign policy their government deliberately challenged Canada’s racist immigration policy

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<sup>100</sup> Walker, “Allegories,” 169.

and used Barbadians as active agents in this role. It cannot be assumed that the Black Achiever was a Black supremacist. Furthermore, I contend that the Black Achiever was not a historical anomaly, but the historiography has accepted “exceptional” Blacks on a case by case basis, and not as a politicized and powerful group.<sup>101</sup>

Josiah Henson’s “Uncle Tom” character and hapless moniker, personified the historiography and the politicized historical disassociation of the Black Achiever in Canada from his or her community. The colloquial reference of an “Uncle Tom” in the Black community is an individual who no longer considers himself “Black,” nor does he relate, or want to relate, to his own “people.” A passage derived from Henson’s nineteenth century narrative, edited by John Lobb, elucidated the previous claim: “[Blacks] were living in a way, which, I could see, led to little or no progress in improvement. They were content to have the proceeds of their labour at their own command, and had not the ambition for, or the perception of what was within their easy reach, if they did know about it.”<sup>102</sup> Nevertheless, as a Black Achiever, Henson strove to ameliorate the Black condition and “it soon became [his] great object to awaken them to a sense of the advantages which were within their grasp.”<sup>103</sup> Stanley G. Grizzle’s personal reminisces highlighted the realities and struggles of Black upward mobility as professed by Henson. Black porters were simultaneously the “aristocrats of African-Canadian communities,” but also “the epitome of the white man’s stereotype of the Black man.”<sup>104</sup> Grizzle expressed how collective Black achievement in the

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<sup>101</sup> A good example of this dichotomy is how Black Loyalists have been marginalized from the Canadian historical nation-building narrative. Black Loyalists – as a collective group – have been ignored as one of Canada’s founding charter members. See Debra Thompson, “Is Race Political,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 41 (2008): 539 and Nelson Wiseman, *In Search of Canadian Political Culture* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 23.

<sup>102</sup> Josiah Henson, *Uncle Tom’s Story of His Life: An Autobiography of the Rev. Josiah Henson, 1789-1876* (London: Cass, 1971), 103.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 104.

<sup>104</sup> Stanley G. Grizzle, *My Name’s Not George: The Story of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in Canada: Personal Reminiscences of Stanley G. Grizzle* (Toronto: Umbrella Press, 1998), 39 & 67.

labour market was defined and limited through the servile nature of the “Uncle Tom” character.

Lincoln M. Alexander’s memoir, *“Go To School, You’re a Little Black Boy”*: *The Honourable Lincoln M. Alexander: A Memoir*, published in 2006, paralleled many of Henson’s nineteenth century ambitions and Grizzle’s trepidations in the mid-1900s. Henson was Canada’s nineteenth century quintessential Black Achiever, as was Alexander in the twentieth; he was the first Black to hold a vice-regal position in Canada as the 24<sup>th</sup> Lieutenant Governor of Ontario (1985-1991). He wrote of changing Black stereotypes and reconfiguring the mental insolence of racists and their Black victims. Alexander’s twenty-first century perspective on tolerance and racism, which is eerily similar to both Henson and the Abolitionist, Benjamin Drew: “I hate the way the word tolerant is used. It is not the proper way of accepting other races – being tolerant. That means putting up with someone, and that is not acceptable...Tolerance is not respect,” he continued, “racism is, simply, a product of ignorance, but I am an optimist and have seen great strides taken toward eradicating that evil.”<sup>105</sup> Drew’s primary source collection of Fugitive slave narratives, *The Refugee; or, the Narratives of Fugitive Slaves in Canada. Related by Themselves, with an Account of the History and Condition of Colored Population of Upper Canada*, was an extensive and comprehensive survey of Black Americans who succeeded in their clandestine migration to Canada. However, Drew’s abolitionist position catered to the Black Client theory; many of the narratives were coerced and structured to highlight Canadian altruism and American immorality.

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<sup>105</sup> Lincoln M. Alexander, *“Go To School, You’re a Little Black Boy”*: *The Honourable Lincoln M. Alexander: A Memoir* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2006), 217.

The Black historians' position on the Black Achiever is quite intriguing. Daniel G. Hill's groundbreaking work, *The Freedom-Seekers: Blacks in Early Canada*, presented a black lens on the history of Black people in Canada. Compared to Robin W. Winks' *The Blacks in Canada: A History* published in 1971, ten years prior to *The Freedom-Seekers*, Hill provided a positive assessment to the contributions of the multitude of Black people, of all classes and occupations, throughout Canada and Canadian history. The author provided the reader an extensive social history. When juxtaposed to Winks' monograph, it allowed for a critical analysis of how Black history was written, by whom, its political and racial overtones, and how social and academic movements influenced the historiography.<sup>106</sup>

The Black Achiever was an attempt to rectify the objectification of the Black Client and Black Victim. The Black individual became the focal point and the protagonist within the historical narrative and historiography. The autobiographies of Henson, Grizzle, and Alexander, Drew's collection of countless African-American fugitive and immigrant narratives, and the individual Barbadian migrants stories profiled in this dissertation, underscored the rightful achievements of Blacks in Canada. The Black person's "I" was a powerful tool in understanding his or her humanity, achievements and sense of Self. However, the reader must be cognisant of White dominant structures and the Black Achiever's detachment from his codified Blackness and primordial ties. The historiography's individualization, and in the case of Henson – the exploitation – of the Black Achiever, did not reflect the Black community as a whole. Thus, the Black Community was a holistic and "Black-centric" improvement on the historiography of the Black Achiever.

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<sup>106</sup> Daniel G. Hill, *The Freedom-Seekers: Blacks in Early Canada* (Agincourt, Canada: Book Society of Canada, 1981).

## **Black Community**

Walker's Black Community was an attempt to forward a Black focused or "Black-centric" history. Black power, Black pride, and the emphasis on the collective Black struggle described the historiography. This dissertation's focus on the collective Black Barbadian emigrant experience as a community of Autonomous Bajans and Emigrant Ambassadors also fits within this fluid category of Black Canadian historiography. What Blacks did, within and as a united community, defined the making of Black Canadian history. However, one of the major flaws of the focus on the Black Community is its homogenization of the true heterogeneity and diversity of distinct Black immigrant groups, geographical regions, socio-economic conditions, and the supposed historicized subaltern status in the Canadian narrative. African-American Loyalist migration to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in the late eighteenth century did not parallel the story of Black settlers from California to British Columbia in the mid-nineteenth century or Black Barbadians in the twentieth. The Black Community and the Canadian historical narrative did not recognize the reality of Black ethnic groups and Black ethnicity. This issue must be addressed in the production of further Black history; the present balkanization of Black immigrant groups will dictate the direction that the Black community remains viable as an organizing principle for the historiography or renders itself obsolete. This dissertation disaggregates the Black community and focuses on one Black ethnic and national group – Black Barbadians – as a case study to represent how the Canadian state treated non-White members of the Commonwealth. While this dissertation acknowledges and addresses the collective struggle of all Black immigrants and Canada's anti-Black racist immigration policy, the intended focus is a case study of Black

Barbadian emigrants up to 1967. Nevertheless, the following authors presented specific Black community groups differentiated by geographic location or historical period.

Historiography associated with the late eighteenth and nineteenth century emphasized the achievements of several Black communities and pioneers in Canada. Walker's *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870*, first published in 1976, displayed the importance of religion and religious sectionalism and elitism, which acted as an organizing principle and social structure in Sierra Leone for Nova Scotian Blacks and all settlers in the region (White, Maroon, African, Liberated African). Walker attested that "the central importance of religion in [Black Nova Scotians'] character and their lives," led to the "obstreperousness towards human authority."<sup>107</sup> Religion, specifically Methodism, gave Nova Scotians, or Black Loyalists, independence from the British (Whites in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone) and Anglicanism. Spiritual and religious independence facilitated Black Nova Scotian pride, elitist self-rule, nationalist sentiment, and most importantly a unified community in Sierra Leone. Walker built upon the earlier, but lesser-known work completed by W.A. Spray, *The Blacks in New Brunswick*. The breadth and transnational and transcontinental scope of Walker's monograph overshadowed Spray's piece; however, *The Blacks in New Brunswick* acted as an excellent complement, which explicitly incorporated New Brunswick in the Black narrative.<sup>108</sup> Elizabeth Beaton's article, "An African-American Community in Cape Breton, 1901-1904," featured race in the early twentieth century as a solidifying feature; the experience of race and racism in Nova Scotia forced the Black American sojourners together as a community.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> James W. St. G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870* (London: Longman and Dalhousie University Press, 1976), 64.

<sup>108</sup> W.A. Spray, *The Blacks in New Brunswick* (Fredericton: Brunswick Press, 1972).

<sup>109</sup> Elizabeth Beaton, "An African-American Community in Cape Breton, 1901-1904," *Acadiensis* 24 (1995).

Following Beaton, Spray, and Walker's examination of late eighteenth, early nineteenth and twentieth century Black settlement and community, Harvey Amani Whitfield's *Blacks on the Border: The Black Refugees in British North America, 1815-1860*, incorporated current academic discourse and theories on transnationalism, diasporas, hybridity, and Black identity. Published in 2006, Whitfield examined the transnational and diasporic links between African-Americans and African-Canadians; the border was a demarcation point between Free and Slave, but also a "negotiated state of mind" connecting African-Americans and Canadian Blacks and facilitating the hybridity of Black British and African-American identity.<sup>110</sup> The author contended that the Black Refugee toiled with "colonial government, farming practices, struggles over wage labour, formation of families (extended kinship), and community development," and the "quest for citizenship (equal opportunity under the law as British subjects)...transform[ing] several slave identities into a cohesive and distinctive African British North American community."<sup>111</sup> It was a Black Refugee, or "Afro-New England Diaspora" identity, and community, built by the transnational links of Black American slaves, Freed African-Americans, West Indians, and the British Crown.<sup>112</sup> Daniel McNeil's contemporary interpretation of the Black community and identity in Nova Scotia and its Black American roots in "Afro (Americo) Centricity in Black (American) Nova Scotia," complemented Whitfield's historical description. However, McNeil wrote of the fragile, and often hostile, relationship of Black ethnic groups in Nova Scotia. Black Nationalism, in the form of Black Pride and Black Power, and reified through

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<sup>110</sup> Harvey Amani Whitfield, *Blacks on the Border: The Black Refugees in British North America, 1815-1860* (Burlington, Vermont: University of Vermont Press, 2006), 6.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 2-3.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.



Black collective trauma and struggle such as the story of Africville, acted to unify the Black community.<sup>113</sup>

The twentieth century witnessed the arrival of new Black ethnic groups and a small field in Black Canadian historiography has slowly started to acknowledge the influx of Black immigrants. Black ethnics came together due to the oppressive forces of collective and phenotypic racism, but they also maintained their distinctiveness from the White community and from each other. Carla Marano's "'Rising Strongly and Rapidly': The Universal Negro Improvement Association in Canada, 1919-1940," channelled George Elliott Clarke's theoretical model of African-Canadianite; "the hegemony of heterogeneity," which represented Canada's "*archipelago* of blackness (West Indians, African-Canadians, African-Americans, Africans) and highlights the importance of ethnicity to the formation of cultural and racial identities for blacks in Canada."<sup>114</sup> West Indians who were represented as a collective group, and not Barbadians, Antiguans, or St. Lucians pushed for the success of the UNIA and facilitated a distinct West Indian identity; the organization was, "an outlet to create and express a unique ethno-racial identity."<sup>115</sup> The Black Canadian historiography acknowledged diverse Black ethnicities; however, it continued to classify West Indians as one homogenous group.

It must be noted that prior to independence movements throughout the Caribbean during the 1960s, a British West Indian collective identity was the accepted norm and Black Canadian historiography reproduced this colonial generalization. Oftentimes this was done with an altruistic and uplifting purpose. Similar to the problematic nature of classifying this

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<sup>113</sup> Daniel McNeil, "Afro (Americo) Centricity in Black (American) Nova Scotia," *Canadian Review of American Studies* 35 (2005): 64.

<sup>114</sup> Carla Marano, "'Rising Strongly and Rapidly': The Universal Negro Improvement Association in Canada, 1919-1940," *Canadian Historical Review* 91 (2010): 237.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 233.

dissertation as “celebratory” of Black Barbadian successes, Walker’s *The West Indians in Canada* scrutinized the creation of Black West Indian-Canadian identity, and the ethnic dichotomy from African-Canadians. The author revealed the class-based antagonisms between the two communities, where upwardly mobile West Indian Blacks perceived Black Canadians as lower class. The two Black ethnic communities had “very little in common ...beyond coincidence of colour”; however, “West Indians [were] doing a great deal to destroy the old stereotypes and to break the barriers which have restricted Black Canadians.”<sup>116</sup> Similar to Walker’s statement, I contend that their perceived Black Barbadian “exceptionality” and their fight against Canadian anti-Black racism helped all Black immigrants, ethnic groups, and nationalities. Dorothy W. Williams’ book, *The Road to Now: A History of Blacks in Montreal*, chronicled the history of the Black community in Montreal. Williams argued the Black community in Montreal was shaped by, “slavery, emancipation, Quebec’s pioneer economy...the railroad, black student activism, and [West Indian] immigration.”<sup>117</sup> Sheldon Taylor’s dissertation, “Darkening the Complexion of Canadian Society: Black Activism, Policy-Making and Black Immigration from the Caribbean to Canada, 1940s-1960s,” highlighted the Black communities’ political consciousness and pressure towards the Canadian federal government to eradicate racist immigration policies in the twentieth century. The Black community influenced Canadian foreign and immigration policies.

Work on the Black Community spans nearly forty years of Black Canadian historiography. From Walker and Spray in the 1970s, to Marano and Whitfield in the new millennium, this category is arguably the most resilient and resourceful of Walker’s five

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<sup>116</sup> James W. St. G. Walker, *The West Indians in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1985), 22-24.

<sup>117</sup> Dorothy W. Williams, *The Road to Now: A History of Blacks in Montreal* (Montreal: Vehicule Press, 1997), 174.

original orientations. However, as stated at the outset of this section, with the emergence of a large community of Black ethnics through immigration, the unified paradigm of the Black Community will, and must, change. I and other immigrant and second-generation Black Canadians will not read, nor will we create, history that represents Blacks as a homogenous community. The historiography may continue in its geographical and temporal framework, or it may be usurped by an emphasis on Black ethnic communities. I contend that Black ethnicity, as a historical and theoretical framework, will be at the forefront of future Black Canadian scholarship.

### **Black Survivors**

In a theoretical return to the Black Client and Victim, the Black Survivor was presented as an object, rather than a subject of history. The current state of Black Canadian historiography, according to Walker's theory, is Black focused; however, through the Black Survivor historians perpetuated the powerlessness and objectification of Blacks and Black Canadian history. While this dissertation acknowledges the Black narrative as racialized and discriminatory, I do not reduce Black Barbadians as merely survivors of an oppressive system, but actors and agents who fought for change. Nevertheless, historians still qualified the achievements, struggles, and condition of Blacks through theories of race and racism. One may argue race defined Canadian society, and the Black Survivor was *the* most appropriate, accurate, and authoritative theoretical model. The Black subject became an object; the societal and ideological structures of racism and discrimination dictated the Black existence. I argue that this position of the Black Survivor manifested through historians' and also my personal conviction, circumvented Black agency and their individual achievements

irrespective of race. Nevertheless, this dissertation utilizes critical race theory, thus making “race” the explicit theoretical organizing principle and framework. Race is the theoretical framework for this dissertation and consequently race, racism, anti-Black racism, and racial discrimination will be discussed repeatedly and thoroughly throughout.

Lawrence Hill’s *Black Berry, Sweet Juice: On Being Black and White in Canada*, published in 2001, quoted his father, Daniel G. Hill, on his experiences with racism and its psychological effects in Canadian society and the struggles of many historians. Hill wrote: “Very often, people go into fields as compensation for their own feelings of inadequacy. That way, they can still bring those feelings of inadequacy, and guilt, and self-hatred-self-racial-hatred – into the house. They’re trying so hard to do the opposite, in terms of the real world.”<sup>118</sup> Moreover, Hill’s father confirmed the viability of the Black Survivor and consequently the Black Achiever, and stated, “Nothing can break through the barrier of racism faster than success.”<sup>119</sup> In addition, Karolyn Smardz Frost’s 2007 work, *I’ve Got a Home in Glory Land: A Lost Tale of the Underground Railroad* overlapped both categories. The protagonists of her story, the Blackburns, succeeded in their fight for freedom, evaded attempts for re-enslavement, and managed to live successful, but modest, lives in Canada.<sup>120</sup> Donald H. Clairmont & Dennis William Magill’s influential work, *Africville: The Life and Death of A Canadian Black Community* recognized the tragedy of the creation and destruction of Africville, but highlighted how its residents fought for its survival as a cohesive community and continue to cherish its memory as their home.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Lawrence Hill, *Black Berry, Sweet Juice: On Being Black and White in Canada* (Toronto: HarperFlamingo, 2001), 27.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

<sup>120</sup> Karolyn Smardz Frost, *I’ve Got a Home in Glory Land: A Lost Tale of the Underground Railroad* (New York: Farrar Straus and Giroux & Toronto: Thomas Allen Publishers, 2007).

<sup>121</sup> Donald H. Clairmont & Dennis William Magill, *Africville: The Life and Death of A Canadian Black Community* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1999).

The history of Black women as survivors of not only racism, but also sexism and sexual exploitation, fits well within the Black Survivor field. This dissertation's focus on female Emigrant Ambassadors also fits within this category of Canadian historiography of Black women as survivors. Jane Rhodes' *Mary Ann Shadd Cary: The Black Press and Protest in the Nineteenth Century*, published in 1998, believed sexism, more so than racism, curtailed Mary Ann Shadd Cary's career as an editor and lawyer. Rhodes' described Shadd Cary's stubbornness and defiance and stated she was a "woman whose life was marked by the numerous ways she transgressed the boundaries of sex, color, and class, and the price she paid for the boldness of her actions."<sup>122</sup> Maureen G. Elgersman's monograph, *Unyielding Spirits: Black Women and Slavery in Early Canada and Jamaica* examined Black women's labour exploitation in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century through the management of female reproduction and production, similar to what will be discussed in the final chapter on Black Barbadian women's history. Elgersman argued, "Black slave women in both Canada and Jamaica were subject to chattel designation, verbal and physical abuse, denial of personal autonomy, and forced labour."<sup>123</sup> The historiography presented the discourse of Black women in slavery as objects of both racist and gendered structures. Calliste's article, "Women of 'Exceptional Merit': Immigration of Caribbean Nurses to Canada" revealed the perpetuation of racism and sexism in the twentieth century presented by the examination of earlier periods by Elgersman and Rhodes. The acceptance of Black immigrant nurses was based on "exceptional merit" and qualifications that far exceeded

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<sup>122</sup> Jane Rhodes, *Mary Ann Shadd Cary: The Black Press and Protest in the Nineteenth Century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).

<sup>123</sup> Maureen G. Elgersman, "Unyielding Spirits: Black Women and Slavery in Early Canada and Jamaica," *Crosscurrents in African American History* 6 (1996): 165.

White nurses. Calliste argued, “[the] differential immigration policy reinforced black nurses’ subordination within a racialized and gendered nursing labour force.”<sup>124</sup>

This dissertation also adds to the scholarship on Black Canadian women’s history. Peggy Bristow challenged the absence of Black women, and Blacks as a whole, in the Canadian historiography. She postulated on Canadian history and Black feminist theory and argued, “Black people in Canada have a past that has been hidden or eradicated, just as racism has been deliberately denied as an organizing element in how Canada is constituted.”<sup>125</sup> She continued and stated Black women “are subjected to racism as are Black men, [and] gender compounds this situation.”<sup>126</sup> Claudette Knight, Silverman and Donna J. Gillie, reiterated the presence of Black survival through education in the mid-nineteenth century. Education was a means of combating stereotypes of inferiority and racism, and it was “one of the most important measures connected with the destiny of [the Black] race.”<sup>127</sup> The historiography explored Black education and female exploitation as structural barriers defined by race and gender in Black Canadian history. This dissertation emphasizes that education facilitated the socio-economic advancement of Black Barbadian women as emigrants overseas.

The Black Survivor navigated and overcame the institutional and ideological structures of race and racism in Canada. The Black Survivor was quite similar to the Black Achiever and Community, while building upon the restrictive qualities of the Black Victim. The Survivor succeeded, as individuals or collectives, despite victimization and racialization.

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<sup>124</sup> Calliste, “Women of ‘Exceptional Merit’: Immigration of Caribbean Nurses to Canada,” *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law* 6 (1993).

<sup>125</sup> Peggy Bristow, *We're Rooted Here and They Can't Pull Us Up: Essays in African Canadian Women's History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 3.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>127</sup> Claudette Knight, “Black Parents Speak: Education in Mid-Nineteenth Century Canada West,” *Ontario History* 89 (1997): 269-284; Silverman and Donna J. Gillie, “The Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties: Education and the Fugitive Slave in Canada,” *Ontario History* 74 (1985).

Walker argued this category was the most recent direction of Black Canadian historiography, and one can see how historians have built upon previous historical frameworks. Through theories of race, gender, and Black identity, historians incorporated and applied current interdisciplinary organizing theories grounded in historical evidence.

### **Traumatic Rage**

Steven Wineman defined Traumatic Rage as “people’s rage in response to oppression [which] is a driving force behind the mobilization of movements for social change.”<sup>128</sup> I have adapted Wineman’s concept and applied it to historians who have accepted, and most notably expressed, the subjectivity of White Privilege both as White Canadians and as White historians making Black history. As the oppressors, they believed themselves to be the “driving force behind the mobilization of movements for social change.”<sup>129</sup> As the writing and making of history is a political act, the authors have managed to address the omnipresent and ominous nature of race and racial discrimination in Black Canadian historiography, history, and Canadian society. The writing was emotional, but concise. The cathartic prose was effective and novel to traditional historiography.

Jennifer Nelson’s *Razing Africville: A Geography of Racism* explicitly expressed issues of White domination, White racism, materialized racism, and racialized space. She went so far as to express that she was a White scholar and admitted her shameful resentment for the actions of her phenotypic kin and colleagues. Nelson argued, “The razing of Africville is a story of white domination, a story of the making of a slum, and of the

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<sup>128</sup> Steven Wineman, *Power-Under: Trauma and Nonviolent Social Change*, 25.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*

operation of technologies of oppression and regulation over time,” and continued, “certain [Black] bodies are consistently produced as marginal within various facets of dominant white culture, such as media, education, academic work, and governmental discourse.”<sup>130</sup> For Nelson, race and space acted as one cohesive and destructive unit. She believed Africville’s destruction, “[was] mobilized through discourses of race and space. Racism does not fully make sense until we understand regulated, spatialized social relations. Such relations are realized through violence, degradation, and poverty; they are concretized in the slum.”<sup>131</sup> Racism was the reason for the creation of Africville and its denigration, destruction, and the relocation of its inhabitants. Racialized spaces of White dominant power fuelled racist ideology.<sup>132</sup>

Racist ideology shaped the distasteful and devastating conduct of many White actors involved in the Africville tragedy, and Nelson corroborated Clairmont and Magill’s earlier work. However, Walker’s 1980 piece, *A History of Blacks in Canada*, addressed the issue of the White erasure of Blacks and Blackness from Canadian history and historiography. Walker appealed to the audience, “to overlook black history is, therefore, to distort our image of ourselves as Canadians and the historical forces that have made us what we are,” and expressed “Canadian history as presently understood is not true, and that by including black history we can get closer to the truth and closer to the ‘historical forces’ which are operating in Canadian society.”<sup>133</sup> His work may be dated by thirty years, but as Nelson highlighted, Canadian historiography has yet to accept Blacks as Canadians and a vital component to the Canadian historical narrative and Canadian mosaic. The problem is that his words are still

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<sup>130</sup> Jennifer J. Nelson, *Razing Africville: A Geography of Racism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 5 & 14.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>133</sup> Walker, *A History of Blacks in Canada* (Ottawa, 1980): 3 & 6.



relevant. Race and racism manifested through the treatment of Black history “shows that the ‘race’ problem is real, that is a white problem, and that it demands white participation in its solution.”<sup>134</sup> Canadian society and Canadian historiography have yet to make substantial advancements in the recognition of Black Canadian history as Canadian history. Nevertheless, accepting guilt was an effective means in advancing further revisions, and new studies, in Black Canadian history.

The presence of Traumatic Rage of the Black existence through the erasure of race in Canadian history was exhibited in Afua Cooper’s *The Hanging of Angelique: The Untold Story of Canadian Slavery and The Burning of Old Montreal*. Cooper professed, “I have come to realize that Black history has less to do with Black people and more to do with White pride. If Black History narratives make Whites feel good, it is allowed to surface; if not, it is suppressed or buried.”<sup>135</sup> Similar to Walker’s assessment, the author revisited the “half-truths” of Canadian history and highlighted the inconsistencies of Canada’s supposed status as a racial harmony.<sup>136</sup> The erasure of race from the historical narrative misconstrued and hid past and present racial antagonisms. Moreover, Cecil Foster’s, *A Place Called Heaven: The Meaning of Being Black in Canada* addressed the Traumatic Rage and resentment of many Black Canadians caused by racialized subjugation. Foster argued Blacks must contend with persistent and blatant racism: “I hear from many [Black youths who] defiantly ask why they should try to enter the mainstream, why they should integrate with the dominant culture that form the mainstream of Canadian society, which are for the most part

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>135</sup> Afua Cooper, *The Hanging of Angelique: The Untold Story of Canadian Slavery and The Burning of Old Montreal* (Toronto: Harper Collins, 2006), 8.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

white. Why should they work as hard and sacrifice as much as their parents only to be denied.”<sup>137</sup>

Foster, Walker, and the recent works by Cooper and Nelson featured the present-day reality of Canadian racism and how it has affected Black Canadian history and its historiography on the periphery of accepted scholarship. Walker and Nelson published their books within a thirty-eight year span, but their message of White Guilt remains valid; Canadian scholarship and Canadian society have yet to make considerable advancements in the equal representation of Blacks in its historical narrative. Nelson was much more explicit in her plea, but she and Walker reiterated that White Canadians need to recognize the “race problem” *is* a White problem. One may contend that Nelson and Walker proposed for the perpetuation of Blacks as Clients and Victims of White racism and dominant power structures. In order to solve the “race problem” in Canada, the trajectory of Black Canadian historiography must revert to the objectification of Blacks and place White actions and actors as the protagonists of the narrative. However, Black apathy and rage must be acknowledged and studied as a concomitant reality of White Guilt. Black Canadian historiography cannot continue as an authoritative field of study without the equal representation of both White and Black actors, authors, and narratives. The sustainability of Black Canadian historiography cannot rely upon a mutually exclusive blame game. “Flying Fish in the Great White North” is not intended as a polemic and a platform to accuse present-day White historians or White Canadians of racism, nor is it intended as a work of “racist finger-pointing.” It must not be misconstrued that the politicized nature of this dissertation is simply a cover to “blame” White scholars and Canadian society for the historically depressed Black condition in the

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<sup>137</sup> Cecil Foster, *A Place Called Heaven: The Meaning of Being Black in Canada* (Toronto: Harper Collins, 1996), 11.

Americas. While the subject matter may be emotionally charged and race is an uncomfortable issue for many to discuss objectively, the purpose of this dissertation is to acknowledge the historical evidence that race, racism, and anti-Black racism were fundamental features of Canadian immigration policy, Black Barbadian history, and the history of Blacks in the Western World.

### **Blacks to Blame**

One may argue that the interpretation of previous scholarship has created a hostile and racialized environment for the production of Black Canadian history by Black and White scholars. The first, and most influential, monograph on Black history was arguably one of its most detrimental and inflammatory. Winks' *The Blacks in Canada: A History*, published in 1971, placed the blame on Blacks for their marginalized position and chastised their lack of capable leaders. Winks reasoned, "Negroes in Canada were often responsible for their own plight, since they by no means made use of all the channels of opportunity or all the roads to progress and all the sources of strength open to them."<sup>138</sup> The author advocated for segregation – "separate but equal" communalism – and militancy, compared to the Canadian Black tenet for integrationism and "Uncle Tomism." Winks contended the former would have improved the Black condition in Canada on similar socio-economic levels as their phenotypic kin in the United States. In addition and comparing African-Americans and African-Canadians, he exposed the lack of strong leadership and Black communal cohesion.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> Robin W. Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1971), 480 & Chapter 15.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

The political climate which Winks wrote and published his book must be taken into account. As a resident and citizen of the United States in the 1960s, one may argue African-American Black Pride and Black Power social and political movements, and their leaders, shaped his writing. The United States produced many prominent, popular, and influential Black leaders and political groups ranging from The Nation of Islam, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, and the diverse group of scholars and individuals involved in the Civil Rights Movement. Most Canadians can recognize at least two figures in the preceding list, but many would find it difficult to identify an influential Black Canadian on the same level. Winks committed a disservice in his equal comparison of African-American and –Canadian communities as each group followed exponentially different historical trajectories. Winks’ book, however flawed and inflammatory, must be read with caution and in the context of time, place, and socio-political environment.

The same criterion was applied to Frances Henry’s *Forgotten Canadians: The Blacks of Nova Scotia*, published in 1973. However, her explanation of the denigration of the Black condition in Nova Scotia was not the result of a comparative study; her bias and stereotypes overshadowed scholarly reason and authoritative academic research methodology. She misguidedly claimed, “as a result of the limited resource base in Nova Scotia and the Black’s historical marginality to it as a function of the circumstances of their arrival as slaves and refugees, the impoverished dependent condition of their arrival has persisted for generations. Thus we find today conditions which have been perpetuated and reinforced for nearly 200 years.”<sup>140</sup> According to Henry, Black degradation persisted due to the acceptance of White dependence. However, Henry negated the Black Survivor theory and the real structural

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<sup>140</sup> Frances Henry, *Forgotten Canadians: The Blacks of Nova Scotia* (Don Mills: Longmans Canada Ltd., 1973), 153-155.

existence of race and racism and argued in favour of Black Nova Scotian integrationist conservatism and a “status quo” approach of “getting along” with Whites. Blacks “cannot change their [socio-economic] position because of their economic and service depending upon White society,” and guarded their subaltern positions to retain the status quo.<sup>141</sup>

The historiography reflected an elementary and flawed explanation for the Black condition in the 1970s. Both Henry and Winks lacked a substantial theoretical development on the discourse of the structure of race and how it permeated Canadian institutions and society, which would later become common post-colonial and post-modern theoretical tools in academia. Blacks became the subject, and object, of their own demise.

The purpose of this chapter was to elaborate on the introduction and to discuss in detail where “Flying Fish in the Great White North” fits within the existing Black Canadian historiography. Walker’s five orientations contextualize and organize the dissertation’s diverse arguments. The chapter highlights the intersections of Black Canadian historiography and the process which many historians have incorporated overlapping topics including race, ethnicity, gender, and class to address Black history in Canada. It must be noted that the narrative of this dissertation fits within all of the categories mentioned in this chapter. I have structured the dissertation in a way that Walker would argue *is* Black Canadian history since the historical narrative fits within all of his orientations. Black Barbadians were clients of White agents and actors, most notably the Canadian politicians and activists who advocated for the liberalization of Canadian immigration policy for all non-White people. Black Barbadians were victims of anti-Black racism immigration policy in Canada and a racialized international migration system. Black Barbadians were Black

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<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 166.

Achievers: they succeeded and overcame seemingly insurmountable odds as individuals and as a collective Black, Black Barbadian, and West Indian community with a sense of pride and industry. Black Barbadians were also survivors as they challenged institutionalized Canadian racism and White bigotry and racial attitudes in Canadian political boardrooms, homes and society.

The political content and tone of my work is a reflection of Black Canadian historiography; the production of Black history in Canada is a political and contentious act. What I have attempted to do is fit the work within Walker's orientations and use the intersectionality of race, class, and gender, as a theoretical framework to remove as much subjectivity and personal bias as possible. Despite my greatest efforts at objectivity, insofar as it is possible to remain objective in historical writing, it may be perceived that the dissertation harbours a sense of Traumatic Rage or elements of sweeping generalizations and "racist finger-pointing." The case study on Barbados creates a tone of Barbadian "exceptionality"; however, I contend that future studies on other West Indian islands utilizing this same framework would produce "exceptional" cases in their own right. It must also be noted that the writing of Black Canadian history is fundamentally interdisciplinary in nature; the historians mentioned in this chapter touched on social theories of race, racism, and the construction of Black identity in their writing. Due to slavery, the Black condition in the Americas is a social construction. In order to understand the history of Blacks in Barbados, the West Indies, Great Britain and Canada, one must use an interdisciplinary approach, utilize social theory, but also remain true to archival research and historical writing. This dissertation and the Black Canadian historian's craft is a reflection of interdisciplinary scholarship. There are means to write Black back in Canadian history, and we as Canadians must support the history and recognize that Blacks are, and have always been, Canadians.

The historiography is relatively new and limited and more needs to be done to capture an essential piece of Canada's history and reinforce a fragile tile of its mosaic.

## Chapter Two:

### **Black Face for Black People: Ideas of “Black” and “Blackness” in Barbadian History**

*As colour is the most obvious outward manifestation of race it has been made the criterion by which men are judged, irrespective of their social or educational attainments. The light-skinned races have come to despise all those of a darker colour, and the dark-skinned peoples will no longer accept without protest the inferior position to which they have been relegated.*

Sir Alan Burns, 1948<sup>142</sup>

*I was responsible at the same time for my body, for my race, for my ancestors. I subjected myself to an objective examination, I discovered my blackness, my ethnic characteristics; and I was battered down by tom-toms, cannibalism, intellectual deficiency, fetichism, racial defects, slave-ships, and above all else, above all; “Sho’ good eatin’.”*

Frantz Fanon, 1952<sup>143</sup>

The idea of Blackness and Black identity influenced White British colonial perceptions of Blacks in the West Indies and Canada; it subsequently provided the exclusionary framework for Canada’s anti-Black and anti-Black Barbadian immigration policy. One may argue that Barbados and Canada, both products of British imperialism in the Americas, were driven by Anglo-Saxon ideals of race and White superiority throughout their respective histories. White hegemonic rule over the “native savages” defined the European destruction and subjugation of First Nations peoples, while the same parallel can be drawn for the Barbadian slavocracy of Africans in the Americas. The enslaved Other may have differed; however, Whites’ belief in White “goodness” and Black or Coloured inferiority, dictated how Whites in both Canada and Barbados saw themselves versus those of a darker phenotype. In relation to this chapter and dissertation, this diachronic White creation and perception of Black inferiority provided the foundation for the exclusion of Barbadians, and Black people as a whole, in Canada’s immigration history. Contrary to popular belief, Canada did not adopt

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<sup>142</sup> Burns is quoted in Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove Press, 1967), 118.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.



the insidious anti-Black racism from the United States; the Canadian discrimination against Blacks was a product of British ideals and a “liberal racial order,” a concept examined thoroughly by Barrington Walker.<sup>144</sup> The diachronic and geographical transfer of racialized ideas and anti-Black sentiment from the seventeenth century British West Indian Slave Codes to early twentieth century Canadian immigration policy was not entirely a linear historical process, but an ideology that existed throughout the Black Atlantic and Western Political Thought since the Biblical “fact” of the Curse of Ham.<sup>145</sup> This chapter begins with an introduction to the creation of the idea of Blackness and Black identity. This opening section also contextualizes the relationship between liberalism and a liberal racial order that normalized White privilege and anti-Black racism in Canada prior to the twentieth century. The purpose of this introductory section is to provide a foundation for this chapter’s arguments on the creation of Black Barbadian slave and colonial identity. This is needed to explain that anti-Black racial attitudes were decidedly British, and subsequently Canadian, in nature and not simply adopted from the United States or transferred from the West Indies. Furthermore, this provides a clearer explanation of Canadian anti-Black racial attitudes and

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<sup>144</sup> Barrington Walker, “Finding Jim Crow in Canada, 1789-1967,” in *A History of Human Rights in Canada: Essential Issues*, ed. Janet Miron (Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press, 2009), 81. With respect to the Canadian treatment of Blacks during the early to mid-nineteenth century, Allen P. Stouffer argued that the anti-slavery movement in Canada was an anti-American movement, and not because Canada “liked” Black people. Allen P. Stouffer, *The Light of Nature and the Law of God: Antislavery in Ontario, 1833-1877* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 17-18. Jason S. Silverman indicated that Canada simply wanted to prove its moral superiority over the United States by protecting fugitive Blacks and that “the growing disaffection of Canadians with fugitive Blacks was partially mitigated by anti-American sentiment.” Jason S. Silverman, *Unwelcome Guests: American Fugitives in Canada, 1830-1860* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1985), 36.

<sup>145</sup> For the Curse of Ham, refer to Genesis 9:18-27. Excerpts from the Biblical passage: “And the sons of Noah, that went forth from the ark, were Shem, and Ham, and Japheth; and Ham is the father of Canaan.” “And he (Noah) drank of the wine, and was drunken; and he was uncovered within his tent. And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brethren without.” “And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his youngest son had done unto him. And he said: Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. And he said: Blessed be the LORD, the God of Shem; and let Canaan be their servant.” The “sons” of Ham were said to be Black Africans.

the ideological reasons for the exclusion of Black Barbadians through Canadian immigration policy prior to the 1960s.

This chapter also profiles Barbadian-British migrants and Barbadian-Canadian novelist Austin Clarke. This includes his memoir on life in colonial Barbados during the 1940s, *Growing Up Stupid Under the Union Jack: A Memoir*. It highlights the creation of a Black Barbadian colonial identity during the early to mid-twentieth century. This contextualizes Canada's anti-Black sentiment as Black Barbadians adopted (and were forced to adopt) a British colonial identity; an identity that should have allowed them the right to gain admittance to Canada during the mid-twentieth under its immigration policy that allowed the entry and settlement of British subjects. As Chapter Four will discuss, Canadian racial attitudes and specifically an anti-Black immigration philosophy characterized Canadian immigration policy. This chapter contextualizes Canada's anti-Black immigrant sentiment by examining the twentieth century Barbadian's ancestral slave and colonial identity. It will show that Barbadians' Blackness, consolidated during the Transatlantic Slave Trade and slavery, superseded their British character. The Black Barbadian's socially constructed race and Black identity influenced Canadian immigration policy.

Canada's acceptance of racial hierarchies, specifically the racialization of Black Barbadians, paralleled the British social construction and debasement of Blacks throughout the history of slavery in the West Indies. Geographical boundaries did not prohibit the dissemination of ideas. As Chapter Four will discuss, Canada and the West Indies established trading and socio-economic relationships during slavery as members of the British imperialist empire in the Americas. Despite the northern neighbour's lack of a true slavocracy, the British consolidated anti-Black West Indian and Barbadian racism in the

eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that remained relatively dormant until Canada was faced with the prospect of mass migration during the twentieth century.

This chapter examines the creation of African and Black identities during the Transatlantic Slave Trade and the institution of slavery in Barbados and the British West Indies. It examines the roots of the misappropriation of African identity, and the subsequent arbitrary and ignorant classification of African ethnicity by using the seminal work and comprehensive collection of slave embarkation and disembarkation ports by David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert S. Klein.<sup>146</sup> Eltis et al.'s collection is used to contextualize and provide a framework to understand White perceptions of Black people and their Blackness in Barbados and the West Indies during slavery. This will be complemented by firsthand accounts including Scottish Abolitionist William Dickson's *Letters on Slavery*. His work highlights the arbitrary and socially constructed binary racial categories in late eighteenth century Barbados. Dickson challenged reified ideological views of White superiority supported by Black inferiority. The purpose of this chapter is to theorize the creation of Black identity in Barbados by grounding sociological interpretations in historical and archival evidence. This chapter situates the historical creation of the "Black" Barbadian and explores the White British social construction of race in Barbadian society. This dissertation and the following chapters argue that race, and specifically Canada's prejudice against Black West Indians and Barbadians was a systemic and ideological barrier to their immigration; Canadian beliefs of White superiority and a "White Canada" philosophy dictated their immigration policy prior to its official de-racialization in 1962. The British fabrication of a binary White-Black racial dichotomy is the foundation of

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<sup>146</sup> David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert S. Klein, *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

the historical social construction of the virtues of Whiteness in Canadian society and pejorative nature of Blackness in Barbados. One must understand the historical roots of the ascription of Blackness in Barbadian society – and what it means to be deemed “Black” – to contextualize Canada’s exclusionary and anti-Black immigration policy. The paucity of works on Black Canadian immigration presents the White antipathy and fear of Blacks as a diachronic historical fact. It does not take into account how Canada, a settler and colonial state, deliberately created racial and ethnic hierarchies to promote and maintain Anglo-Saxon hegemonic power. Furthermore, this chapter begins to deconstruct the historical reductionist essentialization of Black Barbadians that parallels Alan B. Simmons and Jean Pierre Guengant’s “culture-of-migration” theory. Due to the Black Barbadian and West Indian’s negative and arbitrary subaltern classification throughout history, scholarship subsequently perpetuated their cultural misrepresentation as an accepted and unchallenged norm. Their racialization negated causal factors for who they were and why they chose to migrate.

The limited discussion of the ideology of Blackness in Canadian history further marginalizes the Black subject as it normalizes Whiteness as “good” and assumes Blackness, and Black people, as the perpetual “Other.” By refusing to acknowledge the historical roots of race and racism in Canada, the historiography presents race as “real”; it assumes that Whites were here “first” and, according to former Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King that as “native Canadians,” “a country should surely have the right to determine what strains of blood it wishes to have in its population,” and immigration was, and is, not a “fundamental human right,” but a privilege.<sup>147</sup> Mackenzie King and others assumed that a

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<sup>147</sup> William Lyon Mackenzie King, “The Diaries of William Lyon Mackenzie King, February 13, 1947,” *Library and Archives Canada*, [http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/king/001059-119.02-e.php?&page\\_id\\_nbr=29395&interval=20&&PHPSESSID=kjrmhp00c9o1angknic2bhtke2](http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/king/001059-119.02-e.php?&page_id_nbr=29395&interval=20&&PHPSESSID=kjrmhp00c9o1angknic2bhtke2), [accessed January 4, 2013]; William Lyon Mackenzie King, “The Diaries of William Lyon Mackenzie King, May 1, 1947, page 396,” *Library and Archives Canada*, <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/king/001059-119.02->

fabricated belief of Whiteness equated to the virtues of Canadian identity and Canadian nation-building. It is this belief of White privilege juxtaposed against Black undesirability in Canada that is crucial in understanding Canadian immigration policy. What historical factors led to the belief of Black Barbadian inferiority? How did human beings from the African continent become Black? What does it mean to be a Black Barbadian? The premise of this dissertation is to understand the migration experience of Black Barbadians. To truly comprehend their racialization in the Canadian immigration system one must understand that the “Black” qualifier is a historical and social construction. Their exclusion and marginalization was not because they were black in colour, but “Black” in existence; it was a belief entrenched in Western political thought, Christianity, and liberalism, but also rooted in the misrepresentation of African identity during the Transatlantic Slave Trade and developed to maintain socio-economic and class divisions throughout the Americas. Canadians adopted the negative homogenization of the Black Barbadian that the British perfected during the Transatlantic Slave Trade and the institution of slavery in the West Indies.

### **A “White Canada”: Blackness, Liberalism and the Liberal Racial Order**

Historians have argued that the Curse of Ham, and its many misinterpretations, was at the forefront of the racialization and justification of slavery in the New World. There have been attempts to emphasize its importance as a leading cause in the explanation of Black oppression. Stanley Harrold and Michael Banton have both refuted the Curse’s importance. David Brion Davis, David Goldenberg, Benjamin Brand, Jonathan Schorsch, and Anton L.

Allahar, discussed the importance of the Biblical text and its misinterpretations, which condemned Blacks to a condition of perpetual servile exploitation. Davis argued that there was, and is, no direct link to race or colour in the Biblical text. Nevertheless, the Curse became the foundation and justification for anti-Black racism and slavery. He admitted that the Curse of Ham was “not a racist script,” but the enslavement of Africans transformed its meaning.<sup>148</sup> Goldenberg reinforced Davis’ argument and stated that biblical commentators “conveniently” forgot the wording of the text. Brand hypothesized that the Curse of Ham was in fact linked to Asia. Davis summarized the previous thoughts and concluded that the Curse became “absolutely central in the history of anti-black racism,” and “no other passage in the Bible has had such a disastrous influence through human history.”<sup>149</sup>

Schorsch argued that Winthrop D. Jordan and Davis stated that the textual Curse justified Negro slavery. He contended that Jewish discourse “used the Curse of Ham as an explanation of Blackness.” He attempted to disprove many “Black and Christian scholars” that “have laid the blame for the curse of Ham at the feet of Jewish biblical interpretations (including Joseph R. Washington Jr. and Winthrop Jordan).” Schorsch listed 38 authors between 1400-1700 who cited the Curse to explain the “servitude” of Blacks and/or the cause of “Human Blackness,” including Gomes Eannes de Zurara (1453); Elizabeth Cary (1613); John Milton’s “Paradise Lost” (1667). Schorsch concluded that the Curse explained the “perpetuity” of Black servitude and the “origin of their physiognomy” (facial/bodily features).<sup>150</sup> Evidently, according to Schorsch, one cannot lay blame on the Jewish people for the devastating, and dehumanizing, effects of the Curse of Ham. However, Anton

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<sup>148</sup> David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 65 & 67.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> Jonathan Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 153, 135, 137, 161.

Allahar challenged Schorsch's argument that "the association between blackness, evil, and punishment" is made explicitly through the Curse. Whether the Jewish interpretations of the Curse included Blackness or facilitated the enslavement of Blacks, Allahar argued that those arguments were irrelevant. According to him, generations of Christians came to understand the Curse as "punishment in a specific way and acted on the basis of that understanding." Views on Blackness became synonymous with slavery.<sup>151</sup>

The roots of the negative ideology of Blackness and Black identity preceded the Transatlantic Slave Trade and slavery in the British West Indies. John Block Friedman wrote of the "monstrous" races in medieval art and thought, which linked the idea of "Blackness" to the creative imagination of the unknown (darkness) in Greco-Roman ideology as it created the belief of the Other as an inferior being.<sup>152</sup> The ideology of Blackness and its negative connotations were thus historically defined concepts and "Black" as a pejorative term was subsequently applied to justify African enslavement in the Americas. Davis argued that African and African-American slaves were, "historically linked to inferiority, ugliness, and Blackness," which subsequently facilitated the creation of universal stereotypes – the racialization – of slaves where black or darker skin colour became negative phenotypic codifiers.<sup>153</sup> Allahar and James E. Cote subsequently concluded that through this historical process "being black came to signify inferiority," as "being" Black – the reified and subjective ideological manifestation of inferiority and servitude – became the ubiquitous representation of those of African descent.<sup>154</sup> This concept was supported by the biblical "fact" of the Curse of Ham and also through Christian ideology that justified the European

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<sup>151</sup> Anton L. Allahar, "When Black First Became Worth Less," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 34 (1993): 46-47

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>153</sup> Davis, 65-67.

<sup>154</sup> Anton L. Allahar and James E Cote. *Richer and Poorer: The Structure of Inequality in Canada* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd., 1998), 71.

enslavement and degradation of Africans and African-Americans.<sup>155</sup> Allahar argued that “Christian socialization,” and “the mentality of the enslaver all housed in his black, ex-slave’s body,” created a Western society where, “being black was devalued and despised, even by black people themselves.”<sup>156</sup>

Several scholars and historians have implicated religion and Christian doctrine as a means for the justification of Black African enslavement throughout the Americas. Eric Williams, Jack Gratus, Edmund Morgan, Peter Kolchin, Davis, Allahar, Roger Bastide, and Kyle Haselden, argued that the Church and Biblical interpretations demonized and “racialized” the Black African, which subsequently permitted, and encouraged, his eternal enslavement. Gratus argued that the Biblical justification for “white domination” began within the institution of slavery. He cited Reverend Raymund Harris (1788) who through his interpretations of Exodus and Leviticus, the Bible, and subsequently Christianity, supported slavery. Nevertheless, Gratus showed that leading abolitionists such as William Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson and Thomas Buxton, believed Blacks (in Africa) were heathens, “needing conversion, and needing the benefits of white Christian morality.”<sup>157</sup> Kolchin followed the previous thread with his discussion on the three religious arguments that (supposedly) justified chattel slavery: Hebrews owned slaves and Jesus did not condemn slavery; the Curse of Ham; and slavery was God’s plan to expose “heathens” to the “blessings of Christianity.”<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> For the Curse of Ham, refer to Genesis 9:18-27.

<sup>156</sup> Anton L. Allahar, “Unity and Diversity in Caribbean Ethnicity and Culture,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 25 (1993): 81. Hegemonic ideology occurs once Blacks – and the society at large - have indoctrinated this message of inferiority by the ruling White class. Hegemonic ideology allows for domination by mass consent by the oppressor and the oppressed.

<sup>157</sup> Jack Gratus, *The Great White Lie: Slavery, Emancipation, and Changing Racial Attitudes* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973), 15 & 141.

<sup>158</sup> Peter Kolchin, *American Slavery: 1619-1877* (New York: Whill and Wang, 2003), 192.



Davis analyzed the Creationist theory justification for Black servitude and believed it to be a contradiction. In theory, Islamic and Christian doctrine did not tolerate enslavement based on colour and racial difference was irrelevant.<sup>159</sup> Bastide disagreed with Davis and contended, “Christianity as a doctrine or body of thought is replete with examples of racial stratification and colour prejudice.”<sup>160</sup> Allahar asserted that Christianity as an ideology was “a unique justification to the enslavement of Black Africans,” and a rationalization “used to explain away any guilt that might have been incurred (by enslavers and those implicated within the institution) along the way.”<sup>161</sup> Ideological beliefs, facilitated by Christian doctrine, justified the paradox of hypocrisy of Barbadian and New World chattel slavery. Nevertheless, Haselden postulated that the Church’s discrimination and subjugation of Blacks during and after slavery were “embedded within moral consciousness.” He contended that the Church officially endorsed the enslavement and inferiority of Blacks and cited the Bible as its justification. He wrote that “prolonged exposure and need to rationalize slavery” through discrimination subsequently became a part of the Christian religion. Prior to the proliferation of the institution of chattel slavery, Haselden argued that there was a “code of morality justifying the dehumanization of Blacks.”<sup>162</sup> Christianity, the Curse of Ham, and medieval art and thought, are central to the history of anti-Black racism throughout the Western and Christianized world.

Several scholars of Black Canadian history, specifically Afua Cooper in *The Hanging of Angelique: The Untold Story of Canadian Slavery and the Burning of Old Montreal* and James W. St. G. Walker’s *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova*

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<sup>159</sup> Davis, 48.

<sup>160</sup> Allahar, “When Black,” 48.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., 52.

<sup>162</sup> Kyle Haselden, *The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Incorporated, 1964), 51.

*Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870*, have identified the presence of Canadian anti-Black racism since the early eighteenth century; a decidedly British and French – not American – colonial form of anti-Black racism that paralleled the rise of discrimination in Barbados and the British West Indies. I contend that there was not an explicit process of transfer of racial attitudes in Canadian society from Barbados, but it was a shared British anti-Black sentiment. This chapter seeks to explain how, when, and why Black Barbadians were negatively codified to contextualize the racist attitudes held by British colonial subjects throughout the Empire. This chapter also constructs a theoretical and historical parallel of British racial attitudes in the Atlantic World, specifically between the roots of the ideological and physical creation of Black identity during slavery in Barbados, and how the liberal racial order influenced anti-Black sentiment and racialized silos in Canada.

The liberal racial order and the process of transfer of anti-Black attitudes to Canada are exemplified when one deconstructs the rigid geographical and ideological nation-state boundaries of place and space. If imagined geo-political barriers are challenged and redefined, it is much easier to contextualize anti-Black racism in an Atlantic paradigm. The concepts of the ship and the Black Atlantic first argued by Paul Gilroy in *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* and “The Black Atlantic as a Counterculture of Modernity,” further support a transnational and globalized framework of Black identity formation, skin colour, ethnic and national belonging, and racial attitudes throughout the Atlantic World.<sup>163</sup> Gilroy argued that creolisation, the ship and the Atlantic Ocean, each facilitated the making of Black people in the Western World; historical and modern transnational movements created Blacks who subsequently fit outside the paradigms of

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<sup>163</sup> Paul Gilroy, “The Black Atlantic as a Counterculture of Modernity,” in *Theorizing Diaspora*, ed. Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2003), 49-79; Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge: Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993).

modernity and nationality. National and subsequently diasporic belonging existed in the absence of political boundaries.<sup>164</sup> Gilroy's definition provides a foundation to "re-think" and "re-conceptualize" Black identity formation and considers the transnational ties of racial attitudes throughout the British Empire and how it influenced Canadian immigration policy and the admission and settlement of Black Barbadians and West Indians.

Liberalism, liberal ideology, and a liberal democratic society were the ties that bound Barbados, the British West Indies and Canada and their historical conceptions of racial hierarchies. Barbados and Canada experienced the paradox of liberalism as equality did not extend to all, nor was the system designed to work in such a manner. It was not a question of what Black West Indian immigrants wanted, but of what the dominant Canadian liberal ideology was willing to give. A liberal society promoted itself to be a free and fair system, with equal opportunity for all. However, the dominant ideology of liberalism managed to "mask reality" and convinced "all citizens that they live in a middle-class society with few extremes," particularly in the mid-to-late twentieth century.<sup>165</sup> Black needs and wants became irrelevant when Barbadian, West Indian and Canadian societies appropriated dominant liberal democratic ideology. They, like all minority groups, became tools to a system in which they had no control. Liberal ideology was a process by which ideas were constructed and imposed to support the views and motives of the dominant class in society. Ideology facilitated the use of power and authority over the masses. Max Weber argued that power, "was simply the ability to issue a command and have it obeyed, even if it goes against the will of the person or persons commanded to execute it."<sup>166</sup> Liberal ideology was thus used as a form of social control, whereby the White British "elite" in Canada and the West

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<sup>164</sup> Gilroy, "The Black Atlantic," 49-79.

<sup>165</sup> Allahar & Cote, 27.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., 32.

Indies, manipulated and created a “reality” that was favourable to their particular interests. Marx postulated that ideology served to “conceal social contradictions” and justified “the unequal distribution of social and economic resources in society.”<sup>167</sup> He wrote that ideology was a pejorative concept that acted “as a set of beliefs that serve to justify the rule of the few over the many” and “what made ideas into ideology was their connection with the conflictual [sic] nature of social and economic relationships.”<sup>168</sup> Ideology justified the subsequent social inequalities as natural. It then became hegemonic when “its logic is accepted by the poor and disadvantaged, it becomes a political weapon in the hands of the wealthy and the privileged.”<sup>169</sup>

The British West Indies and Canada were areas, “where white, male, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, wealthy, middle-aged, and older heterosexuals hold power in the leading institutions,” which was altruistically supported by historical “facts.”<sup>170</sup> Furthermore, liberal ideology was bolstered by its functionalist argument of natural inequalities in society.<sup>171</sup> Functionalist liberalists argued, “Social inequality is a fact of life” and has “existed in all known human societies and is therefore thought to be inevitable.”<sup>172</sup> Once the ideological “fact” of “Black” and “Blackness” was conflated with functionalist liberal ideology, Black people were deemed perpetually inferior in a system designed and dependent on social inequalities. Social inequalities served “the political functions of social order and control” and through the power of liberal ideology “no systemic injustice explains their inequality, instead, those who do not get ahead have failed themselves. What is more, they themselves

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<sup>167</sup> Anton L. Allahar, *Sociology and the Periphery: Theories and Issues: Second Revised Edition* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1995), 18.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid. David McLellan, *Ideology* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1986), 10-13.

<sup>170</sup> Allahar, *Sociology*, 18.

<sup>171</sup> McLellan, 5.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., 6.

believe this to be so.”<sup>173</sup> Canadians, and Canadian society, were firmly entrenched in liberal philosophy and anti-Black racial attitudes and social inequality prior to the mass immigration of West Indians in the mid-twentieth.<sup>174</sup> It was a philosophy and ideology fraught with contradictions and one that did not support, nor welcome, Black West Indian immigrants and Canada’s growing visible minority population during the late nineteenth and twentieth century.

This theoretical framework on liberalism and the restriction of immigrants was historically contextualized by Christopher G. Anderson in *Canadian Liberalism and the Politics of Border Control, 1867-1967*. Anderson argued in favour of Canada’s liberal-democratic state control foundations of its immigrant and border control policies and utilized the concepts of Liberal Internationalism and Liberal Nationalism.<sup>175</sup> Liberal Internationalism posits “a strong positive link between the state and the rights of non-citizens, forged by liberal ideas of equality and freedom alongside cognate international norms.”<sup>176</sup> Liberal Nationalism is “rooted in a more insular interpretation of state sovereignty that supports a narrower range of rights that non-citizens can claim against the receiving state,” and focused on much more race-based exclusionary immigration policies.<sup>177</sup> Liberal Nationalism effectively promoted a “White Canada” nation-building project from 1887 to the *Immigration Act* of 1952. Anderson also provided the overlooked example of the Canadian Senate’s Liberal Internationalist attempt to defeat and repeal the racist Liberal Nationalist *Chinese Immigration Act* of 1885 and the conflict between the “rights-restrictive” border

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<sup>173</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>175</sup> Christopher G. Anderson, *Canadian Liberalism and the Politics of Border Control, 1867-1967* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013).

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., 7.

control policies of the two ideologies up to the 1960s.<sup>178</sup> Anderson argued that these historical developments in Canadian immigration history and the “tensions between control and rights,” “did not simply unfold through interest group politics or the courts but were more the product of robust parliamentary debate over what it meant to be a liberal democracy.”<sup>179</sup>

Canada’s liberal founding principles and liberal democratic political culture firmly contributed to its immigration policy and how the state excluded Black and non-White peoples. Daniel Gorman expanded on this idea of Liberal Nationalism as related it directly to Canada’s colonial nationalism and its exclusion of Chinese migrants.<sup>180</sup> In *Imperial Citizenship: Empire and the Question of Belonging*, Gorman argued that “the emergence of colonial nationalism and the subsequent increase in stringent immigration legislation manifest both a hardening of attitudes towards non-Europeans, based on racialist attitudes, and a colonial anxiety about the nature of imperial citizenship.”<sup>181</sup> Gorman also stated that “the issue of non-white exclusion was a conflict between notions of liberalism (the freedom to enter into relationships, the primacy of the individual), and incipient nationalism (the desire to create a communal society, based on consensus and homogeneity).”<sup>182</sup> Nevertheless, John Schultz argued that Britain challenged Canada’s colonial and Liberal Nationalism in the early twentieth century. Britain was concerned “for the rights of British subjects” and demanded an explanation for Canada’s exclusionary immigration policies.<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid., 10-11.

<sup>180</sup> Daniel Gorman, *Imperial Citizenship: Empire and the Question of Belonging* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 166.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., 167.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., 169.

<sup>183</sup> John Schultz, “White Man’s Country: Canada and the West Indian Immigrant, 1900-1965,” *American Review of Canadian Studies* (1982): 58. See more on the West Indies Federation and the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* in the following chapters for how Britain pressured Canada to accept more non-White migrants.

The conflation of liberal ideals with Canadian state institutions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century subsequently produced “a tendency to replace the vocabulary of race and distinction with legal phraseology that was self-consciously race neutral and ostensibly universal in its application.”<sup>184</sup> The point to emphasize is that Canada may not have explicitly used race as a barrier to immigration since racialized border controls were normalized; “neutralized language obscured the racial origins of migration control and projected them into the universal standards of the international system.”<sup>185</sup> It was the accepted norm to exclude migrants based on race in a liberal state. This was most apparent with anti-Asian border controls in the 1880s to “white settler nations.” Adam M. McKeown in *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Globalization of Borders* argued that these controls “were created by white settler nations around the Pacific that saw themselves as the forefront of the liberal freedoms of the nineteenth century...Ideals and practices of self-rule were also the foundation of exclusionary policies.”<sup>186</sup> The Canadian state excluded Asians and non-Whites to protect late nineteenth century ideals of liberal “freedoms.” These individual freedoms for Canadians were measured through “an effective political community...[which] required membership controls, whether to protect the existence of liberal institutions or merely as the right of a free, self-governing people.”<sup>187</sup> The techniques used to control and exclude Chinese migrants in the late nineteenth century became the template and foundation for immigration laws in Canada and other White settler nations.<sup>188</sup> With respect to the exclusion of Chinese migrants, exclusionary immigration policy was a

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<sup>184</sup> Adam M. McKeown, *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Globalization of Borders* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 9.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-10.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, 13. McKeown argued that the “basic principles” for controlling immigration were developed “through the control of migration from Asia to the white settler nations in the late nineteenth century.” *Ibid.*, 13.

reflection of the battle between “civilized” liberal and “free” Canadians as opposed to the “uncivilized” Chinese.<sup>189</sup>

Non-Whites were not welcomed in Canada at the turn of the twentieth century. Canadian bureaucrats deliberately and arbitrarily excluded Black Americans and Blacks from the West Indies. Schultz’s work shows how permanent civil servants in Immigration Branch, most notably W.D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration Branch prior to the First World War, ignored “Parliamentary statute and public principle...[and] appointed themselves guardians of Canada’s racial purity,” and kept Canada “White” – a “White Canada.”<sup>190</sup> Immigration Branch officials were the gatekeepers of Canada’s “Whiteness.” Anti-Black immigrant racism in the twentieth century was most apparent with the exclusion of African-American farmers from settling Alberta and Saskatchewan since their “loose habits, laziness, sexual appetites, lack of manliness and mental deficiencies would pollute the pure stream of Canadian morals.”<sup>191</sup> This is important as Canada actively sought farmers from the United States during this time, but did not want Black American emigrants. In 1909 Scott essentialized Blacks as a homogenous group of “Africans” and stated that “there are certain countries...and certain races of people considered as suited to this country and its conditions, but Africans, no matter where they come from are not among the races sought, and hence, Africans no matter what country they come from are in common with other uninvited races, not admitted to Canada.”<sup>192</sup> Scott’s anti-Black or anti-African sentiment effectively eliminated the right that Black Barbadians and West Indians had as British subjects to emigrate to Canada. Moreover, Scott and the Immigration Branch used “bureaucratic barricades” to bar Blacks when official immigration policy proved insufficient. Schultz

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<sup>189</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>190</sup> Schultz, 53.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., 54.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.



highlighted the case of the schooner *Yolanda* that disembarked at Saint John in August 1912 carrying thirty-five Black Barbadians. Port authorities seized the vessel claiming that it violated the *Passenger Acts* as it did not provide the required deck space for each adult on board.<sup>193</sup> Other ship captains feared they would face the same arbitrary prosecution – and the cost of returning their Black passengers back to the West Indies – and hesitated to carry other West Indian migrants. Canadian bureaucrats found creative means to bar the “West India nigger,” including the constructed belief that Blacks were destined to become public charges.<sup>194</sup> Complaints came from shipping lines including the Royal Mail Line that stated their passengers should have been admitted since they fulfilled all the immigration requirements and were medically fit.<sup>195</sup>

The 1910 *Immigration Act* allowed the Governor-in-Council to exclude potential immigrants based on race; however, Scott refused the entry of Black West Indian emigrants even when their labour was needed and requested. Due to a labour shortage, the Dominion Coal Company guaranteed employment and sought permission to import 150 West Indians to work in Glace Bay, Nova Scotia in 1915. Scott refused this request on the grounds that there was “absolutely no hope” of Black foreign workers.<sup>196</sup> The superintendent held the position that his role and the role of the Immigration Branch was to keep “Canada a White Man’s Country.”<sup>197</sup> Schultz argued that a “small clique of officials” at the Immigration Branch “came to see themselves as guardians of the gates,” destined to keep Canada “White” by enforcing its “own version of the Canadian mosaic.”<sup>198</sup> There may not have been an official “White Canada” policy; however, protected by civil service tenure and “the tradition of

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<sup>193</sup> Ibid., 55.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid., 56.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid., 59.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid., 58.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid., 59 & 61.

anonymity,” Immigration Branch officials “bent public policy to suit the whim of their private prejudice.”<sup>199</sup> Arbitrary decision making, personal bigotry, and exclusionary immigration policies contributed to Canada’s anti-Black immigration policy and its unofficial status as a “White Man’s Country.”<sup>200</sup>

### **Constructing Black Barbadian Identity and the Transatlantic Slave Trade**

The classification of human beings during the Transatlantic Slave Trade precipitated the homogenization of African identity, which facilitated the negative codification of the African-Barbadian. Slave traders and planters recognized African “cultural variants,” but as Jerome S. Handler and Frederick W. Large in *Plantation Slavery in Barbados: An Archaeological and Historical Investigation* argued, they used a “simplified cultural nomenclature or typology derived from the two general tendencies.”<sup>201</sup> Philip Curtin classified the aforementioned tendencies as, “identifying nationalities customarily shipped from a particular African port by the name of the port,” and through the selection of “one ethnic or linguistic term to identify a much larger group.” Curtin continued, “These tendencies make for confusion and overlapping terminology...overlapping variants make it difficult to equate ethnic identifications with particular coastal regions of the slave trade...The most common European error was to use a narrow, or ethnic, or linguistic name,

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<sup>199</sup> Ibid., 62.

<sup>200</sup> For more on the “White Man’s Country,” see Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men’s Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). However, Lake and Reynolds’ book does not focus on the West Indies.

<sup>201</sup> Jerome S. Handler and Frederick W. Large (With the assistance of Robert V. Riordan), *Plantation Slavery in Barbados: An Archaeological and Historical Investigation* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1978), 26.

or a costal shipping point, to stand for a larger and more diverse assortment of peoples.”<sup>202</sup> This careless “European error,” I argue, is at the root of the misappropriation of African and Black Barbadian identity; Whites negated vibrant cultural variants to expedite the dehumanization of their human chattel. Eltis et al.’s *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM* identified nine African coastal region slave embarkation ports. These included The Bight of Benin, The Bight of Biafra, The Gold Coast, Senegambia, Sierra Leone, South-east Africa, West-central Africa, Windward Coast, and Africa unspecified.<sup>203</sup> The significance is that from the outset of their study the researchers identified only nine possible origin variants if Europeans used a coastal shipping point “to stand for a larger and more diverse assortment of peoples” thus limiting the historical possibility of the cultural heterogeneity of Barbados-bound African slaves.<sup>204</sup> While Eltis et al.’s study does not claim to represent ethnic origins, it is possible that embarkation points, similar to the misappropriation of Coromantee identity that will be discussed later in this chapter, could have been misinterpreted by slave traders to represent and classify multi-ethnic groups. The two hundred year English involvement in the Trade witnessed the embarkation of 433,336 slaves en route to Barbados with the successful delivery of 359,178 captives. The following table highlights slave distribution with respect to specific African slaving ports destined for Barbados:

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<sup>202</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>203</sup> Eltis et al., *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*, CD-ROM.

<sup>204</sup> See preceding footnotes.

Table 2.1 African Slaves Destined for Barbados by Embarkation Port<sup>205</sup>

<b>Region</b>	<b>Slaves</b>	<b>Percentage of Total Slaves</b>
Africa Unspecified	179,349	41.40
Bight of Biafra	65,211	15.00
Gold Coast	56,146	12.90
Bight of Benin	54,846	12.60
West-Central Africa	31,556	7.28
Senegambia	16,037	3.70
Windward Coast	14,024	3.23
Sierra Leone	9,708	2.24
South-East Africa	6,489	1.50

The identity and origin of over forty percent of total slaves shipped from African coastal regions were unidentifiable. The initial stages of the Barbadian Slave Trade, 1601-1700, highlighted a slight increase of Africans from the Bight of Benin followed closely by unspecified African regions.<sup>206</sup>

<sup>205</sup> The data from this table, and the following two, was collected from *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM*.

<sup>206</sup> Barbados was settled by the English in 1627 and the first major slave cargo was landed from *Marie Bonadventure* in 1644, captained by George Richardson. Ibid.

Table 2.2 African Slaves Destined for Barbados by Embarkation Port, 1601-1700

<b>Region</b>	<b>Slaves</b>	<b>Percentage of Total Slaves</b>
Bight of Benin	33,903	29.50
Africa Unspecified	30,604	26.60
Gold Coast	16,346	14.20
Bight of Biafra	14,422	12.60
West-Central Africa	8,683	7.56
South-East Africa	5,387	4.69
Senegambia	4,882	4.25
Sierra Leone	681	0.59

During the height of trade to the Island in 1770, 9,411 Africans were destined for transport. One must be aware of the addition of the Windward Coast as a slaving port. The following table outlines the twenty-five year period between 1751 and 1775:

Table 2.3 African Slaves Destined for Barbados by Embarkation Port, 1751-1775

<b>Region</b>	<b>Slaves</b>	<b>Percentage of Total Slaves</b>
Bight of Biafra	36,967	33.30
Africa Unspecified	25,807	23.30
Gold Coast	13,281	12.00
Windward Coast	10,717	9.66
Senegambia	8,111	7.31
West-Central Africa	7,606	6.86
Sierra Leone	5,626	5.07
Bight of Benin	2,666	2.40
South-East Africa	123	0.11

The above tables highlighted the diversity of West African embarkation ports and carelessly classified origins of African-Barbadians. Barbadian slave traders and planters arbitrarily homogenized and constructed the multi-ethnic, linguistic, and geographical backgrounds of Africans. This practice continued with the ethnic identities of African slaves. Handler and Large discussed that throughout the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Barbadian planters preferred slaves of the Gold Coast whom they described as Coromantees. They were “in general...looked upon to be the best for labour.”<sup>207</sup> A wealthy Barbadian planter circa the 1670s or 1680s noted that, “I have observed...the Caramantines, and Gold-Coast slaves, have always stood and proved best on my plantations.”<sup>208</sup> The seventeenth century idea of “Coromantee” and slave origins were consigned and fabricated identities as there was

<sup>207</sup> Handler & Large, 25. There are several different spellings for “Coromantee.”

<sup>208</sup> Ibid., 25-26

no identifiable proof to confirm the ethnic identity of African slaves if the only recorded evidence identifying slave origins was their embarkation port. Those involved in the Trade thus initiated an accepted practice of misappropriating African, African-American, and Black identity; no factual truth could confirm the specific ethnic and geographical origins of slaves destined for Barbadian plantations. African slaves were identified by the region from which they left for the Middle Passage and not by their homeland, ethnicity, or nation. Furthermore, throughout the seventeenth century, over one quarter of all African-Barbadians came from an unidentified African port of origin. This further supports the argument that the institution of slavery constructed the identity of Black Barbadians since slave traders used inaccurate generalized African regional descriptors as a means for logistical and accountable convenience. The diachronic social ramifications of the misrepresentation of Africans in the Americas did not inhibit the economically profitable Slave Trade and institution of slavery in Barbados. If the Coromantee was perceived to be a suitable and profitable plantation slave, all suitable and profitable plantation slaves became Coromantee. James Knight, a former slave who won his freedom in Scottish court, stated in 1742 that “The Gold Coast Negroes, though they generally go under the denomination of Cromantus, are of different Provinces or Clans; and not under the same Prince or Chief, nor do they speak the same language. Of these, the Coromantines, Fantuns, Shantus and Achims are mostly esteemed.”<sup>209</sup> Richard Hart argued in *Slaves Who Abolished Slavery: Volume II: Blacks in Rebellion* that there was no conclusive evidence of a distinct Coromantee “tribe”; it was a generalized region in which Africans of different ethnicities were bought, sold, and shipped to the Americas.<sup>210</sup> Slave traders and owners ascribed an ethnic identity that reflected desired personal and physical

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<sup>209</sup> Richard Hart, *Slaves Who Abolished Slavery: Volume II: Blacks in Rebellion* (Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research University of the West Indies, Mona, 1985), 8.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid.

characteristics. The previous tables highlighted that Africans, of different ethnic and linguistic origins, destined for Barbadian plantations embarked at various ports throughout the Continent; however, once in the Caribbean, a constructed and perceived generalization of African, and Black identity supplanted their true regional and ethnic origins. The African's physical deracination facilitated the ideological perception, construction, and ascription of their Black Barbadian identity.

The commodification of African-Barbadian Black identity began with the homogenization of African origins. Hart contended that by the mid-eighteenth century, most Black Africans in Barbados originated from what are present-day Ghana, Togo, Dahomey, western Nigeria, and the adjoining regions.<sup>211</sup> The evidence presented highlighted this area at the peak of African slave transports to Barbados between 1751 and 1775 as the Bight of Biafra at 33.30% of slave exports. However, it must be acknowledged that an unspecified region of African slave shipments followed closely at 23.30% of the total figures. Moreover, African imports over the course of the seventeenth century favoured the Bight of Benin at 29.50%, while unspecified African origins trailed by less than three percent at 26.60%. Seventeenth and eighteenth century Barbadian planters may have favoured Coromantee slaves from specified regions such as the Bight of Biafra or the Gold Coast, but conflicting and inconclusive evidence highlighted the inaccurate classification of African identity. Throughout the course of the Slave Trade, 41.40% of African slaves in Barbados held no recorded origin. Slave traders and plantation owners may have held the Coromantee in high esteem, or believed that their product was genuine "Coromantee," but no conclusive evidence

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<sup>211</sup> Handler & Large, 27.



validated their claims.<sup>212</sup> Furthermore, the Coromantee was not a homogenous African ethnicity. It included peoples such as the Adangme, Ashanti, Dahomeans and Ewe, Edo, Fanti, Ga, Ibibo, Ibo, and Yoruba.<sup>213</sup> White generalizations and codifications of the African-Barbadian began with the convenient classifications of a majority of African ethnic groups as Coromantee – preferred Barbadian slaves – followed by the Whydah, or Ouidah.<sup>214</sup> By the turn of the nineteenth century and the introduction of the Slave Registers, defining regional or ethnic variations ceased to exist; White Europeans normalized “African” as the identifier for Blacks originating from the ethnically diverse African continent. A critical assessment of Eltis and his colleagues’ work highlighted the possibility of nine slave African regional origins. Nine regions, which following the data revealed the presence of only nine different African ethnicities, or “types,” of Africans in Barbados. A near majority of Africans had no specified origins, nor identifiable ethnicity. Barbadian Black African origins were inconclusive and contrived; slave owners and traders ignorantly preferred “Coromantees” and “Gold-Coast slaves,” and subsequently classified and codified their property. As Handler and Large argued, slave traders and owners acknowledged the presence of African heterogeneity, but marginalized African identity for the expediency of an omnipresent and unified slave group. The custom facilitated the practice of White European consigned slave identities; it precipitated the ideology of negatively commodifying African-Barbadian slave and Black identity based on skin colour. This late eighteenth century Barbadian negative representation of African-Barbadians slaves was recorded by Scottish Abolitionist, William Dickson of Moffat, Dumfriesshire, the Private Secretary to the Honourable Edward Hay,

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<sup>212</sup> Slave owners may have indicated a preference for Coromantee slaves, but there is no conclusive evidence or proof to support whether all their slaves were in fact Coromantee or if who was being sold as “Coromantee” was actually the case.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid.

Governor of Barbados from 1783-1786, in his *Letters on Slavery*.<sup>215</sup> Dickson's *Letters on Slavery* set out to, "lay before the Public a free and impartial sketch of negro slavery as it now exists in the island of Barbados." He showed, "how it would be affected by the abolition of the slave-trade; and to prove by arguments, founded on *facts*, the natural equality of the natives of the immense continent of Africa to the rest of mankind."<sup>216</sup> Dickson

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<sup>215</sup> Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce befriended him for advocating the end of the Slave Trade. Dickson was described as, "the Thomas Clarkson of Scotland"; whilst Wilberforce believed he was, "indeed a most intelligent and worthy man." Marischal College, the University of Aberdeen, awarded Dickson a Honorary Law Doctorate (LLD) in 1792. The University designated Dickson as, "the author of Letters on Slavery." William Dickson, *Letters on Slavery* (London: Printed and Sold by J. Philips, George-Yard, Lombard-Street, and sold by J. Johnson, St. Paul's Church-Yard, and Elliot and Kay, Opposite Somerset Place, Strand,) 1789. "Scotland and the Slave Trade: 2007 Bicentenary of the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act" *The Scottish Government*, <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/publications/2007/03/23121622/7>, [accessed August 20, 2012].

<sup>216</sup> Dickson, iii. The *Letters* were written to Sir James Johnstone of Elphinstone and Westerhall, a Member of Parliament for the Burgh of Dumfries, the same constituency in which Dickson was born. The author formulated his work through the use of firsthand accounts and local newspaper reports. Iain Whyte, *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery, 1756-1838* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 115 & 116. In 1788, the London Committee hesitated in publishing his *Letters on Slavery*, and sent to inform Dickson that "although the Committee consider his manuscript to contain much useful matter yet without it will be agreeable to him to submit to their alteration, they wish to decline printing it." Abolitionist printer, James Phillips, later published the *Letters* in 1789. The editor noted, with respect to Dickson's views and work, "The author has aimed at perspicuity, but he pretends not to be strict to technical propriety... The imperfection of the remarks he has made on the slave-laws may induce some humane and able gentlemen of the law... to review the negro codes, and to point-out their numerous defects and their general inefficiencies." Dickson created a dialogue about what he perceived as the atrocities of the Slave Trade and the institution of slavery. His emotive, empathetic, and cathartic verbosity was a means to engage the reader and evoke sympathy for the enslaved in Barbados and throughout the British West Indian slave colonies. Whyte, 115. "The Committee" – The Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade; *Ibid.*, x.

The *Letters* contained, "a philosophical attack on slavery drawn from the example of Barbados." Iain Whyte noted that Dickson, "struggled between his anger at the conditions he knows so well and an attempt to avoid personal prejudice." Whyte argued that Dickson pleaded for the recognition and amelioration of "the danger of abuse of the absolute power masters held over their slaves, a danger made inevitable by what he perceived to be sinful human nature." Dickson employed detailed descriptions of "the arbitrary floggings, mutilation, torture and sadistic killings of slaves," and believed slavery was the "virtual murder" of African and African-American slaves, "by hunger, severity and oppression." Nevertheless, Dickson was cognizant of the recalcitrant nature of those in favour of West Indian slavery and the Slave Trade. He wrote for an audience that found the brutality of the institution of slavery "perfectly agreeable." Dickson rebuked, "I shall not be at all surprised if *certain readers*, unable to explain away facts... should affect to represent these letters as the mere effusions of a heated imagination, and the writer as an intemperate zealot," and eschewed arguments of those who believed "an abhorrence of slavery implied a love of anarchy." The author contended, contextualized personal – or chattel – slavery in Barbados was, "the very negation of law and morality." Whyte, 116; Dickson, ix.

Despite his supposed opposition to West Indian plantocracies, Dickson did not wish for an altruistic end to Barbadian slave society. He stated, "I scruple not to reprobate slavery, both in its consummately absurd principle, and in its too general practice". He praised several Barbadian residents and believed them to be, "persons of worth and humanity in the West Indies. Barbados, in particular." Dickson, v.

questioned late eighteenth century ideological views of “Black,” “Blackness,” and White superiority in Barbados based on the biological “fact” of colour. With respect to ideas of White supremacy and Black inferiority, Dickson wrote in Letter IX of his *Letters on Slavery*: “I call colour (the principal difference in the varieties of men) a very equivocal mark of superiority.” He continued, “The white man reasons thus, The negro’s *colour* is different from mine, *ergo* I am naturally *superior* to the negro (author’s emphasis).” Followed by, “May not a copper-coloured man, or a *black* man thus demonstrate the natural superiority of men of *his* own colour, to all others (author’s emphasis)?”<sup>217</sup> Dickson did not accept that the idea of skin colour could be the irrefutable mark of superiority or inferiority. The late eighteenth century abolitionist challenged the irrational logic behind White superiority. He wrote, “Philosophers...have gravely reasoned on phoenomena [sic] which never were ascertained or which never existed, and have perplexed the world with systems useless and incongruous in themselves, contradictory to one another,” towards an “injured race of men.”<sup>218</sup> With similar unproven, illogical, and fallacious arguments, Dickson argued Africans and Blacks – theoretically – had the right to discriminate against Whites due to their light skin tones. The institution of chattel slavery, the Slave Trade, and African colonization disproved the aforementioned theory, and Dickson’s argument, but the sentiment must not be dismissed. White superiority was not an irrefutable fact.

Dickson showed that discrimination based on one’s Blackness and black skin colour was flawed and he challenged the arbitrary nature of associating colour and ideas of virtue. He stated, “The ideas of intellect and of colour have a mutual dependence in minds which

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One may argue that Dickson’s reluctance to admonish Barbadian society and its influential British citizens and denizens was political: the author attempted to condemn the barbarous nature of the institution to garner support for the abolition of the Slave Trade and the institution of slavery, and push for racial equality in Barbados and throughout British West Indian colonies.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid., iii.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid., Dickson, iii & iv.

pretend to be superior to that of our black philosopher – The whites paint the devil black, and the negroes paint him white; but do such chimeras prove the devil to be either black or white?” He continued, “A man may associate his idea of *blackness* with his idea of the devil, or with his idea of *stupidity*, or with any other of his ideas he thinks proper; but he ought not to reason from such arbitrary associations.”<sup>219</sup> Arbitrary reasoning created the ideological justifications for the debasement of Black peoples, and the degradation through the creation of Black identity. Dickson concluded: “...And, if it appear, that there is no *connection* or *relation* of any kind whatever, between ideas which, some prejudiced, and weak minds have absurdly, unaccountably and unphilosophically [sic] *associated*; how, in the name of common sense, is it possible to infer the one from the other?”<sup>220</sup> The author qualified the absurd nature of ideological manifestations of eighteenth and early nineteenth bigotry. Respect for laws, morals, and human decency, did not apply to Africans and those of African descent in Barbados and throughout the Americas. Blacks were legislated to a position of subaltern servitude; a belief held throughout the British Empire and its ties to the Black Atlantic, the liberal racial order, liberalism, and Western political thought discussed earlier in this chapter. Dickson’s work captured the peculiar, inconsistent, and hypocritical nature in which some – and the author was clear to praise the decent and moral residents of the Island – White Barbadians conveniently aided in the “virtual murder” of Blacks.

White hegemonic power facilitated the marginalization of Black Barbadians. What must be acknowledged is that the misappropriation of African-Barbadian and Black West Indian identity crossed geographical and generational boundaries. The British liberal racial order, firmly rooted in Canada and the West Indies, empowered White supremacy allowing

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<sup>219</sup> Ibid., 62.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid., 63.

them the right to exclude People of Colour from British North America and the Canadian nation-state. This chapter argued that the careless misrepresentation and generalization of African and Black identity in Barbados was representative of anti-Black sentiment throughout the British Empire in the Americas. However, one's black skin tone should not have equated to one's socio-economic position in society, but historically, this proved to be false. Colonial British North America and Canada's liberal racial order and anti-Black liberal ideology were the foundations for the common British West Indian negative perceptions of Blacks and Black Barbadians. White nativism also allowed the state to perpetuate exclusionary immigration policies based on racial characteristics throughout Canadian history. Historians including Afua Cooper, Karolyn Smardz Frost, Adrienne Shadd, Barrington Walker, James W. St. G Walker, Harvey Amani Whitfield, and Robin Winks have all contributed to the history of Canada's anti-Black sentiment since the seventeenth century.<sup>221</sup> This chapter set out to explain Black identity formation in Barbados and this dissertation positions how Black Barbadians challenged an established British liberal racial order in Canada. It provides a foundation to understand the historical mechanisms that created and facilitated the misappropriation of Black Barbadian identity and subsequently how during the mid-twentieth century Canada continued to discriminate against British subjects in the same fashion they did Black Loyalists in the late eighteenth century, Black refugees during the mid-nineteenth century, and Black American settlers in the West at the turn of the twentieth century. Canadian anti-Black immigration policy worked within the fabricated concept of "Black" identity and the ideological process of codifying Blackness which began prior to the generalization of African origins during the Transatlantic Slave Trade. Whites discriminated against all Blacks, but Blacks attempted to distance themselves

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<sup>221</sup> See Chapter One for further information.

from their “Black” identity. The theme throughout the following chapters is that Black Barbadians fought for recognition as worthy and deserving immigrants that could, and did, contribute to Canadian nation-building. This process is highlighted by an examination of female Emigrant Ambassadors profiled in Chapter Five. These women deconstructed gendered, racialized, and class-based immigrant categories and challenged White Canadian perceptions of Black identity in households throughout the country.

### **Black Barbadian Colonial Identity**

To further understand the position of Black Barbadians in the international migration system during the mid-twentieth century, it is important to contextualize their status, and more importantly their identity, as British colonial citizens. As Gorman wrote in *Imperial Citizenship: Empire and the Question of Belonging*, there were “vast discrepancies in the benefits and the status of different classes of [British] citizens.” The author maintained a particular focus on the development of the ideological principles of common British imperial citizenship between 1895 and 1920.<sup>222</sup> Despite the belief and teaching of a common British identity, not all British imperial citizens were created equally; colour, colonial status, and geography determined one’s relationship to the metropole. However, the late nineteenth and early twentieth century British social imperialist and philanthropist, Thomas Sedgwick, argued that movement throughout the Empire facilitated and consolidated a common imperial identity.<sup>223</sup> Sedgwick stated that to “move from Britain to New Zealand was no different from moving from Cornwall to Cumberland.”<sup>224</sup> What is important to this chapter

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<sup>222</sup> Gorman, 4.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, 179 & 185.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*

and this dissertation is that Sedgwick qualified this argument by stating that this common imperial identity was restricted to Anglo-Saxon imperial citizenship in British settlement colonies.<sup>225</sup> Gorman argued that Canada attempted to balance the racialized exclusion of fellow British imperial citizens; however, Canadian nationalist and racist attitudes prevailed and non-Whites, particularly Chinese “members of the Empire” were indiscriminately excluded.<sup>226</sup> The differential treatment of non-White British imperial citizens and their “racial exclusion without naming race” was exemplified by the “inconsistency in one of the putative principles of imperial citizenship – equal treatment of British subjects under the law,” through the exclusion of Indian passengers in 1914 on the *Komagata Maru*.<sup>227</sup> As British subjects, Indians had the right to intra-imperial movement; however, racialized Canadian liberal and colonial nationalism circumvented imperial citizenship and British colonial commonalities.<sup>228</sup> As a case study of Black Barbadians, this section will highlight that non-White colonial peoples were taught to believe they were British and were rightfully entitled to the privileges of other White British colonial peoples. Nevertheless, their imperial citizenship outside of the Island and the West Indies was validated and authenticated by their skin colour.

In John Western’s *A Passage to England: Barbadian Londoners Speak of Home*, Barbadians who immigrated to the United Kingdom during the mid-twentieth century spoke of their British identity. Western stated that “of all the formerly British Caribbean islands, none is more British than Barbados. Both Barbadians and non-Barbadian West Indians will tell you this, though likely with rather different imputations: the Barbadians with pride and

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<sup>225</sup> Ibid., 186.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid., 167.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid., 161.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid.

satisfaction, the others with mirth and exasperation.”<sup>229</sup> This may have contributed to the sense that Barbadians believed themselves to be “exceptional” or simply “different” from other West Indians as they could exceed qualifications of such exclusionary immigration regulations as the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* of 1962 which will be discussed later in this dissertation. Western argued that the Barbadians in his study, “formerly pretty representative of a wider collectivity of Afro-Caribbeans, have with the passage of time become an above-average group.”<sup>230</sup> Frank Springer who migrated to the United Kingdom in the 1950s said that Barbadians have “a completely different set of values [from other West Indians], different dispositions, different interests and enthusiasms,” and that Jamaicans “are a completely different breed of West Indians.”<sup>231</sup>

Western stated that not only did the English differentiate between Barbadians and other West Indians; the Barbadians he interviewed openly stereotyped other West Indians. Barbadians referred to the “small-islanders” of the Windward and Leeward Islands as “country cousins” and that Barbados provided their teachers, priests and police in the “old days.”<sup>232</sup> One interviewee admitted that “Trinidadians are mercurial, we’re historically prior (and thereby superior) to them because we peopled Trinidad and Guyana significantly, *and* (author’s emphasis) they’re mixed with Indians down there too. And Jamaicans are, well...Jamaicans!”<sup>233</sup> Tony Gill, an employee of British Rail at the time of Western’s study, also expressed his “consciousness of Barbadian superiority,” and argued that Barbadians not only settled Guyana and Trinidad, but as a result of the “good education in Barbados” there

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<sup>229</sup> John Western, *A Passage to England: Barbadian Londoners Speak of Home* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 22.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*, 87.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*, 198.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.* The “and thereby superior” is the author’s note.



were Barbadian teachers throughout the Caribbean teaching other British colonial subjects.<sup>234</sup>

This migrant-generation Barbados “chauvinism” and “Little England” British identity was validated by an English traveler named Quentin Crowe. Crowe wrote:

I was not sorry to go. The island was the most English we had seen and although the people, for the most part, were far better off than those on other islands, it distressed me that so many of our worst traits had survived so vigourously. The colour bar, the pomposity of asking people to wear [tuxedos] for Christmas and what they call Old Year’s Night, the general philistinism.

It is a smug and snobbish island... so [pious] an island.

Barbadian “Englishness” and their unique West Indian-British identity were also exemplified in the following exchange between Western and a successful Barbadian businessman during the 1950s:

“You must appreciate the Englishness of the Barbadian. That’s why we can love the English despite the hassles. We are what we are.”

“But it was forced on you against your will originally,” [Western] said; “yet are you saying it *is* you now?”

“Of course...We’re us. What do you want us to be? Spaniards? French? No. Why should we change? Nobody’s going to force us to change again, oh no...”<sup>235</sup>

Audley Simmons, a former employee of London Transport recalled that Barbadians were “brought up so English. When we got here [London, England], I was amazed in the cinema at the end of the film, we were the only ones who stood still for the playing of ‘God Save the Queen.’ Everyone else was rushing for the exits!”<sup>236</sup> Barbadian Londoner Gladstone Codrington, a high-ranking British official revealed why Barbadians assimilated well to English society. He stated that “*Barbados is a more conservative society than England*

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<sup>234</sup> Ibid., 199.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid., 28.

(author's emphasis).<sup>237</sup> D'Arcy Holder, a former London Transport employee asserted that she could recall all three verses of the British national anthem. She also pinpointed Barbados' diplomatic watershed moment at the beginning of the Second World War that internationally recognized the West Indian island as "Little England." The Barbados legislature had sent a telegram to Neville Chamberlain on September 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1939 that stated, "Stand firm, England; Barbados is behind you."<sup>238</sup>

Upon their arrival in London during the late 1950s and early 1960s, Barbadians were confronted by their idea of "Englishness" and their own British identity. In a revealing letter to Western, Springer wrote:

I always had this desire to go to England, "the omnipotent Mother Country." The land of my great heroes like Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord Nelson, Robin Hood, Sherlock Holmes, The Saint, Sexton Blake, D.H. Lawrence, Charles Dickens, Shakespeare, G.B. Shaw.

England to me was the land of wit, intelligence and the sophistication of Noël Coward.

Little did I know that fact and fiction were two different ball games. The England that I encountered was more Dickensian. They were nothing romantic about the cold chilling winds, the dense fog, and the endless row of ugly building with a conformity of chimney stacks continuously belching out black smoke. None of this endeared me to the rather charmless country that I first encountered.<sup>239</sup>

Springer was quite startled by this first encountered with his "fictitious" and ideological home. The "omnipotent Mother Country" was an idea that he, and arguably most Barbadians, had of England. This was not a result of ambivalent ignorance, but due to what Springer and other British colonial subjects were taught to believe. This differential attitude of the Barbadian British colonial Self and subjected English identity was also expressed by Simmons. She stated, "We're different from the English working class. They're not

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<sup>237</sup> Ibid., 200.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid., 56.

interested in bettering themselves. They just want food and steady wages. If I started as a worker I'd want my child to work hard at school and become a teacher, and *his* child to be a professional, a lawyer or a doctor.”<sup>240</sup> Her comments highlighted the Barbadian emigrant's ambition and most importantly she represented the Barbadian desire for social mobility through generational status.

The Black Barbadian in England during the 1950s and early 1960s did not wish to overthrow an oppressive system and society, but work and fit within it. One may argue that Black Barbadians simply wanted to be recognized by their British identity and not their skin colour or colonial status. Western argued that Barbadians were “prepared to be members of a small minority among white neighbours, for as they (Black Barbadians) rationalize it, this is a white country.”<sup>241</sup> The author focused on their individual autonomy and that they left for England “as individuals, for themselves (and perhaps for their immediate family members, yes), individuals who wanted to get on in the world.”<sup>242</sup>

Unlike Western's focus on the “fictitious” or “real” British identity of Barbadians upon their arrival and settlement in London, England, Austin Clarke's *Growing Up Stupid Under the Union Jack: A Memoir*, focused on his life in Barbados and his upbringing in the British education system as a British colonial subject. Austin Ardinel Chesterfield Clarke was born on July 26<sup>th</sup>, 1932 and emigrated to Canada in 1955. He and Reginald Eric Taylor grew up in the same area and attended St. Matthias Boys' Elementary School during the 1930s and 1940s.<sup>243</sup> The pursuit of education to escape poverty was central to both of their respective childhoods.

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<sup>240</sup> Ibid., 139-140.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid., 160.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid.

<sup>243</sup> *Some Barbadian Canadians: A Biographical Dictionary* (Ottawa: The High Commission for Barbados to Canada, 2010), 55.

Taylor's life was not one of privilege or of status. He grew up in one of the many early to mid-twentieth century segregated Barbadian neighbourhoods and started school at the early age of three in 1939 since his mother worked as a domestic servant. His father alternated between careers as a painter and carpenter and he and his family lived in, and owned, their own home, but his parents were among the poorest. Taylor attended the open concept St. Matthias Boys' school where students were assigned to classes according to their ability and not age. Unfortunately, the introduction of age grouping by the Barbadian Government in 1945 devastated school enrollment; students were forced to leave elementary school once they reached the age of fourteen. By the age of twelve, Taylor left St. Matthias Boys' school in search of employment. His parents wanted him to attend secondary school, but were unable to pay the necessary school fees. Between the ages of twelve and twenty he acquired two unpaid apprenticeships in carpentry and auto mechanics and several short term paying jobs including work as a painter.<sup>244</sup>

At twenty, Taylor found work at Barbados' Central Foundry's Diesel Department and worked on the engines of fishing boats. He earned the meager starting salary of \$13.50 a week. By 1960, news reached him and his colleagues at Central Foundry that the Barbadian Government was actively recruiting persons interested in accepting work in England at a salary considerably higher than they currently received. This included work for British Rail, hospitals, restaurants, and London Transport, both on the buses and underground on the subway trains. Taylor was recruited and set sail for Southampton, England, January 28<sup>th</sup>, 1960 on the French Liner, *SS Colombie*, and arrived February 8<sup>th</sup>, 1960. While in England he earned his qualifications in mechanical engineering, and continued his emigrant journey to Canada where he settled in 1967. Taylor's love for education and his industrious

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<sup>244</sup> Reginald Eric Taylor, "Education is the Key: My Life, My Story" (unpublished memoir, 2010).

perseverance led to an undergraduate degree and Master's in Education at the University of Toronto, all while working fulltime as an educator in the Peel District School Board. This was from a man who left school at twelve years old.<sup>245</sup>

As a Black Barbadian student Clarke recalled that to grow up and become a civil servant was beyond his “wild dreams”; it was a mark of privilege and progress to be dressed “like the white Colonial officers who ruled and ran [Barbados].”<sup>246</sup> Clarke’s colonial mentality and allegiance to the Crown as a British subject went beyond his education. Similar to Holder’s comments, the Second World War solidified young Barbadians’ British identity. Clarke remembered, “And now the Germans were ruling these same waters and waves, and killing fathers, brothers and uncles from our village. And as black Britons we wanted to do something about it.”<sup>247</sup> Clarke also reiterated the watershed moment that forever identified Barbados as “Little England” when the Barbadian legislature, specifically Sir Grantley Herbert Adams, founder of the Barbados Labour Party (BLP) told Chamberlain and King George VI, “Go on, England, Little England is behind you.”<sup>248</sup> Clarke confirmed this moment with his and other Barbadian’s seemingly unwanted colonial British identity and wrote: “We were English. The allegiance and patriotism that our leader, Mr. Grantley Adams, had imprisoned us with had been cabled to the Colonial Office in London. We were the English of Little England. Little black Englishmen.”<sup>249</sup>

Their “English education” remained the defining feature of Clarke’s and many young Barbadian’s colonial British identity. Clarke’s mother epitomized the reverence for

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<sup>245</sup> Ibid.

<sup>246</sup> Austin Clarke, *Growing Up Stupid Under the Union Jack: A Memoir* (Toronto: Thomas Allen Publishers, 2005), 3.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid., 43. Clarke also stated that approximately 300-400 males volunteered to serve with the Barbados Volunteer Force. Ibid., 42. See the following chapter for more on Sir Grantley Adams and the Barbadian Government during this period.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid., 56.

education – albeit a colonial education – in Barbados. Clarke remembered that his mother told him: “You must learn, son. You hear me? Learn. Learning is next to godliness.”<sup>250</sup> However, one of the several issues that Clarke experienced with his English education was that he and his Black Barbadian peers at Combermere School for Boys were taught that the best things came from and were made by the English. Not only were Barbadians taught in schools that England was the epitome of civilization, Clarke and his colleagues were taught “nothing” about Barbados.<sup>251</sup> He wrote: “we learned about the Battle of Hastings; the Battle of Bannockburn; about Kings who lost their heads; about Kings who kept their heads; and about Kings whose wives lost theirs...I knew *all* (author’s emphasis) about the Kings; the Tudors, Stuarts and Plantagenets; and the Wars of the Roses; but nothing was taught about Barbados.”<sup>252</sup> Moreover, the author and his fellow Combermerians were taught by English school masters to act superior and discriminate against fellow Barbadians since they were educated in and expected to perpetuate British class attitudes. He recalled that “we lived in Barbados, but we studied English society and manners,” and that he was “more at ease in England, the Mother Country, than in Barbados.”<sup>253</sup> Clarke stated how *his* British history shaped his British identity: “I just loved and cherished my past in the *History of England* book. I did not use it as a stepping stone to the Civil Service or the Department of Sanitary Inspection. I decided instead to live it, to make it a part of me.”<sup>254</sup> Using Clarke and the Barbadian Londoners as a case study, one can argue that Black Barbadians did believe themselves to be British. One may dispute the subjectivity of oral or autobiographical

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<sup>250</sup> Ibid., 37.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid., 54 & 80. Combermere School was a Second Grade School (or second tier as opposed to First Grade Harrison College) in Barbados for middle- and lower-middle class boys. Ibid., 3. See Chapter Three and Appendix B for more on education in Barbados and its First Grade Schools.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid., 80.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid., 56 & 80.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid., 81.

history; however, it is difficult to undermine Clarke's account that the curriculum taught British history. I argue that similar to Clarke, most Barbadian children adopted British history as their own. More importantly, this section has highlighted that Barbadians did not simply adopt a British identity since it was the only identity they knew and were taught in schools; they had a British *habitus*. One can argue that the only difference between the British of "Little England" and the British in the "Mother Country" was their skin colour.

This chapter has provided the theoretical framework to contextualize the historical Black Barbadian and how their socially constructed identity contributed to anti-Black Canadian immigration policies. White Canadians shared the British constructed liberal racial order and subsequently its negative perceptions of Blacks and Black Barbadians. Similar to the presence of climate discrimination in Canadian immigration, which will be discussed later in Chapter Four, Canada used fallacious and constructed stereotypes of Black Barbadians and West Indians as reasonable means of exclusion. This Canadian belief of Black inferiority, which paralleled the negative construction of African-Barbadian identity presented in this chapter, dictated their anti-Black and anti-Black Barbadian immigration policy. The following chapters of this dissertation, particularly Chapters Four and Five, present historical evidence that Canadian officials arbitrarily excluded Black Barbadians and Black West Indians simply due to the fact that they perceived them to be unfit for Canadian society.

Black inferiority was supported by the belief of White superiority. Cecily Jones revealed that in a 1675 speech to the Barbadian General Assembly, Sir Jonathan Atkins, the Governor of Barbados, "echoed the common view that 'God and Nature' had designated

black people as naturally fit for enslavement, and whites to be their natural masters.”<sup>255</sup>

Atkins and the Barbadian General Assembly passed an ideological fallacy as law and irrefutable fact. The plantocracy achieved hegemony over their African subjects once the entire White Barbadian community, “could be drawn into the white ideological, cultural and social domain, which confronted the mass of enslaved blacks with their inferiority.”<sup>256</sup>

Mobilizing White hegemonic power operated throughout geographical time and space.

Historical and geographical boundaries must be challenged to understand the diachronic nature of racialization. The historiography on race and anti-Black racism in Canada rarely examines the ideological roots of identity construction and the ascription of negative codifiers that dictate institutional and personal discrimination; we must historicize race. This negation normalizes Whites and Canadian Whiteness and assumes that all “non-Whites” or Coloured people are excluded – physically and ideologically – simply because the British liberal racial order defined difference as inferior. While nationalist primordial attachment did play a significant role in Canadian xenophobia. The Slave Trade, the institution of slavery and colonialism throughout the Americas, constructed the Black African as a picayune pejorative stereotype; an individual and collective that should be hidden, excluded, and dominated by White hegemonic power. Moreover, the Black Barbadian’s colour superseded her or his British identity. The historiography on Canadian immigration must examine the concept of the undesirable and homogenized non-White immigrant – in this case the Black Barbadian – in conjunction with the construction of Whiteness and the concept of a “White Canada” that dictated immigration policy up to 1962.

This chapter addressed the construction and White perceptions of African-Barbadian

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<sup>255</sup> Cecily Jones, *Engendering Whiteness: White Women and Colonialism in Barbados and North Carolina, 1627-1865* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 24.

<sup>256</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.



identity as the premise of the dissertation is to use race as one of the organizing principles that influenced migration; however, one must acknowledge co-dependent binary identities. As White slave traders generalized the heterogeneity of people from the African continent, they simultaneously created the White race to perpetuate the inequality of phenotypic difference to maintain hegemonic rule in society. During the early twentieth century, race continued to authenticate imperial citizenship as a means to maintain socially and politically constructed White nationalist sentiments. Early to mid-twentieth century Canadian immigration policy was a manifestation of the state's need to maintain White hegemonic rule by the exclusion of all Blacks and Coloured people; individuals that could, and did, challenge the fallacy of White "natural" supremacy. Barbadian Emigrant Ambassadors and the Autonomous Bajan were the antithesis of Canadian perceptions of ideological Black identity and forced Canadian policymakers and the public to redefine the historical negativity assigned to Black Barbadians and West Indians. The following chapter, "The Agency and Culture of Movement," challenges Black inferiority stereotypes and argues that through Barbadian Government initiatives, the pursuit of education and upward social mobility through academic success became Barbadian cultural characteristics. This provides a foundation that uplifts and redefines Barbadian collective migration agency. No longer can one accept that Barbadians simply left the island because of an ancestral forced migration *habitus*; late nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth century Barbadian emigration was a deliberate movement supported and encouraged by the Island's government.

### Chapter Three:

#### **The Agency and Culture of Movement: Barbadian Emigration Push Factors**

*Any suggestion that Caribbean migration can somehow be characterised as uncoordinated and essentially chaotic, has to be firmly rejected.*

Robert B. Potter, 2005<sup>257</sup>

The sending country's social, economic, and political factors associated in the historical international migration paradigm is often overlooked, negated, and deemed insignificant. With respect to Canadian immigration historiography and immigrants from so-called "less developed" countries, the "pull" takes precedence over the "push" and their motives are either ignored or grossly oversimplified. This aspect marginalizes the agency within the individual's choice to emigrate and creates a hegemonic power structure dominated by the receiving state. Canadian immigration studies must incorporate transnational congruencies and host country sensitivities. The following questions must be asked when studying present day and historical migrations: why would people leave, for what reasons and under what circumstances? Favourable conditions within the host country do not simply present a magnet for emigration, nor would one arbitrarily leave the known for the unknown and a possibly precarious socio-economic standing within a new state. Transnational migration is an uncertain life-changing event, whereby the emigrant's identity, agency, and autonomy are challenged through institutionalized structures that both hinder and promote integration. Studies of Canadian immigration must contextualize and create specific frameworks for individual immigrant groups, and examine the environments which they left. The social, economic, political, and personal determinants, as well as the procurement of the necessary

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<sup>257</sup> Robert B. Potter, "The Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Second Generation Return Migrants to St. Lucia and Barbados," in *The Experience of Return Migration: Caribbean Perspectives*, eds. Robert B. Potter, Dennis Conway, Joan Phillips (Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), 27.

cultural, social, and educational capital needed for international migration must be assessed. Studies should also analyze how the sending country prepares its citizens and enables avenues necessary for emigration.

This chapter begins with an introduction to the political history of the Barbadian Government during the 1930s to 1960s. This is needed to contextualize the political environment that facilitated the emigration of Barbadians during the post-war period. This is followed by a thorough discussion of the Barbadian education system from the late 1920s to the early 1960s. Education in Barbados was at a premium and revered by both its government and its citizens. Education was the foundation for socio-economic mobility and the Barbadian Government instituted several policies to ensure access to education for all Barbadian youth during this period. The chapter underscores the Government's overwhelming support for education, its financing of elementary and secondary school studies, as well as its support for students willing to partake in post-secondary education overseas through scholarships and bursaries. The framework is provided for the study's argument that a highly educated population in an overpopulated British West Indian colony created avenues for social mobility abroad. Along with its power to deconstruct stereotypes of Blackness, educational capital was a means for emigration. The Government supported the education of its citizens under the premise that they would contribute to the betterment of their country as individuals and as a collective. However, with limited opportunities on the Island, most Barbadians used their education capital as a means to emigrate. A thorough examination of the history of Barbadian emigration follows the section on education. The chapter primarily focuses on the political nature, including legislated acts, of early emigration and the Barbadian colonial government's decrees for assisted, or sponsored, emigration. The historical documents reveal the Government's late nineteenth and early twentieth century

unequivocal support for emigration as a means to alleviate the burden of overpopulation and of unemployment. The Barbadian Government regulated the emigration of its population and pursued avenues to settle and create labour colonies in other West Indian islands. The chapter highlights Barbadian emigration to the United States during and immediately following the Second World War, and the mass exodus to aid the post-war British reconstruction effort. It examines the recruitment and selection process for potential migrants destined for the United Kingdom, including the initiation of the British Domestic Workers Scheme. The political nature of British migration is paramount in understanding Canada's acceptance of Black West Indian and Barbadian migrants. Canada modeled its Domestic Scheme after that of Britain, and the United Kingdom's *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* of 1962 directly influenced Canada's decision to de-racialize its immigration system that same year. Britain pressured its former North American colony to open its doors to Barbadians as well as People of Colour from other Commonwealth states. The chapter concludes with an examination of the positive and negative implications of emigration in Barbados on the eve of its colonial independence, November 30<sup>th</sup>, 1966.

### **The Rise of Black Barbadian Democracy, 1938-1966**

Late nineteenth century Barbadian politicians were described as the “proudest aristocracy in the Caribbean.”<sup>258</sup> Local Black politicians in the early and mid-twentieth century fought to deconstruct the oppressive oligarchy of White male rulers. Sir Grantley Adams, the Oxford trained “gradualist liberal reformer” lawyer and arguably one of Barbados’ and the

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<sup>258</sup> F.A. Hoyos, *The Rise of West Indian Democracy: The Life & Times of Sir Grantley Adams* (Barbados: Advocate Press, 1963), 8.

Caribbean's most prominent and accomplished politicians spearheaded the launch of the Barbados Labour Party (BLP) in October 1938. The leaders "set about the task of forming an organisation to lead and represent working-class opinion."<sup>259</sup> The BLP, later to be known as the Barbados Progressive League, and finally reverting back to its original name, was "a political organisation designed to 'provide political expression for the island's law-abiding inhabitants'."<sup>260</sup> The BLP was a "middle-class-led organisation vying for a mass base in order to confront and eventually reduce the oligarchal political power of the consolidated merchant-planter elite."<sup>261</sup> Through gradual reforms, the Barbados Progressive League and Adams argued it was in the best interest of the ruling class elite in the long run to grant concessions to the working class. The BLP's official slogan – "Three units, one arm: raising the living standards for the working class" – explicitly summarized its defense of the working class.<sup>262</sup>

Adams and the BLP fought for universal voting rights. With the implementation of the 1943 *Representation of the People Act*, "the number of persons now able to vote increased by some 510 per cent, and women, for the first time in the colony's history, got the franchise."<sup>263</sup> By 1950, Adams and the BLP gained the majority in the House of Assembly and pushed for adult suffrage. The BLP backed bill passed, and in April 1950, "property or income requirements for both voting and House membership were removed."<sup>264</sup> The Barbados Labour Party represented the catalyst for voting amendments and full representation of Barbadian colonial citizens. Enfranchisement precipitated political

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<sup>259</sup> Hilary Beckles, *A History of Barbados: From Amerindian settlement to nation-state* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 170.

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*, 171.

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*, 175.

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*, 178.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*, 185-186.

independence. February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1954, Barbados earned a full ministerial government, where “a semi-cabinet system was put into operation...and the Governor was bound to accept policy decisions made by ministers. As far as Adams was concerned, the island was now enjoying a practical degree of internal self-government.”<sup>265</sup> The Black working classes during the 1950s now had a democratic voice within a gradually reforming colonial parliamentary system. Barbadian political culture on the eve of independence in 1966, and during the period which many of the emigrants represented by this study left the Island, was one of class and labour reforms and equality for all citizens.

Fractures within the Barbados Labour Party during the 1950s problematized the class-based, and consequently race-based, nature of Barbadian labour-centric politics. By 1952, Errol Barrow, a fellow BLP member, “was reported as making frequent critical comments on Adams’ conservatism and illustrating that he had the intellectual capacity and stamina to cope with Adams’ assaults.”<sup>266</sup> Irreparable differences led to the creation of Barrow’s Democratic Labour Party (DLP) on April 27<sup>th</sup>, 1955. The DLP was “the long-awaited organisation to counter Adams’ growing conservatism and softness on the colonial question.”<sup>267</sup> The DLP represented the Black working class and the Black middle class, and the party was favoured by the urban youth. On December 5<sup>th</sup>, 1961, precipitated in part by the impending collapse of the West Indies Federation, the DLP “took the Barbados Labour Party out of office with a clean sweep.”<sup>268</sup> In 1965, following yet another failed attempt of West Indian political unity with the “Little Eight” federation of the Leeward and Windward Islands, Barrow pushed for total Barbadian autonomy and independence. His leadership during the early 1960s focused on development through foreign investment and free

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<sup>265</sup> Ibid., 189.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid., 190.

<sup>267</sup> Ibid., 193. The DLP’s campaign was “socialist” in theory.

<sup>268</sup> Ibid., 195. See Chapter Four for more on the West Indies Federation.

secondary education for all Barbadians.<sup>269</sup> The DLP's "commitment to the educational development of the population improved considerably the government's image, locally and overseas."<sup>270</sup> Several features characterized Barbadian politics and its political culture on the eve of colonial independence in 1966. These included: autonomy and development through class-based social reforms; a reinterpretation of Blackness, Black self-rule, and Black Power; and education.<sup>271</sup> Hilary McD. Beckles postulated:

The black community certainly appeared more confident in its expression of its hitherto stultified nationalist sentiments. The rapidly expanding professional black middle classes in particular, became the advocates of a revived radical political ideology that demanded the imposition of government pressure upon the white corporate elite in order to liberalise employment policies. In addition, black power activists urged government to use its fiscal and legislative power in order to democratisise the ownership of economic resources.<sup>272</sup>

A political culture characterized by Black conservatism within socio-economic and race-based reforms marked Barbadian political and racial stability as opposed to the respective turmoil of Jamaica and Trinidad of the 1960s.<sup>273</sup> Despite its progressive race consciousness, the DLP "remained cautious on the question of white economic and racial domination in

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<sup>269</sup> Free secondary education for all Barbadians was achieved in 1962 and a Barbados (Cave Hill) campus of the University of the West Indies was opened in October 1963. The DLP's also included numerous social reforms and advances in development. The Government focused on the industrialization model as opposed to the failing and outdated persistent plantation economy. The DLP moved towards tourism as a major industry and away from a sugar economy. Ibid., 199-200.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid., 197.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid., 190, 193, 195, 197, 199 & 200.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid., 201.

<sup>273</sup> Peter Blair Henry & Conrad Miller, "Macroeconomic Narratives From Africa and the Diaspora: Institutions versus Policies: A Tale of Two Islands," *American Economic Review: Papers and Proceedings* 99 (2009): 261-267. For more on Jamaican and Trinidadian politics during the 1960s, see Anton L. Allahar, *Caribbean Charisma: Reflections on Leadership, Legitimacy and Populist Politics* (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2001); Michael W. Collier, *Political Corruption in the Caribbean Basin: Constructing a Theory to Combat Corruption* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Jorge I. Domínguez, Robert A. Pastor, and R. Delisle Worrell, eds., *Democracy in the Caribbean: Political, Economic, and Social Perspectives* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

Barbados.”<sup>274</sup> The Barbadian Government went so far as to prevent influential Trinidadian-born Black Power activist, Stokely Carmichael, from speaking in Barbados. Furthermore, the 1970 *Public Order Act*, not only “sought to suppress the black power movement, but also to escalate police surveillance of known black-consciousness radicals.”<sup>275</sup> The class conscious ideals of both the BLP and the DLP superseded the seemingly militant aspects of the Black Power movement; however, the development of a black professional class, constituted “perhaps the most noticeable social feature of the post-independence era.”<sup>276</sup> Capitalizing on the political socialist ideals of the global Black Power movements of the 1960s, Barbadian Black Power was synonymous with Black leadership, mobility, and socio-economic empowerment within the structures of a White dominated capitalist system. The Government’s expansion of the White controlled corporate sector, foreign multinational corporations, and banking and finance institutions, facilitated the growth of an influential Black middle class. It appeared Barbadian class consciousness ostensibly superseded Black consciousness, but socio-economic reforms and the access to education for all classes and colours of Barbadians, uplifted a race and a nation. The universal access to the elementary, secondary, and tertiary education systems, acted as “evidence of the basic egalitarian nature” of the Barbadian social order.<sup>277</sup> Barbados of the 1960s and beyond was one where “working class families were able to produce individuals who could be found within all social groups.”<sup>278</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> Beckles, 204.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid., 204.

<sup>276</sup> Ibid., 207.

<sup>277</sup> Ibid., 210.

<sup>278</sup> Prime Minister Barrow believed independence was not exclusively political or economic, but an “intellectual process.” He believed citizens should always look critically at the “mirror image of themselves.” I believe the Black Barbadians in Canada during this period not only cherished, but appreciated the political process due to the fact that most of them understood disenfranchisement during their lifetimes. Ibid., 210.



## **The Barbadian Education System**

The pursuit of education and the Barbadian education system were two fundamental reasons for the emigration of a highly upwardly mobile population during the mid-twentieth century. This chapter is structured to emphasize the efforts to educate Blacks and all Barbadian children since the late eighteenth century and contextualizes how domestic policies contributed to the Barbadian Government's emigration schemes. It also provides the context for the Emigrant Ambassadors and those selected under sponsored emigration schemes and why Barbadian officials were confident that these educated individuals were well-suited to represent themselves and the Island as "exceptional" migrants. Prior to a discussion of the history of Barbadian emigration schemes it must be established that the individuals involved were not illiterate degenerate objects devoid of any means to contribute to the betterment of a post-Emancipation and twentieth century Barbadian society. They utilized their education capital to capitalize on opportunities abroad in the face of limited opportunities at home. Overpopulation of an unskilled labouring class precipitated discussions of sponsored emigration during the late nineteenth century. However, Barbados experienced a "Brain Drain" of a highly educated and upwardly mobile population during the mid-twentieth century following the implementation of a comprehensive education system. But, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Barbadian officials feared the loss of highly skilled labour through emigration. The out-migration of this class of the population plagued Barbados throughout its history. Throughout its post-Emancipation history, Barbados trained and educated a population that was not confined to the Island's geographical boundary of 166 square miles; Barbados operated within a system which saw education as a means for self-empowerment and growth within a liberalized and globalized environment. In his memoir,

Austin Clarke wrote of the importance of a successfully completed education for the social mobility of young Black Barbadians:

So we prepared ourselves for this [Cambridge University Senior Cambridge Examination (Overseas)], the most important event in our lives. It could determine whether we were going to be sanitary inspectors for the rest of our lives or were going to get into the Civil Service, not the Department of Customs, which buried men alive from drink, but the “Col-Sec’s Offices,” and rise to positions of power and hold confidential files under the soiled arms of our white shirts. Perhaps to be given an OBE (Order of the British Empire) at age fifty, with one foot in the grave...

This examination determined whether we would qualify and go up to England by boat, third class, tourist class, with a borrowed winter coat, and enter one of the Inns of Court, and after eighteen months’ studying the law, return and flood the country; and get MP behind our name.

It determined whether we would be able to enter a British university.

It meant life and could mean death. If you were not lucky and careful and had failed, it meant that for generations afterwards people would whisper when you passed, and say that you had wasted your mother’s money and had not got your Senior Cambridge.<sup>279</sup>

Education was not taken for granted and educated and skilled Barbadians capitalized on these opportunities first throughout the Caribbean basin, the United States, the United Kingdom, and finally to Canada. The Barbadian Government facilitated the emigration of its people to various locations abroad, but more importantly the early twentieth century emphasis on education provided the foundation for the Autonomous Bajan to challenge the racialized structures of the international migration system. The Government of Barbados provided both the education and the schemes necessary to assist the emigration of Barbadians during this period. Despite not being able to afford to attend secondary school at the time, Reginald Eric Taylor benefitted from the Island’s emphasis on the right to education for all of its primary school-aged children and the belief that education was a vehicle to self-

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<sup>279</sup> The Cambridge University Senior Cambridge Examination (Overseas) was set in England and as Clarke described, determined the future of young Barbadians following the end of secondary school. Austin Clarke, *Growing Up Stupid Under the Union Jack: A Memoir* (Toronto: Thomas Allen Publishers, 2005), 211.

empowerment and upward mobility. He then capitalized on his Government's sponsored recruitment schemes to England for Barbadians to work for London Transport in 1960. While in England he took every opportunity to improve his education, skills and qualifications as an automotive engineer.<sup>280</sup> Taylor was not only a "model" emigrant, but he exemplified what education meant to a culture that inculcated the Barbadian Government's belief that academic success was the means for upward mobility. The "culture-of-academic success" or the "culture-of-education" is a more appropriate description as opposed to the misrepresentation of a "culture-of-migration" when describing Barbadian culture during the mid-twentieth century. The pursuit of education is a fundamental Barbadian characteristic and contributed to and enabled the emigration of an upwardly mobile population. Any discussion on Barbadian emigration push factors must begin with the history of education on the Island to contextualize the positive and internationally marketable characteristics of the Autonomous Bajan prior to his migration abroad.

Education was a means for social mobility and prosperity originating in the late seventeenth century. The "philanthropic efforts of private individuals and by the humanitarian interest of the Churches" founded the Barbadian education system.<sup>281</sup> The majority of the older existing public schools were initially founded for the education of White Barbadian children during slavery. Elementary schools for newly emancipated Black slaves on the Island grew out of the Anglican, Moravian, and Methodist Churches efforts to deliver a Christian education.

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<sup>280</sup> Another Barbadian London Transport employee, John Simmons stated that "most of us (Barbadian emigrants) wanted to use LT (London Transport) as a route out and up, I mean, for example to do night school." Audley Simmons recalled, "if you wanted to push yourself, there was night school, lots of opportunities. Some Barbadians did, got their qualifications here, then went to America." John Western, *A Passage to England: Barbadian Londoners Speak of Home* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 226.

<sup>281</sup> *Historical Developments of Education in Barbados, 1686-2000*. Prepared by the Planning Research and Development Unit of the Ministry of Education, Youth Affairs, and Culture. (November 2000): 1.

John Elliot and Rowland Bulkley donated the considerably large sum of one thousand dollars for the establishment of a school for Poor White children in 1686. In 1709, Captain Francis Williams donated one hundred acres to launch a charity school for White children, which became the Foundation School in Christ Church.<sup>282</sup> The establishment of First Grade schools continued in the early to mid-eighteenth century as Thomas Harrison, a “merchant planter” founded the Grammar School for Boys, or Harrison College, in 1733. By 1745, the Codrington Foundation established the Codrington Grammar School, which subsequently became the Lodge School. The first school for Free Black or Coloured boys was established in 1818 in Bridgetown. School fees covered administrative and operational costs, while the Missionary Society salaried a school master. The girls’ equivalent was established in 1827. The education of Black Barbadian former slaves increased after Emancipation in 1834 as churches founded schools near or on their property.<sup>283</sup> Between 1835 and 1845, the British Government granted funds for the education of former slaves and by 1844 there were 48 Anglican, 4 Moravian, 4 Wesleyan, and 149 private schools and a total enrolment of 7,452 students.<sup>284</sup> By 1846 the Barbadian Legislature provided the first state education grant of £750.<sup>285</sup> Government expenditures and its involvement in education increased exponentially with the passing of the first *Education Act* in 1850. The *Act* established the Education Committee that included a part-time Inspector who served as its Executive Officer.<sup>286</sup> The £750 education grant increased to £3,000 per annum and by 1878, the new *Education Act* fixed the spending at £15,000. At the turn of the twentieth century, the Barbadian Colonial Government officially recognized 169 elementary schools with an enrolment of 24,415

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<sup>282</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>283</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>284</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid.

children and 532 students attending the three First Grade and five Second Grade schools, respectively.<sup>287</sup>

The historical emphasis on education continued to expand during the twentieth century with the growth of an established freed Black Barbadian citizenry in search of avenues for self-improvement so as to emancipate themselves from the shackles of legislated ignorance during slavery. The 1927 Colonial Report recorded that the highly educated population needed employment outlets to succeed and for the chance for social mobility. With limited opportunities in Barbados due to its geographical size and population density, emigration was a means for the educated to seek socio-economic mobility and prosperity. Colonial officials reported:

The aptitude of the Barbadian as a skilled worker is abundantly in evidence, and it is by the development of this feature that he can hope to advance if, as many easily be the case, he should some day meet with disappointment in securing employment in Barbados of a kind of sufficient to place him on a higher social plane than that from which, in the peculiar circumstances of life in his over populated country, he may otherwise find it difficult to emerge. For the present the education system provides for each succeeding vacant junior clerkship in the Public Service a comparatively large number of well-educated candidates of whom some have reached to the highest educational standards attainable locally and many have for considerable periods been unsuccessful in obtaining clerical appointments.<sup>288</sup>

By the late 1920s, the free elementary education system was considerably successful in providing the training needed for a highly intelligent and skilled middle class workforce.

The system was, and continued to be, a success. The Colonial Report described how it

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<sup>287</sup> The Codrington Foundation was established under “the will of Sir Christopher Codrington,” a colonial governor and plantation owner, in 1710 after “two estates in St. John were bequeathed to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to provide a College for the training of missionaries.” Ibid., 2. The First Grade schools provided teaching of particularly high standards, which enabled “boys to sit for open scholarships at English Universities”. Barbados National Archives (BNA), *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1422; Barbados, Report for 1927-28* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1929), 33.

<sup>288</sup> BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1422; Barbados, Report for 1927-28* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1929), 23.

prepared countless Barbadians for Public Service, and many pursued their education as a way to secure meaningful employment and improve their social standing on the Island. However, lack of employment opportunities in Barbados curtailed the aspirations of young Barbadians and their newly attained educational capital. Education was a means for mobility and an avenue to escape poverty and destitution and the Public Service epitomized societal success. A new class of highly educated, but unemployed, youth emerged during the late 1920s and beyond; youth desperately sought means to be placed “on a higher social plane” as described in the 1927 Colonial Report.<sup>289</sup> The education system worked, but it also facilitated the push for young Barbadians to emigrate to seek meaningful employment and financial opportunities abroad that Barbadian society could not provide. Barbados thus exported its most valuable commodity – its highly skilled and educated citizens. Education was the foundation for Barbadian progress, development, and independence, and most importantly its history of emigration.

The Barbadian Government maintained and funded the Island’s elementary schools. The Board of Education managed the elementary schools through nine individuals appointed by the Governor and seven elected by members of the Legislature. In total, the Board recognized 129 elementary schools and three First Grade schools. The First Grade schools included the boys’ Harrison College and Lodge School, and the girls’ Queen’s College. These schools provided teaching to particularly high standards, which enabled “boys to sit for open scholarships at English Universities.”<sup>290</sup> By 1927, the Government abolished all school fees for elementary children and established St. Michael’s girls’ school. In 1928 the

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<sup>289</sup> Ibid.

<sup>290</sup> Ibid.; BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1422; Barbados, Report for 1927-28* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1929), 33.

Government proposed the establishment of a West Indian University.<sup>291</sup> The abolishment of school fees increased the access to education for all Barbadian children and provided equal opportunity and avenues for self-empowerment. Literacy and education became a cultural birthright. Elementary school children educated in the late 1920s and 1930s became the first cohort of mass emigrants in the post-Second World War era. Education provided the opportunity and skills needed to pass the particularly high barriers set for immigration in Britain, Canada, and the United States in the 1950s and 1960s. By the late 1920s, Barbadians used education as a means to acquire cultural and social capital.

Governmental support of the education system continued throughout the 1930s and 1940s. The Government issued £1,330 for University education in 1938, and in 1949 the number of Government funded elementary schools fell slightly to 124.<sup>292</sup> The three First Grade schools – Harrison College, Queen’s College, and Lodge School – prepared “candidates for the General Certificate Examinations of the Oxford and Cambridge Board at Scholarship, Advanced and Ordinary Levels in classics, mathematics, science, and modern studies.”<sup>293</sup> Government schools provided the necessary training and teaching excellence for Barbadians to attend prestigious universities in Britain.<sup>294</sup> More importantly, the Government extended tremendous support for post-secondary education during the post-war period. The 1949 *Government Scholarships and Exhibitions Act* provided five Barbadian scholarships; two Exhibitions tenable at the University College of the West Indies and two Island Scholarships tenable at Barbados’ teachers’ college. Exceptional academic

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<sup>291</sup> Ibid., 7 & 33.

<sup>292</sup> BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1913; Barbados, Report for 1938-1939* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1939); BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Year 1949* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1950).

<sup>293</sup> BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1952 and 1953* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1954), 38.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid.

achievement was paramount as Barbados Scholarship winners attained “a standard equal to that prescribed by the Colleges of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.”<sup>295</sup> Scholarships were awarded “from the results of the General Certificate Examinations at Advanced and Scholarship Levels of the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board.”<sup>296</sup> Many Black Barbadian students achieved standards on par or greater than those of British pupils. Academic excellence was not judged, nor based on comparative Barbadian, West Indian, or colonial standards, but rather those created and implemented in the British metropole. Barbadians strove for academic success, and the Government awarded the best and the brightest with the opportunity to pursue post-secondary education within the Island and abroad. The Government mandated access to education and provided the financial support necessary to those wanting to pursue higher education. The Higher Education (Loan Fund) of 1953 was designed to lend to students wanting to attend post-secondary institutions. In 1955, \$31,976 was loaned to 21 students. Of the 21 individuals, thirteen students attended University College of the West Indies; five pursued their education in the United Kingdom; two in the United States; and one at Codrington College in Barbados.<sup>297</sup>

By the late 1950s and early 1960s, 116 primary schools were free for both boys and girls aged five to fourteen and education, and access to education became the main priority for the Barbadian Government. That being said, male to female enrolment ratios began to show an alarming trend. The male to female ratio was relatively similar for elementary school enrolment and attendance; however, the same cannot be said at the secondary level. More than twice the number of boys (1,017) attended First Grade schools compared to 467

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<sup>295</sup> Ibid.

<sup>296</sup> Ibid, 38-39.

<sup>297</sup> BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1954 and 1955* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1957), 53. In 1954, “with the introduction of the Ministerial form of Government, a Minister of Education was appointed for the first time.” Under the Barbados Labour Party, Sir Grantley Adams appointed the Honourable Luther Thorne as Minister. *Historical Developments of Education in Barbados*, 5.



girls. One must note that by the late 1950s and early 1960s, there was only one First Grade school for girls (Queen's College) as opposed to two for boys (Harrison College and Lodge School).<sup>298</sup>

The gender bias was interesting to note because it was in fact educated women who first acted as Barbadian Emigrant Ambassadors to Canada beginning with the Domestic Scheme in 1955. The Domestic Scheme in 1955 was the "first full-scale recruitment of West Indian women to Canada," initiated by the Canadian Government in 1955.<sup>299</sup> The initial programme included women from Jamaica and Barbados. To qualify the woman had to be between the age of 18 and 35; single; have attained at least the equivalent of a grade eight education; and able to pass a medical examination. The final applicants were interviewed in the Caribbean by Canadian Immigration officials. A number of the women supported their households and children in the West Indies as "sole-support mothers." They were granted landed immigrant status upon their arrival in Canada and had to work in a home for one year. After the year they could remain as a domestic or find work elsewhere.<sup>300</sup> The women chosen under the Scheme acted as their government's representatives in Canada to showcase the suitability, integration, and upward mobility of future Barbadian emigrants. These Emigrant Ambassadors, along with the nurses, teachers, and students who also emigrated during this period, challenged and dispelled the racialized myths of the undesirability of Black migrants in Canada while their industriousness and perseverance in Canadian

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<sup>298</sup> BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1958 and 1959* (Barbados: Government Printing Office, 1961), 50-51.

<sup>299</sup> Makeda Silvera, *Silenced: Talks with working class Caribbean women about their lives and struggles as Domestic Workers in Canada* (revised edition), (Toronto: Sister Vision: Black Women and Women of Colour Press, Canada, 1989), 7.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid. Frances Henry highlighted that most women under the Domestic Scheme settled in Montreal and Toronto and approximately 2,250 women came under the Scheme since 1955 (she conducted the study and wrote the article in 1968). By the 1960s, she wrote of the quota of 280 women a year, with 104 from Jamaica and the rest from the Leeward and Windward Islands, Trinidad, Barbados, and Guyana. Frances Henry, "The West Indian Domestic Scheme in Canada," *Social and Economic Studies* 17 (1968): 83. See Chapter Five for a comprehensive discussion of the Domestic Scheme and Black West Indian female emigration to Canada.

households and public institutions promoted increased emigration outlets that their government desired.<sup>301</sup> Through their exceptional efforts and stalwart dedication, discipline, socio-economic success, and their ability to manipulate both the Canadian and Barbadian patriarchal system for their personal and professional gain, these women as individuals and as a group became the influential catalyst in the liberalization of Canadian immigration.<sup>302</sup> This showed the irony in the misguided belief that women only needed a rudimentary elementary education in order to succeed in gendered spheres of work, most notably employment as a domestic. Domestic work became a vehicle for success, pride, and nationhood.

Despite the gendered discrepancy at the secondary level, education was the highest government expenditure between 1958 and 1961. For 1958-1959, the Government spent \$3,254,841; 1959-1960, \$3,644,009; and in 1960-1961, \$3,798,221.<sup>303</sup> The education budget included expenditures for tuition fees and teacher training. Effective January 1962, all tuition fees were abolished for all Barbadian children at all government schools including secondary schools. During this same period, the Government pushed for comprehensive teacher training and looked abroad to Canada for assistance. As quoted in the 1960 & 1961 Colonial Report Canadian teachers came to Barbados, “in the early half of 1961, the Erdiston Training College for teachers has the benefit of services of Dr. F. L. Bates; a Canadian education expert loaned to the West Indies under a scheme for Technical Assistance by Canada to the West Indies.”<sup>304</sup> Barbados also produced scholarships to send Barbadian teachers to Canada for further education. These included one Commonwealth Scholarship

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<sup>301</sup> See Chapter Five for more on the Emigrant Ambassadors.

<sup>302</sup> That being said, there was still a significant gender bias in Barbados and Barbadian history. To contextualize the history of Barbadian women and gender inequality in Barbados, please see Chapter Five.

<sup>303</sup> BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1960 and 1961* (Barbados: Government Printing Office, 1962).

<sup>304</sup> *Ibid.*

for teacher training in Canada in 1962, and by 1963 the number of scholarships rose to two. Other teacher training scholarships included two Technical Teachers Scholarships and five scholarships in Geography for 1962.<sup>305</sup>

Through their education system, the Barbadian Government prepared their citizens for success and social mobility in the global environment; their education was of a British standard and internationally recognized. Education capital became the means for physical and ideological de-colonization. By the 1960s, the Government facilitated free and equitable access to education for all Barbadian citizens and emigration became the result of a comprehensive and well executed educational strategy. Barbadians could, and did, succeed as international migrants with ambitious goals for upward mobility due to a Government facilitated, and culturally consolidated emphasis on education. Barbadians were not only educated, but highly educated in a system that to this day still garners substantial respect internationally. Since Emancipation in the mid-nineteenth century, the Barbadian Government played both an indirect and direct role in the emigration of its people. Government initiatives educated an upwardly mobile and transnational population, but Barbadian colonial officials also used emigration schemes to address and alleviate acute social strife caused by overpopulation and unemployment.

### **A History of Emigration from Barbados**

Following Emancipation and the end of apprenticeship in 1838, emigration was a means to solve Barbados' overpopulation and employment crisis. The roots and history of Barbadian

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<sup>305</sup> Ibid, 7; BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1962 and 1963* (Barbados: Government Printing Office, 1965), 6, 43, 48. The Teacher's Training College at Erdiston was opened in 1948. *Historical Developments of Education in Barbados*, 5. See Appendix B in List of Appendices for a table listing Barbadian primary and secondary school enrolment by gender between 1927 and 1963.

emigration was discussed in detail in a series of lectures and a panel discussion at the Centre for Multi-Racial Studies in Barbados in 1968.<sup>306</sup> Doctor Elsie Payne highlighted the beginning of government sponsored emigration from Barbados in 1860. She argued, “Barbadian planters began to see that the island had a ‘super-abundant’ population and they took the first steps toward encouraging movement out of the island.”<sup>307</sup> Addressing the state of Barbados in the late 1970s, David Lowenthal argued that “Barbados’ superabundant population cannot...fairly be attributed to her present demographic character; it is rather historical inertia that is responsible. The island is crowded today partly because it always has been crowded.”<sup>308</sup> He referred to St. Lucian Nobel Prize winning economist, Sir William Arthur Lewis’ statement that “Barbados [was] fully peopled in the seventeenth century and [has] been complaining of over-population for nearly three centuries.”<sup>309</sup> Lowenthal argued that Barbados’ population density since the seventeenth century was due in part to its relatively healthy environment compared to other West Indian islands; the lack of geographic boundaries or “native” inhabitants which subsequently facilitated easy settlement; and the introduction of sugarcane when slave labour and capital were easy to procure.<sup>310</sup> One may then argue that due to historical “inertia” and geography, overpopulation is a fundamental feature of Barbadian history; a “problem” that the Barbadian Government began to address with emigration in the mid-nineteenth century.

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<sup>306</sup> BNA, *Migration*, A series of lectures and a Panel Discussion held at the Centre for Multi-Racial Studies in Barbados between October and December, 1968.

<sup>307</sup> Ibid.

<sup>308</sup> Jerome S. Handler and Frederick W. Large (with assistance of Robert V. Riordan), *Plantation Slavery in Barbados: An Archaeological and Historical Investigation* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1978), 14.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid.

<sup>310</sup> David Lowenthal, “The Population of Barbados,” *Social and Economic Studies* 6 (1957): 451.

*The Masters' and Servants' Acts* failed resulting in overpopulation on the Island.<sup>311</sup>

The Government first proposed migration to other West Indian islands, followed by both South American and Latin American countries, respectively. Following economic decline from the Drought in 1863, the Barbadian Government refused to sponsor mass emigration until the twentieth century. In *Great House Rules: Landless Emancipation and Workers' Protest in Barbados, 1838-1938*, Hilary McD. Beckles cited the July 17<sup>th</sup>, 1863 *Barbados Times* newspaper which stated that the drought had been “productive of intensive suffering of man and beast,” and that the “labouring poor” experienced “severe distress.”<sup>312</sup> Beckles revealed that the newspaper suggested the answer to the drought crisis was emigration as “there was no possibility of a land reform by which a peasantry could be created. Neither were social welfare measures to be expected from a landed class that had opposed emancipation and continued to see labourers as chattel, in the same category as their animal livestock.”<sup>313</sup> As opposed to larger West Indian islands like Jamaica, with only 166 square miles of densely populated land, Barbados could not support an independent peasantry. Lowenthal argued that without the net emigration of 104,000 people between 1860 and 1920, Barbados would have had double the population it did in the 1950s – approximately 3,000 people per square mile.<sup>314</sup> Nevertheless, government sponsored emigration during this tumultuous late nineteenth century period did not come to fruition. By 1875, out of a population of 162,000, approximately 3,600, or two per cent of the population, survived on

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<sup>311</sup> *The Masters' and Servants' Act* was designed to produce tenantry in the Island immediately following Emancipation. Former slaves were contractually bound to live and work on plantations. Many times it was the plantation of their former master on which they had no choice but to work. Payne, *Migration*, 9-10.

<sup>312</sup> Hilary Beckles, *Great House Rules: Landless Emancipation and Workers' Protest in Barbados, 1838-1938* (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers, 2004), 95.

<sup>313</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.

<sup>314</sup> Lowenthal, 455.

Poor Relief in Barbados.<sup>315</sup> Barbados could not support its overpopulated and unemployed residents.

Under these difficult conditions, the Governor-in-Council framed Barbados' first *Emigration Act* in 1873. The *Rules and Regulations* defined an emigrant as "every labourer, artisan, or domestic servant, and every member of his or her family, the cost of whose passage is paid, or payable by any Government, or by any proprietor or person offering him or her employment, shall be deemed an Emigrant contemplated by these rules."<sup>316</sup> An emigrant was clearly defined as an individual sponsored by the Government or an employer. Government sponsored emigration schemes were defined in law well before the beginning of the twentieth century. The *Rules and Regulations* stipulated the classification of an emigrant and the voluntary conditions of his or her migration; "the Superintendent of Emigration shall ascertain that every Emigrant is going away voluntarily."<sup>317</sup> Barbados was only thirty-five years removed from the end of slavery and apprenticeship and the legislated clause of voluntary emigration prohibited the possibility of renewed human trafficking. The document thoroughly outlined the specific duties carried out by the Emigration Office, Emigration Agents and Masters of Emigrant Vessels.<sup>318</sup> It is clear that by the 1870s, Barbadian emigration was a government regulated, legislated, and controlled practice. Dawn Marshall argued that since Barbados was such a small country, movement away from plantations

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<sup>315</sup> Payne, *Migration*, 9-10. At this point in Barbadian history, it was mainly poor White landowners surviving on Poor Relief.

<sup>316</sup> BNA, *Rules and Regulations, Framed and Passed by the Governor in Council, Under the authority of the Emigration Act, 1873*, September 23, 1873, 3.

<sup>317</sup> Ibid.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid., 3 & 6. The document also outlined the length of trip on a ship from Barbados to countries around the West Indies: St. Lucia and St. Vincent being the shortest at two (2) days in the Calm Months (longer than the Windy Months – Calm Months are August, September, October) and Suriname being the longest at thirteen (13) days. Ibid, 6.

following slavery meant migration off the Island.<sup>319</sup> Sir Alexander Hoyos discussed Barbados' unique position in the West Indies following Emancipation and the end of the system of apprenticeship in 1838. He stated that unlike other West Indian colonies, the end of slavery did not result in a complete "overthrow" of the planter class.<sup>320</sup> Hoyos argued that compared to Jamaica where most plantation owners were British absentee landlords, in Barbados "a considerable number of estates were owned by local whites."<sup>321</sup> Through compensation from the British Government which amounted to approximately £20 per slave, former slave owners adjusted well to a "free" Barbados. This concept of "freedom" in Barbados differed significantly when compared to Jamaica, Trinidad, and Guyana. In these colonies the British were forced to import indentured labourers from Asia, and specifically the Indian Subcontinent, to meet labour demands as former slaves left plantation to cities and formed a Black independent peasantry and free class. In Barbados, former slaves or "located labour" remained on plantations and worked for their former masters at reduced wages in return for their homes and land allotments. Barbados was dominated by plantations and its limited and relatively flat geography curtailed the establishment of Black landownership in "uncultivated" lands and mountainous terrain as compared to Jamaica. Former slaves were forced "to continue with their work on the plantations in order to gain a livelihood," and the

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<sup>319</sup> Dawn Marshall, "A History of West Indian Migrations: Overseas Opportunities and 'Safety-Valve' Policies," in *The Caribbean Exodus*, ed. Barry B. Levine (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1987), 15-31, provided a historical sketch of migration from the Caribbean since Emancipation in 1834. She believed "Emancipation granted to the ex-slaves freedom of mobility, a freedom which they have exercised at every opportunity." Marshall, 16. See Marshall for an overview of her four phases of Caribbean migration: 1835-1885 – inter-territorial movement; 1885-1920 – movement to Panama; 1920-1940 – little migration with some repatriation and return migration; and 1940 to present – movement to the UK and North America. Also see Dawn I. Marshall, "The History of Caribbean Migrations: The Case of the West Indies," *Caribbean Review* 11, no. 1 (1982): 6-9 & 52-53.

<sup>320</sup> F.A. Hoyos, *Barbados Our Island Home* (Oxford: Macmillan Caribbean, 2003), 127.

<sup>321</sup> *Ibid.*

status quo of White Barbadian landownership remained.<sup>322</sup> For former Barbadian slaves, emigration was effectively a tool for true emancipation.

By 1871 and 1873 Marshall stated that “the Barbadian legislature passed an act that actually made provision for assisting certain poor classes to migrate,” and “a new policy toward emigration had evolved in Barbados – from a policy of discouragement to one of active encouragement.”<sup>323</sup> It was not a “culture-of-migration” if the Barbadian Government classified who was an emigrant and permitted their passage from the Island. The Government facilitated the safe passage of its British subjects and effectively regulated the agency of emigration within the structure of a dominant hegemonic colonial government power. At this point in Barbadian history, the Barbadian Government controlled all facets of inter- and intra-island migration and Black agency in Barbados was restricted by historical “inertia,” geography, and White landownership. Beckles in *A History of Barbados: From Amerindian Settlement to Nation-State*, stated that to prevent the post-Emancipation emigration to Guyana (where Guyanese planters actively enticed Barbadians with higher wages), the Barbadian legislature passed a law to “prevent persons enticing inhabitants to ‘desert their homes and families and helpless infants’.”<sup>324</sup> Barbados effectively restricted emigration and the “law provided that the would-be migrant had first to obtain a ticket of leave from the vestry of the parish in which he resided, which was empowered to refuse the issue of such a pass if it believed that the applicant would leave any dependants unprovided [sic] for.”<sup>325</sup> Workers accused the Barbadian legislature of “tampering” with their rights and agency as Free Blacks to travel and seek employment and the Governor of Barbados in 1840,

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<sup>322</sup> Ibid., 130.

<sup>323</sup> Marshall, “A History of West Indian Migrations,” 16.

<sup>324</sup> Hilary McD. Beckles, *A History of Barbados: From Amerindian Settlement to Nation-State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 112.

<sup>325</sup> Ibid., 112.



Evan John Murray MacGregor, stated that it was not the case. Despite opposition from the pro-planter Barbadian legislature that opposed emigration and the British Colonial Office, by 1840 “hundreds” of predominantly male sojourners emigrated from Barbados for employment in Trinidad and Guyana. By January 1840, “over 2,500 workers had departed for Guiana, and by 1870 at least 16,000 had emigrated to various [British West Indian] colonies.”<sup>326</sup> It is interesting to note that Barbadians did not permanently settle in these British West Indian colonies and seasonal migration dominated the circuitous and temporary sojourns. Beckles highlighted the Guyanese immigration report of 1883 which stated: “They seldom labour for more than limited periods on sugar estates. A large proportion of them arrive in the colony after the end of June when work becomes scarce in Barbados, and return to the island to spend Christmas and crop-time.”<sup>327</sup> Between 1850 and 1921, Barbados contributed 50,000 people to the populations of British Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago.<sup>328</sup> During Marshall’s “inter-territorial movement” period of 1835-1885 of West Indian migration, Barbadians migrated in large numbers to Suriname; 1,495 left the Island between 1863 and 1870 and 3,500 to St. Croix in 1863.<sup>329</sup> Beckles concluded that post-Emancipation emigration was one way of “socio-economic betterment” and arguably not simply a historically conditioned desire to migrate.<sup>330</sup>

One must also take into account the historical time period of the 1873 *Act* as it was only one generation removed from the end of slavery and apprenticeship in 1838. The parents of many of the individuals affected by the *Act*, and possibly some of the migrants themselves, lived within the draconian structure of the institution of slavery. Prior to the end

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<sup>326</sup> *Ibid.*, 113.

<sup>327</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>328</sup> Marshall, “The History of Caribbean Migrations,” 7.

<sup>329</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>330</sup> Beckles, *A History*, 113.

of the British Slave Trade in 1807, Barbadian plantations experienced positive population growth rates, making the vast majority of slaves creole and native to the Island.<sup>331</sup> In sum, these migrants had no experience, or culture, of migration prior to the end of slavery and apprenticeship. Moreover, the superintendent classified the emigrant class and regulated those who left Barbados; culture could not, and did not, dictate emigration. The Government introduced emigration schemes to control its “super-abundant” population.

Emigration to alleviate overpopulation became a popular solution by 1895. *The Barbados Emigration Commission Report* of 1895 outlined the possibility of the implementation of reasonable and controlled sponsored emigration for overpopulation. The late nineteenth century was the beginning of sponsored and government oriented emigration schemes. G. Ruthven LeHunte, the Acting Governor of Barbados and the author of the *Emigration Commission Report*, outlined possible destinations for Barbadian emigrants and provided the framework for a legislated emigration scheme. The Emigration Committee focused on West Indian host countries, including Trinidad, Tobago, Dominica, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent. The scheme concluded that the emigration of Barbadians was a labour and employment initiative. The Committee proposed that emigrants “be encouraged to undertake Cane farming in Trinidad.”<sup>332</sup> The need for labour throughout the British West Indies following Emancipation and the exodus of former slaves away from plantations facilitated the settlement of Barbadians abroad. The document highlighted the recommendation by the Committee that “*Labour Colonies* be founded in the Islands of St. Vincent and St. Lucia in which Islands the conditions appear to be most favourable.”<sup>333</sup> The Committee recognized the symbiotic relationship between overpopulation and unemployment in the Island and

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<sup>331</sup> Barbados was unique in this case compared to other British West Indian islands. See Chapter Five for more on fertility and reproduction in Barbados.

<sup>332</sup> BNA, *Barbados Emigration Commission*, Report, 1895, 1.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*

argued “...the real object of any Emigration Scheme should be to form permanent settlements rather than to find casual employment for our surplus population – though the latter may be a very useful necessary adjunct to the first.”<sup>334</sup> Permanent settlement was designed deliberately as a solution to unemployment and overpopulation.<sup>335</sup>

Late nineteenth and early twentieth century Barbadian and West Indian labour migration throughout the Caribbean basin has been examined thoroughly. The construction of the Panama Canal was arguably one of the most well-known labour movements of the period. Beckles argued that the labour required for construction of the Panama Canal created an emigration outlet beginning in 1904 where Black Barbadian male workers, “saw an opportunity to reject sugar planters and plantations, and pursue an autonomous path,” and where “the migration opportunity was undoubtedly seen by blacks as a chance finally to cast off the yoke of plantation domination.”<sup>336</sup> The Panama Canal may not have been a programme initiated by the Barbadian Government, but the mass migration of Barbadians and West Indians is extremely noteworthy. Dawn Marshall argued three phases characterized the West Indian migration to Panama: railroad construction (1850-1855); construction of the canal itself (1880-1914); and railroad relocation (1906-1914).<sup>337</sup> The author stated that only Jamaicans were involved during the first phase, while the rest of the English-speaking Caribbean followed in 1880 under the French company, Universal Inter-Oceanic Company.<sup>338</sup> The patterns of recruitment of West Indians varied as “the movement

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<sup>334</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>335</sup> Ibid., 1-2.

<sup>336</sup> Beckles, *A History*, 142 & 143.

<sup>337</sup> Marshall, “A History of West Indian Migrations,” 21.

<sup>338</sup> In 1889 the company failed and migration stopped. With the United States Government’s purchase of the canal project in 1904, “another, larger wave of emigration began and continued even after the canal was opened to traffic in 1914.” From 1894 to 1904, labour was recruited from those that remained in Panama. Marshall, “A History of West Indian Migrations,” 21. For more information on emigration to Panama for the construction of the railway and the canal, and railways in Costa Rica and Mexico during the nineteenth century, see Peter D. Fraser, “Nineteenth-Century West Indian Migration to Britain,” in *In Search of a Better Life: Perspectives on*

from Jamaica was mainly individual, whereas from the Eastern Caribbean movement very much depended on recruitment or emigration,” and an estimated 130,000 emigrated from the West Indies to Panama between 1885 and 1920, with the majority from Jamaica and Barbados.<sup>339</sup> During this period Barbados’ population declined from 171,983 in 1911 to 156,312 in 1921 as approximately 45,000 Black Barbadian contracted and non-contracted sojourners left for Panama despite legislation to control the migration in 1904 and 1907.<sup>340</sup> Alan B. Simmons and Jean Pierre Guengant described this (1880-1930) period as the “Household Adaption and Circulation Period,” an approximately fifty-year timeframe defined by the continued decline of sugar production and “wage labour opportunities in the region [that] arose with specific developments, such as the construction of the Panama Canal and the building of railways in Central America.”<sup>341</sup> Male labourers seeking economic opportunities dominated the migration movement to Panama and throughout the Caribbean basin during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The Barbadian Government did not help, but attempted to hinder, the passage of their circuitous temporary workers.

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*Migration from the Caribbean*, ed. Ransford W. Palmer (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1990), 23 & 26. Elizabeth Thomas-Hope describes the “Colon Man”, the depiction of the West Indian in Panama and the “successful” immigrant who sent remittances home in Elizabeth Thomas-Hope, introduction to *Freedom and Constraint in Caribbean Migration and Diaspora*, ed. Elizabeth Thomas-Hope (Kingston Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers, 2009), xxx. For more on the “Colon Man” and fiction and non-fiction works on West Indians and the Panama Canal, see Eric Walrond, *Tropic Death* (New York: Collier Books, 1954); Rhonda D. Frederick, “Mythologies of Panama Canal Migrations: Eric Walrond’s *Tropic Death*,” in *Marginal Migrations: The Circulation of Cultures within the Caribbean*, ed. Shalini Papi (London: Macmillan, 2003), 43-76; and the Barbadian George Lamming, *In the Castle of My Skin* (New York: Schocken Books, 1983).

<sup>339</sup> Most of the West Indians were employed as manual labour; “pick and shovel” men. Marshall wrote “workers returned to their homes at the end of their contracts, or when they felt they had earned sufficient ‘Panama Money’ to live off it for awhile.” The economically circuitous migration produced “considerable turnover of workers”. Marshall also highlighted how Black West Indians encountered racism throughout Central America with restrictive immigration policies by various republics. Marshall, “A History of West Indian Migrations,” 21-22. For more information on West Indian migration to Panama during this period, see Velma Newton, “Aspects of British West Indian Emigration to the Isthmus of Panama, 1850-1914” (presentation, Ninth Conference of Caribbean Historians, University of the West Indies, Bridgetown, Barbados, 1977), 22, located at the Barbados National Archives.

<sup>340</sup> Beckles, *A History*, 143.

<sup>341</sup> Alan B. Simmons and Jean Pierre Guengant, “Caribbean Exodus and the World System,” in *International Migration Systems: A Global Approach*, eds. Mary M. Kritz, Lin Lean Lim, and Hania Zlotnik (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 109.

The loss of the skilled and educated during the twentieth century was problematic for a colonial state on the verge of independence. However, these fears were rooted in the late nineteenth century and highlighted by the *Emigration Commission Report*. The highly skilled were the most likely, and most readily employable, sojourners abroad: a “Brain Drain” of those needed for the socio-economic growth of the Island. Overpopulation and unemployment decreased, but the highly skilled – the artisans and skilled labourers – amassed the social capital needed to work and settle abroad. The Barbadian Government envisioned and had hoped for the resettlement of their growing agricultural proletariat. The loss of the needed middle class reverberated throughout the Island and raised questions about the merits of government-sponsored emigration during the late nineteenth century. The fear highlighted the “risk that attends assisted emigration when inducements are high of losing the best class of workmen, and retaining the worst.”<sup>342</sup> Nevertheless, overpopulation defined Barbadian late nineteenth century social decline. Overpopulation and population density necessitated sponsored emigration. LeHunte argued, “the only way of dealing with such a problem...[is] to organize an Emigration Department and its Agencies in the first instance.”<sup>343</sup> He continued:

Barbados is not like some countries where particular districts only are congested and the surplus population have the option of removing to other, even waste localities. Here our surplus population have not even waste places to turn to, and some other lands elsewhere which they can go to and settle or find employment must be found for them and every reasonable inducement and facility must be afforded to them to emigrate.<sup>344</sup>

The finalized Committee report read: “It is therefore in our opinion desirable, that some steps should, if possible, be taken to provide for the surplus population that now exists in this

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<sup>342</sup> BNA, *Barbados Emigration Commission*, 3.

<sup>343</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 & 8.

<sup>344</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

island, and this can be done only by means of emigration, it being impossible to advantageously employ, in this island, all those who are capable of working.”<sup>345</sup> The *Report* clearly stated only emigration could solve Barbados’ overpopulation and unemployment crisis. No other solution or recommendation was proposed other than emigration and the *Report* concluded the necessity for sponsored or assisted emigration schemes. Between 1892 and 1894, the Barbadian Government assisted approximately 340 people for employment abroad at a cost on average of £286 a year during the three year period. During this period, Barbadian officials aided approximately 40 Barbadians destined for Canada.<sup>346</sup> The cost ranged from \$55 to \$60 per head to send a single woman to Canada, or a boy for about \$10 less. Remittances buffered Barbados’ emigrant scheme’s economic burden and the “Commissions recommend that every facility should be given Emigrants of transmitting money to Barbados.”<sup>347</sup> Total remittances for Barbadians in 1894 ranged from £5,433 from British West Indian colonies and £2,001 from the United States. The *Report* deemed the remittances figures “striking,” and only about half of the recorded remittances, “amount[ed] to a considerable sum.”<sup>348</sup> An overpopulated, unemployed, and newly emancipated population during the nineteenth century necessitated sponsored and assisted emigration.

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<sup>345</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>346</sup> It is interesting to note that the Barbadian Government simultaneously encouraged and discouraged emigration at the turn of the twentieth century. One may argue that in the 1890s they preferred a “trickle” of controlled emigration as opposed to the unregulated mass flight of Barbadians for work on the Isthmus of Panama in the early 1900s.

<sup>347</sup> *Ibid.*, 10. There is no record of whether the migrants were Black or White. It is possible to infer that considering Canada’s reluctance to accept Black emigrants until the mid-twentieth century that these women and children were Poor White Barbadians.

<sup>348</sup> *Ibid.*, 5, 7, 10, 16. This chapter will not be focusing specifically on remittances; however, money, or “Panama money,” returned from the men working on the Panama Canal (“Panama men”) had a “profound impact” on Barbados. Beckles stated that migrants were able to achieve significant socio-economic mobility upon returning to the Island and were able to buy land. See Beckles’ *A History of Barbados, From Amerindian Settlement to Nation-State*, for more on remittances from the Panama Canal during the early twentieth century (specifically pages 142-147).

*The 1904 Emigration Act* consolidated government sponsored emigration from Barbados. The *Act* highlighted the roles of emigration agents, illegal emigration, and outlined assisted emigration of Barbadians. Barbadian officials mandated every aspect of the emigration process. The *Act* stated that the emigration agent was “to be licensed by [the] Governor. [There was a] penalty on acting without license or inducing labourers...to emigrate by falsehood or fraud.” Emigration was a contractual agreement between a labourer and agent and as outlined in the *Act*, “Every emigration agent who recruits any labourer or artisan for any work, labour, or service in any place out of His Majesty’s dominions, shall cause a contract be entered into with such labourer or artisan, and in default thereof shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding fifty pounds.” The contractual agreement permitted work and migration abroad by stipulating, “Every contract made in this Island and binding any person to perform any work, labour, or service in any place not within His Majesty’s dominions shall be in writing and executed before and attested by a Police Magistrate.” Furthermore, “A person desiring to leave this Island as a passenger (migrant other than a labourer or artisan, ‘recruited under a contract of service by an emigration agent’) for any proclaimed place shall make application to a permit officer.” The emigration process was subject to strict regulations.<sup>349</sup>

The turn of the twentieth century also introduced stringent emigration laws. The laws defined, regulated, and protected the rights of potential emigrants. The Barbadian Government facilitated the movement of its people and codified in law the mechanisms

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<sup>349</sup> BNA, By authority, revised and consolidated by C.V.H. Archer, B.A. (Cantab.), Barrister-at-Law and W.K. Ferguson, B.A., LL.B (Cantab.), Barrister-at-Law, *Laws of Barbados: Vol.II: 1894-6 – 1906-5, Barbados* (Barbados: Advocate Company Limited, 1944), 443-444 & 448. It is interesting to note that the 1904 *Act* limited and promoted emigration to British and former British colonies, while Canada actively refused Blacks from Barbados. There was a significant disconnect between encouraged emigration from Barbados of Blacks and their immigration and settlement throughout “His Majesty’s [White] dominions.”

needed to migrate and reiterated the need to dispense financial aid to potential emigrants.<sup>350</sup> The *Act* stated the “Governor-in-Executive Committee may expend £300 per annum in assisting persons of the poorer class to emigrate.”<sup>351</sup> The Committee held the power to select willing emigrants, “who in the opinion of the Governor-in Executive would be likely to better their condition by so doing, to emigrate from this Island to Canada, the United States of America, or to any of the neighbouring colonies, either British or foreign.”<sup>352</sup> The previous excerpt from the *Emigration Act* is an explicit reference to the Barbadian Government aiding in the emigration of the poorer classes of Barbadians. It also mentions that they, the Government, would pay for their passage to Canada. This is notable due to the fact that at the turn of the twentieth century, Canada and Canadians restricted Black immigration. However, the question is whether the Barbadian Government was promoting the emigration of White Barbadians. This assumption is doubtful because the previous initiative was directed towards the “poorer class,” but it is not improbable that it referred to the poor class of Whites, disparagingly known as Red Legs.<sup>353</sup> The Government would also

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<sup>350</sup> A note on the history of the Barbadian Government: The House of Assembly was first established in 1639, making it the third oldest legislative body in the British Commonwealth after the British Parliament and the Bermuda House of Assembly, respectively. With the signing of the Articles of Agreement in 1652 with Barbados and the Government of Oliver Cromwell, the Barbadian Government was appointed a Governor, Council and Assembly. In 1881, Barbados gained significant control of implementing its own government policy with the establishment of the Executive Committee. For the first time in Barbadian history local members of the Assembly, the Governor, his official advisers, four members of the of the House of Assembly, and one member of the Legislative Council were “given the opportunity to advise on official policy.” Hoyos, 174-177.

Free Blacks were first given the right to vote for members of the House of Assembly in 1831 and further reductions in voting qualifications in 1884 allowed (mostly disenfranchised Blacks) with an income qualification of £50 the right to vote. In 1944, the income qualification was dropped again to £20 a year and finally with universal adult suffrage (1951) and of all males and females above the age of 18 in 1963. Hoyos, 176.

<sup>351</sup> *Ibid.*, 443-444.

<sup>352</sup> *Ibid.*, 443-444 & 446.

<sup>353</sup> Red Leg identity was characterized as, “belonging neither to the white percent of the population...nor to the black 91 percent of the population, [but] to the lowest echelons of which they are nearest in economic and class terms”. Red Leg identity as described by Dr. John Davy, Inspector General of Army Hospitals and resident of Barbados between 1845 and 1848: “Poor Whites, or ‘Redlegs,’ as they are contemptuously called from the red hue of their naked legs.” This was followed by Quintin Hog’s testimony before the West Indies Royal Commission in 1897: “It is a most pitiable thing to see them wandering about with some of the conceit of the



assist in one's family reunification abroad. Nevertheless, similar to the precedent set in the late nineteenth century, the Barbadian Government both facilitated and restricted the early twentieth century movement of its people as outlined in the *1904 Emigration Act*. Government officials had the power to stop the recruitment of emigrants; emigration was at the discretion, implementation, and regulation of the Barbadian Government and its legal system.<sup>354</sup> The *Act* stated:

The Governor-in-Executive Committee with the approval of the Legislature may from time to time by order prohibit, either absolutely or conditionally, the recruiting of labourers or artificers for emigration to, or labour in, any place out of His Majesty's dominions to be mentioned in such orders, and may from time to time revoke, rescind, or vary any such order.<sup>355</sup>

The late nineteenth and turn of the twentieth century Barbadian colonial government implemented strict controls through laws, which clearly classified migrants and determined how they migrated. The Government assisted in the passage of the poorer, Black and possibly White, unemployed and overpopulated proletariat. The Barbadian officials aided in the creation and settlement of labour colonies throughout the West Indies, while simultaneously solving their social problems at home. Overpopulation and unemployment dictated the late nineteenth and early twentieth century sponsored emigration of Barbadians. While the middle classes benefitted from the policies for skilled emigration, the Barbadian Government also implemented schemes that assisted the movement of poorer Black Barbadians.

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white blood, but none of the energy of the European." Hog made an explicit distinction between white skin colour and European or "White" social characteristics. Poor Whites "formed a class which had no economic role to play." They were not accepted by higher class Whites, due to their laziness and arrogance. No legal definition explicitly assigned Poor White status or the Poor White or Red Leg classifier, but was referred to as a, "class comprising all those white groupings outside the pale of the plantocracy and the closely allied business and professional class." Jill Sheppard, *The "Redlegs" of Barbados: Their Origins and History* (Millwood, New York: KTO Press, 1977), 1, 4-6.

<sup>354</sup> BNA, *Laws of Barbados*, 446.

<sup>355</sup> *Ibid.*

The early twentieth century saw little relief for Barbados' social decline due to overpopulation and unemployment. Barbadian planters' argued in favour of emigration believing "only emigration could prevent the degra[tion] [sic] of Barbados."<sup>356</sup> In one of the first initiatives of the twentieth century and following the gendered lens of emigration, the Barbadian Government, in collaboration with the planter class, founded the Victorian Emigration Society, which sponsored the emigration of Barbadian women. By 1901, the programme sponsored approximately two thousand Barbadian female emigrants.<sup>357</sup> The document did not specify the reasoning for the Emigration Society, nor the colour of said emigrants; however, eighteenth and nineteenth century Barbadian social class and gender relations structured poor White women's lives. The St. John School for Female Industry, a vocational school for young White women supported by the Poor Relief fund and the Parish Vestry, exemplified the restrictions placed on White women at the turn of the nineteenth century. The school was created ostensibly for the well-being of young poor White women and to alleviate the financial strain and burden on Poor Relief. However, it was used to

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<sup>356</sup> Payne, *Migration*, 10. This point raised by Payne is interesting to note and somewhat contradictory (however shedding light on the gendered aspects of emigration and labour in Barbados) since it was the planters – the landowning elite class in Barbados – that discouraged male workers from leaving the Island for the Panama Canal project and who boasted of a "super-abundant" labour supply of Black workers (unlike anywhere else in the British West Indies) since Emancipation. They were forced to use female labourers on plantations following the mass exodus of male sojourners to the Isthmus of Panama in the early twentieth century. The planters' motives were to keep a sustained labour pool on plantations to work in a system of neo-slavery. For more on planters, women and labour during the Panama Canal period, see Beckles, *A History of Barbados: From Amerindian Settlement to Nation-State*. Specifically pages 23-28 on the rise of the plantocracy (planter class) in Barbados since the mid-seventeenth century.

<sup>357</sup> Ibid. Victorian Emigration Society: an emigration scheme by the Barbadian Government for the emigration and placement of Barbadian women abroad. In the 1897 "Report on the working of the Victorian Emigration Society", they recorded that 49 of female emigrants found employment abroad; six others were unemployed but husbands found work; eight others were unemployed from their last correspondence; and seven others were unaccounted for. BNA, "Report on the working of the Victorian Emigration Society for 1897," *Official Gazette: Documents laid at Meeting of Assembly of 5<sup>th</sup> July, 1898*, July 21, 1898. Again, there is no record of the colour of said female emigrants, but it is possible once again that these women were White, as there was no explicit mention of the race of female migrants until the mid-twentieth century. See Chapter Five for a discussion on Black West Indian female emigration.

control the sexual behaviour of these young women who were, “existing on the margins of white society.”<sup>358</sup> Poor White women “represented a potentially threatening category whose socio-sexual behaviour...could seriously undermine and disrupt the ideologies and practices of hegemonic white ruling patriarchy.”<sup>359</sup> Cecily Jones described the “innate blackness of white women” and the supposed altruistic and protective control of female sexuality within the Barbadian slavocracy. Poor White women were subject to physical constraints through the prohibition of socio-sexual relationships with Black men, designed to protect the ideological creation of “Whiteness” assigned and implemented by the White male patriarchal ruling elite.<sup>360</sup> Seventeenth century Barbadian sex ratios reflected 150 males per 100 females. Following mass White emigration during the eighteenth century, and following Emancipation, the sex ratio declined significantly.<sup>361</sup> Winthrop Jordan contended higher class White men’s “natural reaction” was to place White women, “protectively upon a pedestal and then run off to gratify passions elsewhere,” while White women were held “aloof from the world of lust and passion.”<sup>362</sup> One may argue that the sponsored emigration of White women displayed the patriarchal control over female autonomy.<sup>363</sup> Scottish Abolitionist William Dickson believed elite White women in Barbados “deserve the first place on the side of humanity – a virtue which many of them carry to an excess, which is not only troublesome to their husbands, but really injurious to their slaves,” and he admired their “economy, sobriety, fidelity and attachment to their husbands,” as their husbands “live[d] in

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<sup>358</sup> Cecily Jones, *Engendering Whiteness: White Women and Colonialism in Barbados and North Carolina, 1627-1865* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 14-23.

<sup>359</sup> Ibid. Also see the discussion on Mariana Valverde in Chapter Four on controlling sexuality and Canadian nation-building.

<sup>360</sup> Ibid.

<sup>361</sup> Winthrop Jordan, “American Chiaroscuro: The Status and Definition of Mulattoes in the British Colonies,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 19 (1962), 197. For more on sex ratios see Chapter Five.

<sup>362</sup> Ibid.

<sup>363</sup> Ibid.

such habits of intimacy with the female domestic slaves.”<sup>364</sup> One may then argue the 1901 Victorian Emigration Society was a derivative of an eighteenth and nineteenth century patriarchal ideology to control female, White or Black, agency.<sup>365</sup> Gender played a significant role in the history of Barbadian emigration. Not surprisingly, the surviving documents do not allow historians to interpret and analyze the marginalized late nineteenth and early twentieth century female voice as they focused primarily on the political and economic determinants, specifically labour and unemployment, of emigration.

With respect to labour on the Island and issues of unemployment, the Colonial Report of 1927 detailed that “notwithstanding the emigration which takes place annually to Cuba and other West Indian islands there is an abundant supply of labour for the requirements of the Colony.”<sup>366</sup> Emigration as a solution to unemployment and overpopulation continued throughout the early to mid-twentieth century. In the first meeting of the West Indies Standing Conference at Barbados, January 24<sup>th</sup>, 1928, representatives from all British West Indian colonies, British Guiana, and Bermuda, discussed emigration and the logistics and assistance for emigration settlement schemes and West Indians migrating to non-British West Indian colonies. The representatives proposed the establishment of an organization to help and “serve the interests” of West Indians in Cuba. They discussed the establishment of a permit system for emigrants in foreign countries and a “fund for defraying the cost of relief of destitute West Indians in foreign countries and the cost of their repatriation in certain

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<sup>364</sup> William Dickson, *Letters on Slavery* (London: Printed and Sold by J. Philips, George-Yard, Lombard-Street, and sold by J. Johnson, St. Paul’s Church-Yard, and Elliot and Kay, Opposite Somerset Place, Strand, 1789), 38 & 93.

<sup>365</sup> With respect to White women, emigration could have been a response to White men wanting to hypocritically control miscegenation on the Island.

<sup>366</sup> BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1422; Barbados, Report for 1927-28* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1929), 25.

cases.”<sup>367</sup> It was a government assisted social security and safety net for West Indian emigrants. The Great Depression created pressures for further government involvement for the welfare of British West Indian sojourners.

The Great Depression devastated Barbadian and West Indian economies, specifically the volatile sugar industry which was dependent on the global market. Unemployment reached epic proportions during the 1930s and possible schemes to stem the effects of the Depression on the sugar industry included “any schemes of migration of labourers or land settlements.”<sup>368</sup> Barbados had “an abundant supply of labour,” and needed avenues to employ or relocate the unemployed as the “door to emigration [was] closed.”<sup>369</sup> Canadian merchant ships employed “a number of Barbadian seamen...on ships of the Canadian National Steamships and the Furness Wilthy Line”; however, by 1932 as the Depression worsened, “the changes of employment for Barbadian seamen were further reduced by the decision of the Canadian National Steamships to carry Canadian crews on their passenger steamers calling at West Indian ports.”<sup>370</sup> The economic prosperity and opportunity for Barbadian seamen was intrinsically linked to Canadian, and global, economic and labour determinants. Moreover, “the causes of unemployment in Barbados are chiefly the discontinuance of emigration to foreign countries, the discontinuance of employment of local

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<sup>367</sup> Ibid, 8.

<sup>368</sup> BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1462; Barbados, Report for 1928-29* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1929), 5.

<sup>369</sup> Ibid., 31; BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1544; Barbados, Report for 1930-31* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1931), 16. Barbados experienced a population increase in the 1920s due to immigration exceeding emigration. There is no explicit evidence for why this occurred but it is possible that with the completion of the Panama Canal in 1914 fewer Barbadians migrated for work abroad. Each year of the 1920s (notwithstanding 1923 & 1928), “shows an increase of immigration over emigration,” and the average net increase of the 1920s: 972 persons. The 1921 Census states the racial characteristics of Barbados as 71% Black, 22% Mixed, and 7% White. Illiteracy: 17.71% of Barbadian population illiterate in 1930; 15.07% in 1931. BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1544; Barbados, Report for 1930-31* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1931), 6-7.

<sup>370</sup> BNA, *Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of Barbados, 1931-32* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1932), 17.

seamen by the Lampart and Holt and Canadian National Steamship Companies.”<sup>371</sup> The 1933 Colonial Report continued on the direct causal relationship of discontinued emigration and unemployment, adding “the decline of the coaling trade of the port, the wide-spread disinclination of the inhabitants to undertake agricultural work. The absence of adequate vocational training in the educational system of the Island is also a contributing factor.”<sup>372</sup> By 1934, 4,109 people registered with the newly opened Barbadian Employment Agency as “opportunities for employment...have practically ceased and Barbados has now to look within for the solution of its problem of over-population.”<sup>373</sup> This chapter has explained that since the late nineteenth century Barbadian authorities identified overpopulation as a key problem on the Island and emigration as a possible solution. However, during this Depression period the historical solution for employment through emigration to countries such as Canada ceased to exist; the global economic Depression thwarted the Island’s solutions to alleviate the pressures of overpopulation.<sup>374</sup>

Despite the Depression, the Barbadian Government proposed and enacted several measures for the settlement of emigrants abroad during the late 1930s. Barbadian colonial officials continued the emigration scheme with the *Recruiting of Workers Act* of 1938. The *Act* set to “carry out certain Conventions relating to recruiting of workers,” and restricted the age of recruitment to sixteen years of age, or fourteen with the consent of a parent or

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<sup>371</sup> Ibid, 17.

<sup>372</sup> BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1544; Barbados, Report for 1930-31* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1931), 17; BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1595; Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of Barbados, 1931-32* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1932), 17; BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1632; Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of Barbados, 1932-33* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1933), 34.

<sup>373</sup> BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1725; Barbados, Report for 1934-35* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1935), 34.

<sup>374</sup> BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1861; Barbados, Report for 1937-1938* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1938), 17.

guardian “for employment upon light work.”<sup>375</sup> Other employment acts of 1938 included the *Labour (Minimum Wage) Act*, and the *Employment of Women, Young Persons and Children Act*, 1938-42.<sup>376</sup> By 1938, 7,412 people registered with the Barbadian employment agency.<sup>377</sup> The Barbadian Government continued to facilitate and regulate the transnational travels of its people and proposed the creation of labour colonies throughout the British West Indies. Payne noted that the colonial government owned foreign land in the West Indies to settle Barbadian nationals as temporary workers.<sup>378</sup> Barbados became its own hegemonic power within the Caribbean archipelago in an attempt to solve its unemployment and overpopulation crisis. On the eve of the Second World War, the Barbadian Government procured Vieux Fort Plantation in St. Lucia for the settlement of its surplus citizens. The report from The Committee for the Settlement of Barbadians at Vieux Fort, St. Lucia detailed that the settlement scheme revealed the Barbadian Government’s ownership of a sugar factory in St. Lucia. Colonial Barbados owned the land and factory in St. Lucia and subsequently employed their “surplus population.” Desperate to assuage its growing population and unemployment, Barbados sought avenues to support the country and its people on the eve of the Second World War.<sup>379</sup>

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<sup>375</sup> BNA, By authority, revised and consolidated by C.V.H. Archer, B.A. (Cantab.), Barrister-at-Law and W.K. Ferguson, B.A., LL.B (Cantab.), Barrister-at-Law, *Laws of Barbados: Vol. V: 1928-5 – 1942-8, Barbados* (Barbados: Advocate Company Limited, 1944), 415 & 417. “Nothing in this Act contained shall affect the provisions of the Emigration Act, 1904.” BNA, *Laws of Barbados: Vol. V*, 419.

<sup>376</sup> *The Labour (Minimum Wage) Act*, enacted May 6<sup>th</sup>, 1938, and the *Employment of Women, Young Persons and Children Act*, enacted July 13<sup>th</sup>, 1938. BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1861; Barbados, Report for 1937-1938* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1938), 18.

<sup>377</sup> *Ibid*, 19.

<sup>378</sup> *Migration*, Payne, 11.

<sup>379</sup> BNA, *The Report of the Committee Appointed to Draw up a Detailed Scheme for the Settlement of Barbadians at Vieux Fort, St. Lucia, 1937*. Similar migration and settlement schemes were forwarded in the 1960s with sponsored emigration to Dominica due to overpopulation and the “surplus population” issue in Barbados. *The Report of the Delegation Appointed to Visit Dominica*, examined the possible settlement of Barbadians in Dominica in the 1960s. Issues included social services, climate and agriculture, infrastructure, and education and schools (Dominica had a lower standard of education than Barbados). The attitude was favourable towards Barbadian immigrants in Dominica: “Expressions of opinion were in favour of Barbadian settlers especially in view of the reputation of the Barbadian as a farmer and of his reputed general

## Barbadian Emigration to the United States

During the Second World War, Barbados also benefitted from the United States' sponsored temporary worker initiatives for the Allied War Effort. The United States War and Food Administration and the War Manpower Commission by the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission recruited Barbadians and West Indians for agricultural and industrial work for the war effort in the United States. In 1944, 3,605 Barbadians laboured in the United States; 3,086 were employed in Florida with the United States Sugar Corporation in 1946. By the end of 1947, 188 Barbadians worked in Florida and 516 men were recruited for work abroad, mostly throughout the Caribbean region. The territorial United States employed approximately 17,000 West Indians as well as many other foreign nationals in American owned bases in the Caribbean, including Antigua and St. Thomas.<sup>380</sup> The Second World War provided many sponsored emigration outlets for Barbadians. Also immediately following the War there were many opportunities for employment abroad. In 1946, West Indians employed by the United States Sugar Corporation harvested crops on the mainland. The shortage of manpower in the United States, and particularly in the United Kingdom during and following the Second World War, created mass emigration opportunities, most on a temporary basis, for Barbadians and West Indians.<sup>381</sup> However, by 1949, American temporary labour migration slowed down.<sup>382</sup> The early 1950s ushered in a new era of United

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industriousness nature." Dominica suffered a population decrease due to mass migrations to Britain. They needed a population increase through immigration for economic development. BNA, *The Report of the Delegation Appointed To Visit Dominica to Examine the Possibilities of a Land Settlement Scheme there for Barbadians* (Bay Street, Barbados: Government Printing Office, 1960), 5; BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1861; Barbados, Report for 1937-1938* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1938), 8.

<sup>380</sup> Payne, *Migration*, 11-12. BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Year 1947* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1948), 8-9.

<sup>381</sup> King, *Migration*, 15.

<sup>382</sup> BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Year 1949* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1950), 10.



States immigration as the *McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act* of 1952 defined the country's post-war immigration policy and effectively curtailed Barbadian and West Indian migration.<sup>383</sup> Nicolaus Mills argued the *McCarran Act* “eliminated racial barriers to naturalization and thereby to immigration”; however, it “retained most of the quota preferences of the 1924 (immigration) law.”<sup>384</sup> The *Johnson-Reed Act*, the *Immigration Act* of 1924, set a yearly limit of 150,000 immigrants a year from outside the Western Hemisphere and “then divided the 150,000 into quotas based on a country's share of the total population in 1920.”<sup>385</sup> The *Johnson-Reed Act* restricted immigration “on the basis of national origins, and quotas were set that favored the immigrants from northern and western European nations.”<sup>386</sup> The 1952 *McCarran Act* ostensibly eliminated the overt racialization of American immigration policy; however, the quota system marginalized West Indian emigration flows. Reflecting on the 1924 and 1952 Acts, as he addressed the new US *Immigration Act* of 1965, US Senator Edward Kennedy stated it was a “reassertion and return to the American liberal tradition.”<sup>387</sup> The new Act “peremptorily rejected the racist assumptions of an earlier era, amended those sections of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 incorporating the original national origins quota system, and set up individual rather than group criteria for the admission of immigrants.”<sup>388</sup> A comprehensive study of

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<sup>383</sup> Now known in this chapter and beyond as the *McCarran Act*.

<sup>384</sup> Nicolaus Mills, *Arguing Immigration: The Debate Over the Changing Face of America* (New York: Touchstone, Simon & Schuster Inc., 1994), 16.

<sup>385</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>386</sup> Silvia Pedraza, introduction to *Origins and Destinies: Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in America*, eds. Silvia Pedraza & Ruben G. Rumbant (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1996), 7.

<sup>387</sup> Edward Kennedy, “Favoritism based on nationality will disappear,” in *Immigration and the American Tradition (The American Heritage Series)*, ed. Moses Rischin (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1976), 429.

<sup>388</sup> *Ibid.* For more information on the 1924, 1952, and 1965 US *Immigration Acts*, respectively, and a general overview of the history of late nineteenth and early twentieth century US immigration, see “McCarran Act Unwelcome,” *The Science News-Letter – Society for Science & the Public* 62 (1952): 406, <http://jstor.org/stable/3931339>.; Marion T. Bennett, “The Immigration and Nationality (McCarran-Walter) Act of 1952, as Amended to 1965,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 367 (1966): 127-136, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1034850>.; David C. Corbett, *Canada's Immigration Policy: A Critique*

Barbadian migration to the United States is beyond the scope of this dissertation; however, it is worth noting that Barbadians also overcame racist and exclusionary American immigration policy. The global economic and political climate enabled, and restricted, early and mid-twentieth century recruited Barbadian labour migration to the United States.

During the post-war period, the United States embassy in Barbados employed four American citizens and eleven Barbadian nationals to aid in the recruitment and selection of potential emigrants to the United States. By 1968, 2000 Barbadians landed in the United States, as compared to 39 in 1953.<sup>389</sup> During the 1950s, Barbadians continued to sign “short-term” – temporary worker – contracts in the United States as unemployment continued to devastate the Barbadian economy.<sup>390</sup> The 1952 & 1953 Colonial Report recorded that the

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(Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957); Elyse Dodgson, *Motherland: West Indian Women to Britain in the 1950s* (Oxford: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1984); Monica H. Gordon, “Dependents or Independent Workers?: The Status of Caribbean Immigrant Women in the United States,” in *In Search of a Better Life: Perspectives on Migration from the Caribbean*, ed. Ransford W. Palmer (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1990), 115-137; Lingxin Hao, *Color Lines, Country Lines: Race, Immigration, and Wealth Stratification in America* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2007); Charles B. Keely, “Effects of the Immigration Act of 1965 on Selected Population Characteristics of Immigrants to the United States,” *Demography* 8 (1971): 157-169, <http://jstor.org/stable/2060606>.; Terry L. McCoy, “A Primer for U.S. Policy on Caribbean Migration: Responding to Pressures,” in *The Caribbean Exodus*, ed. Barry B. Levine (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1987); 225-241; Pedraza and Rumbant; David M. Reimers, “Post-World War II Immigration to the United States: America’s Latest Newcomers,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 454, *America as a Multicultural Society* (1981): 1-12, <http://jstor.org/stable/1044241>.; Paul Spickard, *Almost All Aliens: Immigration, Race, and Colonialism in American History and Identity* (New York: Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group, 2007). For a description of different immigrant waves to the United States, in particular the five defined by Micheal C. LeMay’s “Doors”: “Open-Door Era”, 1820-1880, with “virtually no restrictions in policy”; “Door-Ajar Era”, 1880-1920, “[the] beginnings of restrictions in policy”; “Pet-Door Era”, 1920-1940, “national origins quota system dominated the policy and severely limited the influx of immigration”; “Dutch-Door Era”, 1960-1990, “less restrictionist phase of immigration policy...but one with a decided basis,” particularly for special refugees from communism and those with “preferences”; “Storm-Door Era”, 1990-present, it is a new cycle to restrict and guard the US from “terrorism” or the “uncontrolled influx of ‘illegal’ immigrants”. Michael C. LeMay, *Guarding the Gates: Immigration and National Security* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Security International, 2006), 6-7. See also Pedraza, in *Origins and Destinies* and Mills for immigrant waves.

<sup>389</sup> Sweany, *Migration*, 35-36. A January 27<sup>th</sup>, 1967 article in one of Barbados’ national newspapers, “U.S. Cuts Migration Limit on Bajans,” stated “According to Mr. George Doigin (U.S. Consulate- General in Barbados), the new system is now in effect and immigration by native-born Barbadians is no longer subject to numerical limitation as had been the case before independence,” with respect to emigration to the United States. *The Advocate*, January 27, 1967.

<sup>390</sup> By 1950, 5,000 men in Barbados were either unemployed or underemployed. It was also the year that persons emigrating (21,040) exceeded immigration (20,734). The disparity was the first time in recorded

“estimated seasonal unemployment during the inter-crop period is approximately 10,000” Barbadians.<sup>391</sup> It is interesting to note that the number of Barbadian seasonal workers in the United States – cotton and citrus agriculturalists in Florida – increased following the *McCarran Act* of 1952; they numbered 717 emigrants in 1952 and 1000 in 1953. Barbadian workers “were selected by the employers from persons called up by the Bureau of Employment and Emigration maintained by the Labour Department.”<sup>392</sup> The Barbadian Government continued to recognize and attempt to alleviate overpopulation and unemployment through sponsored emigration, especially for temporary migrant seasonal work in the United States. Despite the new immigration restrictions of 1952, American employers continued to accept cheap “super-abundant” Barbadian labour, which further perpetuated the class-based temporary status of West Indian migrants. Nevertheless, overpopulation remained a key issue in Barbados and the “Joint Committee of both Chambers of the Legislature [was] set up in 1951 to study the question of overpopulation.”<sup>393</sup> In addition to the recommendation for Family Planning Clinics, emigration once again was a sustainable solution for overpopulation.<sup>394</sup> The Report stated, “The amount of unemployment is considerable. As a result, a flow of emigration began in 1954, and attained considerable proportions in 1955.”<sup>395</sup> Under schemes initiated by Barbadian and West Indian governments, 329 Barbadians were placed and signed under contract as agricultural workers with American authorities in 1954. In 1954, a total of 1,003 contracted Barbadians worked

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history, within the period studied for the dissertation from the Colonial Reports. BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1950 and 1951* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1952), 9 & 11.

<sup>391</sup> BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1952 and 1953* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1954), 10. The “inter-crop” period was from the end of May until the beginning of January.

<sup>392</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>393</sup> BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1954 and 1955* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1957), 9.

<sup>394</sup> For more on population control see Chapter Five.

<sup>395</sup> BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1954 and 1955* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1957), 9 & 20.

in the United States, and the number dropped slightly to 985 in 1955. In the same year, 2,990 migrants left Barbados for employment overseas, with 401 settling in the United States. The previous figures highlighted Barbadians “temporarily or permanently, in search of work.”<sup>396</sup> The 1954 & 1955 Report reiterated that the Barbadian Government “assisted emigration, in an effort to relieve unemployment, by securing employment and accommodation overseas for emigrants, and by making loans to emigrants for whom those were assured.”<sup>397</sup> While the Barbadian Government supported the emigration of its people to the United States, Barbadian migrants relied on their own diasporic networks to aid in their settlement.

The United States federal government did not provide settlement programmes for new Barbadian immigrants; newcomers relied on the generosity and benevolence of private organizations including the Barbados ex-police. Most Barbadians settled in New York City and 80-90% identified as Black. The influx of a new Black ethnic group created African-American and Black West Indian antagonisms. Despite the phenotypic and soft primordial relationship, similar to Anglo-American and continental European strife in nineteenth century North America, the new ethnic Blacks – West Indians – did not integrate and assimilate with the charter member African-Americans. This was due in part to the divergent histories of the British colonies and the differences in the institution and practice of slavery, but also from White American socially constructed codifications and its compartmentalization of Black ethnicity in the United States. As noted in Chapter Two, White perceptions of Black and African-American identity influenced the settlement and

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<sup>396</sup> See Appendix D in List of Appendices for a table of West Indian and Barbadian Farm Workers in the United States between 1956 and 1963. These figures provide a foundation for temporary emigration to the United States and are intended to highlight Barbadian sojourners and the government-sponsored outlets that facilitated their emigration – specifically for employment and not necessarily permanent settlement – during the 1950s. This process was similar to Beckles’ discussion on circuitous migration of Black Barbadians to the Isthmus of Panama during the early twentieth century.

<sup>397</sup> BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1954 and 1955* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1957), 9 & 20.

identity of ethnic Blacks in the Americas and the United States. According to Garrett Sweany, West Indians were seen as “better” in the eyes of White America compared to “lazy” African-Americans. Black Canadians and Black West Indians in Canada experienced a similar de-unifying racist ideology.<sup>398</sup>

Jamaican-born Black political leader, Marcus Garvey, had addressed the Black West Indian and African-American schism in the United States and had called for a united Black and Pan-African front in a speech at Madison Square Garden, March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1924.<sup>399</sup> Garvey believed that his Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) represented “the hopes and aspirations of the awakened Negro. Our desire is for a place in the world; not to disturb the tranquility of other men.”<sup>400</sup> Garvey did not classify Blacks in terms of ethnic or national background; he believed that Blacks were “divided into two groups, the industrious and adventurous, and the lazy and dependent.”<sup>401</sup> The well-being of the Black race superseded the divisive nature of historically constructed social and political boundaries. Garvey argued that the industrious, adventurous and socially conscious “awakened Negro,” believed that “whatsoever others have done [the UNIA] can do,” and the “Universal Negro Improvement Association belongs to this group, and so you find us working, six million strong, to the goal of an independent nationality.”<sup>402</sup> Marcus Garvey and the UNIA laid the groundwork for an early twentieth century Black and Pan-African united front, one that struggled for consolidation as the pre-eminent Black political bastion. New waves of West Indian immigrants during the mid-twentieth century experienced socio-economic, ideological, and

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<sup>398</sup> Sweany, *Migration*, 35-36.

<sup>399</sup> Marcus Garvey, “Speech Before Negro Citizens of New York”, at Madison Square Garden, Sunday, March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1924, at 4 o’clock, pp. 2-11. Reprinted by permission of Mrs. A Jacques Garvey, in *Immigration and the American Tradition (The American Heritage Series)*, ed. Moses Rischin (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1976).

<sup>400</sup> *Ibid.*, 254.

<sup>401</sup> *Ibid.*, 257.

<sup>402</sup> *Ibid.*

cultural backlash from African-Americans as they struggled to maintain their autonomy, and precariously marginalized existence, in American society. Garvey's position on Pan-Africanism and universal Black self-empowerment challenged the notion of the "better" West Indian immigrants as compared to "lazy" African-Americans, which perpetuated racialized migrant stereotypes. Garvey deconstructed "Black" negative identifications and positioned Blacks as a unified and politicized group with common interests despite their immigrant or "native" status. Marshall argued that this disconnect in Black consciousness favoured White American racial hegemony, which was manifested in its immigration policy. She noted that "acculturated Afro-Americans in the United States formed a buffer for white American society, a foil against which the black immigrant/white host interaction could be played, as well as a section of American society into which the black West Indians could be absorbed."<sup>403</sup> Black identity played a pivotal role in the settlement and migration of Black West Indians in the United States; it exploited White American and African-American divisions and also mobilized the Black political class.

The British and American treatment of Blacks during the institution of slavery, and in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, created the divergent socio-economic and cultural legacy of British subjects and African-Americans, respectively. Lingxin Hao, a scholar of the socio-economics of racial stratification in the United States stated, "although heterogeneous, black immigrants and African Americans have two things in common: their historical experience of slavery and their contemporary experience of racial discrimination."<sup>404</sup> The ideology of the Black "race" must not be conflated with the factual reality of Black ethnicity. While slavery and discrimination were the common bonds that

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<sup>403</sup> Marshall, "A History of West Indian Migrations," 27.

<sup>404</sup> Hao, 180.

tied Blacks in the Americas, this generalization exacerbated Black ethnic divisions in twentieth century United States, and continues to cause strife to this day. Black West Indians and African-Americans both have a history of slavery; however, West Indians “have had greater economic opportunities during and after slavery.”<sup>405</sup> As opposed to the segregated and marginalized racialized minority of Blacks in the United States, the West Indian Black majority “developed a higher achievement orientation,” in the Caribbean.<sup>406</sup> The colonized British subjects experienced greater socio-economic and political autonomy and educational opportunities, particularly in the early twentieth century. However, this “cultural advantage” was lost on the progeny of the mid-twentieth century charter West Indian emigrants in the United States. American-style racial discrimination eroded the West Indian culture of upward mobility, and Hao argued that “though the first generation of British Caribbean immigrants achieve upward economic mobility and outperform African Americans, the stubborn U.S. racial hierarchy confines them to the lowest tier.”<sup>407</sup> West Indian immigrants lost “ground because of the downward succession of neighbourhoods and communities and the downward assimilation of the second generation.”<sup>408</sup> Black West Indians and African-Americans were forced to fight for scarce and often times non-existent resources. Colour, and White perceptions of Blackness, remained a contributing factor to Black Barbadian

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<sup>405</sup> Ibid.

<sup>406</sup> Ibid., 180-181.

<sup>407</sup> Ibid.

<sup>408</sup> Ibid., 181. For more information on the Black West Indian, Black Immigrant, and the African-American divide in the United States, see Carol Dean Archer, “Caribbean Immigrants Changing the Political Landscape of New York City,” in *Freedom and Constraint in Caribbean Migration and Diaspora*, ed. Elizabeth Thomas-Hope (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers, 2009), 64-76. Archer argues that Black West Indians adopt an overarching “Caribbean identity” as a cultural and political tool and she discusses the differences in the identity of Jamaican and African-American students with comparable academic achievement. See also Mary C. Waters, *Black Identities: West Indian Immigrant Dreams and American Realities* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999); Lawrence Harrison, *Who Prospers?* (New York: Basic Books, 1992); Gordon Lewis, *Main Currents in Caribbean Thought: The Historical Evolution of Carib Society in its Ideological Aspects, 1492-1900* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983); Nancy Foner, “West Indians in New York City and London: A Comparative Analysis,” *International Migration Review* 13 (1979): 284-297, <http://jstor.org/stable/2545033>; Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1963).

marginalization in the United States. The Second World War was a watershed moment for Black Barbadian and West Indian migration; they were enlisted as temporary workers and contributed to the United States War effort and subsequently recruited to contribute to Britain's post-war reconstruction.

### **Barbadian Emigration to the United Kingdom**

The United Kingdom became the primary destination for Barbadian emigrants following the Second World War. As the colonial master, and its desperate need for labourers, Britain was a natural pull for British subjects in the West Indies; the emigration of West Indians to the United Kingdom “was the first movement to a totally white host society.”<sup>409</sup> Ceri Peach argued that “the expansion of the British economy...created gaps at the lower end of the occupational and residential ladder to which West Indians and other coloured immigrants have been drawn in as replacement population.”<sup>410</sup> He continued stating that “the main determinant of West Indian migration to Britain has been the demand for labour.”<sup>411</sup> The high demand for labour in the United Kingdom during the 1950s facilitated migration outlets and nearly all emigrants from Barbados left for the British Isles between 1954 and 1955 for permanent settlement. The Barbadian Government initiated several services and put forth legislation in 1955 to aid in the emigration and settlement of its citizens to the United Kingdom, including the Welfare and Liaison Service.<sup>412</sup> The Service was established for the “benefit of Barbadian emigrants in the United Kingdom,” and the service assisted 1,028

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<sup>409</sup> Marshall, “A History of West Indian Migrations,” 27.

<sup>410</sup> Ceri Peach, *West Indian Migration to Britain: A Social Geography* (London: Published for the Institute of Race Relations, London, Oxford University Press, 1968), 92.

<sup>411</sup> Ibid.

<sup>412</sup> Peach notes that “Barbados was the only government (in the West Indies) to encourage emigration. Thus, in this case a correlation between emigration to the U.K. and density might have been expected.” Ibid., 20.



Barbadians under the Government scheme.<sup>413</sup> The Barbadian *Employment Exchanges Act of 1955* enabled the “Governor-in-Executive Committee to establish and maintain employment exchanges in such places as he thinks fit...[and] to meet the expense of persons desiring to travel to places outside the Island when work is available to them.”<sup>414</sup> The Liaison Service, “assisted with the welfare of all Barbadian workers arriving in England.”<sup>415</sup> Through sponsored emigration, the Barbadian Government facilitated the permanent settlement of citizens abroad, and “the Government continued to grant loans under specified conditions to Barbadians wishing to emigrate permanently.”<sup>416</sup> The Government selected and provided grants to those that qualified to migrate to the United Kingdom.

Mr. T.F. King, speaking at the Barbadian Migration Lectures in 1968, highlighted the selection and screening process of Barbadians in the Island seeking work in the United Kingdom. London Transport was the main employer for Barbadian sponsored emigrants. The selection process was as follows: the Labour Department in Barbados, on behalf of London Transport, administered tests for individuals in Barbados, and processed them on site. Following a two-week training course in Britain, the Barbadian candidates began their

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<sup>413</sup> Ibid.

<sup>414</sup> In 1955, 2,754 Barbadian emigrants left for the United Kingdom. Voluntary workers who used the Government Employment & Exchange in 1954 totaled 39 Barbadians selected as student nurses in English hospitals and in 361 Barbadians selected and took employment in the UK in 1955. BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1954 and 1955* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1957), 9 & 26.

<sup>415</sup> BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1956 and 1957* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1959), 14-15.

<sup>416</sup> From 1954-1957, 3,049 Barbadians used the scheme and most went to the UK. During that period, \$964,807 were loaned by the Government of which \$475,076 were repaid. BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1956 and 1957* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1959), 14-15. The 1958 & 1959 reports noted the Barbadian Government loans for emigration for transportation costs to the UK in September 1954, “4,204 loans totaling \$1,331,057 have been made of which \$922,845 were repaid at the end of December 1959,” and “8,438 persons received loans totaling \$2,883,875.20 of which amount \$2,063,572.86 was repaid up to the end of 1963.” BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1954 and 1955* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1957), 14-15; BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1958 and 1959* (Barbados: Government Printing Office, 1961), 19; BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1962 and 1963* (Barbados: Government Printing Office, 1965), 14.

employment.<sup>417</sup> Reginald Eric Taylor was one of the young Barbadians selected and recruited to work for London Transport and described his recruitment process:

One day in early January 1960 one of our Central Foundry colleagues came back during lunch and enquired whether any of us were interested in emigrating to England. Beginning in the mid-1950s Barbados was actively recruiting persons interested in accepting work in England. The available work in England included British Rail, Hospitals, some restaurants, and London Transport, both on the buses and underground on the subway trains. The salary in England was said to be in the region of 7 pound per week, (the equivalent of 28 Barbadian dollars at the time).

We universally rejected his offer since at Central Foundry our pay was either \$21.50 or \$31.50, but he pressed on with his invitation informing that our work would be at Foundry at 24 pounds per week, and not in any of the above mentioned fields. Conversion of British pounds to Barbados dollars means that 24 pounds equal \$96.00 Barbados Dollars. That salary coupled with the fact that we were being recruited to work in a foundry, five of us from the foundry immediately left to go to the recruitment centre. Our colleague had suggested that we informed them at the centre that he had sent us. That we did on arrival there. Immediately following that first interview they dispatched us to the Enmore Health Centre for health testing. That visit to Enmore was a firm indication that we were about to be selected to travel to England. Significantly, one of our CF colleagues never returned to work after that visit. I distinctly remember that on a visit to the Recruitment Centre one of the managers came to us and asked who is Blenman, stating that I have spoken with your father.

The way things go in Barbados even today in 2010, one usually needs to have a godfather, one to speak for you, in order to make any progress. There were five of us from Central Foundry who went over to the recruitment centre, but the Government was recruiting four (4) persons to go to England. We at CF felt that the guy who never returned to work at CF and the guy whom the manager said "I have spoken with your father" were on the selected list. Now that would have been two (2) of the required four (4). For our last interview, we had to attend another location where we also had to pay a deposit for travelling on the ship to England. I must note that in spite of the fact that they only required four they still had six of us to attend that last interview and to bring the deposit which was about \$100.00 BDS. On leaving that interview another of our CF colleagues informed us that he was a personal friend of the interviewer. That sealed it for me. I was one of the remaining three who were not yet selected and upon leaving there I immediately telephoned the character who was speaking for me. He assured that I was selected on the list to travel. That information was confirmed when

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<sup>417</sup> King, *Migration*, 16-17.

someone from the recruitment called me next day, gave the news of the aforementioned colleagues, and asked to come over right away.

We went over and had our selection confirmed. We traveled by an upscale French Liner, the *SS Colombie*. We took eleven days to reach Southampton, England. We left Barbados on January 28, 1960 and arrived at Southampton on February 08, 1960.<sup>418</sup>

Taylor was one of the many young Barbadians that took the opportunity offered by the recruitment schemes and his passage to England was expedited by youthful exuberance and the thought of higher wages abroad.<sup>419</sup> His account is an excellent example of the Autonomous Bajan and how the individual initiated his or her migration overseas as the Barbadian Government simplified and facilitated the procedure for those that were qualified in a specific field. Employed as a skilled worker as a mechanic repairing ship engines in the Diesel Department at Barbados' Central Foundry, Taylor was qualified to join London Transport immediately and set sail for England within the same month of his first inquiry to go abroad.<sup>420</sup> This process was unlike the cases of "exceptional merit" profiled in Chapter Five where Barbadian nurses Gloria Ramsay and Pearl Thompson waited seven months and one year, respectively, for admission and employment in their field in Canada in the mid-1950s.<sup>421</sup> Conversely, Barbadian nurses were in high demand in the United Kingdom in the 1950s and student nurses from Barbados received similar screening and training procedures to those outlined by Taylor. The 1956 & 1957 Colonial Report stated that "a number of" student nurses and other hospital workers left for the United Kingdom.<sup>422</sup> Payne estimated

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<sup>418</sup> Reginald Eric Taylor, "Education is the Key: My Life, My Story" (unpublished memoir, 2010). For more on a detailed account of the recruitment process, see John Western, *A Passage to England: Barbadian Londoners Speak of Home* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 44-47.

<sup>419</sup> See Western pages 46-47 for more on other Barbadian stories of financial gain, social mobility and the ambition of young Barbadian emigrants in England during the 1950s and 1960s. See Western pages 89-101 for more on Barbadians working for London Transport in the United Kingdom.

<sup>420</sup> Reginald Eric Taylor, "Education is the Key: My Life, My Story" (unpublished memoir, 2010).

<sup>421</sup> See Chapter Five.

<sup>422</sup> BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1956 and 1957* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1959), 14-15. The Nursing Selection Committee sent student nurses, mental nurses, pupil

about 60,000 Barbadians lived in Britain following the Second World War and up to the introduction of the exclusionary and controversial *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* in 1962 that restricted Black West Indian settlement in the United Kingdom.<sup>423</sup> The 1952 *McCarran Act* effectively curtailed permanent Barbadian and West Indian migration to the United States and along with failing economic conditions in the West Indies, it is believed that these were additional reasons why emigration to Britain increased.<sup>424</sup> Audley Simmons, a former London Transport employee stated that with the *McCarran Act*, “America closed down, and England opened up.”<sup>425</sup>

Robert Pastor argued that the United States accepted high levels of Caribbean emigrants immediately following the Second World War, but the migration flow shifted dramatically after the implementation of the *McCarran Act*. He stated that “one study estimated that before the McCarran-Walter Act went into effect, for every West Indian who migrated to Great Britain, nine went to the United States. After the act the ratio was reversed.”<sup>426</sup> Barbadian emigration was not dictated by unilateral and binary movements of migrants from one country to the next; it worked within the global context of the political,

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assistant nurses and nursing auxiliaries to UK hospitals. BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1958 and 1959* (Barbados: Government Printing Office, 1961), 19.

<sup>423</sup> The *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* will be discussed in depth later in this chapter.

<sup>424</sup> Marshall stated that “not until the 1950s did the stream become significant and it is generally accepted that the 1952 Walter/McCarran Act was partly responsible for this deflection to the United Kingdom.” Marshall, “A History of West Indian Migrations,” 26.

<sup>425</sup> Western, 46.

<sup>426</sup> Robert Pastor, “The Impact of U.S. Immigration Policy on Caribbean Emigration: Does it Matter?,” in *The Caribbean Exodus*, ed. Barry B. Levine (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1987), 250. Pastor’s chapter examined the history of Caribbean emigration to the United States beginning in the late nineteenth century and US immigration policy towards West Indians. He also highlighted how the 1962 *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* shifted the migration flow back to the United States, “first coming through the side door (as spouses, relatives, and so on), then the back door, and finally, with independence and subsequently the 1965 immigration act, through the front door as well.” *Ibid.*, 251. Also see Marshall’s statement that “it is generally accepted that the 1952 *Walter-McCarran Act* was partly responsible for this deflection to the United Kingdom,” and Lingxin Hao that “the major flow of Jamaican emigrants went to the United States,” following the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* in 1962 and the United States’ new immigration act of 1965. Marshall, “The History of Caribbean Migrations,” 52, and Hao, 165.

social, and economic environment of the receiving countries.<sup>427</sup> Moreover, the bureaucracy of state governments simultaneously facilitated and restricted the international migration of Barbadians across the globe. Individual Barbadians experienced agency as they moved within the structure of the international context of British imperialism and sovereign state diplomacy and national interests. However, the Barbadian Government and its emigrant class understood the confines of the colonized-colonizer relationship and Black-White diplomacy, and thoroughly prepared this newfound ambassador group for the racialized and discriminatory environment abroad, especially that of post-war Britain. Prepared and qualified Barbadians left for Britain in considerable numbers during the 1950s and early 1960s.

The following tables highlight the post-war boom of the number of sponsored Barbadian migrants in the United Kingdom and the specific occupations under Barbadian Government emigration schemes. One must note the rising number of emigrants throughout this period, culminating with the migration boom in 1962, which coincided with fears of the impending *Commonwealth Immigrants Act*. Those seeking work with London Transport declined sharply in 1963, while the recruitment of nurses rose steadily during this period. Similar to the recruitment of West Indian nurses for Canadian hospitals that will be discussed in Chapter Five, it is possible that the increase was due to the continuing shortage of qualified nurses in the United Kingdom. The total number of Barbadian emigrants declined significantly in 1963 and fluctuated with a peak in 1965 with the British Government's August 1965, *White Paper, Immigration from the Commonwealth*.<sup>428</sup> Peach argued that economic factors, not the British Government's *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* of 1962,

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<sup>427</sup> King, *Migration*, 16-17; Payne, *Migration*, 12. The 1962 *Commonwealth Immigrants Act*, "imposed limits on the number of immigrants allowed to work or settle" in Britain. Pinnell, *Migration*, 25.

<sup>428</sup> Peach, 59.

“had been responsible for the initial decrease in immigration after the Act had come into force.”<sup>429</sup>

Table 3.1 Sponsored Barbadian Emigrants in the United Kingdom, 1950-1966<sup>430</sup>

<b>Year</b>	<b>Number of Sponsored Emigrants</b>
<b>1950</b>	20
<b>1954</b>	39
<b>1955</b>	361
<b>1956</b>	835
<b>1957</b>	650
<b>1958</b>	359
<b>1959</b>	464
<b>1960</b>	1,011
<b>1961</b>	978
<b>1962</b>	1,315
<b>1963</b>	499
<b>1964</b>	972
<b>1965</b>	1,350
<b>1966</b>	420

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<sup>429</sup> Ibid.

<sup>430</sup> For the years 1960, 1961 and 1962 there was a mass exodus from Barbados (and the British Commonwealth as a whole) on the eve of Britain implementing the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act*. In 1966 Barbados achieved independence from Britain. King, *Migration*, 17.

Table 3.2 Workers Sponsored by the Barbadian Government Recruited for Work in the United Kingdom, 1955-1963<sup>431</sup>

	1955	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963
<b>Clerks (L.C.C.)</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
<b>London Transport</b>	N/A	926	108	230	623	638	639	189
<b>London County Bus Services</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	15	N/A	N/A
<b>British Railways</b>	N/A	N/A	44	3	36	80	30	2
<b>Tea Shops</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	5	48
<b>Catering Assistants</b>	N/A	38	27	8	57	N/A	17	5
<b>Hotel Workers</b>	211	308	58	100	50	15	10	11
<b>Hospital Workers</b>	25	N/A	6	1	34	15	N/A	N/A
<b>Domestics</b>	N/A	38	13	17	33	9	39	9
<b>Nurses</b>	N/A	N/A	103	103	130	200	175	229
<b>Student Nurses</b>	113	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
<b>British Army Recruits</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	400	N/A
<b>Cotton Workers</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	30	6	N/A	N/A
<b>Engineers</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	4	N/A	N/A	N/A
<b>Laundry Workers</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
<b>Coppers</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	3
<b>Other Workers</b>	12	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	3
<b>Total Gov. Sponsored</b>	361	1,485	359	464	1,011	978	1,315	499
<b>Total Independent</b>	N/A	4,293	889	2,353	3,330	5,052	2,489	1,891

<sup>431</sup> Information collected from the Barbadian Colonial and Barbados Reports between 1955 and 1963 at the Barbados National Archives, Barbados. BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1954 and 1955* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1957); BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1956 and 1957* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1959); BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1958 and 1959* (Barbados: Government Printing Office, 1961); BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1960 and 1961* (Barbados: Government Printing Office, 1962); BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1962 and 1963* (Barbados: Government Printing Office, 1965).

Barbadian Government assistance for potential emigrants also included the preparation and proliferation of comprehensive information booklets. The *Information Booklet for Intending Emigrants to Britain* intended to “set out the facts and conditions of life in the United Kingdom. It is not meant to change your mind from going, any more than it is meant to encourage you to go. It merely gives you information which you should have before you go and is meant to prepare you for the kind of life which you may have to live.”<sup>432</sup> The booklet gave advice on the cold and wet climate, English customs, food, and accommodation. It also directed new immigrants in Britain on what to expect on their arrival and settlement. The concise booklet outlined and thoroughly explained the British taxation system, healthcare, transportation, and avenues to find employment. The guide went so far as to explain simple social customs; simple but potentially embarrassing situations oblivious to Barbadians prior to their arrival in Britain. This included how one was to wait and board a public bus and how to cross the street. It served as a cautionary note to potential female emigrants to avoid “unscrupulous persons” upon their disembarkation in Britain. It also highlighted seemingly mundane details, such as personal hygiene. On baths, presumably due to the colder climate, the piece stated, “Less need for the daily bath in Britain than in Barbados,” and sometimes a landlord would only allow one weekly bath.<sup>433</sup>

The *Information Booklet* clearly outlined the regulations and responsibilities for sponsored emigrants and procedure for sending remittances. Sponsored emigrants acted as Emigrant Ambassadors and represented their government and country. The Barbadian Government contended that those it selected were to be grateful for their privilege to live and

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<sup>432</sup> BNA, *Information Booklet for Intending Emigrants to Britain*, (n.d.), 1.

<sup>433</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, 5, 13-14, 18.



work abroad. The *Information Booklet* reiterated this point and stated to the potential sponsored emigrants that:

If you are going as a ‘sponsored’ emigrant, for whom work has been found by the Government of Barbados, you will have had a great deal of help from the Government, which will have found you your job, shown its confidence in you by selecting you from among the many hundreds of people who would have liked the job, and probably lent you money for your fare.<sup>434</sup>

The Barbadian Government clearly laid the responsibility on the emigrant in whom it invested. The emigrant was rather explicitly reminded that she and he were a charge of the state; without the collective aid of their country, the Barbadian would not have been able to leave, nor find employment while abroad. The burden, pride, and industry of Barbados weighed heavily upon sponsored emigrants who knew it was a privilege, and a great responsibility, to migrate. She, or he, was to uphold that respect and remember her patriotic duty in positively representing her country abroad. The Autonomous Bajans and Emigrant Ambassadors represented themselves, but proved to be beacons of positivity and hope for a racialized and colonized island, in the heart of the British Commonwealth.

The responsibility for Barbadian expatriates in Britain extended to the social and financial welfare of the families they left behind. Remittances gained through employment in Britain proved to be a vital characteristic of the migration process. The monies returned to the Island buoyed the Barbadian economy and buffered the Government’s financial burden in supporting the unemployed and destitute. Government officials deemed remittances a dutiful responsibility of all emigrants with family remaining in Barbados, and stated, “If you are

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<sup>434</sup> BNA, *Information Booklet for Intending Emigrants to Britain* (Broad St. Bridgetown, Barbados: Advocate Co., Ltd., 1955), 1.

leaving dependants in Barbados, please be sure to send them money regularly.”<sup>435</sup> The *Information Booklet* continued, “If you have a wife and children in Barbados you will have to show that you are in fact maintaining them before you can claim Tax rebate.”<sup>436</sup> The leaflet also summarized and cautioned Barbadian immigrants with respect to transcontinental money transfers. It stated, “When you send money from the United Kingdom to Barbados **do not send bank notes** (bolded in archival text). This is against the law and the person receiving the notes will have difficulty in changing them. Send the money by postal order or money order (obtainable at any post office) or make arrangements with a bank.”<sup>437</sup> Family accountability remained the individual migrant’s priority. In doing so, the financial and logistical investment in sponsored emigration benefitted both the transnational worker, their respective families in Barbados, and the Barbadian Government. Sponsored emigration effectively privatized and transferred some of the Government’s social welfare responsibility to its people.<sup>438</sup>

Migration was an individual and voluntary choice, but Barbadians exhausted all avenues for preparation prior to their transatlantic migration. This discussion is yet another example of the Barbadian Government’s state controlled, or aided, emigration schemes. The Barbadian Government and the choice and inclination of its people, not simply a Barbadian “culture-of-migration,” facilitated migration to Britain. Government officials supported the

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<sup>435</sup> Ibid., 2. “Dependants” were not necessarily children. John Western wrote that “the bond with parents in Barbados was for many years not only an emotional tie but also an economic one. Twenty of twenty-three interviewees had remitted money home to their parents or parent (and some to other family members there) for a considerable number of years after their arrival in Britain.” John Western, *A Passage to England: Barbadian Londoners Speak of Home* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 135.

<sup>436</sup> BNA, *Information Booklet for Intending Emigrants to Britain* (Broad St. Bridgetown, Barbados: Advocate Co., Ltd., 1955), 2.

<sup>437</sup> Ibid, 23. There was no evidence located that stated the currency restrictions in the United Kingdom which came into effect in 1949 had an impact on the remittances. Cyriline Taylor explained that the postman in Barbados had a tendency to steal cash in mail from the United Kingdom, so this warning was also arguably a safety measure. Cyriline Taylor (retired principal) in discussion with the author, March 3, 2012.

<sup>438</sup> Ibid., 2, 14, 23.

emigration of their people and acted as a reliable source of information and social welfare. However, Britain's *Commonwealth Immigrant Act* of 1962 restricted, and forever altered, the migratory patterns of Barbadians and the Island's limited autonomy in directing the ideological and physical return to the colonial metropole.

### ***The Commonwealth Immigrants Act***

Britain's 1962 *Commonwealth Immigrants Act*, "attempted to restrict the flow of (non-white) immigrants from the former [British] colonies, whilst still allowing free entry for other nationalities such as the Irish."<sup>439</sup> Peach argued that British immigration policies were not influenced by economic determinants, but politically motivated; the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* was a direct response to the political and social antagonisms following the rise in racial tensions due to the increase of non-White immigrants in post-war Britain.<sup>440</sup> The British public pressured its government to restrict its liberal immigration policy and argued against the recruitment of migrants from their colonies following the Second World War. The *Act*, enforced July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1962, decreed that "all Commonwealth citizens, except, broadly speaking, those born in the United Kingdom or holding United Kingdom passports,

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<sup>439</sup> Stephen Wheatley Price, "The Employment Adjustment of Male Immigrants in England," *Journal of Population Economics* 14 (2001): 195.

<sup>440</sup> *Ibid.*, 195. The *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* was characterized by the implementation of work vouchers: Category A – those who had jobs in the UK; Category B – Applicants with skills or qualifications; Category C – those not included in A or B. The vouchers were valid for six months, and could be extended for up to another six months, "if good reason were shown." By 1965, "the total number of vouchers issued was to be limited to 8,500 per year. Category C vouchers were to be discontinued completely." With 1965's *White Paper*, the British Government was "merely avowing the original intention of the Act and openly adopting social rather than economic criteria in the control of immigration." Peach, 51 & 59-60. For more on the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* and the reaction in British newspapers, see Mark Arnold-Foster, "Immigration Rope Trick," *The Observer*, June 2, 1963; Colin Legum, "How the Migrant Act Works," *The Observer*, November 24, 1963; *The Times*, October 5, 1963.

came under new regulations regarding immigration and...penalties regarding deportation.”<sup>441</sup> The British Conservative government conceded to “social pressure” and the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* came into effect July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1962.<sup>442</sup> This “social pressure,” as Peach argued, was racially motivated; “at the time that the Commonwealth Immigrants Bill was debated, it was clear that its purpose was to restrict, not merely regulate, the movement of Commonwealth immigrants and particularly that from predominantly coloured countries.”<sup>443</sup> Gary P. Freeman’s “Caribbean Migration to Britain and France: From Assimilation to Selection,” reiterated the indictment of the racialized premise of the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act*, stating that “British immigration policy (in the 1960s) ignored the country’s manpower requirements and was designed almost entirely to slow down the influx of nonwhites,” and was influenced by public opinion.<sup>444</sup> By comparing the divergent histories of race relations in the United States and the United Kingdom, Gordon K. Lewis revealed:

It was conventional wisdom in 1945 that England was the liberal society and the United States the racist society, and lecturing the Americans was the favorite pastime of the London media establishment. But the last 30 or so years have witnessed a curious reversal of roles. The United States has moved forward, with the civil rights movement and the Great Society legislation, to redress the historic injustices done to its nonwhite minorities, especially black Americans; but Britain, after 1962, passed a number of race relations acts step-by-step making entry for nonwhite immigrants more difficult, with the final end of destroying the old Commonwealth concept of a family of nations.<sup>445</sup>

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<sup>441</sup> Davison’s work focused on the primary statistics on non-White immigrants in Britain during the 1960s. Chapter 9 (p. 139) also includes 49 interviews with Jamaican emigrants in Jamaica and London, England. This included Mrs. Wilson: “She had been working for fifteen year as a maid and felt that if only she could go to England for six years or so and then return she could ‘make good’.” R.B. Davison, *Black British: Immigrants to England* (London: Published for the Institute of Race Relations, London, Oxford University Press, 1966), 1 & 139.

<sup>442</sup> Peach, 51.

<sup>443</sup> Ibid.

<sup>444</sup> Gary P. Freeman, “Caribbean Migration to Britain and France: From Assimilation to Selection,” in *The Caribbean Exodus*, ed. Barry B. Levine (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1987), 188.

<sup>445</sup> Gordon K. Lewis, foreword to *In Search of a Better Life: Perspectives in Migration from the Caribbean*, ed. Ransford W. Palmer (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1990), xiii-xix.

The *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* did not explicitly mention race or Blackness; however, by restricting the entry of what Lewis has described as “nonwhite immigrants,” which ultimately affected entry requirements for emigrants of non-White Commonwealth nations, the British Government both succumbed to, and facilitated, post-war British racial and class mores. British racial tension erupted in the Nottingham and Nottinghill attacks on Blacks and their property in 1958 and 1959, which culminated with the racially motivated murder of West Indian carpenter Kelso Cochrane in Nottinghill in 1959.<sup>446</sup> Elyse Dodgson, author of *Motherland: West Indian Women to Britain in the 1950s* argued that Black immigrants received unfair negative publicity following the racist attacks, which unfortunately swayed public opinion in favour of barring Commonwealth immigration. She stated that “although it was black people who suffered as a result of these racist attacks, some people used the ‘disturbances’ of 1958 and 1959 as an excuse to argue for stricter immigration controls.”<sup>447</sup> Furthermore, the symbiotic relationship of race and class both opened and subsequently closed the door for Black West Indian labour settlement in post-war Britain. Ken Pryce’s *The Black Experience in Britain: A Study of the Life-styles of West Indians in Bristol* further discussed the racialization of Black West Indian migrants, and their perceived Blackness through their marginalization as a subjugated racialized and immigrant

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<sup>446</sup> Dodgson, 31.

<sup>447</sup> Other examples of racism against Barbadians and West Indians in Britain include those with London Transport. Dodgson argued, “Even though Barbados had an agreement with London Transport to train workers, there were battles waged for upgrading West Indian workers for their right to work in booking offices, and for West Indian women to be employed as bus conductresses in the early years of migration.” Dodgson, 31. Marcia Burrowes wrote that with the emergence of the British racist youth cult, the *Teddy Boys*, in the 1950s and 1960s, who assaulted and harassed Blacks in the UK, it created the subsequent “Black Unity” amongst all West Indians and South Asians who never considered themselves Black until they were attacked by the *Teddy Boys*. Marcia Burrowes, “Collecting the Memories: Migrant Voices in the Barbadian-UK Migration Project,” in *Freedom and Constraint in Caribbean Migration and Diaspora*, ed. Elizabeth Thomas-Hope (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers, 2009), 148-150. Bill Schwarz argued in favour of this idea of Black or West Indian unity in the face of external marginalization in the metropole, and stated that West Indian emigrants, “became West Indian (as opposed, say, to Antiguan or Guyanese or St. Lucian) in London or Birmingham: indeed many of them this was part and parcel of *becoming black* (author’s emphasis).” Bill Schwarz, *West Indian intellectuals in Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 13.

labour class in Britain. Pryce examined the conflation of race and class in Britain and the relationship between White British upward mobility and Black West Indian immigrants. He argued that “West Indian migration has a class character which is the outcome of centuries of colonialism and underdevelopment, beginning with slavery, and which has persisted in the present neo-imperialistic relations still linking Britain and the West Indies.”<sup>448</sup> Black West Indians were a subordinate labour class in British society; “the harsh reality is that the neo-imperialist background of the Commonwealth migration to the United Kingdom in the post-war years has ensured that West Indians (together with Indian and Pakistani workers) are concentrated at the bottom of the occupational structure doing some of the worst jobs in Britain [&] abandoned among the unemployed in periods of recession.”<sup>449</sup> Pryce argued “post-war affluence in Britain,” saw the “upward mobility of British workers by absorbing many of them into skilled and socially valued positions characterized by higher income,” and immigrant labour, specifically Black West Indian labour, was needed to fill “de-skilled” jobs, “deserted by white workers,” due to “technical innovation.”<sup>450</sup> Black West Indians “fulfilled this role perfectly.”<sup>451</sup> Educated and upwardly mobile Black Barbadians and West Indians faced the harsh realities of a racialized split labour market.<sup>452</sup>

Economically, Britain needed this Black immigrant class of workers to meet the demands of the labour market and support a growing White “middle class”; it seemed illogical for the British Government to willingly implement a policy that restricted an inexhaustible pool of exploitable and cheap labour. One may then argue that it was racial

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<sup>448</sup> Ken Pryce and Surujrattan Rambachan, *Occasional Papers: The Black Experience in Britain: A Study of the Life-styles of West Indians in Bristol & Ahilya Goes to London on BWIA Flight 900* (St. Augustine, Trinidad: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad, 1977), 16.

<sup>449</sup> *Ibid.*, 4-5.

<sup>450</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>451</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>452</sup> Edna Bonacich, “A Theory of Ethnic Antagonism: The Split Labour Market,” *American Sociological Review* 37 (1972): 547-559.

discrimination that swayed public opinion – a public that benefitted from the presence of non-White immigrants within their borders and performed the jobs British citizens were now “above” – that facilitated the creation of the racialized *Commonwealth Immigrants Act*. Moreover, Pryce added to the economic irresponsibility of the *Act* by concluding that “the mass employment of cheap labour from the Commonwealth in the post-war years, therefore, ensured the continued growth of the British economy,” as West Indians “cheapen[ed] the labour process...[since] the material cost of their socialization [was] born by their countries of origin and they [could] be used to split the work force along racial lines.”<sup>453</sup> British false consciousness and racial prejudice superseded the realities of their capitalist system; the host society’s limited prosperity relied upon a subaltern racialized immigrant class.<sup>454</sup> Restricted social mobility due to racism against working class Black West Indians was expressed “in the wish, either to re-emigrate to Canada or America, or to return to the West Indies.”<sup>455</sup> Racist public opinion swayed government policy and the British Government subsequently heightened immigration requirements. In a few short years, from the altruistic welcome of the *S.S. Empire Windrush* in 1948 to the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* in 1962, the Black presence in Britain regressed to the unwanted Other, unsuitable for settlement, integration,

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<sup>453</sup> Pryce argued that “West Indian (and Asian) workers have been exploited as a ‘reserve pool’ of labour in the service of British capitalism” to be discarded “at will”. Pryce and Rambachan, 17. This is the relationship between class and race that highlighted the hostland “pull” of West Indian workers, as a cheap labour class within a capitalist system, but also the paradox of hypocrisy of their racialization; their subjugation permitted their exploitation and inclusion in the metropole as an underclass, while simultaneously excluding them because of their race. West Indian emigration to Britain was a tool for capitalism; the push/pull migration factors work under the same hegemonic power of capitalism.

<sup>454</sup> With respect to capitalism and West Indian emigration to Britain, Pryce argued, “The migration of thousands of colonial working class West Indians to Britain in the late ‘40s, the ‘50s and the ‘60s was designed to achieve not just the balance between the international supply and demand of labour, but the perpetuation of the dependency relationship between periphery and centre and Britain’s continued exploitation of the Third World.” Pryce and Rambachan, 18.

<sup>455</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

immigration, and a threat to British nationhood.<sup>456</sup> Fears and concerns about exclusion reverberated throughout Barbados and the West Indies. Barbadian emigration to the United Kingdom declined significantly, and “this decline may be directly attributed to the introduction of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act which controlled the entry of migrants into the United Kingdom.”<sup>457</sup> Barbadian newspapers, including *The Advocate* produced numerous articles in 1962 prior to the July 1<sup>st</sup> implementation of the *Act*, as it attempted to assuage fears and explain the contentious British immigration policy.

*The Advocate* discussed local West Indian political concerns and debates on the British *Migration Bill* and the subsequent *Commonwealth Immigrants Act*. The January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1962 article, “CCL meet to discuss Migrant Bill” highlighted the Administrative Committee of the Caribbean Congress of Labour’s (CCL) discussion of the British immigration bill at a special meeting in Trinidad, January 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup>, 1962.<sup>458</sup> Only two days following the CCL article, *The Advocate* published “No hard shocks for our U.K. emigrants, he says,” an interview with Mr. Richard Williams, a shipping agent and managing director of Richard A. Williams and Company Limited. The article attempted to ease the tension in Barbados caused by the proposed bill and stated, “The British Government’s Migrant Control Bill will not affect Barbadians to the extent as it will Jamaicans.”<sup>459</sup> Williams contended “only about a third of the Barbadian emigrants will be affected,” and there was considerable pressure from the British Labour Party to pass the bill. The new regulations required potential emigrants to have “(1) health certificate; (2) a clean police record, and (3) either an assured

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<sup>456</sup> The S.S. *Empire Windrush* was the first ship that brought West Indians to the United Kingdom in 1948 with a total of 492 semi-skilled and skilled male workers from Jamaica. Dodgson, 15. Also see Dodgson for more information on the *Commonwealth Immigration Bill* and the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act*. Dodgson, 13-14.

<sup>457</sup> *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1962 and 1963* (Barbados: Government Printing Office, 1965), 13.

<sup>458</sup> *The Advocate*, January 1, 1962.

<sup>459</sup> *The Advocate*, January 3, 1962.



job or assured living accommodation,” in Britain.<sup>460</sup> It is interesting to note how and why the Barbadian press deflected the concerns of its citizens and argued the majority of Barbadians would not be affected by the new regulations. As opposed to Jamaicans, as inferred by Williams, most potential Barbadian emigrants were in good health with valid health certificates, had clean police records, and were assured of employment and accommodation prior to their arrival in Britain. Barbadians saw themselves essentially as a “higher class” of emigrant than most others in the West Indies and Commonwealth; in other words, a government controlled, culled, and vetted group of Emigrant Ambassadors of exceptional merit and distinction.

The Barbadian press further reiterated the supposedly exceptional character of potential emigrants and most importantly, reflected the success of Barbadians in Britain. *The Advocate's* January 1962 coverage of the British *Migration Bill* and the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* continued with an interview with Mr. Frank Jeremiah, the Assistant Liaison Officer for Barbados at the Barbados Liaison Service in Britain. Jeremiah stated, “Barbados is the only West Indian territory which has schemes that fulfill all the conditions which are now being demanded by all those in Britain who are against the influx of West Indians to their country.”<sup>461</sup> The previous excerpt elucidated Jeremiah’s auspicious prognostication of Barbadian emigration, and the Barbadian people, as exceptions to the new restrictions. It in turn validated the Barbadian Government’s emigration schemes and its direct involvement in the educational training and migration of its people. Moreover, Jeremiah’s comments boosted the elitist ideology of Barbadian civil society; compared to other West Indian colonies from which Britain refused to accept immigrants, Barbadians were the exception to

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<sup>460</sup> Ibid.

<sup>461</sup> *Sunday Advocate*, January 14, 1962.

the rule. One may argue that Barbadian cultural and social capital negated some of their racialized characteristics as marginalized Black colonial subjects. One may also refute this argument, stating that Jeremiah's comments, published by a national newspaper, acted as political rhetoric created to assuage social unrest to a policy which their Island's government had little or no ability to change. Despite the conflicting positions, an environment of supposed immunity existed in Barbados. It was an environment which masked the insidious nature of British racism and reiterated Barbadian core values – most importantly education – as means for social mobility and international migration. Race and class dictated British and North American immigration policy, and Barbadians understood it was only their perceived Blackness that denied them access, integration, and settlement. Barbadian educational, cultural and social capital facilitated their continued settlement in Britain and distanced Barbadians from their belonging to the Black subaltern class.<sup>462</sup> The national press acted as a representation of Barbados' sentiment towards the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* and challenged the racial discrimination embedded within it.<sup>463</sup>

*The Advocate* exposed some of the problems of the proposed *Commonwealth Immigrants Act*. The April 9<sup>th</sup>, 1962 article, "Immigration statistics were false" revealed the fear-mongered political manipulation of immigration statistics to create a hostile environment towards non-White or Commonwealth migration to Britain. It was argued, "Statistics prompted the British Government to panic-draft the wretched Immigration Bill and thrust it

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<sup>462</sup> John Western wrote that Barbadian emigrants in London, England were not some "sort of walking wounded, bearing psychic stigmata of rejection by white natives every moment of the livelong day. But you might say some of them evidently wear scar tissue, even though those past wounds don't appear to me to be cramping their humanity today." Western, 15.

<sup>463</sup> I contend that Barbadians believed that their superior education, skills, and training could – and should – have negated racist immigration policies. As will be discussed later with respect to Canadian immigration policy and "exceptional merit," "race" superseded all qualifications and Barbadians had to continually fight an uphill battle to be recognized for who they were as skilled and educated British subjects. This is important to note how pervasive anti-Black racism was throughout the Western World. Colour determined who you were and what you were worth.

through the House of Commons against all opposition.”<sup>464</sup> The British Government succumbed to “passion prejudice, political casuistry – good honest figures have been skillfully manipulated throughout the great immigration debate to serve those ends. And not by one side alone, though by far the greater guilt lies with the supporters of the Bill.”<sup>465</sup> British politicians successfully doctored immigration statistics to support racist exclusionary measures. They faced a diplomatic quagmire, and international scrutiny, if their immigration policies revealed institutionalized racism.<sup>466</sup> Through the manipulation of immigration statistics, the British defended their policy by stating civil society could not economically support the mass influx of Commonwealth migrants.<sup>467</sup> R.B. Davison argued in 1966 that the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* was “subjected to a certain amount of criticism...the Bill had been introduced in haste without a fully adequate examination of the statistical argument upon which it had been based...this was that immigration, particularly coloured immigration, had reached an excessive level.”<sup>468</sup> Britain’s Conservative Party argued immigration from the Commonwealth grew so rapidly a bill was needed to curtail the ominous threat of overpopulation. The Party described Britain as “bulging at the seams,” and a state unable to provide either accommodation or employment.<sup>469</sup> Conservatives then argued that political coincidence, not racism, dictated the need for strict immigration controls from the Commonwealth. *The Advocate* article disputed this claim and revealed a study conducted by the Economics Intelligence Unit named “Studies in Immigration from the Commonwealth,”

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<sup>464</sup> “Immigration statistics were false,” *The Advocate*, April 9, 1962.

<sup>465</sup> Ibid.

<sup>466</sup> This was similar to the Canadian Government’s efforts exerted with the “Continuous Journey” Order-in-Council of 1908 that attempted to restrict migration from the Indian subcontinent. See Hugh J.M. Johnston, *The Voyage of the Komagata Maru: The Sikh Challenge to Canada’s Colour Bar* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1979). For more on how the 1908 regulation affected West Indian emigration, see John Schultz, “White Man’s Country: Canada and the West Indian Immigrant, 1900-1965,” *American Review of Canadian Studies* (1982): 59.

<sup>467</sup> Ibid.

<sup>468</sup> Davison, 1.

<sup>469</sup> “Immigration statistics were false,” *The Advocate*, April 9, 1962.

which proved immigration from the Commonwealth was in fact much lower than what was tabled in the British House of Commons.<sup>470</sup> In ten years (1951-1961), Britain's actual increase of population was 6,000 persons out of a total population of 52,000,000.<sup>471</sup> The British Home Secretary on January 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1962 argued that net immigration into Britain increased from 58,550 to 135,050 in 1961.<sup>472</sup> The jump was arguably the result of mass immigration prior to the impending passage of the immigration bill and the resulting *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* of 1962. However, the information was “misleading” and not a “fair basis for estimating future migratory movements.”<sup>473</sup> Political rhetoric and astute statistical manipulation circumvented the need to reveal the true racist impetus for the *Act*. Institutionalized racism and ideological discrimination defined British Immigration policy.

In the face of the new restrictions on Commonwealth and Barbadian migration, the British Government expedited the arrival of highly qualified and skilled immigrants through the designation of priority vouchers for occupations in high demand in Britain.<sup>474</sup> These included draughtsman and higher technicians; skilled craftsmen, especially those in engineering and building occupations; experienced shorthand typists; and individuals with

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<sup>470</sup> Ibid.

<sup>471</sup> Ibid.

<sup>472</sup> Ibid. There was also a significant emigration movement of White Britons out of the United Kingdom during this period.

<sup>473</sup> Ibid. “The British Immigration Bill restricting the entry of West Indians comes into operation June 30<sup>th</sup>.” “Going to England? Emigrants must first qualify.” The article outlines the new restrictions and qualifications on entering the UK. See a thorough explanation of the qualifications in the following footnote. *The Advocate*, May 1, 1962.

<sup>474</sup> The following leaflet located at the Barbados National Archives explained the emigration procedures to Britain following the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act*, July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1962. The purpose of the leaflet: “This leaflet explains that a Commonwealth citizen to whom the Act applies will have to obtain an **employment voucher** (bolded in original text) if he wishes to enter the United Kingdom for employment on or after 1<sup>st</sup> July, 1962, and that any such citizen who wishes to enter the United Kingdom for any other purpose may, if he wishes, apply for an entry certificate. Copies of the application form for an employment voucher and of the application form for entry certificate can be obtained from the Labour Department.” BNA, *Notice to persons wishing to enter the United Kingdom on or after 1<sup>st</sup> July, 1962* (Barbados: Barbados Government Office, n.d., most likely early 1960s), 1-2.

university degrees or professional qualifications, especially those in nursing and teaching.<sup>475</sup> The *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* was an exclusionary measure designed to impede the immigration of Black Barbadians, West Indians, and non-White British subjects, yet Barbadian political culture and collective human capital produced the qualifications required for migration. The implications of the *Act* in Britain for Barbadians is beyond the scope of this study; however, as Britain closed its doors to mass Barbadian emigration, it forced Canada to re-evaluate its ideological nation-building philosophy of “White Canada” and open its doors to Coloured migrants.<sup>476</sup> From my perspective, it was likely not a coincidence that in 1962, the year Britain’s *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* came into effect, Canada officially de-racialized their immigration policy. British diplomacy coerced the liberalization of Canadian immigration.<sup>477</sup> It is quite probable that Canada would have changed its immigration policy but the British *Act* likely expedited the process. The relationship and Canada’s position in the matter will be discussed further in Chapter Four. Nevertheless, one must not overlook the consequences at home as Barbadians continued to leave the Island for Britain and Canada.

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<sup>475</sup> However, similar to the present day immigrant and settlement barrier of credentialism in Canada, there was “no guarantee that [the potential emigrant’s] qualification will be accepted in Great Britain.” *Ibid.*, 3, 5 & 6.

<sup>476</sup> See Introduction for an explanation of “White Canada.”

<sup>477</sup> See Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos, *Becoming Multicultural: Immigration and the Politics of Membership in Canada and Germany* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012) and specifically pages 64-67 for a brief take on the pressure exerted on the Canadian Department of External Affairs and the Department of Citizenship and Immigration during the late 1950s by British and British West Indian governments to allow more Black Commonwealth settlement in Canada. Triadafilopoulos argued that British officials wanted Canada to “open its gates” and “share the burden” of more Black West Indian migrants since their increased presence in British cities was causing racial tensions and public outcry, which subsequently led to the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act*.

## Emigration and Barbadian Social, Political, and Economic Implications

Mass Barbadian emigration caused significant social consequences.<sup>478</sup> In the *Migration Lectures* in 1968, Lionel Clarke suggested emigration was *the* solution to overpopulation on the Island. Clarke was arguably the first officer of Barbados' Social Welfare Department to comment on the local social ramifications of emigration from Barbados. As a public official, Clarke argued emigration, "provided a useful safety valve for over-population."<sup>479</sup> However, this "safety valve" created irrevocable damage to a colonial state on the eve of its independence from Britain. Emigration was Barbados' double-edged sword; one that facilitated the flight of the best, brightest, and most educated individuals suited for political, social, and economic leadership. Moreover, these individuals emigrated at one of the most crucial junctures in Barbadian history. Clarke postulated: "The possibly adverse affect on the Barbadian personality of the tendency to escape to another country rather than take part in the building up of Barbados – the symbols of nationhood created with independence had not yet inspired much esteem for local life and heritage."<sup>480</sup> Simmons and Guengant might argue that the "personality of the tendency to escape to another country" was a cultural trait, or indicative of a "culture-of-migration." While the former clause of the statement may be justifiably debatable, the latter underscored a lack of patriotism as the cause for flight. Centuries of slavery and colonial domination overpowered the budding patriotic and

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<sup>478</sup> However G.W. Roberts argued that migration was not a solution for Barbadian overpopulation. He believed in 1950 that domestic population control, including effective birth control, was a possible and more effective solution for the country's overpopulation crisis. He stated, "...As there are fewer avenues of free migration for West Indians than formerly, there is less chance of rising population pressure being relieved by migration; and the implications of high fertility and steadily declining mortality can be more effectively demonstrated on the assumption that no sizeable net outward movement takes place." BNA, G.W. Roberts, *Population Trends in the West Indies*, 1946-1961, September 11, 1950.

<sup>479</sup> In 1956, United Nations Technical Assistance Administration, Dr. Margaret Hagood – a population expert – studied overpopulation in Barbados. BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1956 and 1957* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1959), 12.

<sup>480</sup> Clarke, *Migration*, 19.

nationalist sentiment throughout the Island and emigration remained a means for the individual to succeed rather than focus on the betterment of the collective Barbadian state. This was further problematized as Barbadians may have identified themselves as British subjects with a right to migrate to the metropole, but the colonial centre merely recognized them as resources to be exploited in times of need and discarded at will. This “colonial consciousness” was a double-edged sword for Barbadian emigration in an international system dictated by colonialism and racism. Nevertheless, the Barbadian state promoted emigration because it could not sustain its ever-growing populace; however, emigration was seemingly a social and political detriment to the Barbadian national fabric. It was a counterproductive necessity. The Barbadian state needed people to leave, but it became problematic when potential future leaders fled the Island. However, history has shown that people were, and are, Barbados’ most valued export.<sup>481</sup>

Emigration provided benefits to Barbadian financial, demographic, and employment sectors. Financially, Barbadians employed abroad sent large remittances back home to support their immediate and extended families, which consequently boosted the Barbadian economy. As previously stated throughout this chapter, emigration was a means to alleviate the pressures of an overpopulated colonial island state with a geographic area of only 166 square miles. As migrants left to seek work abroad, local Barbadians occupied vacant job opportunities. However, the seemingly counterproductive nature of Barbadian emigration presented several problems. Young and talented Barbadians left their homeland. While their money returned to the Island in the form of remittances, the vast majority of Barbadian sojourners did not repatriate. With the loss of one or both parents, Barbadian families suffered tremendous consequences. Barbados witnessed several domestic crises including

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<sup>481</sup> Ibid.

the “disintegration of family life,” “behavior problems in children,” and “parental deprivation.”<sup>482</sup> Moreover, the Barbadian Government promoted emigration as a means to alleviate social strife, but subsequently had to provide financial support in “maintaining and servicing the families of migrants.”<sup>483</sup> Barbadian emigration was both a solution and cause of its societal problems.<sup>484</sup> The exodus of educated Barbadians during the mid-twentieth century was a significant detriment to Barbadian society as the Island suffered from the “Brain Drain” of its intellectual elite, most notably the loss of its teachers. J. Hering examined the recruitment of Barbadian teachers for Canadian schools. The emigration phenomenon, “provided the large numbers of qualified people that the Canadian educational system had not been able to supply; [Hering] wondered whether the loss of teachers from Barbados – 54 in 1964 – represented a serious loss to Barbados.”<sup>485</sup> As Chapter Five will discuss, several of the best Barbadian teachers realized their full potential as educators in Canada. One may only speculate about their careers in Barbados if they had remained and taught at home, but at the time Barbados did not, and could not, provide the same opportunities as the United States, Britain, or Canada. The Barbadian intellectual elite left because they had to, but many Barbadians and West Indians worked and studied abroad and returned to do great things for their respective independent nation-states including Barbados’ first Prime Minister Errol Barrow who studied at the London School of Economics in England.<sup>486</sup> There is no consensus on whether emigration “failed” Barbados. Alleviating

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<sup>482</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>483</sup> Ibid.

<sup>484</sup> Ibid.

<sup>485</sup> Panel Discussion, *Migration*, 43. Emigration is thus a double-edged sword but mutually beneficial to all involved; Barbadians needed jobs, Canadians needed qualified people, and Barbados had a surplus of labour. However, Barbados lost its most qualified people to emigration resulting in a “Brain Drain.”

<sup>486</sup> See George Gmelch, *Double Passage: The Lives of Caribbean Migrants Abroad and Back Home* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992) for a good summary of the return migration of West Indians who had lived in the United States, UK, and Canada.



unemployment and overpopulation buffered the damage caused by the loss of the Barbadian elite.

Prior to the in-depth discussion of Chapter Five's Barbadian emigration movement to Canada, the following chapter presents West Indian and Barbadian-Canadian relations since British slavery up to the twentieth century. Most importantly, the chapter situates and contextualizes Canada's racist immigration system towards Blacks and Black West Indians, and how Barbadians navigated and challenged Canada's discriminatory policy. Chapter Four emphasizes the pervasiveness of insidious institutionalized racism in Canada and presents the settlement and immigration barriers that Barbadians struggled to overcome. This chapter has provided a foundation for the "push" factors and barriers for Barbadian emigration overseas, specifically throughout the Caribbean basin, the United States, and the United Kingdom. Chapter Three also explored Barbados' government in the mid-twentieth century and its emphasis on education. The following chapter focuses primarily on Canada's immigration policy towards Black Barbadians and West Indians and the Canadian state's "middle player" role as a Commonwealth immigrant receiving nation.<sup>487</sup>

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<sup>487</sup> The "middle player" was the role Canada played between the colonized Barbados and the West Indies and the British colonizer.

## Chapter Four:

### Barbadian- and West Indian-Canadian Relations

*Canada was part of the New World, an American society. The New World was a slave society, and Canada shared that feature.*

Afua Cooper, 2006<sup>488</sup>

*White privilege doesn't operate from a level of consciousness. It operates from a position of privilege. Because they're privileged, they don't have to think about stuff.*

"Sara", 2001<sup>489</sup>

*You have kept them out because they are black. If I were a Communist, there is opportunity for me to change and become a decent, respectable Canadian citizen. But I am born black, God has made me that way. You are asking me to undo what God has done?*

Donald W. Moore, 1954<sup>490</sup>

For a period of time, Barbados was one of Britain's most profitable colonies.<sup>491</sup> However, as is true for most British possessions in the Americas, colonies did not operate autonomously; trade, people, and ideologies, existed within a transnational or trans-colonial framework. From its first settlement by British colonialists in 1627 and the establishment of one of the earliest parliaments in the Western World, Barbados played a significant role in the Americas. In terms of importance in British relations in the Western Hemisphere, the small island and the British West Indian archipelago stood on par with, and at times surpassed, the vast British North American territory, specifically during the eighteenth century. Canada and the West Indies have always been important global players in the imperialist international arena.<sup>492</sup> The aftermath of the Seven Years' War displayed British imperial interests in the

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<sup>488</sup> Afua Cooper, *The Hanging of Angelique: The Untold Story of Canadian Slavery and the Burning of Old Montreal* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 2006), 11.

<sup>489</sup> "Sara" was a pseudonym used by Lawrence Hill for one of his interviewees. Lawrence Hill, *Black berry, sweet juice: On being black and white in Canada* (Toronto: HarperFlamingo, 2001), 180.

<sup>490</sup> Donald Moore, *Don Moore: An Autobiography* (Toronto: Williams-Wallace Publishers, Inc., 1985), 115.

<sup>491</sup> See Russell Menard, *Sweet Negotiations: Sugar, Slavery, and Plantation Agriculture in Early Barbados* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2006) and Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin Books, 1985).

<sup>492</sup> Unlike other British West Indian colonies, Barbados was a unique possession; it was the only island in the Caribbean under British imperial rule throughout the entire colonial period. Robert Chodos, *The Caribbean*

Caribbean. As victors over the French, the British chose to maintain possession over the highly profitable island of Guadeloupe in exchange for French colonies in modern-day Canada. The British favoured the small but fertile sugar-producing island of Guadeloupe as opposed to the vast territory of what is now known as parts of Quebec, Ontario and Prince Edward Island. Sugar was arguably the most valuable, contentious, and destructive commodity during the eighteenth century. Despite the immediate economic value of the West Indian island, Britain did not see, at the time, the benefits of complete control over such a large territory in North America; a territory that faced the threat of invasion by a newly independent United States of America in the late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century.<sup>493</sup>

The United States played a significant role in West Indian-Canadian relations. The loss of their American colonies following the Revolutionary War expedited British imperial and mercantilist control of West Indian-Canadian relations. The British disapproved of the growing trade relations between their current and former colonies during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Apprehensive of an American financial monopoly of the region during the nineteenth century, the British pushed for Canada to be its main source of supply for their West Indian colonies. British fears grew out of the West Indian-Canadian relationship that “existed under the long shadow that the United States cast over both areas.”<sup>494</sup> United States hegemony over the Caribbean region played a significant role in the lack of substantial British West Indian-Canadian trade agreements. West Indian colonies were reluctant to enter into trade agreements with Canada due to a “fear of antagonizing

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*Connection: The Double-edged Canadian Presence in the West Indies* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1977), 61.

<sup>493</sup> Chodos highlighted two of the many arguments in favour of the British possession of Guadeloupe: the British fear of losing control of British North America through its imminent annexation by the United States, and “the acquisition of Canada might be destructive...[as she] could never remain [a] loyal subject to Britain.” One of the arguments in favour of Confederation by Canadians in 1867 was the belief and fear of annexation by the United States. Ibid.

<sup>494</sup> Ibid., 63-64.

America.”<sup>495</sup> However, West Indian-Canadian relations did exist prior, during, and following the American Revolution. African and creolized Black slaves on British West Indian plantations ate Nova Scotian cod, which was traded for the fruits of their enslaved labour – sugar, rum, and molasses.<sup>496</sup> Following the end of slavery, the West Indies also enjoyed the presence of Canadian banking institutions. Financial transactions and banks followed trade routes, and with Halifax a hub for West Indian trade in the late nineteenth century, Canadian banks flourished in the West Indies. The Bank of Nova Scotia opened its doors in 1889 in Jamaica. The Bank had a branch in Jamaica even before it had one in Toronto. Robin Winks in Robert Chodos’ *The Caribbean Connection: The Double-edged Canadian Presence in the West Indies* argued that “between 1885 and 1910, the British West Indies became to Canada what China was to the United States: a source for constant visions of ‘unrivaled trade opportunities’.”<sup>497</sup>

This chapter explores common British imperial links between Canada, Barbados and the British West Indies. Canadian-West Indian relations were also representative of Canada’s relationship with Barbados. The chapter emphasizes the political, economic, and social relations between the Island, the region, and their northern British Empire and then Commonwealth partner. It investigates the early twentieth century history of regional trade relations and trade agreements. The 1908 Canada Conference and the 1920 Canada-West Indies Conference will bring attention to diplomatic deliberations and political debates, while underscoring the symbiotic and co-dependent relationship. The Canada-West Indies Conference produced the first trade agreement and brought attention to Canada’s dominant business and trade interests in the region. It is important to discuss the historical trade

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<sup>495</sup> Ibid.

<sup>496</sup> Ibid., 64 & 67.

<sup>497</sup> Ibid.

relationship as it exemplified Canada's unequal treatment of Black West Indians. Canada willingly conducted business and entered into equally beneficial trade partnerships with the British West Indies, but refused to accept even prominent and influential Black West Indian businesspeople as Canadian immigrants and their social equals. This chapter discusses how the immigration hypocrisy became a detriment to cordial trade relations. Social relations are examined through a case study of *The Canada-West Indies Magazine*, its agenda and audience. This is followed by a section on race, colour, and the paradox of Canadian immigration. It divulges and discusses the racism embedded within Canadian immigration policy and racialized institutional instruments designed to exclude non-White peoples. The xenophobic "White Canada" ideology and legislated policy must be taken into account as a fundamental feature of Canadian immigration policy.<sup>498</sup> It is important to note that Canadian immigration policy excluded Black British West Indians equally regardless of their island origins and this chapter focuses on Black West Indians generally, but also provides evidence from Barbados and on Barbadians.<sup>499</sup> Despite the exclusionary rhetoric, the chapter showcases West Indian and Canadian voices that spoke against the restrictive policy and stresses the effects of the de-racialization of Canadian immigration in 1962. However, the altruism of the new regulations was not solely based on humanitarian grounds, nor was it implemented with conviction; racism and race-based selection criteria persisted, and British immigration policy influenced Canada's desire to accept non-White migrants.

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<sup>498</sup> See Introduction for more on the "White Canada" ideology.

<sup>499</sup> As I noted in the Introduction, I have supplemented data on Black Barbadian emigrants in Canada with that of Black West Indians. Prior to 1967 Canadian statistics for the most part generalized all Black West Indian migrants as one homogenous group. Also see Introduction for a further clarification as to why I have supplemented data regarding Black Barbadian emigrants in Canada with that of Black West Indians.

## Economic and Political Relations

A complementary relationship, challenged by the omnipresent threat of American economic and political hegemony, characterized early twentieth century Barbadian and West Indian-Canadian trade. The Chairman of the 1908 Canada Conference stated, “It was true, and fortunately true, that the West Indies and Canada were not completely, but to a remarkable degree complementary to each other...Canada had no tropical connexions [sic] whose claims upon her were stronger than ours.”<sup>500</sup> Canada needed the West Indies and its agricultural staples, while the West Indies needed Canadian manufactured goods and a large export market. West Indian sugar was the principal product exported to Canada during this period. The following was recorded in the proceedings of the Canada Conference of 1908: “Practically 79 per cent. [sic] of all sugar consumed in Canada has been obtained directly from the West Indies.”<sup>501</sup> However, at the turn of the twentieth century trade prosperity faced several threats. Concerned Canadian businessmen argued that outside influences could impede the trade in West Indian sugar.<sup>502</sup> Officials organized the 1908 Conference for a variety of reasons, but mainly to buffer American interference in Canadian and West Indian relations. The constant West Indian fear of antagonizing the United States’ Monroe Doctrine curtailed optimum trade between the two regions.<sup>503</sup> The United States’ political influence

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<sup>500</sup> Barbados National Archives (BNA), “Proceedings of Canada Conference, 1908,” *Minutes of a Meeting of the Canadian Trade Relations Conference held at the House of Assembly Room, on Wednesday the 15<sup>th</sup> January 1908, at 10:15am*: 8. The name of the Chairman was not specified.

<sup>501</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>502</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>503</sup> Mark T. Gilderhus argued that through the Monroe Doctrine, articulated in 1823, United States policy makers “wanted to keep out the Europeans [from the Western Hemisphere], to safeguard order and stability in areas of special concern, and to ensure open access to markets and resources.” Since its inception, “the Monroe Doctrine and the aims and purposes associated with it provided both a justification and an explanation for interventionist measures. Typically shrouded in expressions of idealism and high purpose in defense of liberty, democracy, and the American way, the invocation of the Monroe Doctrine and the assumptions underlying it

over Barbados and the West Indies dictated most, if not all, trade and political relations. Canada did not possess the economic, military, nor political power to displace their southern neighbours as the dominant neo-colonial force in the Caribbean. Despite their British colonial and historical ties, West Indians treaded carefully as to not disturb a fragile, and potentially devastating, relationship with the United States. Nonetheless, the 1908 delegates proposed several solutions for improved trade relations. The Barbadian delegate to the Conference proposed exempting Canada from raised tariffs set for other countries in order to keep preferable trading relations. This was in addition to the establishment of telegraphic communication between Canada, the West Indies and British Guiana, described as “most desirable for the improvement of mutual trade relations.”<sup>504</sup> Political astuteness and diplomacy dictated West Indian-Canadian trade relations.

The Canada-West Indies Conference of 1920 further propelled and solidified inter-regional trade relations as it mandated preferential trade rights for West Indian goods to Canada. This followed the 1908 Conference and the nineteenth century international economic market where “preference given to West Indian products in the markets of Canada in the year 1897 (the first extended tariff preference between the West Indies and Canada), though not reciprocated by the West Indian Colonies, gave a distinct impetus to trade between the two sections of the Empire.”<sup>505</sup> Not only were distinct trade opportunities realized, but they also “produced in these Islands a conviction of the goodwill of Canada

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provided policy makers with a justification for acting on behalf of what they defined as the strategic and economic interests of the United States.” Mark T. Gilderhus, “The Monroe Doctrine: Meanings and Implications,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 36 (2006): 6 & 16. Canadian concerns over the Monroe Doctrine reflected the uncertainty of their autonomy as an independent country or simply an arm of the British Empire during the early twentieth century. I have to thank Dr. Margaret R. Kellow for the previous comment.

<sup>504</sup> BNA, “Proceedings of Canada Conference, 1908,” *Minutes of a Meeting of the Canadian Trade Relations Conference held at the House of Assembly Room, on Wednesday the 15<sup>th</sup> January 1908, at 10:15am*: 2-19.

<sup>505</sup> BNA, Thomas Mulvey, *Report of Proceedings of the Canada-West Indies Conference, 1920* (Ottawa: Printer to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, 1920), 1.

which has had the happiest influence upon our social and commercial relations.”<sup>506</sup> Canadian economic interests dictated social and political relations in the West Indies. British imperial links facilitated the ties that bound the Empire in the Americas together. Despite the United States’ real and imagined economic and military hegemony throughout the Americas, the former colony of British North America and its British West Indian neighbours maintained prosperous trade. This statement was reiterated by His Excellency the Governor General of Canada at the 1920 Conference, contending, “In this conference, and necessarily, the principle [sic] subject for discussion will be the relations between the West Indies and the Dominion...cementing all portions of the Empire by closer bonds and closer ties.”<sup>507</sup> The Prime Minister of Canada in 1920, Sir Robert Borden stated, “His Excellency has explained all the opportunities for development of trade, and more than that, all intercourse of every kind between the British West Indies and this Dominion.”<sup>508</sup>

The 1920s represented a decade of prosperous West Indian-Canadian affairs. The expressed goodwill and auspicious belief in former and continued relations between the two regions culminated in the inauguration of the first Canada-West Indies Trade Agreement of 1920. Article 1 of the Agreement stated, “The Dominion of Canada affirms the principle of granting a preference on all goods being produced or manufactured of any of the [British West Indian] Colonies aforesaid imported into Canada, which are now subject to duty or which may be made subject to duty at any future time.”<sup>509</sup> Following the 1897 West Indian-Canadian trade preference agreement, and the 1908 Canada Conference, the transnational economic relationship and its causal political and social derivatives consolidated the interdependent partnership of the British Empire in the Americas. The benevolent nature of

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<sup>506</sup> Ibid.

<sup>507</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>508</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>509</sup> Ibid., 178.



the symbiotic commercial affiliation was expressed during the Canada-West Indies Conference in 1925, by comments made by the Prime Minister of Canada, William Lyon Mackenzie King. He stated:

Indeed, one has to consider for a moment the relations in which, geographically, we have been placed, to appreciate what it means both to the West Indies in the tropical part of the world, and our own country in the temperate zone, to have the privilege of exchanging the products which each of us is in a special position to produce and manufacture, and to be able to do this without some of the keen rivalries in trade which come where competition is between those who belong to the same zone.<sup>510</sup>

The mutually beneficial relationship was facilitated by geographical and historical circumstance; the British imperial and colonial link laid the necessary foundation needed for it to develop. Nevertheless, as Mackenzie King stated, the West Indies and Canada were in a position to capitalize upon this good fortune.<sup>511</sup> It was an unequal partnership, but Canada needed the West Indies and the West Indies needed Canada. By the turn of the twentieth century, the United States had annexed the Caribbean island of Puerto Rico. The ominous and omnipresent threat of further American hegemony and colonization throughout the archipelago caused economic and political problems between Canada and the British West Indies. The twentieth century globalization of international relations, specifically in the Americas, put former, and current, British colonies in a united position for the common good and common wealth of the British Empire. Mackenzie King pontificated, “Whatever we do in the matter of increasing trade between ourselves will, we believe, not only be serving our mutual interests but will assist in developing a community of interest within the Empire

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<sup>510</sup> BNA, F.A. Acland, *Report of the Proceedings of the Canada-West Indies Conference, 1925, with the Canada-British West Indies-Bermuda-British Guiana-British Honduras Trade Agreement, 1925* (Ottawa: Printer to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, 1926), 2-3.

<sup>511</sup> It was in the 1920s that Mackenzie King subsidized steamship travel between Canada and the Caribbean. Greg Donaghy, “John Price. Orienting Canada: Race, Canada, and the Transpacific,” *H-Diplo Roundtable Review* 13 (2012), 9.

itself, and that is all to the good for all concerned.”<sup>512</sup> Canadian leaders were committed to maintaining and expanding trade with the West Indies during the 1920s.

By the late 1920s, Canada was Barbados’ chief trading partner and the largest purchaser of the Island’s principle staples – sugar and molasses – absorbing Barbados’ falling export market to the United Kingdom. The competitive conditions established during the 1920 Conference favoured the Dominion of Canada. The Island’s economic stability was dependent on world sugar prices generally, and Canadian purchasing power and favourable trading conditions, specifically. However, with the onset of the Great Depression in 1929, and the subsequent fall in sugar prices the same year, the Barbadian export market and its economy suffered dearly. This was also caused by the global overproduction of sugar and dwindling markets, causing the product to drop “in price to a level lower than the cost of production.”<sup>513</sup> During the global Depression of the early and mid-1930s, the price of sugar remained at levels below its height in the late 1920s, but the price grew steadily. The lowest precipitation levels in recorded Barbadian history in 1930 compounded the economic decline. Nevertheless, Canada remained the largest purchaser of Barbadian domestic exports, sugar and molasses.<sup>514</sup>

Keynesian economics defined Barbadian Government intervention during the Depression. The Government avoided a laissez-faire policy during the global economic recovery and came to the conclusion that Canada was no longer a sustainable market for its domestic exports. The Barbadian House of Assembly sympathetically urged the British

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<sup>512</sup> *Report of the Proceedings of the Canada-West Indies Conference, 1925, with the Canada-British West Indies-Bermuda-British Guiana-British Honduras Trade Agreement, 1925, 4.*

<sup>513</sup> BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1462; Barbados, Report for 1928-29* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1929).

<sup>514</sup> BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1422; Barbados, Report for 1927-28* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1929); BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1462; Barbados, Report for 1928-29* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1929); BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1499; Barbados, Report for 1929-30* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1930); BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1544; Barbados, Report for 1930-31* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1931), 4-24.

Government to buy more Barbadian sugar. The Assembly argued it was “the only immediate available means of reducing the heavy loss to producers, and thereby enabling them to continue the cultivation of their lands, provide work for and pay a living wage to the labouring population during the present depression.”<sup>515</sup> The plea to Britain did not fall on deaf ears. Although by 1932, Canada remained the largest purchaser of Barbadian domestic exports, “increased preferences on sugar granted by the United Kingdom diverted some of the produce from Canada to the United Kingdom.”<sup>516</sup> Canada imported more Barbadian molasses in 1933, but the United Kingdom superseded its former North American colony in sugar imports. By 1934, 1936 and 1937, Canada once again became Barbados’ chief buyer of molasses and sugar. However, by 1938, the British became the largest purchaser of Barbadian domestic products.<sup>517</sup> This was due in part to government-subsidized prices for sugar in the United Kingdom for British consumers and a falling demand for sugar in Canada.<sup>518</sup> Barbadian sugar, rum and molasses, featured as premium exports to Canada during the early and mid-twentieth century. The table below provides details for the total Barbadian trade and total domestic product exports to Canada between 1927 and 1936.

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<sup>515</sup> BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1462; Barbados, Report for 1928-29* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1929), 4-5.

<sup>516</sup> BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1595; Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of Barbados, 1931-32* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1932), 16.

<sup>517</sup> The United Kingdom imported 46.6% of Barbadian domestic exports, while Canada trailed slightly behind at 41.6%. BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1913; Barbados, Report for 1938-1939* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1939), 4-24. Barbadian exports by 1948 totaled £3,048,165. BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Year 1948* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1949), 4-24.

<sup>518</sup> I have to thank Dr. Margaret Kellow for this conclusion.

Table 4.1 Barbadian Total Trade and Total Domestic Exports (Sugar & Molasses) to Canada, 1927-1936<sup>519</sup>

	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1936
<b>Barbados Total Trade (£)</b>	3,881,774	3,880,424	3,326,901	2,794,702	2,555,695	3,035,882	3,118,866	3,393,831	3,497,819
<b>Domestic Exports to Canada (£)</b>	1,024,297	923,079	799,230	657,343	619,359	707,533	702,916	1,021,123	759,195
<b>Sugar Exports to Canada (£)</b>	951,792	712,977	641,326	436,210	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
<b>Molasses Exports to Canada (£)</b>	N/A	209,939	157,687	220,474	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

As the previous table showed, trade to Canada decreased significantly during the early stages of the Depression between 1929 and 1931 and rose again up to 1934. The Barbadian economy was at the mercy of a volatile sugar export market while simultaneously relying on heavy imports of foodstuffs. The data collected for the table below highlighted the first recorded trade figures for the Barbadian imports of goods from Canada between 1927 and 1936. The relationship persisted for a number of years. The Colonial Report of 1938 stated that a “large importation of foodstuffs continues and is essential to meet the requirements of the dense population of the Island.”<sup>520</sup> As a small tropical island, Barbados was not a self-sufficient society and was dependent on importing a large amount of goods it

<sup>519</sup> BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1422; Barbados, Report for 1927-28* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1929); BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1462; Barbados, Report for 1928-29* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1929); BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1499; Barbados, Report for 1929-30* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1930); BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1544; Barbados, Report for 1930-31* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1931); BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1595; Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of Barbados, 1931-32* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1932); BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1632; Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of Barbados, 1932-33* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1933); BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1725; Barbados, Report for 1934-35* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1935); BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1861; Barbados, Report for 1937-1938* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1938).

<sup>520</sup> BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1913; Barbados, Report for 1938-1939* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1939), 13.

could not produce. This was due to its agricultural climate and the geographical and logistical truth that the country was not able to sustain the heavy demands of an overpopulated citizenry. The total value of goods imported between 1946 and 1951 underscored Barbados' dependence on Canadian goods and foodstuffs. In 1946, Canadian imports were valued at £1,297,396; 1947, £1,540,647; and in 1948, £1,670,604. By 1949, the currency changed from British pounds to the British Caribbean or British West Indian dollar. Canadian imports were valued at \$6,711,940 in 1949; \$5,588,959 in 1950; and \$8,314,894 in 1951. The expansion of trade liberalization with North America in 1950 caused the drop in Barbadian imports by over one million dollars; staple Canadian imports, salt fish and animal feed, were placed on open general license and ushered in the end of price and market controls and subsidies. However, during this period, flour was the favoured Barbadian import of Canadian goods.<sup>521</sup>

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<sup>521</sup> BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Year 1947* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1948); BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Year 1948* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1949), 23.; BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Year 1949* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1950); BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1950 and 1951* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1952), 7 and 26.

Table 4.2 Goods Imported from Canada and Their Value in British Pounds (£), 1927-1936<sup>522</sup>

Goods	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1936
<b>Boots &amp; Shoes</b>	10,608	9,911	7,726	8,078	2,372	787	731	1,659	3,054
<b>Butter</b>	5,111	5,677	5,063	1,970	1,353	612	526	318	203
<b>Oilmeal (Cattle food)</b>	38,948	40,262	12,071	7,162	20,757	14,462	4,258	444	1
<b>Coal</b>	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil
<b>Cornmeal</b>	3,170	355	nil	nil	242	19	1	165	47
<b>Fish (salted)</b>	24,687	23,387	34,160	21,636	16,036	16,690	12,664	9,219	5,272
<b>Flour</b>	86,561	106,016	85,949	65,833	56,247	35,117	16,240	37,464	46,738
<b>Oats</b>	29,695	35,329	23,754	8,891	25,115	16,834	18,613	17,489	16,776
<b>Manures</b>	12,553	4,800	16,524	37,846	13,002	nil	nil	25,378	13,800
<b>Salt Beef</b>	1,029	960	nil	289	910	1,117	1,811	31	1,043
<b>Salt Pork</b>	13,614	16,894	13,999	12,797	8,221	9,616	13,963	10,576	27,017
<b>Wood (various)</b>	46,917	50,239	40,260	32,620	26,289	84,634	66,566	87,574	76,532

Barbados and Canada enjoyed mutually beneficial, but unequal, trade relations during the early to mid-twentieth century. Barbadian economic livelihood depended on favourable trade agreements with its Commonwealth partner, while Canada capitalized on this

<sup>522</sup> BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1422; Barbados, Report for 1927-28* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1929); BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1462; Barbados, Report for 1928-29* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1929); BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1499; Barbados, Report for 1929-30* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1930); BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1544; Barbados, Report for 1930-31* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1931); BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1595; Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of Barbados, 1931-32* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1932); BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1632; Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of Barbados, 1932-33* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1933); BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1725; Barbados, Report for 1934-35* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1935); BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1861; Barbados, Report for 1937-1938* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1938). Canadian Goods Imported in 1937 & 1938 (no financial figures were provided for the subsequent years, nor were they listed explicitly following 1938 and the suspension of the Colonial Reports in 1940-1946): Boots and Shoes; Fish: dried, salted, smoked (includes Newfoundland); Flour; Pork salted; Motor Cars; Wood and Timber. BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1861; Barbados, Report for 1937-1938* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1938); BNA, *Colonial Reports – Annual No. 1913; Barbados, Report for 1938-1939* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1939).

relationship to secure a dependable and stable import and export market. Historical imperial and mercantilist circumstance precipitated Barbadian-Canadian economic links and were the ties that bound the former British colony and its British colonial neighbour in the West Indies. This economic partnership in the British Empire in the Americas extended to social relations.

### **Social Relations**

The political and economic relationship between the West Indies and Canada, and specifically that of Barbados, extended into social and even quotidian ways of life.<sup>523</sup> *The Canada-West Indies Magazine* and the Canadian West Indian League illustrate this association.<sup>524</sup> Established in 1911 by the Canadian West Indian League, the *Magazine* was, “published monthly, for the promotion of mutual interest of Canada, Bermuda, the British West Indies, British Guiana, British Honduras and other British countries in the Caribbean.”<sup>525</sup> The Canadian West Indian League was officially recognized the same year as the *Magazine*. The League spearheaded Canadian-West Indian trade in the 1920s and consolidated the trade agreements of 1897, 1898, and 1912. The Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada, one of the first Canadian organizations in Barbados and the West Indies in 1879, helped form the Montreal-based League. The League was sponsored by Sun Life president T.B. Macaulay who led the organization for over twenty years and “was a life-long champion of West Indian-Canadian friendship.”<sup>526</sup> The founding officers included the

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<sup>523</sup> For more on the political relationship between Canada and the West Indies see Locksley G.E. Edmondson, “Canada and the West Indies: Trends and Prospects,” *International Journal* 19 (1964): 188-201.

<sup>524</sup> BNA, *The Canada-West Indies Magazine*, May 1937 & June 1937.

<sup>525</sup> BNA, “Saluting The West Indies Federation,” *Canada West-Indies Magazine*, November 1957.

<sup>526</sup> *Ibid.*

honourary president, Sir Thomas Shaughnessy; president Macaulay; vice-president A. Delery Macdonald; the executive council of A.L. Bennett, A. Birchall, H.C.M. Cornish, Henry Dalby, Frank Hart, W. Hutchinson, C. E. Neill, J.H. Stockton, and E.M. Walcott; secretary W.T. Robson; and treasurer J.K. Keyes of the Royal Bank of Canada, Montreal.<sup>527</sup> The membership fee for Canadians was five dollars per annum, which included a subscription to the *Magazine*.<sup>528</sup> The June 10<sup>th</sup>, 1911 issue of *The Montreal Gazette* outlined seven key objectives of the League including to “foster a better understanding between the peoples of the Dominion of Canada, the British West Indies, British South America and the British Empire” and establish travel and unite “patriotic citizens” of the regions.<sup>529</sup> Economically, the League promoted trade and business lines of communication for sustained commercial partnerships.<sup>530</sup> The League, as shown through the economic agreements of the early twentieth century, became a bulwark for Canadian affairs in the West Indies. The relationship was economically driven, but with political and social ramifications.

The League was also heavily involved in chastising the Canadian Government’s position on immigration. It argued that their anti-Black immigration policy would negatively affect business and trade in the region. A member of the League, A.W. Macdonald, wrote to the Superintendent of Immigration Branch W.D. Scott on November 16<sup>th</sup>, 1916 complaining that immigration officials “must take steps to clear up the impression that had gotten around that Canada did not want coloured immigrants.”<sup>531</sup> It is clear that the League understood that unfavourable immigration policy was a detriment to prosperous partnerships in the West

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<sup>527</sup> “Canada-West Indies: League Which Proposes to Promote Their Mutual Interests,” *The Montreal Gazette*, June 10, 1911.

<sup>528</sup> Ibid.

<sup>529</sup> Ibid.

<sup>530</sup> Ibid.

<sup>531</sup> John Schultz, “White Man’s Country: Canada and the West Indian Immigrant, 1900-1965,” *American Review of Canadian Studies* (1982): 57.



Indies. The League and its magazine embodied a mutually beneficial relationship to both Canada and the British Caribbean region. The relationship may have favoured Canadian interests, but favourable trade agreements, and most notably a positive outlook on Barbadian and West Indian culture and a significant push for the tourism industry, propelled the region's economic growth.<sup>532</sup>

Tourist advertisements revealed the *Magazine's* Canadian publication and distribution base. The May 1937 issue of the *Magazine* included "Honeymoon Tours" for the "Summer Brides of 1937" in Trinidad and Tobago.<sup>533</sup> The advertisement featured photographs of predominantly White women; the *Magazine* targeted Canadians, in Canada, with interests in the West Indies. The West Indies, and Barbados, were no longer neglected plantation backwaters. This newfound public interest increased visibility and familial and social ties within the British Empire in the Americas. Barbados and the West Indies were strategic political and trading partners; however, the *Magazine's* advertisements, alluding to the "exotic" curiosity of the Other in the tropical paradise of the unknown, emphasized the Canadian public's interest in the region.<sup>534</sup> The *Magazine* provided Canadians, "with a better understanding of conditions in the British West Indies."<sup>535</sup> Nevertheless, it targeted Canadian domestic issues and reciprocated the West Indian tourist sentiment and showcased

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<sup>532</sup> *The Canada West-Indies Magazine* utilized traditional ethnography in its portrayal of Barbadian culture. In the May 1937 issue, A. Clifford Archer's article, "Bugaboo in Barbados", took an intimate look at Barbadian folklore written for a strictly Canadian audience. Archer's piece was the beginning of a series. As the first of the series, "the author has set down a few of the many stories and legends of places and events of his native Barbados (i.e., ghost stories). The events he relates are in many cases unaccountable but nevertheless are vouched for by responsible persons who claim to have witnessed them." The article underlined the social interests in Barbados and the West Indies by a Canadian and highly influential audience. BNA, *The Canada-West Indies Magazine*, May 1937, 1.

<sup>533</sup> Ibid.

<sup>534</sup> Ibid.

<sup>535</sup> "Saluting The West Indies Federation," *The Canada-West Indies Magazine*, November 1957, 3.

Canada as a suitable destination.<sup>536</sup> The *Magazine* also featured Canadian advertisements, which promoted trade and tourism to and from the West Indies. These included the Canadian National (West Indies) Steamships Ltd., Saguenay Terminals Ltd., and Trans-Canada Airlines.<sup>537</sup> The *Magazine* may have targeted the Canadian public, but as outlined in the 1911 objectives of the League and its magazine and reaffirmed in the recognition of their 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary in *The Windsor Daily Star*, the readership was of a higher socio-economic and bourgeois business and political class.<sup>538</sup> Its audience was comprised of those Canadians who had the capital to invest in the West Indies and had the disposable income to travel to the West Indies long before leisure holidays to the Caribbean were affordable to the masses in the latter half of the twentieth century. The readership was an elite group of Canadians. These Canadians had considerable economic wealth and political influence as the League facilitated and contributed to many economic trade agreements and commented on political movements in the West Indies during the early to mid-twentieth century.

A special issue of *The Canada West-Indies Magazine* in 1957 expressed Canadian support for the West Indies. The November volume celebrated the creation of the short-lived West Indies Federation.<sup>539</sup> This is quite significant in terms of diplomatic relations and the history of migration between Canada, the United Kingdom and the West Indies. Following the Second World War, Canada supported the idea of a West Indian federation. Canadian officials and academics, including Senator A. Neil McLean, went so far in supporting Canadian political unification with the West Indies as a “tropical province” and the idea was

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<sup>536</sup> The June 1937 periodical covered a published report on Canadian tourism. The same piece highlighted the number of tourist visits during the year, without an explicit mention of Barbados or the West Indies. *The Canada-West Indies Magazine*, June 1937, 6.

<sup>537</sup> “Saluting The West Indies Federation,” *The Canada-West Indies Magazine*, November 1957.

<sup>538</sup> “The West Indies: Optimism of League Formed 25 Years Ago Shown as Well Founded,” *The Windsor Daily Star*, December 26, 1936.

<sup>539</sup> “Saluting The West Indies Federation,” *The Canada-West Indies Magazine*, November 1957.

“worth exploring” if all political solutions in the West Indies failed.<sup>540</sup> Greg Donaghy and Bruce Muirhead have argued that Canada begrudgingly took on the financial responsibility of sending aid to the region as a result of Britain’s push in 1956 for Canada to support the West Indies Federation.<sup>541</sup> While Canada did have historical trade relations with the region, the authors expressed that the state had very little defined foreign policy and merely economic “interests.”<sup>542</sup> British post-war influence, American hegemony in the region, and the ominous threat of Soviet encroachment in the Americas during the Cold War precipitated the need to keep the Federation “democratic” and viable.<sup>543</sup> Member of Parliament George Clyde Nowlan (PC, Digby-Annapolis-Kings) addressed the threat of the spread of communism in the West Indies during the 1950s and argued the area was “ripe for communism” due to the region’s poor socio-economic conditions.<sup>544</sup> On the eve of the West Indies Federation he argued that Canada should pay more attention to the Caribbean.<sup>545</sup> Under Prime Minister John Diefenbaker in 1958, Canada’s aid programme sent a ship to the West Indies to facilitate the Federation’s inter-island movement.<sup>546</sup> Donaghy and Muirhead stated that Canada’s motives in supporting the ill-fated Federation were not reflected accurately by the benevolence expressed by the *Magazine*, but by the state’s emerging post-war role as a “middle player” in international relations. Outside political influences and financial aid could not save the Federation from internal fissures.<sup>547</sup>

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<sup>540</sup> Edmondson, 192.

<sup>541</sup> Greg Donaghy and Bruce Muirhead, “‘Interests but No Foreign Policy’: Canada and the Commonwealth Caribbean, 1941-1966,” *American Review of Canadian Studies* 38 (2008): 278-279.

<sup>542</sup> *Ibid.*, 289.

<sup>543</sup> *Ibid.*, 282.

<sup>544</sup> Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 17 January 1955, 255.

<sup>545</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>546</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>547</sup> Canada’s role as a “middle player” in international relations related to its post-Second World War emergence as an influential player in international affairs. Canada was not a “superpower” like the United States, but it held considerable influence in world issues (i.e., Lester B. Pearson, the 1956 Suez Crisis and the United Nations Emergency Force).

Michele Johnson has explored the rise and fall of the West Indies Federation, specifically Jamaica's reluctance to enter the Federation and its subsequent withdrawal. She argued that once the new nation came to be in 1958, some Jamaicans "had begun to question the benefits of federation membership and to express concerns about the future of federation," and by 1961, Premier Norman Manley, "announced that a referendum would be held in 1961, so that the people could decided whether or not Jamaica was to remain in the Federation."<sup>548</sup> Johnson argued that once the referendum passed on September 19<sup>th</sup> 1961, "the majority of Jamaicans voted against the island's continued membership in the West Indies Federation. This turn of events has widely been accepted as that which brought West Indian federal political union to an end."<sup>549</sup> Parochialism curtailed West Indian union; political and economic autonomy and the preservation of national and ethnic identities, specifically in the cases of Jamaica and Trinidad, circumvented common colonial histories and future regional collective interests and policies.<sup>550</sup> The West Indies Federation faced several issues including that of differential development, whereby Jamaican politician and delegate at the Montego Bay Conference, Alexander Bustamante, noted it was not possible for countries with varying levels of development to unite. It was unjust that developed islands, specifically Jamaica, would have to support an entire region, thus constituting a drain on its own socio-economic resources as "issues of differential development were to prove beneficial in the campaign for secession."<sup>551</sup> The relationship among the failure of the West Indies Federation in 1961, West Indian emigration, and the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* of 1962 must not be understated. With free and uninhibited migration throughout West

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<sup>548</sup> Michele A. Johnson, "The Beginning and the End: The Montego Bay Conference and the Jamaican Referendum on West Indian Federation," *Social and Economic Studies* 48 (1999): 122.

<sup>549</sup> Ibid.

<sup>550</sup> Ibid., 130.

<sup>551</sup> Ibid., 142 & 147.

Indian nations no longer a possibility, it is quite plausible that the British feared an influx of West Indian emigrants following the short-lived West Indies Federation. The end of the Federation added to British external and internal pressures to bar West Indian emigrants and subsequently indirectly pressured Canada to de-racialize its immigration policy in 1962.<sup>552</sup> One may then argue that both Britain and Canada, despite their perceived benevolence for the welfare and success of the West Indies Federation, had a vested interest in a federation that would have facilitated perpetual inter-island migrant flows and thus alleviating the pressure of inter-regional migration.

Canada, displayed in the publication of the special issue of *The Canada-West Indies Magazine* in 1957, supported the ill-fated Federation; however, it is possible that most of the statements were quite political and diplomatic in nature. Canadian historical and future interests in the British Caribbean relied on cordial, if not manipulative, relations. Nevertheless, several high ranking officials within the Canadian Government commented within the pages of the special issue. The Minister of Trade and Commerce, the Honourable Gordon Churchill, D.S.O., M.A., LL.B, expressed:

I congratulate the 'Canada-West Indies Magazine' on its efforts, over a period of forty-six years, to provide Canadians with a better understanding of conditions in the British West Indies. This issue will undoubtedly outline some of the problems that the establishment of a new unit within this Commonwealth will create, and point the way towards closer associations between our respective peoples in the years that lie ahead.<sup>553</sup>

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<sup>552</sup> I have to attribute this line of thought to a conversation with Dr. Michele Johnson at The Breaking the Chains Community Partners' Meeting, September 14<sup>th</sup>, 2012, in London, Ontario, Canada. I also have to thank Dr. Margaret Kellow for adding that this move highlighted unusual foresight in the Canadian Government, especially compared to what governments usually display. In 1957 Canada anticipated the 1962 *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* and the impact it would have on the Canadian state's immigration policy.

<sup>553</sup> "Saluting The West Indies Federation," *The Canada-West Indies Magazine*, November 1957, 3.

The Deputy Minister of the Canadian Department of Trade and Commerce, Mitchell W. Sharp, stated, “Canada and the West Indies are old friends and old trading partners. From the second half of the eighteenth century, the two regions have shared the kinship which has arisen from mutual associations, in what is now the Commonwealth.”<sup>554</sup> The Right Honourable Lord Hailes, Governor-General Designate, West Indies Federation, echoed this sentiment and expressed a West Indian obligation for a sustainable partnership within the British Commonwealth. Hailes commented: “I am confident that the Federation of the West Indies will not look in vain for friendship and support from the Dominion of Canada as she moves towards her place within our Family of Nations.”<sup>555</sup> A cautious air of diplomacy tempered Canadian pleasantries; the politicians appealed to a diverse audience. Businessmen relied on cordial political relations for sustained trade. It is probable that they most likely dominated readership and some may have benefited financially, or lost, from West Indian unification. As previously mentioned, the *Magazine*’s mandate was to provide Canadians “with a better understanding of the (economic and political) conditions” in the West Indies.

By the 1960s and following the end of the West Indies Federation, however, West Indian politicians, specifically those from Barbados, appealed directly to Canadian diplomats on political, economic, and social terms ostensibly to support individual islands in the aftermath of the failure of the Federation. The Right Honourable Sir Errol Walton Barrow, former premier of Barbados and its first Prime Minister in 1966 addressed the Commonwealth Partners in the West Indies conference held at Fredericton, New Brunswick, October 25-27<sup>th</sup>, 1963.<sup>556</sup> Barrow pushed for positive diplomatic Barbadian- and West

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<sup>554</sup> Ibid.

<sup>555</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>556</sup> BNA, Errol Barrow, “A Role for Canada in the West Indies,” *International Journal: Canadian Institute of International Affairs* 19 (1964): 172-187. The article is a slightly revised version of Barrow’s address at the

Indian-Canadian relations. The diplomatic partnership extended to social and economic relations, characterized by the burgeoning tourism industry.<sup>557</sup> He noted the average Canadian held the power to extend aid to the region. Barrow stated: “Keep coming down to our area in ever increasing numbers; and he will never need the rigours of the winter to impel him in our direction after he has been there for the first time.”<sup>558</sup> Barrow mentioned the cold and dreary Canadian winters as a justifiable reason to visit Barbados and the West Indies. The politician appealed to the “push” of the Canadian cold climate as opposed to the “pull” of the Barbadian year round tropical climate. In turn, Barrow asked that the gesture be reciprocated. He wanted the Canadian people to treat his citizens with the same respect and friendliness as was extended to Canadian tourists and sojourners in his homeland. He stated that Canadians should treat the West Indian student and West Indian visitor to Canada, “with the same candour and friendliness that West Indians extend to Canadians in the West Indies.”<sup>559</sup> Barrow wanted respect and equality to define the Barbadian and West Indian position in the Commonwealth relationship.

Economically, Barrow underscored late nineteenth and early twentieth century West Indian-Canadian trade relations. He argued, “Canada-West Indies relations... [and their respective] economies are entirely complementary.”<sup>560</sup> As previously stated, West Indians and Canadians envisioned an equal partnership. Trade promoted both Canadian and West Indian interests. However, while it benefited both regions, Canada dictated the terms of the agreements. With the exception of Barclays Bank, banking business was “carried on

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“Commonwealth Partners in the West Indies,” Conference held at Fredericton, N.B., October 25-27, 1963, by the Fredericton Branch of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and the University of New Brunswick.  
<sup>557</sup> For more on Barbados’ tourism industry, see F.A. Hoyos, *Barbados Our Island Home* (Oxford: Macmillan Caribbean, 2003), 8-11.

<sup>558</sup> Barrow, 172.

<sup>559</sup> Ibid.

<sup>560</sup> Ibid.

exclusively by Canadian concerns” since historically established institutions controlled the Barbadian financial market and profits flowed back to Canada.<sup>561</sup> Canadian banks dominated the Barbadian banking industry and enjoyed a monopoly in Barbadian finance and commerce. Despite the financial security of Canadian foreign investment, by the mid-twentieth century, Barbados began to suffer the effects of unequal North-South trade. During the early 1950s, Canada imported approximately 1,000,000 gallons of Barbadian rum. However, due in part to their desire to refine the product in Canada, the state placed import taxes on Barbadian rum. Rum sales to Canada declined in the late 1950s and continued to fall. Recognizing the decline in trade, which devastated the Barbadian export market, Barrow asked for further Canadian foreign investment and for the Canadian emigration and settlement of businessmen and investors. The Premier offered this piece of advice: “Discover some kind of activity that would have afforded them the privilege of living for an indefinite period of time in the West Indian islands, even after they may have retired from their businesses in Canada.”<sup>562</sup> Despite having to deal with overpopulation and issues of restrictive Canadian immigration policy, it seems as if Barrow understood that Barbados needed the economic investment that Canadian businesspeople could bring to the Island. Barrow needed to reconcile Barbados’ economic development, overpopulation, and emigration, and subsequently highlighted the financial advantages and personal merits of Canadian migration to Barbados.<sup>563</sup>

Barrow asked the Canadian people, Canadian businessmen, and the Government of Canada to appreciate the similarities – parliamentary, colonial, and the English language – of the Canadian-West Indian link before looking elsewhere, including South Asia, for

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<sup>561</sup> Ibid., 178.

<sup>562</sup> Ibid., 180.

<sup>563</sup> Ibid.



investment opportunities. He drew on Canadian-West Indian historical ties and common British colonial kin to propel future foreign relations and foreign partnerships. The task was difficult, but Barrow pushed for a bond which he knew his country needed for its economic survival. He emphasized the gesture was to be reciprocated by Barbados in maintaining “traditional [trading] markets” in Canada, which included importing Canadian flour.<sup>564</sup> Barrow reaffirmed faith in the loyalty of the West Indian partnership as he played on Canada’s sovereignty and national identity during a period where the British Government pushed for closer Canadian economic and social ties in the West Indies. Barrow contended that “Canadians are better disposed to the Caribbean than he could ever convert the British people to be.”<sup>565</sup> As colonized kin in the British Commonwealth in the Americas, Canadian, Barbadian and West Indian commonalities overshadowed those of their imperial master, Britain.

The unequal power dynamic problematized a seemingly cordially relationship. Did Barrow and his West Indian colleagues downplay their subordinate trading position to gain favourable economic concessions from the Government of Canada? Was Canadian trade with the West Indies voluntary? Was it coerced by the United Kingdom that saw Canada as a suitable outlet for its West Indian migrant “problem” following the Second World War? Did Canada see its relationship with Barbados and the West Indies as a market suitable for neo-colonialism similar to American interests in the region? The physical presence of a colonial master, and the hundreds of years of an indoctrinated colonial mentality, curtailed Barbados’ independence and autonomy on the international stage prior to 1966. Despite the British meddling in its foreign affairs, Canada, as a sovereign state, determined its unequal

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<sup>564</sup> Ibid., 183.

<sup>565</sup> Ibid., 174-175. As was highlighted with the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act*, Britain did not have any true authority over Canadian immigration policy, but it did influence Canada’s decision-making process.

partnership with its West Indian neighbour. Canada, as is true and expected for most financially dominant players in partnerships with the economically weak, defined the physical and ideological terms which Barbadians were forced to accept. What must be noted is the fundamental fact that marginalized Barbados and the British colonies in the Caribbean – race. Race and racism underlined a divisive hegemonic threat to Barbados and the West Indies; a pathology of race dictated Canadian foreign relations, and specifically its policy towards immigration, with the country and the region.

### **Race, Colour, and the Ideological Paradox of Canadian Immigration**

Exclusionary and discriminatory policies defined Canada's history of immigration. Canada openly restricted and regulated the entry of non-White and non-Christian immigrants. Following the Second World War, prominent Jewish Canadians decried Canada's policy against Jewish immigration in favour of enemies of war. The presidents of the Canadian Jewish Congress and the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society, respectively, argued, "we understand that in a number of [Jewish immigrant] cases rejections were ordered because of petty dealings with Japanese occupation forces in order to eke out a living and officially labeled as 'trading with the enemy'"; however, "this also raises a question of equity. Many Germans and nationals of other countries have been admitted to Canada who not only 'traded with the enemy' but actually and directly helped this enemy bearing arms against Canada."<sup>566</sup>

The authors postulated that Canada's obdurate selection and restriction of potential immigrants defied reasonable logic and weighed heavily on ignorant public opinion. They

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<sup>566</sup> Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG 26, vol. 123, file 3-32-14, p. 10-12, Submission to: The Honourable Walter F. Harris, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration. President, Canadian Jewish Congress & President, Jewish Immigrant Aid Society. Montreal. November 25, 1952.

stated that “immigration is admittedly a difficult matter on which there are many views. One may differ – indeed as we do – with the basic approach to immigration policy that is predicated on the basic assumption that it reflects the majority opinion.”<sup>567</sup> They continued, “In accepting this view we are not nevertheless prepared to admit that the present policy is being equitably administered nor is it being implemented in accordance with Canada’s great reputation as a Western Democracy.”<sup>568</sup> In response, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Walter Harris, justified Canadian immigration policy stating, “[it] is to foster the growth of the population of Canada through immigration, ensuring careful selection and favourable settlement of such numbers of immigrants as can be successfully absorbed into the national economy without fundamentally altering the character of the population.”<sup>569</sup> The Minister’s convoluted response did not address who or what was the “character of the population”; however, through his omission, one may assume that enemies of the state during the Second World War could be “successfully absorbed” into Canadian society as opposed to Jewish migrants. J.V. McAree’s “Jews are Victims” in *The Globe & Mail* (Toronto), wrote of “Nazis on Toronto Streets”:

J. Sinclair also says that the discrimination against Jews by the Canadian Government has been well known. He adds: “There are in Canada thousands of Nazi collaborators and Fascists who entered as DPs. I know of several Canadian veterans who were in prisoner-of-war camps, and recognized their Nazi guards in Toronto...Even Adolph Hitler could enter Canada under the present stupid immigration plan. Few Jews, if any, have been allowed in as miners, lumber-men or domestics. Any German slut who served well in Nazi brothels can enter Canada as a domestic.”<sup>570</sup>

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<sup>567</sup> Ibid.

<sup>568</sup> Ibid.

<sup>569</sup> LAC, RG 26, vol. 123, file 3-32-14, Letter submitted by the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, December 9, 1952, to Mr. Saul Hayes, National Executive Director, Canadian Jewish Congress in response to the brief (the one above) submitted November 25<sup>th</sup>, 1952 by the Canadian Jewish Congress and the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society.

<sup>570</sup> LAC, RG 26, vol. 123, file 3-32-14, Article by J.V. McAree. “Jews are Victims”. *The Globe & Mail* (Toronto). September 24<sup>th</sup>, 1949. For more on Jewish exclusion and Canadian immigration and anti-Semitism in Canada during the early to mid-twentieth century, see Irving Abella and Harold Troper, *None is Too Many*:

A paradox of hypocrisy defined Canadian immigration policy; Canada permitted the settlement of those who fought against Canadian core values. The state allowed the killers of thousands of Canadians to live next to their victims and benefit from the same freedoms the former enemies tried to dismantle. Meanwhile, the Canadian state restricted the entry of Jewish victims of known genocide and crimes against humanity. How did Nazis and their sympathizers not alter “the character of the population” as argued by the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration? Similar to the Jewish case, xenophobia forced Black emigrants, Black West Indians, and Black Barbadians to navigate and circumvent this racist and illogically discriminatory Canadian immigration and settlement pretext. A pathologically ambiguous, anti-Semitic, and racist ideology defined Canada’s immigrant selection process. The idea of who should be a Canadian, and the negative codification of one’s race, religion, and specifically one’s legacy of slavery and colonial subjugation as Black, perverted Canadian immigration policy.

This was an anti-Black, xenophobic, “White [Anglo-Saxon Protestant] Canada” post-war policy supported by all levels of government including Canada’s Prime Minister, William Lyon Mackenzie King.<sup>571</sup> David Goutor argued that “making Canada white and attracting white immigrants to populate the Dominion were almost universally viewed as key

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*Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Alan T. Davies and Marilyn F. Nefsky, *How silent were the churches?: Canadian Protestantism and the Jewish plight during the Nazi era* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1997); L. Ruth Klein, ed., *Nazi Germany, Canadian Responses: confronting antisemitism in the shadow of war* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2012); David Rome, *Clouds in the Thirties: On Antisemitism in Canada, 1929-1939: A Chapter on Canadian Jewish history* (Montreal: [s.n.], 1977-1981).

<sup>571</sup> For discussions on the deliberate “White Canada” strategy in the Canadian nation-building of a settler and colonial society through gendered and racialized laws and institutions, see Sherene Razack, ed., *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002); and Daiva Stasiulis and Radha Jhappan, “The Fractious Politics of a Settler Society,” in *Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity, and Class*, ed. Daiva Stasiulis and Nira Yuval-Davis (London: Sage, 1995). See also the Introduction and chapters One and Two.

parts of Canada's nation-building project," or a "White Canada."<sup>572</sup> In May 1947, Mackenzie King most (in)famously declared that "the people of Canada do not wish to make a fundamental alteration in the character of their population through mass immigration."<sup>573</sup> One can assume, and rightfully so, that Mackenzie King's "character" comment was a euphemism for "White" Anglo-Saxon primordial attachment to "true" Canadian-ness. Prior to his public address on Canadian post-war immigration policy, Mackenzie King's diaries revealed that on February 13<sup>th</sup>, 1947 he obfuscated his position on exclusion based on racial discrimination and his fundamental right to bar nationalities and "strains of blood" from settling in Canada. The Prime Minister stated that there was "a good deal of confusion in the minds of all of us as to where to draw the line and how to draw it in the matter of discrimination between different races and peoples who wish to come to Canada," and admitted that "there should be no exclusion of any particular race."<sup>574</sup> He continued, "A country should surely have the right to determine what strains of blood it wishes to have in its population and how its people coming from outside have to be selected. There is going to be a great danger of the U.N. refusing the idea of justifiable rights of selected immigration with racial and other discriminations."<sup>575</sup> Mackenzie King was not troubled in his personal and diplomatic stance towards non-Whites in Canada.<sup>576</sup> It seemed that he personally

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<sup>572</sup> David Goutor, *Guarding the Gates: The Canadian Labour Movement and Immigration, 1872-1934* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 5.

<sup>573</sup> *Ibid.*, 213. See also Donald Avery, *Reluctant Host: Canada's Response to Immigrant Workers, 1896-1994* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1995), 151-152. Avery provided a review and examination on the exclusionary immigration policies of Canada and immigrant settlement in the country. He also highlighted the external factors, including foreign labour policy, political and ethnic/racial relations that influenced immigration policy,

<sup>574</sup> William Lyon Mackenzie King, "The Diaries of William Lyon Mackenzie King, February 13, 1947," *Library and Archives Canada*, last modified December 4, 2007, [http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/king/001059-119.02-e.php?&page\\_id\\_nbr=29395&interval=20&&PHPSESSID=kjrmhp00c9o1angknic2bhtke2](http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/king/001059-119.02-e.php?&page_id_nbr=29395&interval=20&&PHPSESSID=kjrmhp00c9o1angknic2bhtke2).

<sup>575</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>576</sup> For more on Mackenzie King's stance on non-Whites in Canada and immigration to Canada, see Stephanie Bangarth's "William Lyon Mackenzie King and Japanese Canadians," in *Mackenzie King: Citizenship and*

promoted the race-based exclusion of potential immigrants and the nefarious and illogical fallacy of race and racism, which permeated all levels of Canadian and Western society, permitted the continued open exclusion of non-White peoples.

In his 1947 public address on Canadian post-war immigration policy, Mackenzie King stated that “the government will seek by legislation, regulation, and vigorous administration, to ensure the careful selection and permanent settlement of such numbers of immigrants as can advantageously be absorbed in our national economy.”<sup>577</sup> Mackenzie King’s position on immigration and the settlement of “desirable” future Canadian citizens remained a racialized reality; one which was not dictated by the national economy, but similar to Britain’s *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* of 1962, by the xenophobic fears of the White Canadian population.<sup>578</sup> What is most troubling is that the Prime Minister delivered these statements immediately following the human rights atrocities of the Holocaust and the Second World War. Mackenzie King addressed the arbitrary selection of immigrants and stated that “I wish to make it quite clear that Canada is perfectly within her rights in selecting the persons whom we regard as desirable future citizens. It is not a ‘fundamental human right’ of any alien to enter Canada. It is a privilege. It is a matter of domestic policy.”<sup>579</sup> In the May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1947 entry in his diary Mackenzie King followed up his House of Commons address delivered the same day and stated that there was no “fundamental right which caused

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*Community*, eds. John English, Kenneth McLaughlin, and P. Whitney Lackenbauer, 99-123 (Toronto: Robin Brass Studio Press, 2002).

<sup>577</sup> David C. Corbett, *Canada’s Immigration Policy: A Critique* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), 3. Corbett provides an excellent overview of early to mid-twentieth century immigration policy and ideology and the labour, public, and political influences and reactions to the policy in Canada. The book examines the admission criteria and selection of different emigrants by country of origin, their rejection, and the reasons behind their exclusion (racism, prejudice, climate discrimination). It also examines economic theories and population growth, and how immigration policy is administered – through legislation and arbitrary decision making. It is a comprehensive, and subjective, review of immigration prejudice and public opinion and how immigration policy appeased the Canadian bi-cultural framework.

<sup>578</sup> See Chapter Three for more on the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act*.

<sup>579</sup> Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 1 May 1947, 2646 (William Lyon Mackenzie King).



resident in Canada who was an immediate relative. Barbadians in Canada could only sponsor a “husband, wife, unmarried children under the age of twenty-one, mother, father, brother, sister, fiancé(e), ‘orphan’ nephew or niece under twenty-one, or a grandparent.”<sup>585</sup> As Corbett stated, if ethnic and national groups did not have a “foothold” in Canada (this will be outlined in detail in Chapter Five, as the first “mass” wave of Barbadian emigrants to Canada came via the Domestic Scheme in 1955) these groups could not have had a firm establishment in Canada “by means of family relationships.” Moreover, women selected under the Scheme had to be unmarried without children. By virtue of its restrictive sponsorship requirements, the 1953 *Immigration Act* deliberately barred the settlement of Black West Indian and Barbadian migrants in Canada.<sup>586</sup> Contradictory immigration policy rhetoric throughout the 1950s both restricted and gradually facilitated the settlement of Black Barbadians in Canada. Canada seemingly opened its doors to more Barbadians and non-White peoples specifically through sponsorship initiatives; however, groups that did not have roots in Canada could not benefit from the supposedly “relaxed” immigration policy. The changes effectively retained the status quo, but they did provide a foundation for future liberalization. Throughout the decade, Canadian officials debated the arbitrary nature of their selection process.

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<sup>585</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>586</sup> There is a growing historiography on Black immigrants in Canada and Canadian anti-Black immigration policy including: Elizabeth Beaton, “An African-American Community in Cape Breton, 1901-1904,” *Acadiensis* 24 (1995): 65-97; Daniel G. Hill, *The Freedom-Seekers: Blacks in Early Canada* (Agincourt, Canada: Book Society of Canada, 1981); Sharon Hepburn, *Crossing the Border: A Free Black Community in Canada* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997); Crawford Kilian, *Go Do Some Great Thing: The Black Pioneers of British Columbia* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1978); Jennifer J. Nelson, *Razing Africville: A Geography of Racism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008); R. Bruce Shepard, *Deemed Unsuitable: Blacks from Oklahoma move to the Canadian Prairies in search of equality in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century only to find racism in their new home* (Toronto: Umbrella Press, 1997); W.A. Spray, *The Blacks in New Brunswick*, (Fredericton: Brunswick Press, 1972); Harvey Amani Whitfield, *Blacks on the Border: the Black Refugees in British North America, 1815-1860* (Burlington, Vermont: University of Vermont Press, 2006); and Dorothy W. Williams, *The Road to Now: A History of Blacks in Montreal* (Montreal: Vehicule Press, 1997).



At a meeting held June 19<sup>th</sup>, 1953, Canadian officials discussed known and conflicting issues of racism and discrimination in Canadian immigration policy and practice. The meeting also highlighted the inequities in Canadian and Black West Indian relations with respect to immigration and trade. Canada willingly conducted business with Blacks, but expressed hesitation and bigotry towards the international migration of West Indians. The officials revealed that potential emigrants “although British subjects, are of coloured blood, and when these applicants are turned down by Immigration, it creates embarrassment for the Trade Commissioner who must deal with the same people in his trade activities.”<sup>587</sup> The term “coloured” and its codified negativity further complicated the hypocritical treatment of Black West Indians. Laval Fortier, Deputy Minister of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration said that “only close relatives of ‘coloured’ British West Indians are admissible as immigrants to Canada. He admitted that the term ‘coloured’ has not been fully defined.”<sup>588</sup> “Colour” was not defined and Fortier admitted its irresponsible and ambiguous usage. It was an arbitrary exclusion of people based on an undefined classification of colour and codification of race. Canada did not, and could not, implement a colour-based rubric of eligible immigrants from the British West Indies, because “coloured” was not a definable term. A reified ideology, with roots in the British liberal racial order outlined in Chapter Two, justified exclusion. A June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1953 correspondence note, “Immigrant Entry to Canada of Coloured Persons Bearing British Passports” from the Canadian Embassy in Caracas, Venezuela to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs in Canada, reiterated Canada’s obfuscated and ideological discrimination by colour, and stated, “we are under the

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<sup>587</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt 1, Minutes of the Meeting Held in Conference Room, East Block, Friday, June 19, 1953, 11:00am.

<sup>588</sup> Ibid. During the meeting, Canadian officials guesstimated that approximately 250-300 Whites were admitted each year from the British West Indians. Referring to Chapter Two of this dissertation, how can one truly define “White” and “Black” in the Caribbean?

impression that the entry to Canada of British subjects who are coloured is discouraged, but we are unable to find any reference to this in various documents relating to immigration.”<sup>589</sup>

Ad-hoc legislation justified an exclusionary and “colour-coded” policy. This policy was further highlighted and problematized in a letter dated August 17<sup>th</sup>, 1953, from P.T. Baldwin, the head of the Admissions Division of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration to Mr. R.R. Parlour, the Assistant of the Canadian Trade Commissioner in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad.<sup>590</sup> The child of a Canadian citizen, if not of the same racial and national origin due to miscegenation, was forced to apply and be admitted through immigration channels. Even if one of the parents was Canadian and White, by definition the child was not Canadian. An excerpt from the letter read:

[Name blanked out] is a Canadian citizen and therefore admissible as a matter of right, but her children would have the citizenship [and racial or colour] status of her late husband and would therefore be seeking admission to Canada as immigrants. They would be admissible to or with her mother, but difficulty might arise when they are examined at the Canadian port of entry, if the mother does not have in her possession evidence of satisfactory arrangements for their reception and support.<sup>591</sup>

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<sup>589</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 1, Note from the Canadian Embassy, Caracas, Venezuela to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canada. June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1953. The Trade Commissioner in Trinidad (whose territory covered Barbados) was unable to handle immigration inquiries and was having difficulty dealing with Coloured West Indians. The letter stated, “...there is, of course, a serious question of policy in dealing with requests for immigration from many British West Indians of coloured blood”. LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 1, Letter from (Sgd.) L.D. Wilgress to Laval Fortier, June 16<sup>th</sup>, 1953.

<sup>590</sup> The territories covered by the two Trade Commissioners concerned are as follows: Port-of-Spain – Trinidad: “Trinidad, the Barbados, Windward and Leeward Islands, British, French and Dutch Guiana and the French West Indies”. British West Indians must put their “racial origin” on their Citizenship and Immigration form. LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 1, Immigration Branch – File No. 81066. Ottawa, August 25<sup>th</sup>, 1953.

<sup>591</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 1, Letter from P.T. Baldwin, Chief, Admissions Division of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration to Mr. R.R. Parlour, Asst. Canadian Trade Commissioner, Port of Spain. August 17<sup>th</sup>, 1953. The following excerpt is an example of how the Immigration Office treated cases of potential emigrants that “looked” Asian and Coloured and how the Office handled subsequent issues regarding family reunification and sponsorship: “The colour question and the Asiatic question are difficult; but in our experience the former has never arisen in the case of sponsored applicants – i.e. persons going to near relatives in Canada or to marry. In regard to other (i.e. unsponsored) applicants the criterion of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration is not rigidly ethnic – perhaps necessarily so because a rigidly ethnic criterion would be most difficult if not impossible to apply. An applicant who looks like a Latin American or an Israelite evidently passes muster.” Furthermore, “The Department of Citizenship & Immigration advised us in their letter of November 30, 2949, file 185402, that a person of pure Asiatic origin, irrespective of place of birth of residence, was Asiatic in an immigration sense, and that the racial origin of a partly Asiatic person was

There was no logical political reason for the above case of exclusion and the hypocritical treatment of West Indians embarrassed Canadian trade officials. Canadian authorities “discouraged” and refused entry to many high ranking, Black, Coloured, or “Asiatic” West Indian businessmen or political officials. They contended that “this problem is much more difficult when the applicant is only 1/4 or 1/8 coloured, and especially if he comes from one of the respected and wealthy families of the island.”<sup>592</sup> This presented difficulties in maintaining collegial colour-blind relations and established partnerships, which benefited Canada economically. Trade commissioners barred their supposed West Indian partners based solely on their colour. The shared responsibilities of trade and immigration officials created an unequal relationship and projected the paradox of Canadian foreign policy; a “partnership” characterized by Canada’s willingness to do business in the West Indies, and with Black people, but refusing immigration and restricting human rights and equality in Canada. Nevertheless, trade officials continued to do business with Barbadians. Canadian trade officials stated the policy created “bad public relations [and] hinders promotion [of] Canadian trade...[These rejection decisions] require explanation.”<sup>593</sup> They continued arguing it was “embarrassing,” “untenable,” and caused “serious damage [to] Canadian prestige.”<sup>594</sup> Trade officials wrote that “a trained immigration officer on the spot

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determined by the father’s race,” and “perhaps Brazil will in the near future absorb appreciable numbers of these peoples. If this should happen, the attractiveness of North America may weaken.” LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 1, Department of Trade and Commerce: Inter-Office Correspondence, Mr. M.B. Palmer to Mr. F.L. Casserly, May 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1953. It seems as though Canada did not want to trouble itself with “hybrid” immigrants and saw Brazil, the supposed “racial democracy” as a suitable state to handle miscegenation. Conversely, it is interesting to note then that if Canada did not want to “absorb” mixed progeny, and excluded those of non-White phenotypes, that Canada wanted to maintain a “racially pure” society by any means necessary. It is similar to the law of hypodescent, or the One-Drop Rule, in the United States.

<sup>592</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 1, Memorandum, to Mr. P.V. McLane from Mr. R.R. Parlour, May 6<sup>th</sup>, 1953

<sup>593</sup> Ibid.

<sup>594</sup> Ibid.

would be in a much better position to decide on these borderline cases, and then to explain to the applicants the basis for his decision,” and protested.<sup>595</sup>

We realize that, as a rule, persons of coloured races are not encouraged to enter Canada unless their background, or settlement arrangements in Canada are exceptionally favourable. However, it seems an unwritten policy of Canada not to mention this partial colour bar, and I find it difficult to advise prospective negro, or partly negro, immigrants whether they should go to the trouble of submitting applications, and then to explain why their application has been rejected.<sup>596</sup>

The documents and correspondence during the early 1950s emphasized a hypocritical divide in Canadian-West Indian relations. The above evidence highlighted the misrepresentation and picayune definition of “colour” and how it implicated the arbitrary selection of potential West Indian emigrants. It also underscored the fallacy of Canadian benevolence and how Canada deliberately concealed its racist motives.

Canada attempted to justify the restriction of “Coloured” or “Partly Coloured” persons through various inconspicuous and devious means. Canadian authorities stated, “It has long been the policy of the Department to restrict the admission to Canada of coloured or partly-coloured persons.”<sup>597</sup> Officials desperately argued, without historical cross examination of the root causes of inequality and discrimination that “this policy has been based on unfavourable experience with respect to negro settlements such as we have in Halifax,” and “the generally depressed conditions of the negro in Canada and an understanding that the Canadian public was not willing to accept any significant group of negro immigrants.”<sup>598</sup> The Africville settlement, created, and subsequently destroyed by the

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<sup>595</sup> Ibid.

<sup>596</sup> Ibid.

<sup>597</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 1, Memorandum to the Minister (from the Director), Ottawa, September 12<sup>th</sup>, 1951.

<sup>598</sup> Ibid.

Canadian Government, was a self-fulfilling prophesy and a contrived and biased example against Black assimilation and integration.<sup>599</sup> Furthermore, the Government capitalized on Canadian xenophobia and fear mongering, specifically the denigrating American rhetoric on the condition of the African-American; an unproven and inconclusive fear of the unknown. Canada facilitated a society hostile towards Black immigrants and Black people, and blamed Blacks for their “depressed condition.” Canadian authorities assuaged guilt for the exclusion and restriction of Blacks and Coloureds, arguing that Blacks were not suited as Canadian immigrants, nor were they desired. With the July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1950, implementation of P.C. 2856, Canada instituted a supposed “open door” policy, which “was to be restrictive only in the sense that immigrants would be carefully selected as to their suitability and desirability in the light of Canadian social and economic requirements.”<sup>600</sup> However, “under this Order-in-

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<sup>599</sup> For more on Africville, see Donald H. Clairmont and Dennis W. Magill, *Africville: The life and death of a Canadian black community* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1999); Frances Henry, *Forgotten Canadians: The Blacks of Nova Scotia* (Don Mills: Longmans Canada Ltd., 1973); Jennifer J. Nelson, *Razing Africville: A geography of racism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008); and James W. St. G. Walker, “Allegories and Orientations in African-Canadian Historiography: The Spirit of Africville,” *Dalhousie Review* 77 (1997).

<sup>600</sup> With the Order-in-Council P.C. 2856, dated June 9<sup>th</sup>, 1950, “approval was given to certain proposals designed to give effects to the expressed policy of the Government to foster the growth of the population of Canada by insuring the careful selection of as large a number of immigrants as can advantageously be absorbed in the national economy, without making a fundamental alteration in the character of the population.” With respect to the arbitrary exclusion of those deemed “unsuitable” in Canada’s open but glass door, exclusion of Black and Coloured emigrants, P.C. 2856, stated that “all other immigrants, with the exception of Asiatics, who are excluded under Order in Council P.C. 2115, dated 16<sup>th</sup> September, 1930, must satisfy the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, who decision shall be final, that: (a) they are suitable immigrants having regard to the climatic, social, education, industrial, labour or other conditions or requirements of Canada; (b) and they are not undesirable owing to their peculiar customs, habits, mode of life, methods of holding property, or because of their probable inability to become readily adapted or integrated into the life of the Canadian community and to assume the duties of Canadian citizenship within a reasonable time after their entry.” W.E. Harris, “Memorandum from Minister of Citizenship and Immigration to Cabinet, Cabinet Document No. 174-50 June 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1950 (Ottawa),” *Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada – Documents on Canadian External Relations*, <http://www.international.gc.ca/departement/history-histoire/dcer/details-en.asp?intRefid=7987>, [accessed October 25<sup>th</sup>, 2012]. These obfuscated and arbitrary selection criteria created cases of emigrants of “exceptional merit” – those above and beyond the criteria needed for entry of White emigrants – and facilitated the continued exclusion of whomever Canadian immigration officials simply did not like by virtue of being the “Other.” Most importantly, racism was hidden under ostensibly reasonable, but still illogical, means for exclusion. This included climate discrimination that many Barbadians faced once applying to emigrate to Canada.

Council we continued to administer strictly the admission of coloured persons.”<sup>601</sup> Fortier felt that they could not “place the negro on the same basis as other immigrants under the suitable and desirable sections of P.C. 2856,” and “administratively I believe we should coat the pill somewhat by being more specific in rejecting these cases and as I stated at the 36<sup>th</sup> meeting of DACI, rejections wherever possible should be based on occupational grounds.”<sup>602</sup>

Clearly, Canadian officials “coated the pill” of racism by using “occupational grounds” as a difficult tool to contest accusations of discrimination based on one’s phenotype. Blacks and Coloured immigrants represented the scapegoats of the Canadian public’s fears of lowering wages and “native” job losses to foreigners; an effective overarching excuse for institutionalized racism and personal bigotry. Donald W. Moore of the Negro Citizenship Committee and the Negro Citizenship Association expressed his concerns of this discriminatory policy in the House of Commons in 1953.<sup>603</sup> At a May 11<sup>th</sup>, 1953 press conference Moore argued that Walter Harris, the Minister of Citizenship and

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<sup>601</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 1, Memorandum to the Minister (from the Director), Ottawa, September 12<sup>th</sup>, 1951.

<sup>602</sup> Ibid.

<sup>603</sup> Donald W. Moore, a Barbadian, emigrated from the Island in 1913. He established a Canadian branch of Marcus Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), and a “joint stock venture, the West Indian Trading Company, to encourage Blacks to become entrepreneurs.” In 1951, he was vocal in founding the Negro Citizenship Association (1951), and played a key role in pressuring the federal government to relax their immigration restrictions on Black West Indians. Moore was instrumental in supporting the Barbadian, West Indian, and Black communities in Toronto and Canada. *Some Barbadian Canadians: A Biographical Dictionary* (Ottawa: The High Commission for Barbados to Canada, 2010), 138-139. For a personal reflection on the life and times of Moore, see his insightful and informative autobiography, *Don Moore: An Autobiography*. While he does not focus on the emigration of Barbadians specifically, his work provides an excellent foundation to his political activism and the exploits of the Negro Citizenship Committee and the Negro Citizenship Association in the struggle for the liberalization of Black West Indian migration to Canada. Moore provides several written letters in his text between him and high-ranking officials in the Ministry of Immigration and the Canadian Government. Moore, as a Canadian Negro (see page 137 of his autobiography on why he referred to himself as a Negro and not “black”), was dedicated to the fight against anti-Black racism in Canada and a racialized and exclusionary Canadian immigration policy. It also must not be forgotten that he was a Barbadian emigrant and that a Barbadian was at the forefront of the push to liberalize Canadian immigration policy and restrictions against all Black West Indians during the 1950s. Some may assume that since he arrived in Canada prior to the influx of Black West Indians in the 1960s that he was a “native” Black Canadian and his immigrant story is lost in his advocacy for other Black West Indians forty years later. That being said, it is a testament to his success and integration in Canadian society that the historiography represents him as a non-hyphenated and non-immigrant Canadian.

Immigration, claimed Black people were denied entry to Canada because of the “difficulty to find employment.”<sup>604</sup> Moore refuted this reasoning, and subsequently presented an example of a Barbadian from Half Moon Forte, St. Lucy, with a Canadian uncle who sponsored him, and who was promised employment by the Canadian National Railways prior to his migration from Barbados. The young man was denied entry despite secured employment, contrary to the theory of rejection based on “occupational grounds.”<sup>605</sup> Moore presented a case in which Canada did not follow its own policy and arbitrarily denied entry to individuals based on phenotypic characteristics. Moreover, this policy continued to conflict with Canadian interests and authorities in the Caribbean. Officials in Port-of-Spain argued that irreparable damaged caused with “the amount of time devoted to attempts to sooth [sic] ruffled feathers in connection with Canadian immigration decisions seem far too much but appears unavoidable so long as we operate a policy of racial discrimination but do not admit it.”<sup>606</sup> Canada’s cowardice, reluctance, and mishandling of racial discrimination proved to be a disservice for Canadian-West Indian relations. Barbadians understood the devious and manipulative nature of Canadian race relations. George Hunte, the associate editor of Barbados’ *The Advocate*, cited Canada’s *Immigration Act* “as proof of prejudice in Canada against the black race,” and felt that “the coloured majority of the Islands would never voluntarily agree to become a minority through union with another country.”<sup>607</sup> Barbadians clearly understood the climate of Canadian racism prior to their migration abroad and openly

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<sup>604</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 1, Letter from Donald Moore of the Negro Citizenship Committee to Honourable Walter Harris, House of Commons, Ottawa, May 13<sup>th</sup>, 1953.

<sup>605</sup> Ibid.

<sup>606</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 1, Excerpt from the Annual Report – Work of the Office – 1952 – Port-of-Spain, Trinidad.

<sup>607</sup> This “union” is in reference to unfounded rumours of Canada’s interest in annexing Barbados as a province. LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 1, Letter to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canada, from C.W. Dier, Esq., Vice Consul, Caracas, Venezuela, May 7<sup>th</sup>, 1952. Donaghy and Muirhead argued that Prime Minister Robert Borden considered the annexation of parts of the British West Indies in 1917. Donaghy and Muirhead, “Interests but No Foreign Policy,” 9.

expressed their concerns. The Canadian state may have attempted to “coat the pill” of racism, but patronizing political rhetoric could not mask the obdurate stain of ideological debasement.<sup>608</sup>

By the late 1950s, through pressure from West Indian officials, and the fact that it could no longer justify its discriminatory and exclusionary practice, the Canadian Government began to change its racist immigration policy. Canada could no longer arbitrarily discriminate without proven justification as West Indians stood at the forefront to liberalize migration from the archipelago and address the inequity of Canadian immigration legislation and relations. The Acting Deputy Minister of the Immigration Branch, C.E.S. Smith wrote to the Director, Laval Fortier, March 10<sup>th</sup>, 1958, that “it has been our long standing practice to deal favourably with British subjects of white race from the British West Indies,” and not encourage emigrants outside of the class of domestics, “graduate nurses, qualified stenographers, etc.”<sup>609</sup> However, he admitted, “we are continually being accused of discrimination against the coloured race in this area and our rebuttal has been that there is no racial discrimination and that only persons accepted are those clearly defined in the

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<sup>608</sup> The following statistics highlight the emigration flows to Canada from the British West Indies, by race, in 1957: Negro ethnic origin – 497 (43%); British ethnic origin – 408 (35%); Other ethnic origin – 257 (22%). Total: 1,162 British West Indian immigrants in 1957. The numbers highlight that Blacks did not dominate migration from the West Indies prior to the de-racialization of Canadian immigration policy in 1962. Barbados’ population at the time was 89.1% Black. LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 2, Correspondence to Deputy Minister to Directory, September 12<sup>th</sup>, 1958 and Anthony Layne, “Race, Class and Development in Barbados,” *Caribbean Quarterly* 25 (1979), 44. Canadian officials feared emigration from the West Indies, but in fact they feared the possibility of mass Coloured immigration; nearly a third of its migrant base in 1957, and one may argue throughout the 1950s, was White and of British ethnic origin, individuals the state hoped to settle to fulfill its “White Canada” mandate. These numbers also represent the difficulties in determining and understanding race and colour codifiers in the historical record and archival documents when many of the political voices could not justify their seemingly non-discriminatory and non-racist decision-making with sound – and recorded – evidence. The insidious nature of racism was, and is, an unjustifiable illogical fallacy; its historical subjectivity is an epistemological exercise which historians must interpret and critically theorize.

<sup>609</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 2, Deputy Minister (letter signed by C.E.S. Smith – Acting Deputy Minister) to Director, March 10<sup>th</sup>, 1958.



admissible class and those with *exceptional merit* (author's emphasis).<sup>610</sup> Even he understood the hypocrisy of the rationalization, admitting, "The facts do not support the statement."<sup>611</sup> Smith highlighted strained diplomatic relations with West Indian representatives, and wrote "it is difficult to justify our action in extending favourable consideration to a person of white race when a similar application made by a person of coloured race is refused."<sup>612</sup> With the above evidence of West Indians confronting and challenging the merits of inequitable and racist immigration policies, Smith was "of the opinion [that] we should revise our present practice and that, regardless of race, all persons should be given equal treatment, that is, accept only those cases which come within the admissible classes or which have exceptional merit."<sup>613</sup> By no means did Smith propose comprehensive liberalization; however, he acknowledged the preferential treatment of White West Indians and argued that all emigrants would be processed and screened using the same criteria. While it did not open the door for more Black West Indians, it removed the White privilege and the ambiguity and hypocrisy of emigration from the West Indies.<sup>614</sup> A West

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<sup>610</sup> Ibid. Smith's comments reflect the slowly changing public attitudes towards racial discrimination in North America in the late 1950s, specifically on the eve of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States and independence movements throughout the world. It is noteworthy that, Ghana, the first "free" Black nation-state regained its independence from Britain in 1957. The establishment of the West Indies Federation in 1958 must also be noted as Blacks throughout the former British Empire were now seen to be "fit" to govern themselves as (supposed) equals in the globalized world.

<sup>611</sup> Ibid.

<sup>612</sup> Ibid.

<sup>613</sup> Ibid.

<sup>614</sup> This conclusion on limited liberalization of emigration from the West Indies and White privilege and Canadian immigration policy is similar to the conclusions presented by historian Dr. Stephanie D. Bangarth. Bangarth provides an excellent and clear explanation of the racist and exclusionary immigration policy against Chinese nationals in the early and mid-twentieth century, and the mechanisms taken in the repeal of the *Chinese Immigration Act*, May 14<sup>th</sup>, 1947. Similar to how West Indians of White phenotype were no longer given preferential treatment as Smith supposedly created an equal selection criteria for all West Indians irrespective of colour, Bangarth explained that the repeal of the *Chinese Immigration Act* removed, "all discrimination against the Chinese on account of race"; however, she stated during the same month of its repeal, Mackenzie King stated that "large-scale immigration from the Orient would change that fundamental composition of the Canadian population," and the Chinese were still subject to "restrictive and racist immigration barriers." Describing Canada's ideological and racialized approach to non-White emigrants generally, and Chinese specifically, Bangarth explained that it was the "biological worldview [that] dominated the core of Canadian immigration policy." Stephanie D. Bangarth, "We are not asking you to open wide the gates for Chinese

Indian, regardless of race, was subject to the same Canadian immigration criteria. Laval Fortier responded on April 17<sup>th</sup>, 1958, and wrote, “I am inclined to agree with the conclusion reached by Mr. Smith, but I must say that persons of white race would generally be more readily acceptable to Canada and, therefore, would have better opportunities for establishments than the others.”<sup>615</sup> Fortier did not provide any proof, nor evidence or reasoning for his statement. White primordial ties and indoctrinated bigotry superseded the evidence provided by Smith.

John Price explored how the Canadian federal government actively pursued reified false consciousness of the Canadian “White race” and created the vertical silo of racial hierarchies in Canada. Price argued that “the determination of the federal government to both define and to regulate this complex racialized hierarchy reinforces the point that the powers of racialization only achieve ‘full structural and systemic power when they are legally defined and enforced by state power.’ In Canada, that required substantive federal government intervention.”<sup>616</sup> Early to mid-twentieth century immigration policies, both necessitated and constructed White Canadian racialized hegemonic state power. Similar to the profound bigotry of Fortier and Smith, Price postulated that leading late nineteenth to mid-twentieth century Canadian politicians, Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier; his Minister of Labour, Rudolphe Lemieux; Laurier’s Minister of the Interior and his Secretary of State, Clifford Sifton and Joseph Pope, respectively; and Prime Ministers Robert Borden and

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immigration’: The Committee for the Repeal of the Chinese Immigration Act and Early Human Rights Activism in Canada,” *Canadian Historical Review* 84 (2003): 400 & 416. See also John Price, *Orientalism in Canada: Race, Empire, and the Transpacific* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011) for information on Chinese Immigration in the late nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth century. His book includes the narrative of the initial exclusion of Chinese immigrants; the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923; Canada’s foreign relations during the twentieth century, specifically during the Second World War towards Asia; and finally Canada’s immediate to early 1950s post-War relations with Asia and the repeal of the Chinese Immigrant Act in 1947.

<sup>615</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 2, Memorandum for: The Acting Minister – from Laval Fortier to C.E.S. Smith, Ottawa, April 17<sup>th</sup>, 1958.

<sup>616</sup> Price, 318-319.

Mackenzie King, respectively, “together with provincial politicians, became architects in the institutionalization of a white Canada.”<sup>617</sup> They created a country where they believed that Whites belonged and People of Colour did not; however, Canadian officials could not deny the existence of Coloured people wanting to settle in Canada, nor could they justify their racist bigotry following the humanitarian atrocities of the Second World War.<sup>618</sup> Black West Indians and Barbadians challenged the ideological construction of a “White Canada” and refused to accept their exclusion based on a reified anti-Black, and most importantly, a pro-White Canadian immigration policy.

Canadian immigration officials were then forced to debate the question of Black and Coloured West Indian settlement in Canada throughout the 1950s. In the Government of Canada’s file on “Coloured Immigration: Policy & Instructions,” and its review of immigration from the British West Indies, dated January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1955, officials argued that its policy towards Black West Indians was restrictive, and admitted it was due to a racialized White patriarchal belief of Black inferiority supported by the Canadian public’s xenophobic

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<sup>617</sup> Both Pope and Lemieux spearheaded the Lemieux-Hayashi Agreement that was ratified in 1908, which limited Japanese emigration to Canada. Ibid., 20 & 318. Price argued that this creation and new definition of “Whiteness” and a “White Canada” was not “dissimilar to the construction of whiteness in the United States,” where “White” was in binary opposition – socially, economically, ideologically – to Blacks and Blackness. Price believed the legacy of Whiteness represented, “*exnomination*, that is the power not to be named; *naturalization*, through which whiteness establishes itself as the norm; and *universalization*, where whiteness alone can make sense of a problem and its understanding becomes *the* understanding.” Ibid., 15 & 321.

<sup>618</sup> Despite this new global approach to humanitarianism following the Second World War, Price believed that Canadian benevolence towards the “Other”, specifically concerning the repeal of the *Chinese Immigration Act* in 1947, “was not a recognition of Canada’s racist past: it was its sanitization...this was not the end of white supremacy but rather, its recasting in different moulds.” Canadian altruism was a façade to placate the United Nations, to manage domestic strife from different immigrant and ethnic groups, and to appease the international humanitarian environment. Ibid, 306. Price also argued that this appeasement was fallacious and represented by “Colour-Coded Canadian Humanitarianism.” Price: “Close to 2 million people came to Canada from Europe in the fifteen years after the war, of whom British immigrants continued to represent the largest single group. The predominance of European immigration, combined with the baby boom in Canada, meant that between 1941 and 1961, the number of Canadians of European (including British) origins increased from 11.2 million in 1941 to 17.7 million in 1961 – an increase of 6.5 million people of European heritage in this twenty-year period.” Price believed that Canada’s post-war focus was on the Atlantic – Euro-centricism or Atlanticism. Ibid., 312-313. These statistics raise the question of why the Canadian public and Canadian officials feared Black Coloured immigration when the White population numbers grew exponentially within a twenty year period.

and illogical fear of the Black Other. The following statement from the January 14<sup>th</sup> review characterized Canadian contempt towards Blacks and Coloured West Indians:

It is not by accident that coloured British subjects other than the negligible numbers from the United Kingdom are excluded from Canada. It is from experience, generally speaking, that coloured people in the present state of the white man's thinking are not a tangible community asset, and as a result are more or less ostracized. They do not assimilate readily and pretty much vegetate to a low standard of living. Despite what has been said to the contrary, many cannot adapt themselves to our climatic conditions. To enter into an agreement which would have the effect of increasing coloured immigration to this country would be an act of misguided generosity since it would not have the effect of bringing about a worthwhile solution to the problem of coloured people and would quite likely intensify our own social and economic problem. I think that the biggest single argument against increasing coloured immigration to this country is the simple fact that the Canadian public is not prepared to accept them in any significant numbers.<sup>619</sup>

The idea that “coloured people in the present state of the white man's thinking are not a tangible community asset,” clearly highlighted Canadian ideological bigotry. White Canadians thought Coloured people could not contribute to Canadian society and would naturally “vegetate to a low standard of living.” Climate discrimination was yet another fallacy, as Canadian policy projected the fundamental xenophobic and anti-Black principles of society.<sup>620</sup> Harris, who Moore chastised in 1953 for his “difficulty to find employment” argument against the immigration of a Barbadian national, raised the issue of climate “unsuitability” towards another Barbadian the previous year. In a 1952 letter written to Joseph Noseworthy, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) Member of Parliament for York South, Harris “spoke plainly of the Department's attitude in dealing with

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<sup>619</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 2, *A Review of Immigration from the British West Indies*. January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1955. There was no defined writer indicated for this review. It is quite probable that it was a bureaucrat, maybe even Laval Fortier.

<sup>620</sup> With respect to climate discrimination, the *Immigration Act* of 1910, Section 38, “provided the cabinet with the requisite authority to prohibit the entry of immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada.” Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-1997*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997), 85.

immigration of negroes from the British West Indies,” and the letter addressed the case of Miss Braithwaite, the Barbadian granddaughter of a Canadian citizen.<sup>621</sup> Braithwaite was denied entry and Harris cited the climate as a factor. The Minister stated:

In light of experience it would be unrealistic to say that immigrants who have spent the greater part of their life in tropical or subtropical countries became readily adapted to the Canadian mode of life which, to no small extent, is determined by climatic conditions. It is a matter of record that natives of such countries are more apt to break down in health than immigrants from countries where the climate is more akin to that of Canada.<sup>622</sup>

Despite Harris’ ignorant bigotry citing his “experience” of tropical and subtropical “modes of life,” and Miss Braithwaite’s lack of Canadian environmental “cold weather” capital, he had the power and arbitrary right to deny access to any individual he simply did not want in the country. Harris did not have a record of Black West Indians who “broke down in health” due to the weather; Ministers of the Interior, Frank Oliver and Sifton, had cited the climate as a means for Black exclusion since the turn of the twentieth century. If Blacks were perpetually denied entry based on climate, Harris cited a self-fulfilling and non-existent fallacy as proof to Black Barbadian climate unsuitability. Canadian officials did not need evidence or proven logic to necessitate the exclusion of potential Black and West Indian immigrants in Canada; the normalization of White supremacy gave them the right to exclude based on race.

Canadian authorities manipulated unproven and unsubstantiated “facts” to validate their racist and exclusionary agendas. Officials argued Canadian immigration policy was “one of selective immigration,” and due to the fact of it being selective, it was “regarded by many as being restrictive, thus we are vulnerable to charges of discrimination. The

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<sup>621</sup> Corbett, 52.

<sup>622</sup> Ibid., 53.

establishment of an agreement which would provide for a quota of Negroes would have the effect of rendering our restrictive policy more obvious.”<sup>623</sup> The Department of Foreign Affairs validated the charges, and revealed its absurdity to “argue that the restrictions are not aimed at coloured immigration is pointed out,” and was “a correct criticism. Nobody will be convinced that the proposed restrictions are not based on colour. To try to make it appear so is an insult to the intelligence of the coloured people.”<sup>624</sup> R.G.C. Smith, from the Office of the Commissioner for Canada at Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, reiterated the White Canadian public’s contempt for Blacks:

From my own experience here, I have found that when talking of Canada’s immigration policy it has always been best to acknowledge the colour problem, to say that it is not Government policy to encourage or acquiesce to racialism in immigration or in anything else, but that public opinion based on years of prejudice cannot be changed over night, that the unfortunate fact remains that in a period of unemployment if two people apply for a job, it will be the white man who will be chosen as a general rule, that it is to avoid pockets of coloured unemployment that we must restrain immigration.<sup>625</sup>

Canadian authorities were aware of those that accused and challenged their exclusionary immigration policy towards Black West Indians, but wanted to keep the decision making arbitrary in order to evade charges of explicit race-based discrimination and to sanitize the omnipresent racism in Canadian society. One Canadian official unabashedly admitted that “despite legislation forbidding discrimination, I believe it would be unrealistic to suggest that discrimination is not being practiced in Canada at the present time.”<sup>626</sup> A possible solution to challenge discrimination fueled by ignorance was the theory of the Autonomous Bajan and

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<sup>623</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 2, *A Review of Immigration from the British West Indies*. January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1955.

<sup>624</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 3, Department of External Affairs, Canada. Numbered Letter to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada. From the Office of the Commissioner for Canada, Port-of-Spain, R.G.C. Smith. October 24<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

<sup>625</sup> Ibid.

<sup>626</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 2, *A Review of Immigration from the British West Indies*. January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1955.

the Emigrant Ambassador discussed in Chapter Three and examined further in the following chapter; “to admit such coloured persons who, because of their qualifications, are likely to become exceptional citizens and thus render the Negro more generally acceptable in Canada.”<sup>627</sup> Those of “exceptional merit” were to become part of an initiative that was designed to be a “long term programme...worthy of serious thought and one which adds weight to the suggestion that Negro immigration to this country be increased.”<sup>628</sup> Canadian officials also argued that “while restrictive, our policy with respect to Negroes has never been one of absolute exclusion; for example, Negroes who are British subjects within the meaning of Regulation 20(1) (exceptional merit) have always been admissible to this country.”<sup>629</sup> In essence, Blacks and Black West Indians had to prove their individual worth. Canadian societal and authoritative reductionist and racialized structures forced Blacks to display the exceptional qualifications of a heterogeneously distinct “race,” one encompassing a plethora of cultures and histories. This idea was further problematized by the fact that throughout the early to mid-twentieth century, Barbados produced a highly educated and upwardly mobile citizenry that was denied entry to Canada based on their Blackness. If Canada was serious about their admission based on “exceptionality,” the state would have recognized the educational qualifications of Black Barbadian applicants.<sup>630</sup> Racial ideologies dictated Canadian xenophobia and subsequently its immigration system. Institutionalized racism perpetuated discrimination within an intentionally ambiguous Canadian immigration policy.

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<sup>627</sup> Ibid.

<sup>628</sup> Despite the rhetoric, the review concluded that “the disadvantages outweigh the advantages and I would recommend that no action be taken in this regard this year and the matter be reviewed again when considering the 1956 immigration programme.” LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 2, *A Review of Immigration from the British West Indies. January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1955.*

<sup>629</sup> Ibid.

<sup>630</sup> This idea is notwithstanding the many Barbadians that came to Canada to go to University or institutions of higher learning. This also proved that Barbadians were qualified to come to Canada based on skill, but it is plausible that many could not have afforded tertiary education fees.

Black Barbadians in Canada also challenged the racist immigration policy. Barbadian-born Moore continued his 1953 House of Commons crusade against the restriction of Black West Indians based on “occupational grounds.” He and Norman Grizzle D.C., as Director and Secretary, respectively, of the Negro Citizenship Association (NCA) and a delegation of supporters, briefed Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration Walter Harris, and officials of the Government of Canada on April 27<sup>th</sup>, 1954 in Ottawa.<sup>631</sup> The authors exposed the prejudiced *Immigration Act*:

The Immigration Act since 1923 seems to have been purposely written and revised to deny equal immigration status to those areas of the Commonwealth where coloured peoples constitute a large part of the population. This is done by creating a rigid definition of British subject: ‘British subjects by birth or by naturalization in the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand or the Union of South Africa and citizens of Ireland’. This definition excludes from the category of ‘British subject’ those who are in all other senses British subjects, but who come from such areas as the British West Indies, Bermuda, British Guiana, Ceylon, India, Pakistan, Africa, etc.<sup>632</sup>

Along with the previously highlighted preferential treatment towards White West Indians, and Whites throughout British Colonies worldwide, Canada denied and refused the recognition of British subject status for all Coloured people – a policy unique to Canada. Similar to Black Barbadian colonial identity discussed in Chapter Two, a Black West Indian may have been born in a British colony, as a British colonial subject, analogous to a White person in Australia or New Zealand, but the colour of one’s skin was the only reason for his or her marginalization as a true British subject. They were denied the same rights as other

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<sup>631</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 2, Memorandum: Brief Presented to the Prime Minister, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Members of the Government of Canada, by the Negro Citizenship Association, Donald W. Moore (Director) and Norman Grizzle, D.C. (Secretary). Tuesday April 27<sup>th</sup>, 1954. Along with Moore, Harry Gairey was a founding member of the NCA. Stanley G. Grizzle, *My Name’s Not George: The Story of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in Canada: Personal Reminiscences of Stanley G. Grizzle* (Toronto: Umbrella Press, 1998), 99. Also see pages 99-103 of his autobiography for his perspective on the events surrounding the April 1954 meeting.

<sup>632</sup> Ibid.



British colonials. Furthermore, speaking on behalf of the NCA, the authors refuted Canada's climate theory and stated "Negroes have for a century and a half moved into Canada from tropical areas, and have taken up life here with no great problems of adjustment to climate."<sup>633</sup> The "Proposal for Controlled Emigration from Barbados for Specified Types of Workers" also indicated that "although Barbados is in the Tropics, its people have shown themselves to be well able to withstand cold climates."<sup>634</sup> Prior to their 1954 brief to the Prime Minister and Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, on June 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1952 during the first public meeting of the NCA in Toronto, Moore "told the world" gathered at a church how P.C. 2856 and the Canadian Government "had taken away my British citizenship, how they decreed it was impossible for me, born in the tropics to withstand the rigours of the Canadian winter, and how we could never become assimilated into Canadian culture."<sup>635</sup> It was at this meeting that the NCA adopted the resolution to demand from Prime Minister St. Laurent and members of his government the immediate removal of P.C. 2856 from the *Immigration Act*.<sup>636</sup> The letter dated June 27<sup>th</sup>, 1952 stated:

May I further impress upon you the extreme importance of immediately revoking the discriminatory Order-in-Council. The Canadian public is fast becoming aware of the extremely unfair attitude of immigration officials towards prospective Negro immigrants. This Committee has a considerable number of proven cases of gross discrimination on record. We are prepared to release them for publication should the attached resolution prove fruitless.<sup>637</sup>

Harris, the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, replied to Moore July 16<sup>th</sup>, 1952 and said "I would be obliged if you would let me have the names and addresses of the persons

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<sup>633</sup> Ibid.

<sup>634</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 2, *Proposal for Controlled Emigration from Barbados for Specified Types of Worker*, (n.d.).

<sup>635</sup> Moore, *Don Moore: An Autobiography*, 102.

<sup>636</sup> Ibid.

<sup>637</sup> Ibid., 102-103.

concerned so that I may review their cases in the light of your resolution.”<sup>638</sup> It was then that Moore and the NCA were encouraged to push for further reforms to the *Immigration Act* that would allow for the increased settlement of Black West Indians in Canada.<sup>639</sup> This first letter from the NCA set the tone for their challenges against the Canadian Government in 1953 and their brief to the Prime Minister in 1954 particularly against climate discrimination and the “considerable evidence to indicate that the ‘climate theory’ [was] completely erroneous.”<sup>640</sup> Moore and Grizzle cited examples of West Indians who served with the British army across the globe in varying climates without difficulty or serious affliction from cold weather. In his autobiography, Grizzle said that he wrote to the University of Toronto’s Department of Physical Hygiene, the Director of Research for the Department of Health and Welfare Canada, and the Dean of Medicine at Howard University, and none could provide evidence that cold weather climates damaged the health of people of African descent.<sup>641</sup> Grizzle concluded that “the opinions of our federal leaders were disproved.”<sup>642</sup> The NCA also refuted the widespread idea that Blacks could not assimilate to Canadian society and subsequently exposed Canadian barriers to integration. They claimed that “the customs, habits, modes of life, or methods of holding property in the West Indies are essentially the same as in Canada, and no change is necessary when these people become part of the Canadian way of life.”<sup>643</sup> The only difference, Moore and Grizzle asserted, was Canada’s reluctance to accept Black, Coloured, or non-White West Indians. Racism was the only logical explanation and Grizzle argued for the immediate eradication of the “Jim Crow Iron

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<sup>638</sup> Ibid., 103-104.

<sup>639</sup> Ibid., 104.

<sup>640</sup> Ibid., 112.

<sup>641</sup> Grizzle, 100-101.

<sup>642</sup> Ibid., 100.

<sup>643</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 2, Memorandum: Brief Presented to the Prime Minister, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Members of the Government of Canada, by the Negro Citizenship Association, Donald W. Moore (Director) and Norman Grizzle, D.C. (Secretary). Tuesday April 27<sup>th</sup>, 1954.

Curtain” of Canadian immigration policy.<sup>644</sup> However, the NCA did not attack, nor polemicize Canadian racial doctrine; Moore and Grizzle provided possible and reasonable solutions. They requested that the Government of Canada:

Amend the definition of “British Subject” so as to include all those who are, for all other purposes, regarded as “British subjects and citizens of the United Kingdom and Commonwealth”; make provision in the Act of the entry of a British West Indian – without regard to racial origin – who has sufficient means to maintain himself until he has secured employment; delete the word “orphan” from the regulation which provides for the entry of nephews and nieces under 21; make specific the term “persons of exceptional merit”; and set up an Immigration Office in a centrally located area of the British West Indies for the handling of prospective immigrants.<sup>645</sup>

Black West Indian-Canadian immigrants, Black West Indians in the Caribbean, and Canadian authorities in the West Indies and Canada, all contested the unfair nature of Canadian immigration policy.<sup>646</sup> Moore, Grizzle, and the NCA presented a comprehensive and persuasive brief to the Canadian Government; however, in the House of Commons both on June 2<sup>nd</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> of the same year, Harris avoided debate on the NCA brief and refused to address anti-Black racism within Canada’s immigration policy.<sup>647</sup> One may argue that all parties involved understood the system was flawed, while inaction and antipathy on the part of Canadian officials underscored the institutional and ideological racism that facilitated the policy. Race and racism dictated Canadian immigration policy towards Black Barbadians and Canadian interests in the West Indies. Race was an integral feature of historical West Indian-Canadian relations. Racial ideology and White hegemonic power defined and built the predominantly Black islands and White Canada’s pathology of race; however, Black

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<sup>644</sup> Grizzle, 102. See also Moore, 114.

<sup>645</sup> Ibid.

<sup>646</sup> See Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 26 June 1954, for Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) Leader and Member of Parliament (Rosetown-Biggarr) M. James Coldwell’s admission of discrimination in Canada’s department of immigration.

<sup>647</sup> Ibid. Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 2 June 1954.

Barbadians and West Indians challenged their racialization and Canada's discriminatory policy in the post-war period and finally overcame a substantial barrier as the country officially de-racialized its immigration policy in 1962.<sup>648</sup>

### **De-racialization of Canadian Immigration: The New Immigration Regulations of 1962**

Canada's new immigration regulations, or the de-racialization of Canadian immigration in 1962, ushered in a new era for Coloured, Black West Indian, and Black Barbadian emigrants.<sup>649</sup> The new regulations, which came into effect February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1962, "provided that

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<sup>648</sup> *The Canada West Indies Magazine* portrayed an illusion of racial harmony in the Caribbean to a country suffering from the amnesia of a racist past and present. The *Magazine* presented an article entitled, "Race Relations Seen Best in West Indies". Sir Hugh Foot, the Governor of Jamaica addressed the Canadian Club of Montreal. The article stated, "the Governor of Jamaica said yesterday (October 8<sup>th</sup>) that the West Indies have the best racial relations in the world." Foot argued that this racial democracy was a "contributing factor in making the forthcoming British West Indian Federation a reality." The article continued paraphrasing the Governor: "The islands, he said, represented a microcosm of the whole racial problem in the British Commonwealth, and inter-racial relations there 'are better than anywhere else in the world'." The ill-fated West Indian Federation, according to Foot, looked towards Canada and their Confederation and province and federal rights on how, and if, members of the various Island governments should sit on the Federal West Indian board. One must be very critical of the Governor Foot's declaration of racial harmony in the Caribbean to his Canadian audience. However, one must also qualify his statement because in 1951 Canada still had a legal and formal policy of racialized immigration practices. Nearly all of Foot's subjects and British West Indian subjects – Black, Coloured, Indian, Chinese, or Aboriginal – would have been barred from emigrating to Canada due to their phenotypic characteristics. Barbadians faced several hurdles, many in which they could not control, in their pursuit of transnational migration. "Saluting The West Indies Federation," *The Canada West Indies Magazine*, November 1957, 41-42. Foot is white in appearance from the look of the photo in the magazine. The photo was black and white, so it is possible that he may have been a light skinned Black man, but since he was Governor of Jamaica, he was most likely a British citizen born in Britain. This description is relevant because a dark-skinned or Black West Indian would have a very different perception of race relations and "racial harmony" in the region as compared to a White person.

<sup>649</sup> As discussed in the section on the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act*, I in part attribute this change to British immigration policy, but more importantly to the changing face of post-Second World War world society during the 1960s. This includes the Civil, Human, Refugee and Women's Rights movements, Black Power and Pan-Africanism, and de-colonization around the globe.

It must be noted that in 1960 the West Indian Government asked Canada if seasonal workers in the US could come to Canada as part of the annual "United States-Canada exchange programme." The workers would harvest potatoes, apples, tobacco, and other crops. The programme was maintained up to 1966, until prior to the Caribbean-Canada Conference it was decided that farmers would come directly from the West Indies to Canada. The programme continued in 1968, where 1,258 West Indians came to Canada, and 331 (26%) from Barbados. Barbadians specifically came to Canada under the agricultural scheme in 1967, it was "the first time that Barbadian labour will be recruited for Canadian farms." LAC, RG 76, vol. 1241, file 5850-3-555, Selection & Processing – General Series – Immigration from Barbados; "Bajans Needed to Work in Canada," *The Advocate*, April 28, 1967; "Canada Forges Links with Her Aid," *The Advocate*, July 1, 1967.

anyone in the world could apply to come to Canada without regard to his race or country of nationality, subject only to standards of health, character, education, training,” as well as “the skills offered by would-be immigrants.”<sup>650</sup> Rex Stolimeyer, Montreal Commissioner for the West Indies remarked that “the legislation proposed by the Canadian Government to lighten restrictions on immigration will bring a flood of applications from West Indians seeking entry,” as “it opens the door for a lot of people who couldn’t qualify before and there are lots of West Indians very anxious to come to Canada.”<sup>651</sup> Stolimeyer stated that “there is much more opportunity [for West Indians] here,” and easing the restrictions ushered in a new wave of capable and worthy Blacks from the Caribbean region, where colour and race, ostensibly, did not factor in their admission.<sup>652</sup> Immigrants from the British West Indies gained admission to Canada, “under the broadest of the admissible categories provided for in Canadian immigration law. The Canadian Immigration Act and Regulations permit the admission of immigrants from the Caribbean area in two separate streams.”<sup>653</sup> These included immigrants selected under education, skills, training or other special qualifications to “enable them to establish themselves successfully in Canada,” and unsponsored immigrants.<sup>654</sup> Unsponsored immigrants included spouses, sons or daughters and their spouses and children if under 21 years of age, brothers or sisters and if married with their spouses and children under 21 years of age, parents and grandparents, fiancé or fiancée, and

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<sup>650</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 4, Memorandum to Cabinet. Re: Opening a Canadian Immigration Office in The West Indies. From the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration (No specified date of revisions. First draft dated November 1962.); LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 4, *Globe and Mail*, November 5, 1963.

<sup>651</sup> “Migrants will flood in with the Bill,” *Sunday Advocate*. January 28, 1962.

<sup>652</sup> Stolimeyer stated that “[The Canadian] Federal Government’s moves come as England plans to tighten restrictions on immigration from the West Indies.” “Migrants will flood in with the Bill,” *Sunday Advocate*. January 28, 1962.

<sup>653</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 820, file 552-1-533, *Immigration to Canada from the Commonwealth Caribbean (Background paper prepared by Canada)* Commonwealth Caribbean-Canada Conference, Ottawa, July 6-8, 1966. June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1966.

<sup>654</sup> *Ibid.*

“unmarried orphan nephews or nieces under 21 years of age.”<sup>655</sup> Canada officially abolished its “White Canada” philosophy and altered the logistics in which Canadian immigration officials operated abroad.

The new regulations assumed that “for all the countries of the world the Canadian immigration authorities will be able to apply the new criteria of admissibility successfully. It should however be pointed out that in many of these countries we have no staff of our own,” and “it may well be necessary to open new offices in countries where no Canadian immigration officers presently are operative (e.g., West Indies, Spain, Japan); and to strengthen staff elsewhere, to assume these new and difficult responsibilities.”<sup>656</sup> The admission from the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration that there were no immigration officers based in the Caribbean to serve the region and its people, underlined the institutional structures that prohibited West Indian emigration to Canada prior to 1962 and neo-racism throughout the 1960s; its racialized and geo-centric immigration policies did not necessitate permanent staff in the region. Eventually, Kingston, Jamaica was decided as the logical site that would serve the region, which included Barbados. However, the proposal was not finalized due to geographical, travel, and logistical issues in an attempt for one immigration office to serve the entire Caribbean.<sup>657</sup> Traveling missions thus served the region yearly following the new regulations of 1962 up to and including 1966. During this period, West Indian emigration experienced “the most noticeable effect” of the new immigration policy, indicating that West Indian people were ready, willing, and capable to migrate and settle in

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<sup>655</sup> Ibid.

<sup>656</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 4, Memorandum to Cabinet. Re: Opening a Canadian Immigration Office in The West Indies. From the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration (No specified date of revisions. First draft dated November 1962.) In November 1962, Richard Albert Bell was the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration.

<sup>657</sup> As in the case of the failure of the West Indies Federation, this exemplified the logistical difficulties in homogenizing the West Indies as one geographical and ideological entity.

Canadian society.<sup>658</sup> West Indian applications “began to build up as soon as the new regulations were announced and in June of [1962] an Immigration team was sent from Ottawa to the Caribbean to examine 311 family units which had been tentatively selected on the basis of ‘paper screening’.”<sup>659</sup> Canadian immigration fielded a total of 3,025 applications since the new immigration regulations came into effect.<sup>660</sup> However, the increased application numbers did not translate to a flood of new Canadian immigrants of West Indian background. In 1961, “1,249 persons came to Canada from British and other West Indian islands. In 1962, after the regulations were changed, the figure was 1,586. So far this year (1963), 1,542. These increases are disappointingly small and raise some questions.”<sup>661</sup> Did the new immigration regulations merely provide hope for Black West Indians, but not change the rigid racialized structure of Canadian immigration policy? More West Indians applied, but the acceptance figures did not reflect the increased pool of potential emigrants. The regulations and the rhetoric may have changed and Canada explicitly denounced race-based immigration procedures; however, one may argue that prior to the implementation of the Points System in 1967, the arbitrary selection criteria associated with Canadian immigration

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<sup>658</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 4, Memorandum to Cabinet. Re: Opening a Canadian Immigration Office in The West Indies. From the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration (No specified date of revisions. First draft dated November 1962.)

<sup>659</sup> Ibid.

<sup>660</sup> Ibid. Before 1962, “there was no need and less incentive for the Department to open an office in the Caribbean,” then with the new Regulations in said year, it was needed. By 1967, two offices were opened. One in Kingston, Jamaica, and the other in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, which served Barbados. While, “with the coming into force of the new immigration Regulations in 1962, West Indians have been admitted to Canada as unsponsored immigrants. Immigration selection teams visited the Caribbean area once in 1963 and 1964 and twice in 1965 and 1966. During 1967, several teams went to specific areas in order to clear up the backlog before the establishment of our two offices in the West Indies.” LAC, RG 76, vol. 1241, file 5850-3-555, Selection & Processing – General Series – Immigration from Barbados.

<sup>661</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 4, *The Globe and Mail*, November 5, 1963. The total number of Immigration Cases approved in Barbados: 15 cases of 19 persons; total number of Immigration Cases refused in Barbados: 23 cases of 53 persons. In Jamaica: 120 cases and 251 persons approved as opposed to 181 cases and 427 persons refused. LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 4, Memorandum to A/Chief of Operations. From Head, Administration Section, February 28, 1963.

policy perpetuated the exclusion of Black West Indians.<sup>662</sup> West Indians, as the following historical evidence will attest to, continued to accuse, and rightfully so, Canada and its immigration officers, of institutional racism and personal bigotry.<sup>663</sup>

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<sup>662</sup> Canadian immigration policy was “based on an implicitly racist national-preference system” prior to the 1962 de-racialization of Canadian immigration policy and the implementation of the Points System in 1967. Alan B. Simmons and Jean Pierre Guengant, “Caribbean Exodus and the World System,” in *International Migration Systems: A Global Approach*, eds. Mary M. Kritz, Lin Lean Lim, Hania Zlotnik (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 111. For more on the de-racialization of Canadian immigration policy and Ellen Fairclough, the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration who implemented the change, and Canada’s first female Cabinet Minister, see Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-1997*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997); see also W.W. Anderson, *Caribbean immigrants: a socio-demographic profile* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1993); David Timothy Duval, “Expressions of Migrant Mobilities among Caribbean Migrants in Toronto, Canada,” in *The Experience of Return Migration: Caribbean Perspectives*, eds. Robert B. Potter, Dennis Conway, Joan Phillips (Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), for a discussion on Caribbean migration to Canada following Britain’s Commonwealth Immigrants Act in 1962; Frances Henry, “Caribbean Migration to Canada: Prejudice and Opportunity,” *The Caribbean Exodus*, ed. Barry B. Levine (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1987), 214-222, for more on Canadian immigration policy and the law, specifically the author’s section on “Changes in Canadian Immigration Law” for a discussion on Canada’s racist immigration system; Dawn Marshall, “A History of West Indian Migrations: Overseas Opportunities and ‘Safety-Valve’ Policies,” in *The Caribbean Exodus*, Marshall argues that “75 percent of immigrants admitted to Canada directly from the West Indies entered after 1962: 149,741 between 1962 and 1976... except for those entering Canada under the Domestic Scheme, the movement has been highly selective for professional, white collar, and skilled workers.” Marshall, 28; Subhas Ramcharan, “The Adaptation of West Indians in Canada,” Doctoral Thesis (Toronto: York University, 1974); and Subhas Ramcharan, *Racism: Nonwhites in Canada* (Toronto: Butterworths, 1982); Anthony H. Richmond, *Immigration and Ethnic Conflict* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: The MacMillan Press, Ltd., 1988); Sheldon Taylor, “Darkening the Complexion of Canadian Society: Black Activism, Policy-Making and Black Immigration from the Caribbean to Canada, 1940s-1960s,” Doctoral Thesis (Toronto: The University of Toronto, 1994) for more on West Indian immigrants and immigration during the 1960s. For more on racism and Canadian immigration policy see Alan Simmons, “Racism and Immigration Policy,” in *Racism & Social Inequality in Canada: Concepts, Controversies & Strategies of Resistance*, ed. Vic Satzewich (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing Inc., 1998). Simmons reasoned that “contemporary Canadian immigration policy is characterized by neo-racist elements” and that state racism assessed potential immigrants “in terms of racist criteria.” Canada’s world image was, and is, constructed ideologically through an “imagined future” promoted by political leaders for the international system. Simmons concluded that the neo-colonial period (1870s to early 1960s), promoted a White Christian Canada. Simmons, *Racism*, 87. Madeline A. Kalbach and Warren E. Kalbach, theorizing the history of Canadian immigration, described the first century of Canadian immigration (1867-1967) as a “series of pragmatic reactions to relatively short-term interests and pressures, influenced by the emergence of the concept of Canada’s ‘absorptive capacity’ for immigrants at any given time.” The “second flowering” period followed the Second World War (1947-1967) as economic and Euro-centric immigration appealed to international humanitarianism. A promoted non-racist, non-European, non-White, and globalized immigration policy characterized the period between 1951 and 1998. Madeline A. Kalbach and Warren E. Kalbach, “Becoming Canadian,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 31 (1999): 1-16. See also Alan B. Simmons, *Immigration and Canada: Global and Transnational Perspectives* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2010).

<sup>663</sup> In her work, Ann Denis referred to the change to a more liberal Canadian immigration policy and the Points System in a footnote: “Opinion is divided about how significant the change was. Whereas Hawkins (1988) argues that it was a significant change, Satzewich (1989) contends that the policies and their implementation with regard to Caribbean immigrants remained racialized, and Arat-Koc (1999a) considers that the change corresponds with a shift from conceptualizing immigrants as nation builders to the commodification of immigrants.” Ann Denis, “Developing a Feminist Analysis of Citizenship of Caribbean Immigrant Women in Canada: Key Dimensions and Conceptual Challenges,” in *Women, Migration and Citizenship: Making Local*,



With the new regulations, applications throughout the Caribbean increased exponentially. There was a significant change in the “racial content of the [migration] movement.”<sup>664</sup> In 1950, “only 19 percent of the persons admitted from the West Indies were Negroes while in 1963 the figure had jumped to 70 percent.”<sup>665</sup> This increase was most present in Jamaica. Roy W. Blake, the Canadian Government Trade Commissioner in Kingston, Jamaica stated that only one week after the implementation of the new regulation “the news about the revision of Canada’s immigration laws first appeared in the Jamaican press on Saturday, January 20<sup>th</sup>, and naturally more emphasis was placed on the lifting of the colour bar than on the necessity for skills.”<sup>666</sup> Blake revealed that February 8<sup>th</sup>, 1962, was their “fourteenth working day since then and we have now handed out over 1000 forms; in other words there is an average of 70 persons coming to our office each day regarding emigration.”<sup>667</sup> However, the increase in applications did not abate the racial discrimination charges, specifically from potential Jamaican emigrants. G.C. McInnes, of the Office of the High Commissioner in Kingston, Jamaica, wrote to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, that “West Indians have long been unhappy about Canadian immigration restrictions. This attitude may have been diminished by the new immigration regulations, but the

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*National and Transnational Connections*, eds. Evangelia Tastsoglou and Alexandra Dobrowolsky (Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006), 37-59. For the references Denis highlights, see Sedef Arat-Koc, “Gender and Race in ‘Non-discriminatory’ Immigration Policies in Canada: 1960s to the Present,” in *Scratching the Surface: Canadian Anti-Racist Feminist Thought*, eds. Enakshi Dua and Angela Robertson (Toronto: Women’s Press, 1999), 207-233; Freda Hawkins, *Canada and Immigration*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 1988; and Vic Satzewich, “Racism and Canadian Immigration Policy: The Government’s View of Caribbean Migration, 1962-1966,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 21 (1989): 77-97. Although this dissertation does not extend beyond or discuss the Points System of 1967, this section agrees with Satzewich that following the official liberalization of Canadian immigration policy in 1962 Caribbean migrants remained racialized.

<sup>664</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 1241, file 5850-3-555, Selection & Processing – General Series – Immigration from Barbados.

<sup>665</sup> The increase: “There was a gradual increase in the number of West Indians admitted before 1955 and then the rate increased by more than 50 percent and reached 8,387 for the West Indies in 1967.” Ibid.

<sup>666</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 4, Foreign Trade Service. To Mr. D.A. Reid, Chief of Operations, Immigration Branch, Department of Citizenship & Immigration, Ottawa. From Roy W. Blake, Canadian Government Trade Commissioner, Kingston, Jamaica, February 8, 1962.

<sup>667</sup> Ibid.

frequency with which the subject is raised with us here is ample evidence that it is far from eliminated.”<sup>668</sup> The possibility remained that it was simply the amount of time it took for the changes to come into effect, especially in changing the attitudes of Canadian immigration officials; however, McInnes argued that irrespective of colour, potential Jamaican emigrants did not meet the requirements of the new regulations. He refused to admit to Jamaican race-based exclusions and stated “Jamaicans in general are reluctant to recognize the deficiencies which make them unacceptable as immigrants.”<sup>669</sup> McInnes contended that Black Jamaicans were not victims of racial discrimination, but he further racialized Blacks by hypocritically arguing that “generally speaking, negro Jamaicans tend to attribute their inability to meet standards accepted in Canada and other countries to racial prejudice.”<sup>670</sup> Not only did Jamaicans rightfully claim “racial prejudice,” which McInnes failed to disclose was a fundamental principle and legislated policy of Canadian immigration prior to 1962, but he recklessly postulated that Black Jamaicans, “refuse to recognise that common Jamaican attributes, such as irresponsible parenthood and indolence, are not regarded with indifference elsewhere.”<sup>671</sup>

Similar to climate discrimination, Canadians officially stated that Black Jamaicans were not denied admission because they were Black, but due to their Blackness – specifically their Jamaican culture. They were “bad” parents according to White Canadians and therefore inassimilable to Canadian society. The rhetoric and insidious nature of cultural prejudice was, and is, analogous to racial discrimination. Officials could no longer exclude based on race; however, perceived cultural determinants remained valid means to refuse Black West

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<sup>668</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 4, Department of External Affairs, Canada, Numbered Letter to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Ottawa Canada. From, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada (G.C. McInnes), Kingston, Jamaica, August 2, 1963.

<sup>669</sup> Ibid.

<sup>670</sup> Ibid.

<sup>671</sup> Ibid.

Indian applicants. McInnes revealed the hypocritical paradox of Canadian xenophobic and racist ideology; how to reconcile gradual institutional changes with personal attitudes towards Blacks and West Indians. Canada managed to circumvent their new regulations and used new condemning language and negative “Black” codifications and connotations first constructed within the historical British liberal racial order. “Irresponsible parenthood” and “laziness” became euphemisms for the West Indian’s supposed inability to assimilate to Anglo-Saxon Canadian family values, frontier culture, and its cold climate. The problematic nature of McInnes’ rhetoric justified the perpetual exclusion of West Indians, and Jamaicans in particular, through denigrating characterizations. He presented unsubstantiated and detrimental claims as truths and misrepresented Canadian racist beliefs as “common Jamaican attributes.” He argued that by nature and cultural “attributes,” Jamaicans could not, and should not, be allowed in Canada. During the five year period between the official de-racialization of Canadian immigration policy in 1962 and the implementation of the Points System in 1967, officials in Canada and the West Indies continued to debate the issue of the consolidation of structural racism and indoctrinated personal bigotry embedded within the new “liberal” migration scheme.

The October 1963 Commonwealth Partners in the West Indies conference, attended by both Canadian and West Indian political leaders, including Barbados’ Premier Barrow, highlighted several issues on emigration from the Caribbean and the new regulations.<sup>672</sup>

Barrow and the speakers agreed overpopulation and unemployment were catalysts for

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<sup>672</sup> The conference was held under the cloud of the failure of the West Indies Federation and Barrow asking for a strict implementation of Canada’s 1962 immigration reforms from the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Guy Favreau and Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson. They had emphasized that “immigration policy will be free from the stigma of racial discrimination.” Barrow was also seeking more foreign aid for Barbados and the West Indies from Canada. By November 14<sup>th</sup>, 1963, Paul Martin Sr., the Secretary of State of External Affairs under Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson, revealed that Canada would increase its aid to the West Indies in the 1964-1965 fiscal year. It was the first time a Liberal government “took direct responsibility in the formulation of aid programmes for the West Indies.” Edmondson, 188-189 & 194.

emigration, where “population pressure was very great in the islands, especially in Barbados where unemployment averaged close to 15% of the labour force. Population was increasing so rapidly that a very high rate of economic growth was needed just to provide enough jobs to keep pace with the increase.”<sup>673</sup> Canadian trepidation regarding the impending British *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* compounded the West Indian immigration question by 1961.<sup>674</sup> Canadian authorities contended, and rightfully so, that the UK *Act* would “inevitably increase the pressures on us to allow more West Indians into Canada...We can expect, therefore, that whatever move the British take in this field, almost regardless of whether the restrictions are real or token, this will develop pressures on Canada.”<sup>675</sup> In the first six months of 1962, prior to the implementation of the *Act*, Britain accepted 40,000 West Indian emigrants. In the six months that followed the number dropped drastically to only 4,000. The “closed door” of British immigration opened an avenue for West Indian migration to Canada as the latter state was forced to readjust its philosophy on race-based selection criteria. Canada faced external pressures, most notably from the British, to accept more West Indian migrants, irrespective of a historical Canadian immigration practice to perpetually exclude Black West Indians.<sup>676</sup>

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<sup>673</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 4, Report on the October 25-27, 1963 Conference on “Commonwealth Partners in the West Indies” sponsored by The Canadian Institute of International Affairs (Fredericton Branch) and the University of New Brunswick.

<sup>674</sup> See Chapter Three for more on the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act*.

<sup>675</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 3, Department of External Affairs, Canada. Numbered Letter to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada. From Office of the Commissioner for Canada, Port-of-Spain, R.G.C. Smith, October 24, 1961. See Chapter Three on the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* (CIA).

<sup>676</sup> For more on the relationship between the CIA and increased West Indian migration to Canada, see David Timothy Duval, “Expressions of Migrant Mobilities among Caribbean Migrants in Toronto, Canada,” in *The Experience of Return Migration: Caribbean Perspectives*, eds. Robert B. Potter, Dennis Conway, Joan Phillips (Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), 245-261.

Despite the 1962 rhetorical and piecemeal liberalization of Canadian immigration, conference attendees pressed for further reforms.<sup>677</sup> The majority of the Canadian speakers at the Conference felt that the state maintained a discriminatory and colour-based immigration policy towards West Indians due to the arbitrary and obstinate decision making of the immigration officer.<sup>678</sup> Furthermore, “a strong feeling” persisted among Canadian representatives of the perpetuation of two immigration standards, “one for whites and another for blacks.”<sup>679</sup> The “feeling” was legitimized by statements from Blake regarding potential Jamaican emigrants. He highlighted the language used in the Letter of Refusal to Jamaican applicants, and the sentence, “you do not come within the categories of persons being admitted to Canada.”<sup>680</sup> Blake noted the line was “particularly offensive to unsuccessful applicants,” and that the denied applicants felt that the word “category” referred to “colour” and despite the diplomatic rhetoric, Canadian immigration policy remained as it was prior to 1962.<sup>681</sup> Whether it was legislated, arbitrary, or perceived and interpreted, racial discrimination remained a fundamental factor in Canadian immigration policy following its official de-racialization in 1962.

Since Canadian bureaucrats, including the Canadian Trade Commissioner Blake, openly criticized the de facto racist immigration policy, the question arises: why did nothing

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<sup>677</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 4, Report on the October 25-27, 1963 Conference on “Commonwealth Partners in the West Indies” sponsored by The Canadian Institute of International Affairs (Fredericton Branch) and the University of New Brunswick.

<sup>678</sup> Ibid.

<sup>679</sup> Ibid.

<sup>680</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 4, Foreign Trade Service. To Mr. D.A. Reid, Chief of Operations, Immigration Branch, Department of Citizenship & Immigration, Ottawa. From Roy W. Blake, Canadian Government Trade Commissioner, Kingston, Jamaica, February 8, 1962.

<sup>681</sup> Ibid. A 1966 memorandum from the Assistant Deputy Minister for Immigration stated Canadian immigration law is not “racially biased” but admits that they do concentrate most of their immigration offices in the United States and Europe. Since 1962 Canada varied the racial selection of immigrants, but has “proceeded with some caution in order to avoid a too-rapid rate of change which might result in adverse reaction by the Canadian public which in turn could weaken the whole concept of a universal non-discriminatory policy.” LAC, RG 76, vol. 820, file 552-1-533, Memorandum to Deputy Minister from Assistant Deputy Minister (Immigration), January 21, 1966.

change? Formally, Canada de-racialized its immigration policy in 1962. It was the arbitrary nature, or personal bigotry, of Canadian immigration officials that circumvented the new regulations; more than a year and simple legislation was needed to change attitudes and personal racism. With the evidence presented earlier on complaints filed by trade officials with respect to being “embarrassed,” and Canada’s hypocritical and conflicting foreign and immigration policy that caused “serious damage [to] Canadian prestige,” there was also a disconnect between what was happening “on the ground” in the West Indies and Canada’s economic interests in the region as opposed to what was being designed and implemented in Canada with respect to its immigration policy. Canadian officials in the West Indies could not disaggregate immigration and economic interests. The comments arising out of the Conference clearly demonstrated the confusion between Canadian diplomats abroad who were seemingly sympathetic and understood that Canada’s “new” regulations did not immediately change its continued policy to discriminate against Black West Indians. It seems the Canadian delegates, who arguably would have had specific interests in the Caribbean region, understood that although the official policy had changed, the pervasive nature of racist attitudes remained a barrier to immigration.

Premier Barrow continued on this topic as he addressed the Canadian delegation in Fredericton in 1963. Barrow interpreted Canadian immigration practices as a major irritant embedded within Barbadian, West Indian, and Canadian relations. He stated, “One of the more vexing problems of the relationships between this country (Canada) and ours (Barbados and the West Indies) is the question of immigration.”<sup>682</sup> By 1962 Canada officially abolished its policy on excluding potential immigrants based on their racial background; however, more needed to be done and Barbadians took a stand on the true nature of the policy. Barrow

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<sup>682</sup> Barrow, 184.

argued, “I am not satisfied that on the question of immigration the Canadian government has ever led from anywhere but far in the rear of public opinion.”<sup>683</sup> In the eyes of the marginalized Other in the West Indies, Canadian diplomacy fell victim to racist public opinion. Diplomacy did not solely dictate Barbadian-Canadian relations, but it was also driven by an obdurate society controlled by the social construction of race and the liberal racial order. Barrow presented the staggering figures even after the official de-racialization of Canadian immigration in 1962. In the same year, Barrow argued, the Canadian state accepted only 1,500 West Indian emigrants out of a total of 75,000 successful applicants from other source countries.<sup>684</sup> It must be noted that this was a Barbadian political leader, questioning Canadian motives, to Canadians in Canada. His South-North position seemingly did not place him in an authoritative position to debate Canadian immigration policy, but he felt adamant about its injustice. Barrow challenged several of the arguments used to bar his fellow Barbadians and West Indians from entering Canada as permanent residents. While he spoke on the issue of immigration, this open declaration of injustice and inequality exposed a flaw in Barbadian-Canadian relations. I contend that the social construction of race and racism superseded Canadian economic and political goodwill towards Barbadians.

As noted by Moore, Grizzle and the NCA, the harsh Canadian climate was used as a means to exclude potential Barbadian, West Indian, and Black American immigrants. Barrow argued West Indians preferred the Canadian winters over the summer climate in England. By this notion, “one must therefore conclude that the West Indian would sooner come to Canada than go to Britain.”<sup>685</sup> Barrow effectively dismissed the idea that

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<sup>683</sup> Ibid. See Ross Lambertson, “‘The Dresden Story’: Racism, Human Rights, and the Jewish Labour Committee of Canada,” *Labour/Le Travail* 47 (2001): 43-82 for more on the changes to Canadian public opinion on race and racism during this period.

<sup>684</sup> Ibid., 184-185.

<sup>685</sup> Ibid.

Barbadians and West Indians preferred the United Kingdom as a destination over Canada because of a more temperate climate. The Barbadian Premier then proceeded to the critical issue of discriminatory and racist immigration policy:

To be brutally frank, there is a feeling that in view of the large influx of unskilled Italian and other European immigrants coming into this country, there is either tacitly or explicitly some element of discrimination against the West Indian immigrant. There is no point in telling us in the West Indies that you have unemployment up here if you introduce into this country people who cannot even speak English or French, and who have no skill at all; and at the same time you cream off from the West Indian economy only the highly skilled, the professional and the technical workers that we so badly need for our industrial programme...Our skilled, our technical and our professional people are the people you are welcoming now with open arms; and at the same time you are introducing into this country large numbers of people who will probably have to spend two or three years even to begin to understand how to order a loaf of bread or to speak to a taxi driver; and the people who are so culturally close to you in many respects are kept out.<sup>686</sup>

While the language lacked tact and diplomacy, truth was behind Barrow's scathing comments. The only difference between the unskilled Europeans and the Black West Indian migrant was their colour. Barrow clearly elucidated his self-explanatory argument and questioned why Canada, if not for racism in its government and country, would prefer to accept White Europeans as drains on the social system over overqualified Black West Indians. Black Barbadians and West Indians were willing to contribute to the betterment of Canadian society, while their own native countries suffered from their migration. When Canadian officials did select West Indian emigrants – even as domestics through the Domestic Scheme – they took the most qualified Barbadians needed to push forward an emerging new nation-state. It was a “Brain Drain” and a system that deprived Barbados of its future leaders. Using Barrow's statement, racism and discrimination perpetuated the idea

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<sup>686</sup> Ibid.



of a “White Canada,” despite Ellen Fairclough’s, the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration and Canada’s first female Cabinet Minister, official abolishment of race-based immigration policy in 1962. Political motive did not supplant the ideological ramifications of racism and White superiority in Canada. Barrow knew Canada only accepted and tolerated, as subalterns and inferiors, the best and the brightest Barbadians.

Barbados and the West Indies suffered, but political leaders like Barrow knew their people had the skill and education needed to succeed in a hostile and racist environment. Through his monumental comments, he stood behind his people and his country and challenged the Canadian Government for change. He did not concede, nor neglect the racism embedded in Barbadian-Canadian relations. Barrow may have gambled on the precarious relationship, but he did so since this was an injustice. He reiterated his position in the Barbadian press in *The Advocate*, in an article entitled “Barrow to Press Canada to Relax Immigration Laws.”<sup>687</sup> He noted and criticized the Barbadian “Brain Drain” to Canada and stated “right now, they (Canada) are taking away our skilled people.”<sup>688</sup> He continued, “We are hoping for a larger uptake of ordinary workers and in fact they are taking more this year.”<sup>689</sup> *The Advocate* exclaimed, “Prime Minister Errol Barrow said yesterday that he will try to persuade Canada to further relax its immigration laws during his forthcoming visit to Ottawa.”<sup>690</sup> Throughout the 1960s following the official de-racialization of immigration policy in 1962 and prior to the implementation of the Points System in 1967, Barbadian and West Indian leaders continued to challenge institutional racism and the Canadian immigration system.

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<sup>687</sup> *The Advocate*, September 17, 1967.

<sup>688</sup> Ibid.

<sup>689</sup> Ibid.

<sup>690</sup> Ibid.

Canadian foreign policy in the region during this period reaffirmed the idea that Canadian officials wanted to avoid the immigration question by any means necessary. Donaghy and Muirhead argued that through Paul Martin Sr., the Secretary of State for external affairs under Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson in 1963, foreign aid was Canada's primary concern in the mid-1960s. In May 1965 on the eve of the 1966 Canada-West Indies Conference, the Martin administration purposely deflected West Indian pressure to increase immigration levels and did not address Canada's continued racial discrimination of potential Black migrants.<sup>691</sup> As was clear with Barrow's truthful admonishment of the treatment of his fellow West Indians in his statement in Fredericton in 1963, Donaghy and Muirhead exposed that Canada continued to blatantly ignore calls for reform and used the "carrot-on-a-stick" of increased foreign aid to appease the region.<sup>692</sup> The Canadian delegates, led by A.E. Ritchie, the assistant under-Secretary of State for external affairs, were instructed by Pearson to only discuss migration schemes for seasonal workers, domestics, and industrial apprenticeship plans.<sup>693</sup> This admission from the Pearson administration is telling in that it was following the official de-racialization of Canadian immigration policy. It was also after evidence was provided by Canadian officials in the West Indies demanding immigration reforms to maintain favourable trade relations and after the open challenge from Barbados' Premier in 1963. Canada did not wish to hide its obstinate stance towards increased Black West Indian migration nor did it care to address the issue as it seemingly attempted to "buy off" their critics with increased financial aid. Nevertheless, Donaghy and Muirhead's position must be viewed critically. Their article focused on Canadian foreign policy in the region and

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<sup>691</sup> Donaghy and Muirhead, 286.

<sup>692</sup> Ibid., 287. In the spring of 1964 Pearson's administration promised its West Indian partners 10 million dollars annually in aid – it was almost five times the amount from the previous programme. Ibid., 286.

<sup>693</sup> Ibid., 287.

marginally addressed immigration and West Indian diplomatic agency.<sup>694</sup> The article did not utilize the archival evidence of the relationship between trade and Black West Indian migration. This chapter noted Canadian trade commissioners in the West Indies argued against the racist ad hoc immigration policy as it affected good trade relations with influential West Indians. Foreign policy, trade, and immigration worked within a racialized paradigm.<sup>695</sup>

The 1966 Canada-West Indies Conference continued the on-going debate on race and discrimination embedded deep within Canadian institutions and Canadian immigration policy. Canadian authorities argued, “in general we are committed to dealing with West Indian immigrants on a completely non-discriminatory basis. This means that special care must be taken to ensure that the criteria be applied in Europe are applied by our selection teams visiting the Caribbean having regard to characteristic West Indian sensitivity towards real or imagined discrimination.”<sup>696</sup> The assertion of perceived racial discrimination problematized West Indian-Canadian relations and Canada’s willingness to address and eradicate the debilitating stain of anti-Black sentiment. The Conference’s background paper on West Indian immigration prepared for the 1966 conference, “Immigration to Canada from the Commonwealth Caribbean” epitomized Canada’s deliberate disregard and collective amnesia of its colourful and discriminatory past. The paper stated, “aside from the admission

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<sup>694</sup> The article did not discuss the de-racialization of Canadian immigration policy in 1962, which was a defining act of foreign policy that forever changed the West Indies-Canada relationship. On page 289 the article briefly mentioned the immigration reforms in 1967 as a side note to changes in trade relations. Immigration is a fundamental aspect of Canadian foreign policy and the article set out to discuss Canadian interests in the Caribbean from 1941-1966 and did not provide a comprehensive analysis of immigration policy.

<sup>695</sup> For more information on Canadian foreign policy and security concerns in the Caribbean in the 1980s, see Edgar J. Dosman, “Points of departure: the security equation in Canadian-Commonwealth Caribbean relations,” *International Journal* 42 (1987): 821-847.

<sup>696</sup> There was some good that came out of the Conference as there was an expectation that the number of applications from the West Indies would increase due to the Conference and the publicity it generated. LAC, RG 76, vol. 820, file 552-1-533, Canada-West Indies Conference – Follow-up action. Assistant Deputy Minister (Immigration), Director of Policy and Planning, July 14, 1966.

of a few individuals under special authorities, there was little immigration from the Caribbean prior to 1955,” the beginning of the Domestic Scheme.<sup>697</sup> The falsity and deflected blame of the previous statement was appalling. Black West Indians attempted to migrate to Canada, and some were able to in small numbers; however, the door to equitable immigration was firmly closed. Canadian immigration practice barred Black West Indian – British subjects notwithstanding – settlement. Moreover, Canadian authorities argued West Indians accused Canada of racial discrimination as a cover for ulterior motives. In a memorandum from the Assistant Deputy Minister of Citizenship and Immigration in 1966, it was stated that the charges were a “convenient screen for their real objective, namely a preferred (author’s emphasis) place in our policies under which we would relax our selection standards and take large numbers of their unskilled and surplus population. The West Indians must realize that this is out of the question.”<sup>698</sup> Meanwhile Canada continued to celebrate its colour-blind policies and distance itself from the negativity associated with allegations of racial discrimination.<sup>699</sup> The Conference concluded that “Canadian immigration law makes no distinction between the racial origins of immigrants. The degrees of relationship of persons admissible as sponsored immigrants do at present vary from country to country.”<sup>700</sup> Authorities based their application decisions on “normal and necessary criteria with respect to such matters as health, financial responsibility and absence

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<sup>697</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 820, file 552-1-533, *Immigration to Canada from the Commonwealth Caribbean* (Background paper prepared by Canada), Commonwealth Caribbean-Canada Conference, July 6-8, 1966, June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1966.

<sup>698</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 820, file 552-1-533, Memorandum to Deputy Minister from Assistant Deputy Minister (Immigration), January 21, 1966. Canadians accused West Indians of overstating Canada’s racist immigration policy. The Canadian Government said that West Indians simply wanted Canada to absorb its unskilled surplus population. The Deputy Minister should have stood down from his defensive stance and realize that there was substantial legal and legislated evidence validating the West Indian claims of racial discrimination in Canadian immigration policy as revealed by the archival evidence used in this chapter.

<sup>699</sup> See Lambertson for more on changing public opinions on racial prejudice during the 1960s.

<sup>700</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 820, file 552-1-533, *Allegations of Racial Discrimination*, Commonwealth Caribbean-Canada Conference, Ottawa, July 6-8, 1966.

of criminal record are applied impartially to all applicants without distinction to race.”<sup>701</sup> However, the law did not address the personal biases and the racism entrenched within the Canadian immigration system and Canadian institutions. Historian Laura Madokoro questioned whether racism was solely structural and institutionalized and to what degree individuals dictated racial norms.<sup>702</sup> In this case following the end of legislated racism in Canadian immigration policy in 1962, the latter was true as personal agendas determined the fate of potential Black West Indian migrants. The law omitted the “distinction to race,” but personal bigotry dictated the interpretation and application of immigration jurisprudence. The law changed, but the ideology remained the same. Within this environment defined by racialized immigration structures and hypocritical policies and actions, Black Barbadian emigrants maintained their sense of self-worth, pride, and industry. The individual circumvented the exclusionary barriers, utilized her or his educational capital, and settled and contributed as citizens of the Canadian state.

According to Donaghy and Muirhead, “Canada may have had interests in the Caribbean, but it had very little foreign policy.”<sup>703</sup> Canada may have had more “interests” than “foreign policy” in the region, but the country did have a long and lasting historical relationship with the West Indies. From seventeenth and eighteenth century colonies within the British Empire in the Americas, to Commonwealth partners in the twentieth, Barbadian-Canadian relations flourished throughout North American and West Indian history. The institution of slavery and mercantilist opportunities facilitated the growth of economic and political North-South ties; British colonial slaves produced the rum that inebriated those in the Maritimes, while

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<sup>701</sup> Ibid.

<sup>702</sup> Laura Madokoro, “John Price. Orienting Canada: Race, Canada, and the Transpacific,” *H-Diplo Roundtable Review* 13 (2012), 18.

<sup>703</sup> Donaghy and Muirhead, 289.

Canadian fisheries fed Africans in the West Indies, who eventually appropriated salted cod as a feature of national dishes throughout the region. Naturally, financing systems followed trading routes and Canadian banks found homes in the West Indies beginning in the late nineteenth century as the Bank of Nova Scotia established a branch in Jamaica in 1889; the significance of this relationship is underscored by the fact that the Bank had yet to open a location in Toronto.

As this chapter has shown, Canada was one of Barbados' chief trading partners in the early to mid-twentieth century and highly dependent on this North American export market to support its economy. This relationship extended beyond economics as Canada was invested politically and socially in the British West Indies during the mid-twentieth century and showed interest in the ill-fated West Indies Federation in the late 1950s. During the same period the issue of exclusionary Black Barbadian and West Indian immigration policies dominated the relationship. Racism, including pronouncements about climate discrimination, and the illogical personal bigotry of Canadian leaders, was a predominant feature of Canadian immigration policy. West Indian officials and political leaders contested this exclusionary practice and won small concessions including the Domestic Scheme of 1955 (which is discussed in the following chapter) prior to the official de-racialization of Canadian immigration policy in 1962 and the implementation of the Points System in 1967. As Sheldon Taylor noted in his dissertation "Darkening the Complexion of Canadian Society: Black Activism, Policy-Making and Black Immigration from the Caribbean to Canada, 1940s-1960s," there were several factors that contributed to the increase in West Indian emigrants to Canada. He argued that pressure from Caribbean trading partners and trade commissioners, the British Government's desire to curtail mass West Indian migration to the British Isles, Canada's role as a growing Commonwealth partner, and the respective West

Indian governments that called foul on Canada's racist and exclusionary immigration policy, facilitated increased migration of Black West Indians to Canada beginning in the 1940s post-war boom with its culmination in 1962 with the official de-racialization of Canadian immigration policy.<sup>704</sup> Taylor discussed the role of the Domestic Scheme and the emigration of West Indian nurses during the 1950s; however, his work lacked a gendered analysis of West Indian migration.<sup>705</sup> The following chapter examines Black Barbadian and Black West Indian women as emigrants from the Caribbean region. Using the concept of the Emigrant Ambassador, Chapter Five argues that Black women overcame gendered and racist immigration policy, hostile working environments, the de-skilling of their labour and downward social mobility, and still managed to spearhead the settlement of future generations of Black West Indians in Canada. The chapter also examines the emigration of Barbadian educators to Canada and highlights how upward mobility through the pursuit of academic success was a fundamental Barbadian cultural attribute; one which challenges Simmons and Guengant's theory of a "culture-of-migration." Barbadian women were at the forefront of the settlement of their fellow citizens, first as Barbadian emigrants, followed by their status as Canadian immigrants, and most importantly as Barbadian-Canadians.

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<sup>704</sup> Taylor, "Darkening the Complexion," 1-8.

<sup>705</sup> *Ibid.*, 214 & 231.

## Chapter Five:

### The Emigrant Ambassadors

*I worked hard on my life. Nothing was easy for me. But at the same time, I grew up in an environment where resilience was taught, experienced. And I have operated my life in that spirit.*

Jean Augustine, 2011<sup>706</sup>

Like so many other West Indian women, Grenadian-born Jean Augustine saw the Domestic Scheme as a means for greater socio-economic opportunity in Canada. She came to Canada in 1960 and worked as a domestic in Toronto for a year before enrolling in teacher's college and earning her permanent resident status.<sup>707</sup> The first Black woman elected to the House of Commons and to serve in Cabinet as the Minister of State for Multiculturalism and Status of Women, she faced barriers to her success in Canada.<sup>708</sup> Despite having completed her secondary education and having taught in Grenada, Augustine recalled that a teacher's college receptionist "kept telling me I had to do Grade 13 and pushing my papers back to me. I just stood there. I would not move. She called the next person in the line, then the next person behind. I just kept standing there."<sup>709</sup> Eventually she succeeded in her perseverance against discrimination and bigotry; "a supervisory person came by and asked what the problem was. I said I had this letter and that document...the supervisor looked at them and said, 'Yeah you have the qualifications.' And that's my first little struggle."<sup>710</sup> The high-profiled Augustine was not the first, nor the last, Black West Indian woman that faced barriers to integration despite possessing the required qualifications. Similar to her Barbadian counterparts profiled in this chapter, such as retired Toronto District School Board

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<sup>706</sup> Nicholas Keung, "From Happy Hill to Parliament Hill," *Toronto Star*, June 30<sup>th</sup>, 2011.

<sup>707</sup> Ibid.

<sup>708</sup> Ibid.

<sup>709</sup> Ibid.

<sup>710</sup> Ibid.



(TDSB) principal Cyriline Taylor, the Grenadian-born Augustine came to Canada to further her education and received bachelor and master's degrees, respectively, at the University of Toronto.<sup>711</sup> Following a career in education, which culminated in her appointment as a principal in the TDSB in the 1980s, she was elected the first Black woman in the House of Commons.<sup>712</sup> What is often overlooked in her immigrant "success story" is the history behind the Domestic Scheme during the 1950s and how gendered racism dictated mid-twentieth century West Indian migrant flows to Canada. Augustine was a pioneer who successfully reached the upper echelons of Canadian politics; however, previously nameless Black female emigrants involved in and outside of the Scheme during the 1950s and 1960s also overcame exclusionary barriers. Black Barbadian and West Indian women changed the face of Canadian immigration policy.<sup>713</sup>

This chapter discusses the racialized and discriminatory immigration policy towards Black West Indians using the theoretical framework of race, gendered labour divisions, and Black identity. This paradox of hypocrisy is discussed using the case of Barbadian and West Indian Emigrant Ambassadors – most notably, highly educated and upwardly mobile women who came to Canada under the Domestic Scheme initiated in 1955. These women challenged the racist and sexist hegemony of Canadian society – and its immigration policy – to ultimately assist in the deconstruction of the racialized Black West Indian emigrant category. The examination of race is interspersed by the class-based and gendered division of Canadian immigration policy and the Domestic Scheme. Barbadian and West Indian

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<sup>711</sup> Ibid.

<sup>712</sup> Ibid.

<sup>713</sup> As I have clarified in the Introduction, it was difficult to find Barbadian women such as Grenadian-born Augustine who came to Canada as domestics and subsequently became educators. Augustine is an excellent example of a domestic turned educator and follows the path of the Emigrant Ambassador discussed in this chapter. Through discussions with Cyriline Taylor I was made aware of Cecelia Hoppin; however, I was not able to confirm her whereabouts or the story. Hoppin was a Barbadian who migrated to Quebec as a domestic and subsequently became an educator. See Introduction for more on this clarification. Also see Introduction for an explanation of my use of data on West Indians to complement the research on Barbadians specifically.

women, codified through a gendered labour lens, contributed to the liberalization of West Indian emigration to Canada. As a continuation of Chapter Four, this chapter also examines the gendered aspects of the emigration of Black Barbadian women including nurses and educators. These women asserted agency within the patriarchal and racist structure of sexist international migration during the early to mid-twentieth century. Immigration history must acknowledge female migrant autonomy; they were not passive clients and merely victims of exclusionary racist and sexist immigration policies and ideologies. In addition to race and class, a gendered theoretical framework of immigration history must be applied to understand the barriers faced by female migrants, but specifically Black Barbadian and Black West Indian women; these women were at the forefront of Black West Indian emigration to Canada during the mid-twentieth century as Emigrant Ambassadors. The Emigrant Ambassadors represented themselves, their island nations, and their governments as they were selected to confront the institutionalized barriers to liberalize migration for Blacks from Barbados and the West Indies. This trailblazing Emigrant Ambassador sentiment was expressed in a letter written by Gloria Walcott, one of the first Barbadian women in Canada selected under the Domestic Scheme, to Negro Citizenship Association (NCA) founder and director, Donald W. Moore, January 30<sup>th</sup>, 1956: “I think all the girls are happy and are going to live up to all expectations so that other West Indian immigrants will be able to come too.”<sup>714</sup> This chapter aims to recognize these women for the sacrifices they made as representatives of Black Pride, Black Power, self-empowerment, and self-respect; they normalized their role not as the “exceptional” Black Achiever, but as the rule that all Black

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<sup>714</sup> Donald Moore, *Don Moore: An Autobiography* (Toronto: Williams-Wallace Publishers, Inc., 1985), 160.

West Indian migrants had the potential and capital to achieve greatness in Canada.<sup>715</sup> They manipulated their racialized and gendered bodies – as the ideological “Black woman” only suitable for domestic servitude to White masters – to challenge Canadian society’s perceived sense of Black West Indian identity and anti-Black racism. This chapter first examines the history of Black women in Barbados since slavery to contextualize the role of women in Barbadian society, to highlight that the perseverance and upward mobility of the Barbadian Emigrant Ambassadors are historical characteristics.

### **Barbadian Women: A History**

This section provides a brief history of Black women in Barbados. It is important to contextualize the role women played in Barbadian history since slavery to situate their position as Emigrant Ambassadors and Autonomous Bajans during the mid-twentieth century. Since the mid-eighteenth century, creole African-Barbadian and African women in Barbados were central to the plantation economy. In *Natural Rebels: A Social History of Enslaved Black Women in Barbados*, Hilary McD. Beckles defined Barbadian women as “survivalist social beings” due to their primary role in slave society.<sup>716</sup> Black Barbadian slave women were the “dominant force behind production and labour reproduction,” which fulfilled their role as a “dual economic contribution to the survival of the slave economy” and their slave master’s financial well-being.<sup>717</sup> Barbadian women were in the majority in field gangs as forced manual labour, they acted as domestic workers, artisans, provided leisure

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<sup>715</sup> See Chapter One for an explanation of James W. St. G. Walker’s five categories of writing Black Canadian history. The historiography represents the Black Achiever as the individual who “made it against-all-odds” – namely racial discrimination – to be successful in Canadian society.

<sup>716</sup> Hilary, McD. Beckles, *Natural Rebels: A Social History of Enslaved Black Women in Barbados* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 2.

<sup>717</sup> *Ibid.*, 2-3.

services in the urban sector, and were sexually exploited through physical and psychological domination and as a means to generate profit for plantation owners. I contend that the survivalist characteristics of these women – the survivalist social beings – paralleled those of the Emigrant Ambassadors. Like the Emigrant Ambassadors of the twentieth century, Beckles argued these slave women were “restless, ambitious, shrewd, and always prepared to seek freedom.”<sup>718</sup> Black Barbadian women persevered despite what bell hooks contended was their “mass brutalization and terrorization” first aboard slave ships and throughout the institution of slavery.<sup>719</sup> The pursuit of freedom and social mobility, albeit defined within the draconian structures of slavery, gender inequalities, and colonial domination, were characteristics of women in Barbadian history.

As is true with the Emigrant Ambassadors of the twentieth century, one must qualify the autonomy and freedom of women during the eighteenth and nineteenth century within the structures of the institution of slavery and patriarchal colonial domination. Beckles stated that “the tripartite structure of race, class, and gender oppression located most black women in positions of greatest material deprivation and social vulnerability” during slavery, but one may argue that this intersectionality of oppression continued well into the twentieth century.<sup>720</sup> Slave women in Barbados did find agency within the tyranny of slave society, including their dominance in petty trade as hucksters, leaders in Black and slave revolts on the Island, and in the struggle to maintain family units and cultural institutions. The “moral authority” of elderly Black Barbadian women was also crucial to maintain order and cohesion in slave communities. Black women had both personal and communal objectives in their “social authority” over fellow slaves; it was a form of limited autonomy and limited

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<sup>718</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>719</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>720</sup> Ibid., 3.

mobility in a structured slave system.<sup>721</sup> These traits were not unique to simply Barbadian women during slavery in the British West Indies; however, Barbados' slave demographics and female to male sex ratios set the island apart from its West Indian neighbours. Barbadian women played a crucial role in the history of Barbados as labourers and reproducers. This was most apparent as women were in the majority of Barbados' slave population from the early eighteenth century.<sup>722</sup>

The female majority in Barbados – both Black and White – distinguished Barbados from other slave societies in the Caribbean. In the seventeenth century, men and women worked together in the field gangs and there was no gendered differentiation in terms of manual labour. Richard Ligon, the first person to write a history of Barbados, commented in 1647 that women were present in plantation field gangs and were “perceived as important to the labour policies of the embryonic slavocracy.”<sup>723</sup> Beckles reiterated this statement in regards to female slaves during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century arguing that “Black women performed, and [were] expected to perform the same work as men.”<sup>724</sup> The author also stated that female slaves were cheaper than males and better suited for agricultural labour. He argued that in West African societies, agricultural labour was “women’s work.”<sup>725</sup> Beckles also posited that it was possible that Barbados’ gender ratio favoured women since the Island was the “first-stop” purchaser in the Slave Trade, which possibly depleted the cheaper female stock of slaves for other islands in the Caribbean. He also argued that it was “socially rational” for Barbadian planters to buy females slaves to satisfy a socio-ideological need for Black male slaves on plantations. The socio-ideological

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<sup>721</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>722</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>723</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>724</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>725</sup> Hilary McD. Beckles, *Centering Woman: Gender Discourses in Caribbean Slave Society* (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers, 1999), 6.

need was physical and emotional companionship.<sup>726</sup> Nevertheless, Barbadian planters' promotion and effective execution of natural reproduction contributed to its large female population. This distinguished Barbados from other West Indian islands and their focus on the importation of a disproportionate number of male slaves for physical labour.

Since the late seventeenth century, Barbados privileged Black women "as part of a revised strategic plan to promote the natural reproduction of the labour force," which did not come into effect throughout the rest of the Caribbean until well after the 1750s.<sup>727</sup> Between 1780 and 1806, Barbados had more creole slaves than any other island in the West Indies. By 1800 natural reproduction became the dominant means of maintaining slave populations, which resulted in Barbados being the only island in the British West Indies that welcomed the end of the Slave Trade in 1807.<sup>728</sup> Figures representing the gendered slave structure between 1801 and 1832 highlighted Barbados' female majority.

Table 5.1 Barbadian Slave Population by Sex, 1801-1832<sup>729</sup>

<b>Year</b>	<b>Male No.</b>	<b>Male %</b>	<b>Female No.</b>	<b>Female %</b>
1801	29,872	46.5	34,324	53.5
1817	35,354	45.6	42,139	54.4
1823	36,159	45.9	42,657	54.1
1829	37,691	46.0	44,211	54.0
1832	37,762	46.3	43,738	53.7

<sup>726</sup> Beckles, *Natural Rebels*, 8-9.

<sup>727</sup> Beckles, *Centering Woman*, 3.

<sup>728</sup> Beckles, *Natural Rebels*, 20.

<sup>729</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

A focus on natural reproduction valued a large female slave population in Barbados. Female slaves were much more valuable than males primarily due to the enslavement and control of their physical production and their reproduction; female slaves worked and gave birth to more slaves who also worked. By the mid-eighteenth century until the end of the institution of slavery in 1834, Barbadian planters “intervened in the sexual relations of female slaves as policy in order to encourage reproduction.”<sup>730</sup> A “woman’s policy” and “slave breeding” programmes emerged, which were facilitated by a belief that fertile female slaves had to be treated with “greater humanity and consideration” in order to increase fertility.<sup>731</sup> Due to the matrilineal reproduction of slave status, “womanhood, as a gendered formulation, was therefore legally constituted as a reproduction device that offered the slave system continuity and functionality.”<sup>732</sup> However, controlling fertility and resisting forced maternity were “placed at the core” of Black female slave resistance. Infanticide and abortions were common acts of resistance.<sup>733</sup>

A culture of resistance defined the place of women in Barbadian history. Historian Barbara Bush argued that female slave perseverance, determination, and resistance were “crucial to the survival of her family, her community, her culture and her own personal integrity and human dignity.”<sup>734</sup> Bush underscored the role that the individual woman and her agency, however limited, played in resisting the draconian structures of the institution of slavery. The author stated, “In strongly resisting slavery in a multitude of ways, refusing to succumb to the pressures inherent in slave society, the individual slave woman *herself* (author’s emphasis) was refusing to conform to the image white society had created for

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<sup>730</sup> Ibid., 92.

<sup>731</sup> Ibid., 97.

<sup>732</sup> Beckles, *Centering Woman*, 8.

<sup>733</sup> Beckles, *Natural Rebels*, 153 & 159.

<sup>734</sup> Barbara Bush, *Slave Women in Caribbean Society* (Kingston: Heinemann Publishers (Caribbean), 1990), 10.

her.”<sup>735</sup> Black Barbadian female resistance was noted during the 1816 Bussa Rebellion. The Bussa Rebellion of Easter 1816 in Barbados was caused by the “rumour” of emancipation on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1816. The “whole was strengthened by the information, imported by some free People of Colour,” and by slaves “who had gained an ascendancy over their fellows by being enabled to read and write.”<sup>736</sup> The slave revolt began, “by many of the leading Slaves (directed and encouraged by a few Free People of Colour),” as the “nearer approximation which existed between the Free People of Colour and Slaves, arising frequently from original connection or previous acquaintance” facilitated the exchange of revolutionary ideas.<sup>737</sup> King Wiltshire, a slave belonging to the Bayley’s Plantation in Barbados drew attention to the role the image of the Black woman played in the rebellion. Wiltshire testified that “the negroes were to be freed, and that their freedom was to be given them through a black woman who was a Queen, for whom Wilberforce acted in England: that some free coloured man, namely, Cain Davis, Roach, and Sarjeant, had told him this.”<sup>738</sup> Nanny Grigg, a Black woman at the forefront of the Bussa Rebellion, was characterized as a “revolutionary ideologue.” The Barbados Assembly’s official 1816 report described Grigg as a “literate, knowledgeable woman who believed and propagated the view that in order to secure freedom it was possible to replicate the Haitian Revolution.”<sup>739</sup> Doll, a Black female slave owned by Elizabeth Newton (owner of Newton and Seawell Plantations in Barbados), negotiated her and her daughters’ “semi-free” status upon her master’s return to England. Beckles asserted that Black Barbadian female anti-slavery mentalities “preceded the plantation” and a culture

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<sup>735</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>736</sup> Barbados National Archives (BNA), *The Report from A Select Committee of the House of Assembly, Appointed to Inquire into the Origin, Causes, and Progress, of the Late Insurrection*. Barbados/Hume Tracts (1816). Printed By Order of the Legislature by W. Walker, Mercury and Gazette Office, 1816.

<sup>737</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>738</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>739</sup> Hilary McD. Beckles, “Historicizing Slavery in West Indian Feminisms,” *Feminist Review* 59 (1998): 46.



of resistance began in West Africa and continued through the horrors of the Middle Passage.<sup>740</sup> Bush argued Black women were a “fundamental and indispensable part of the black historical process which enabled Africans to survive enslavement with dignity and create a vigorous culture and society. Thus, from Africa, through the slave experience, in the modern Caribbean and Britain itself, black women had and will have a crucial role to play in their own societies.”<sup>741</sup>

Barbadian women continued to display the resistance and perseverance characteristics and the pursuit of agency and social mobility well into the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Between Emancipation and the 1960s, there was a significant decrease in the female labour participation rate as Barbadian women “detached themselves – or were separated by technological developments – from the agricultural labour market.”<sup>742</sup> Addington Coppin stated that there was a significant amount of rural to urban migration by women seeking employment during this period. Black women sought jobs as domestics and in retailing since Barbados’ limited geography could not support an independent agricultural peasantry following Emancipation.<sup>743</sup> Cyriline Taylor recalled that her grandmother – “Ma” – who was born in Barbados in 1898 said that there were few job opportunities available for young women in the early twentieth century. In addition to work on plantations as agricultural labour, domestics and in retail services, young Black women also sold fruit and vegetables in Bridgetown and “on the roadside,” worked as bartenders – “hawkers,” seamstresses, and engaged in prostitution in the “Red Light” district near the capital and retained sailors as their

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<sup>740</sup> Ibid., 41 & 45.

<sup>741</sup> Bush, 167.

<sup>742</sup> Addington Coppin, “Women, Men and Work in Caribbean Economy: Barbados,” *Social and Economic Studies* 44 (1995): 104. (Article is 103-124).

<sup>743</sup> Ibid.

main clientele.<sup>744</sup> In his memoir, Austin Clarke underlined Barbados' patriarchal society, its discrimination towards girls, and gendered divisions of labour. He wrote: "Boys got the best food and attention, and the least floggings, if they were high school boys. Girls were expected to be dressmakers, sugar and silent, spice and stupid, and wash the boys' clothes. So my hero's sister would have helped her mother with the needlework which sustained the family."<sup>745</sup> Clarke also stated that it was his mother who was the "rock" of his support system. He went into great detail to emphasize the strength and perseverance of his mother and all Barbadian women in the first half of the twentieth century. He wrote: "She worked hard. All women in those days worked hard."<sup>746</sup>

Black women in Barbados during the early to mid-twentieth century did their best to navigate the oppressive structures of the intersections of race, class, and gender. Sex selective migration policies disproportionately favoured Barbadian male sojourners; however, some Barbadian women did emigrate prior to the 1950s as they sought socio-economic advancement and mobility abroad. Ma emigrated to British Guiana in her twenties as there were job opportunities for women in the British colony and the relatively short travel by ship was affordable. Ma's case is an example of the early emigration of Barbadian women for socio-economic mobility and evidence of the autonomy of early Emigrant Ambassadors. Taylor's grandmother also supported her family back in Barbados through remittances and sending foodstuffs including walnuts and the Barbadian dietary staple, rice.<sup>747</sup> Nevertheless, during the early twentieth century a large surplus of Barbadian women remained on the Island. At the turn of the twentieth century and the onset of the mass exodus

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<sup>744</sup> Cyriline Taylor (retired principal) in discussion with the author, March 3, 2012.

<sup>745</sup> Austin Clarke, *Growing Up Stupid Under the Union Jack: A Memoir* (Toronto: Thomas Allen Publishers, 2005), 79.

<sup>746</sup> *Ibid.*, 201.

<sup>747</sup> Cyriline Taylor (retired principal) in discussion with the author, March 3, 2012.

of male sojourners to the Isthmus of Panama, women filled the agricultural labour needs of plantation owners.<sup>748</sup> Early twentieth century emigration left twice as many women on the Island due to sex selective emigration prior to 1921. Due in part to male emigration, women continued to dominate Barbadian population sex ratios established during slavery. Moreover, in the immediate post-Second World War period up to the late 1950s, women lived longer than men and Barbadian women had the longest life spans in the West Indies. In 1956, for every 1,000 women there were only 853 Barbadian men – the second lowest sex ratio in the West Indies behind only Grenada. Barbadian women thus sought employment to support female-headed households caused in part by circuitous Barbadian male economic transnationalism. Women also gained employment because of the socio-economic racialized marginalization of Black male breadwinners in a White dominated society and the fact that the Barbadian population was dominated by a female majority.<sup>749</sup>

Several Barbadian Government social assistance initiatives improved the lives of women and their families in Barbados during the post-war period. The Moyne Commission Report of 1945 stated that there was an “immensity” of social problems in the West Indies, which required a large expansion of both governmental and voluntary social services. The Barbadian Government first implemented a National Insurance Scheme, which covered a Maternity Benefit for women in 1945. In 1950, through the Moyne Commissioner’s suggestion, Barbados created the position of a Social Welfare Office. This was followed by a childcare programme of “Day Nurseries” under the Housing Authority and the Barbadian Government’s support for the Barbados Family Planning Association in 1955. Many of these initiatives improved the welfare of Barbadian women, but were primarily implemented to

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<sup>748</sup> David Lowenthal, “The Population of Barbados,” *Social and Economic Studies* 6 (1957): 456.

<sup>749</sup> Coppin, 104; Lowenthal, 464.

address the historical issue of population density. Barbados' high birth-rate and declining death-rate forced Barbadian officials to focus their attention on family planning. In the early 1960s, the Pill and other forms of intra-uterine devices for birth control were introduced in Barbados. Barbados was the first country in the Western Hemisphere where birth control was sanctioned and supported by government. One may argue that this was the Government's attempt at controlling female bodies; however, the post-war environment focused on social services designed to increase "the self-respect of the individual" rather than a continued dependence on multi-functional institutions and Poor Relief.<sup>750</sup> The Barbadian Government gradually addressed gender inequality with these initiatives as women on the Island in the 1950s and 1960s slowly began to achieve higher status in the public sphere.

Declining fertility rates due to the Government's active family planning programme and the increased access to secondary education for girls in Barbados in the 1950s led to higher Black Barbadian female participation in the labour force in the 1960s.<sup>751</sup> It must be noted that girls and young women did experience sex-stereotyping during the post-war period in schools as clerical skills were emphasized in the all-girls' secondary school curriculum.<sup>752</sup> However, early and mid-twentieth century social initiatives allowed many young women to procure the skills and training needed to further their careers and futures abroad. They may have had the skills and education; however, gender discrimination on the Island proved to impede the social mobility of some young women. John Western interviewed a young female Barbadian emigrant in London who did not attend an "elite" academic secondary school. She stated that her education trained her "to be a seamstress, and to do typing. It was

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<sup>750</sup> Juliet Edmonds and Cherita Girvan, "Child Care and Family Services in Barbados," *Social and Economic Studies* 22 (1973): 229, 230, 232, 233 & 245; Lowenthal, 495. For more on contraception and Barbados see Stephen L. Slavin and Richard E. Bilsborrow, "Barbados Family Planning Association and Fertility Decline in Barbados," *Studies in Family Planning* 5 (1974): 325-332.

<sup>751</sup> Coppin, 107.

<sup>752</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

more like a finishing school for young ladies; they weren't training you to do a *job!* (author's emphasis)"<sup>753</sup> Nevertheless, emigration proved to be an outlet for Barbadian female social mobility. In 1955 and 1956, 2,818 women left Barbados, which was 40% of the Island's total net emigration.<sup>754</sup> Many of these women left Barbados and sought socio-economic advancement in the United Kingdom through government sponsored programmes. Black Barbadian women such as Beverly Braithwaite arrived in London in February 1957 after she was recruited for London Transport. Braithwaite challenged gendered labour divisions and Barbadian sex-stereotypes as she worked in stations bars, pressed in a Laundromat, worked as a seamstress, worked in a food factory, made tires in a rubber factory, cut tin in a steel business, and worked as an industrial engraver.<sup>755</sup> The occupations were primarily manual labour; however, Braithwaite did not fit, nor did she choose to confine herself to gendered stereotypes. Others including Pauline Alleyne, Dotteen Bannister, Ernestine Farley, and Amelia Simmons left Barbados and found social mobility through their work in the female-dominated nursing profession.<sup>756</sup> No matter the occupation, emigration proved to be a step forward for Black Barbadian women who have been historically defined by their perseverance, mobility, and resistance to oppression.

### **Barbadian Emigration to Canada: The Eve of the Domestic Scheme**

During the early 1950s to 1960s, unemployment continued to curtail Barbadian development, and mass migration to Canada became a viable option to alleviate socio-economic strife on

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<sup>753</sup> John Western, *A Passage to England: Barbadian Londoners Speak of Home* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 88.

<sup>754</sup> Lowenthal, 487.

<sup>755</sup> Western, 94.

<sup>756</sup> *Ibid.*, xxi, xxii.

the Island. Unemployment, “continue[d] to be one of the gravest problems which the island face[d],” and “permanent and temporary emigration continued to provide an important outlet for the surplus labour force.”<sup>757</sup> However, prior to the implementation of the Domestic Scheme in 1955, Canadian immigration policy provided “only for the admission from Barbados close relatives of legal residents of Canada and persons whose circumstances have exceptional merit.”<sup>758</sup> David C. Corbett argued that if Black applicants were not of “exceptional merit,” the Special Inquiry Officer in charge of their application “would not find it hard...to find an excuse for rejecting him.”<sup>759</sup> Exceedingly high expectations of ill-defined “exceptional merit” barred the vast majority of potential emigrants. In a letter to the Governor of the Windward Islands, December 14<sup>th</sup>, 1954, John Whitney (Jack) Pickersgill, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration and senior advisor under Prime Minister Louis St-Laurent revealed, “I fear it would not be realistic for me to hold out much hope of any fundamental change in the present policy in the near future.”<sup>760</sup> However, recorded correspondence from Barbadian and Canadian authorities provided contradictory positions on the question of immigration in the 1950s prior to the implementation of the Domestic

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<sup>757</sup> In 1958, 2,930 people left Barbados to seek permanent employment abroad. In 1959, 3,204 people left for employment. BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1958 and 1959* (Barbados: Government Printing Office, 1961), 6.

<sup>758</sup> On exceptional merit: “Until the coming into force of the 1962 Immigration Regulations, admission from the West Indies was restricted to close relatives sponsored by Canadian citizens or residents. The Department did seek special authority, however, in a fairly substantial number of cases of exceptional merit involving West Indians who were especially well suited.” Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG 76, vol. 1241, file 5850-3-555, *Immigration from Barbados: Background of Immigration Movement*; LAC RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 2, Letter from J.W. Pickersgill, to His Excellency Brigadier Sir Robert Duncan Harris Arundel, K.C.M.G., O.B.E., Governor of the Windward Islands, Government House, Barbados, British West Indies, December 16, 1954. See Chapter Five and later on in this chapter for a more comprehensive discussion on the Domestic Scheme.

<sup>759</sup> Corbett also highlighted that Canadian officials believed “unless negro immigrants are chosen who can succeed in Canada and add to white Canadians’ respect for them as a group, bringing them here might easily add to prejudice, not decrease it.” David C. Corbett, *Canada’s Immigration Policy: A Critique* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), 54-55 & 196.

<sup>760</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 2, Letter from J.W. Pickersgill, to His Excellency Brigadier Sir Robert Duncan Harris Arundel, K.C.M.G., O.B.E., Governor of the Windward Islands, Government House, Barbados, British West Indies, December 16, 1954.

Scheme in 1955. While Canadian officials perpetuated the ominous language of anti-Black xenophobic oppression, high-ranking Barbadians stressed the commonalities of Commonwealth kinship. Brigadier Sir Robert Arundell, Governor of Barbados and the Windward Islands (1953-1959) was among those who reiterated the British kinship and Barbadian loyalty to both the metropole and Canada in an effort to promote increased emigration to the former British North American colony.

Arundell underscored Canada's desperate need for immigrants, and expressed "the loyalty of Barbadians to the British Crown is a historical fact and it is felt that Barbadians could settle as workers, either permanently or temporarily, in Canada, a fellow member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, with profit to Canada and to credit to themselves."<sup>761</sup> The Governor concluded, "I therefore request you to be so good as to advise this Government on the possibilities of employment of Barbadians in the fields suggested in this letter (Arundell focused on domestic servants), and in any others in which there is an unsatisfied demand for man-power."<sup>762</sup> This request by the Governor is quite significant as Arundell actively sought employment opportunities in Canada for British subjects. As the discussion in Chapter Three noted, the Government of Barbados pursued avenues for labour migration throughout the late nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth century. International migration diplomacy at its highest levels, as witnessed by statements from Barbadian Governor Arundell and Canadian Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King's infamous statements in 1947, pushed to reform strict Black West Indian immigration exclusion while navigating Canada's economic needs. Restriction and regulation characterized Barbadian emigration to Canada prior to the official de-racialization of Canadian immigration in 1962 and its further

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<sup>761</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 2, Letter from the Governor at the Government House Barbados, November, 1954.

<sup>762</sup> Ibid.

liberalization with the Points System of 1967. While White men controlled migrant flows from diplomatic boardrooms and official correspondence between Canada and the Caribbean, women, specifically Black West Indian women, overcame the gendered, racist, and class-based barriers, and became the faces that changed the system.

Monica Gordon argued that there is a “general assumption” that all “immigrants are men and that women and children are the dependents of those men.”<sup>763</sup> The female migrant was seen as a client of a patriarchal framework at the mercy of the structures of a migration system designed to facilitate the movement of male labour. However, Barbadian and West Indian women opened the door, broke down misogynist and racist barriers, and facilitated the emigration of an entire generation of Black men, women, and children. Their class and

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<sup>763</sup> Monica Gordon also made it clear that “there has been no immigration policy specific to the sex of potential immigrants.” Gordon did not specify who or what constituted the “general assumption” or if this theory is expressed explicitly in the scholarly literature. Monica Gordon, “Dependents or Independent Workers?: The Status of Caribbean Immigrant Women in the United States,” in *In Search of a Better Life: Perspectives on Migration from the Caribbean*, ed. Ransford W. Palmer (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1990), 116. David Goutor went so far as to say that Canadian Unionists during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, “were so indifferent to the migration of women that readers of labour sources could be forgiven for wondering whether immigrants came in two sexes.” David Goutor, *Guarding the Gates: The Canadian Labour Movement and Immigration, 1872-1974* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 4. The 1970 Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada highlights the links of the domestics from the West Indies in the 1950s and 1960s, female-led migration, and the women supporting/sponsoring their husbands and families to come to Canada and those who sent remittances back home. From 1956 to 1967, “the participation rate of post-war immigrant women rose from 35.6 per cent to 40.2 per cent. During the same period the participation rate for Canadian-born women rose from 23.1 per cent to 31.5 per cent.” By the 1950s and 1960s, Canadian immigration held the antiquated idea that men were immigrants and women were objects of a male dominated and facilitated system: “[The] Immigration Service holds the outmoded view that the husband is always the wage-earner and that a wife should be admitted only if her husband is able to establish himself and support her. Actually a wife will sometimes be better qualified than her husband to become successfully established and the couple should have the opportunity to come to Canada on the basis of her qualifications.” The 1970 report called for a gender neutral immigration selection process and the recognition of female qualifications as equal participants in Canadian society and its economy. Florence Bird (Chairman), Jacques Henripin, John P. Humphrey, Lola M. Lange, Jeanne Lapointe, Elsie Gregory MacGill, Doris Ogilvie, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada* (Ottawa: Information Canada, Crown Copyrights reserved, 1970), 359 & 360. Chapter 8, “Immigration and Citizenship” (357-364), provides figures and information on female immigrants and admission classes, marital status, and intended occupations upon arrival in the late 1960s. There is a decent body of literature on female emigrants to Canada in the nineteenth century. See Marilyn Barber, *Immigrant Domestic Servants in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association – Canada’s Ethnic Groups Volume 16, 1991); Lisa Chilton, *Agents of Empire: British Female Migration to Canada and Australia, 1860-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007); and Jane Errington, *Emigrant Worlds and Transatlantic Communities: Migration to Upper Canada in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2007).



gender created opportunities that directed the course of West Indian emigration for future generations. These women worked within a migration paradigm from the Caribbean that was, and is, class-based and as Elizabeth M. Thomas-Hope argued, with a “deliberate selection” of male and female migrants to fill gendered and working-class occupations.<sup>764</sup> This created a “much greater mutual sense of social and economic independence of men and women in the lower classes as compared to the upper classes. This has allowed increased opportunities for individual migration as opposed to migration of the family unit.”<sup>765</sup> Lower class men, and most notably women, had more autonomy and independence in their desire and opportunity to emigrate. This explanation is telling in terms of gendered emigration from the Caribbean where between 25% and 46% of households were headed by women.<sup>766</sup> As Thomas-Hope asserted, “whether recognized as head of household or not, the lower-class women frequently assumes a large share, if not the sole responsibility for the welfare and economic support of the household.”<sup>767</sup> According to Gordon, “immigrant women tend to see migration as a means to improve their economic and social status.”<sup>768</sup> Black West Indian emigration, as argued here, was a means for socio-economic mobility. Makeda Silvera

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<sup>764</sup> For example: men working construction, transport or agriculture, and women as nurses or domestics. Elizabeth M. Thomas-Hope, *Warwick University Caribbean Studies: Explanation in Caribbean Migration: Perception and the Image: Jamaica, Barbados, St. Vincent* (London: The MacMillan Press, Ltd., 1992), 4. Marshall argued that “since 1960 and the movement to the metropolises, the movements seem to have been dominated by females,” as it was previously dominated by young males because of the labour needed – oil refineries, and the Panama Canal. Dawn Marshall, “A History of West Indian Migrations: Overseas Opportunities and ‘Safety-Valve’ Policies,” in *The Caribbean Exodus*, ed. Barry B. Levine (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1987), 28. Thomas-Hope argued in favour of the individual migrant history, stating that “migration behaviour is the product not only of international and national political economies, but of the particular location of the individual within that historical-structural framework.” Thomas-Hope, 9. Alan B. Simmons and Jean Pierre Guengant argued that historically, migration was male dominated, using the example of working class Jamaicans to the United Kingdom in the early 1950s, “although women often migrated independently as well.” There was a shift in the 1970s and 1980s where young women worked in service sector jobs and who later sponsored other family members. Alan B. Simmons and Jean Pierre Guengant, *Caribbean Exodus and the World System*, in *International Migration Systems: A Global Approach*, eds. Mary M. Kritiz, Lin Lean Lim, and Hania Zlotknik (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 99.

<sup>765</sup> Thomas-Hope, 4.

<sup>766</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>767</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>768</sup> Gordon, 121.

argued that West Indian women were “forced to emigrate as domestics as part of their strategy for economic survival.”<sup>769</sup> Goulda Kosack reiterated this claim of female migration in search of employment and noted that “emigration is an economic necessity...women do not migrate to escape second class or patriarchal dominance.”<sup>770</sup> Kosack’s statement that “patriarchal dominance” was not a reason for emigration is troublesome. One may argue, especially with the case of the colonial, racist, and patriarchal Caribbean society and its misogynist history of slavery, that in order for women to become financially independent and experience socio-economic upward mobility they had to escape the restrictive confines of a male-dominated society.

All classes of West Indian women emigrated as a means for economic independence, to support their families, and to flee the confines of an oppressive and patriarchal society. Thomas-Hope stated that the lower class woman in particular migrated in search of employment and upward mobility and she went abroad “in her own right and not simply as a dependent of the male migrant.”<sup>771</sup> While her work focused on a much more contemporary period – 1970s-1990s – her theories on gendered and class migration are applicable for the period studied for this dissertation. Her theoretical framework is advantageous in that it positions women as subjects, rather than objects of the state and of their male partners in the history of emigration from the West Indies. Thomas-Hope’s work addressed the agency of women, of Black West Indian women, and the power they held as catalysts and trailblazers

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<sup>769</sup> Makeda Silvera, *Silenced: Talks with working class Caribbean women about their lives and struggles as Domestic Workers in Canada (revised edition)*, (Toronto: Sister Vision: Black Women and Women of Colour Press, Canada, 1989), vii.

<sup>770</sup> The two categories of immigrant women: “those who joined spouses,” and “those who migrated, independently to find employment.” Gordon, 116. See Goulda Kosack, “Migrant Women: The Move to Western Europe – A Step Toward Emancipation,” *Race and Class* 17 (1976): 370-379.

<sup>771</sup> Thomas-Hope, 4. Many would argue that Canada was still an explicitly patriarchal society during the mid-twentieth century, but as Austin Clarke and Frances Henry will attest to later on in this chapter, Barbadians and West Indians saw that opportunities in Canada outweighed the discrimination and limited expectations they would have continued to face if they stayed in the Caribbean.

for the emigration of all Black West Indians. Women migrated first and subsequently brought other family members to join them.<sup>772</sup> As Emigrant Ambassadors, Black Barbadian and West Indian women spearheaded migration to Canada. They challenged the “White Canada” xenophobic barrier and helped in the migration to Canada of citizens of the Island and the region as a whole. They came to Canada under the Domestic Scheme, as nurses, educators, and skilled independent migrants.

### **The Domestic Scheme and the Nurses**

On February 28<sup>th</sup>, 1955, Canada’s Department of Citizenship and Immigration wrote of the Barbadian Government’s proposition for a Domestic Scheme partnership similar to the practice in the United Kingdom. The Department stated that it was ready to initiate a programme following the successful migration and integration of 200 female domestic workers to the United Kingdom.<sup>773</sup> Through correspondence with the British Colonial Office in London, it was clear that Canada was open to the “controlled” immigration of Barbadians. However, Canada also opposed the settlement of Barbadians to alleviate unemployment on

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<sup>772</sup> Thomas-Hope’s worked focused on the mid-1970s to the beginning of the 1990s, “but information pertaining to past migration from households refers back to the late-1950s, thus providing information spanning some thirty years.” *Ibid.*, 4 & 13. A feature of Canadian immigration of West Indians, was the “initial migration of women who then sponsor their spouses and fiancés” and children. Frances Henry, “Caribbean Migration to Canada: Prejudice and Opportunity,” in *The Caribbean Exodus*, ed. Barry B. Levine (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1987), 216. Anthony H. Richmond argued, “women were in the majority (of West Indian immigrants in Canada – sex ratio .83) and 71 per cent had arrived,” in the 1970s. He continued stating that the “occupational profile of West Indian women was closer to that of the female labour force as a whole, but they were less likely to be in clerical and sales and more likely to be in manufacturing (15 per cent compared with 8 per cent),” and “West Indian women earned less than men but did better, on the whole, when compared with other women, both immigrant and Canadian-born.” Anthony H. Richmond, *Immigration and Ethnic Conflict* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 1988), 89.

<sup>773</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 2, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Immigration Branch, Intradepartmental Correspondence; to Chief Operations Division, Ottawa; from A/Director, United Kingdom, February 28, 1955.

the Island. Frederick Hudd, official secretary to the office of the Canadian High Commission wrote in February 1955:<sup>774</sup>

I would like to emphasize that the Barbados Government fully realize that other people also have their employment problems and do not wish to suggest anything in the way of a mass migration, or indeed anything that would cause difficulties in Canada. However, they would welcome anything in the way of a controlled scheme, either for domestic workers or for any other category of emigrant and, naturally, we in the Colonial Office would be happy to see any such scheme inaugurated.<sup>775</sup>

Hudd's response revealed the Barbadian Government's supposed empathy for Canada's "employment problems." One may argue that he manipulated Barbados' diplomatic sentiment for restricted migration asserting that it was the Island Government's idea and not Canada's unwillingness and legislated xenophobia against opening its doors to Black Barbadians. The Canadian Government's "Proposal for Controlled Emigration from Barbados for Specified Types of Worker" reiterated this sentiment. With respect to controlled emigration and Barbados' diplomatic appeasement to discriminatory Canadian immigration legislation and ideological beliefs, Hudd proposed:

The Barbados Government fully realise that other countries have their own population problems, including housing and employment. They do not seek in any way to promote a mass emigration which will cause difficulty in the countries to which emigrants go. They do feel however, that their own problems could be alleviated if schemes could be arranged for the controlled emigration of different classes of persons. While they would not be unwilling for this controlled emigration to be permanent, they would be equally willing

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<sup>774</sup> Frederick Hudd was born in Bromley, Kent, England, and emigrated to Canada in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and joined the Canadian Expeditionary Forces during the First World War. Hudd "served as Canadian trade commissioner in New York from 1921 to 1934, when he became chief trade commissioner in London. After six months as acting High Commissioner in 1946, he transferred to external affairs and for nine years held the now-defunct post of official secretary to the office of the high commission." *The Montreal Gazette*, March 12, 1968.

<sup>775</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 2, Colonial Office, The Church House, Gt. Smith Street London, S.W.1. Letter from Frederick Hudd, Esq., C.B.E., February 24, 1955.

for it to be temporary and they would place no restrictions or obstacles in the way of Barbadians wishing to return to their Island after a period of years.<sup>776</sup>

In his proposal Hudd noted, “the vast majority of the [Barbadian] inhabitants are racially negroid but British by three centuries of tradition and culture,” and as per domestics and unemployment, “the need for outlets for emigration from Barbados is acute and the Island can produce a force of many hundreds of domestic servants, and a large number of semi-skilled or unskilled workers, as well as a smaller number of other workers with a secondary education.”<sup>777</sup> The proposal highlighted Barbadian officials’ willingness to compromise with Canadian authorities for the emigration of Barbadian women. The proposal provided a logical example of a desperate Canadian employment market and the domestic service industry. It also used an equally good example of how the Domestic Scheme worked in the United Kingdom for Barbadian female emigrants with the National Institute of House Workers (N.I.H.).<sup>778</sup> Therefore it was proposed that the Canadian Government give “sympathetic consideration to the above proposals.”<sup>779</sup> On September 13<sup>th</sup>, 1955, Pickersgill wrote to Moore informing him of the new Domestic Scheme and the

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<sup>776</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 2, *Proposal for Controlled Emigration from Barbados for Specified Types of Worker*, (n.d).

<sup>777</sup> Ibid. See Chapter Two for more on Black Barbadian British colonial identity.

<sup>778</sup> With respect to the Domestic Scheme in the United Kingdom, “the Barbados authorities propose to establish a training scheme, in co-operation with the British authorities, with a view to transporting to the United Kingdom a number of female domestic workers who have been partly trained in household duties in Barbados; the final training would be completed in the United Kingdom under the National Institute of House Workers, and at the completion of this training, they would be considered efficient for placement in British households and institutions, etc. for domestic duties.” The operation was successful and Canada decided to follow the British system: “It is anticipated that arrangements would be made, as a start, to ship some 200 female domestic workers to the United Kingdom, and it was felt that they could be readily absorbed into this country. The question was raised as to whether the Canadian government had any scheme comparable to the one now proposed by the United Kingdom, and if not, would the Canadian government favourably entertain a similar scheme.” LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 2, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Immigration Branch, Intradepartmental Correspondence; to Chief Operations Division, Ottawa; from A/Director, United Kingdom, February 28, 1955.

<sup>779</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 2, *Proposal for Controlled Emigration from Barbados for Specified Types of Worker*, 1955.

November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1955 arrival of the first group of Barbadian and Jamaican women.<sup>780</sup> Moore stated that the day “will always be a memorable day and year for [the NCA and Blacks] in Canada, and one which I hope will be remembered in the future with delight.”<sup>781</sup> In 1955, 75 domestic workers emigrated from Jamaica and 25 from Barbados and in both 1956 and 1957, respectively, a total of 80 (40 each year) trained domestics left Barbados. The Domestic Scheme was “implemented under the aegis of the Canadian government.”<sup>782</sup> The women selected for the Scheme “became eligible for permanent residence in Canada (irrespective of employment as a domestic) after the completion of one year’s service [and] were all selected through the Employment Exchange of the Labour Department.”<sup>783</sup> As a form of strategic foreign policy, the Barbadian and West Indian governments managed to use the Domestic Scheme, and Black Barbadian and West Indian women as agents, to push for liberalized immigration and circumvent discriminatory and racist ideology. However, through the objectification of their bodies and labour, these women faced several barriers to integration and acceptance and some suffered physical and sexual violence while in Canada.<sup>784</sup>

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<sup>780</sup> City of Toronto Archives, Donald Willard Moore Fonds, file 2, item 8, *Director's report on the occasion of welcoming to Canada the first contingent of 100 negro immigrant girls from Barbados and Jamaica*, Negro Citizenship Association, 3 November 1955.

<sup>781</sup> Ibid.

<sup>782</sup> BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1956 and 1957* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1959), 12. In 1955, 25 Barbadians were admitted to Canada for domestic service of the 100 quota set by Canada (75 from Jamaica). The Scheme was extended to other West Indian countries and totaled 280 by 1960, while Barbados’ quota was increased to 42 by 1959 and remained at that level until the Scheme ended. BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1954 and 1955* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1957), 26; LAC, RG 76, vol. 1241, file 5850-3-555, Immigration from Barbados, Household Services Workers, 1955. The Domestic quota from Barbados stayed at 40 a year for 1959, of a total of 200 domestics to Canada for all West Indian islands: 100 Jamaicans, 30 Trinidadians, 15 Vincentians, and 15 St. Lucians. LAC, RG 76, vol. 830, file 552-1-644, pt. 2, Letter to the Deputy Minister at the Department of Citizenship and Immigration from the Director, December 9, 1958.

<sup>783</sup> It was reported in the 1958 & 1959 Colonial Report that 83 domestics came to Canada under the Domestic Scheme during the two year period. While in 1960 and 1961, there were a total of 84 domestics. In both 1962 and 1963, 42 domestics left for Canada, respectively. BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1958 and 1959* (Barbados: Government Printing Office, 1961), 18; BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1960 and 1961* (Barbados: Government Printing Office, 1962), 15; BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1962 and 1963* (Barbados: Government Printing Office, 1965), 13.

<sup>784</sup> Silvera, 12.

The Domestic Scheme of 1955 “sought to transfer surplus labour from stagnant Caribbean countries to satisfy the need for cheap domestic labour in an expanding Canadian economy,” where these women were treated as “cheap, replaceable labour.”<sup>785</sup> It must also be noted that Canada only began to admit West Indian women as domestics once it became clear that British and European women could not be recruited to fill the labour demand for this type of work.<sup>786</sup> Despite the vital contributions to the welfare of the Canadian economy, and arguably to Canadian society as a whole, Silvera claims that the prejudice, sexism, and violence “imbedded within a system which thrives on the labour of women of colour from Third World countries, women who are brought to Canada to work virtually as legal slaves in the homes of both wealthy and middle class Canadian families,” was, and is, an injustice.<sup>787</sup> The class-based and racialized Canadian socio-economic system capitalized on the prejudiced and discriminatory ideology of Black female worth and human dignity. The Canadian Government supported the middle and upper class Canadian views on Black female labour and perpetuated their marginalization and mistreatment in society. The Black West Indian women under the Domestic Scheme, who found the work “unrewarding, the hours long and the salary inadequate,” attempted to use the inequitable system to their

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<sup>785</sup> Ibid., vi & vii. Silvera believed that oral histories on Domestic Workers from the West Indies “uncover a wealth of information about migration, about class, race and gender, and present to us much information that has not been previously recorded.” She also highlighted the “neglect of the contributions to the Canadian society of peoples of colour and in particular Black women.” The domestic workers have “played and are playing an important historical role in Canadian economic development as cheap labour to fill Canada’s labour shortage”. Ibid., viii & xi.

<sup>786</sup> I have to thank Dr. Margaret Kellow for suggesting to include this conclusion to support my argument.

<sup>787</sup> Ibid., 5. For more information on domestic labour from other “Third World” countries and the Live-in Caregivers Program, see Abigail B. Bakan and Daiva Stasiulis, eds., *Not one of the family: foreign domestic workers in Canada* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1997).; Rachel K. Brickner and Christine Straehle, “The missing link: Gender, immigration policy and the Live-in Caregiver Program in Canada,” *Policy and Society* 29 (2010): 309-320; Nona Grandea, *Uneven Gains: Filipina domestic workers in Canada* (Ottawa: The North-South Institute: Philippines-Canada Human Resource Development Program, 1996); Carole Pearson, “High Hopes Dashed,” *Our Times* 28 (2009): 10-13 & 15-17; Geraldine Pratt, *Working Feminism* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004).

advantage following the end of their one year contracts.<sup>788</sup> Many left domestic work after their contracts expired and enrolled in the Canadian education system in search of better and more meaningful employment; however, they experienced “downward mobility,” and found barriers to their integration into mainstream society due to their colour and racial discrimination.<sup>789</sup> Frances Henry argued that in addition to colour and racism as reasons for their “*downward* social mobility,” many of the women who came under the Scheme were of a “higher social status than is normally associated with domestic service,” but it was their only means to emigrate to Canada.<sup>790</sup> With a racist Canadian immigration policy and ideology, and the difficulty for untrained and unskilled persons to enter the country during the 1950s, “the scheme affords about the only opportunity for such young women (and their families) to enter Canada on a permanent basis.”<sup>791</sup>

While all classes of West Indian women emigrated throughout the Caribbean basin, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada during the twentieth century for socio-economic opportunity, the Domestic Scheme was arguably a West Indian middle class and higher social standing migratory movement. Ann Denis wrote of the added dimension of single educated female migrants and argued that “many unmarried women who were teachers, nurses, secretaries or clerks used this programme as a means of immigration.”<sup>792</sup> The women approved for the Scheme came from “lower middle” to “middle middle-class” standing in the West Indies with most women achieving a higher educational standard than

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<sup>788</sup> Silvera, 7.

<sup>789</sup> *Ibid.*, 7-8.

<sup>790</sup> Frances Henry, “The West Indian Domestic Scheme in Canada,” *Social and Economic Studies* 17 (1968): 83 & 88.

<sup>791</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>792</sup> Ann Denis, “Developing a Feminist Analysis of Citizenship of Caribbean Immigrant Women in Canada: Key Dimensions and Conceptual Challenges,” in *Women, Migration and Citizenship: Making Local, National and Transnational Connections*, eds. Evangelia Tastsoglou and Alexandra Dobrowolsky (Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006), 43.



what was needed to apply and be accepted for the Scheme.<sup>793</sup> Henry came to this conclusion following her supervision of sixty-one interviews of domestic workers through a 1965 pilot study at McGill University, conducted by a West Indian nurse trained in sociology. The study noted several of the women's reasons to emigrate including: "to better myself, advance, study"; "desire to travel, see another country"; "desire to get away from home conditions"; and the "desire to join relatives, friends."<sup>794</sup> It must be noted that according to Henry's study many of the women chose to migrate for a variety of reasons and not only for upward socio-economic mobility. Their cultural, social, and educational capital in the Caribbean allowed them to pursue further avenues for personal growth in Canada. The Emigrant Ambassador is the direct result of the application and selection of educated and opportunist Black Barbadian and West Indian women for the Scheme. Middle class values, and the capital procured from a middle class *habitus*, exposed some of the women to the "cosmopolitan values," worldview, and the socioeconomic opportunities available to educated women in industrialized nations such as Canada.<sup>795</sup> The female Emigrant Ambassadors, and their respective governments, used the working class underpinnings of the Scheme to facilitate the movement of upwardly mobile and educated middle class women. Through their temporary "de-skilling" or "downward mobility" as working class domestics in Canada, these Black West Indian women risked their lives and challenged the ideological myths of Black inferiority to prove that they, and their West Indian sisters and brothers, were

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<sup>793</sup> Henry, "The West Indian Domestic," 84.

<sup>794</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.

<sup>795</sup> Henry also cited boredom; the women's want for a change; no foreseeable future in the West Indies; and socio-economic betterment as reasons cited by the domestic workers as reasons for using the Domestic Scheme as a vehicle to enter Canada. *Ibid.* Meredith M. Gadsby cites the Barbadian Erma Loretta Gadsby's story of emigrating to Canada in the winter of 1967 and working as a domestics for two years. Loretta Gadsby's reason for entering into the Scheme and leaving Barbados was because she wanted to "see what the world had to offer." Meredith M. Gadsby, *Sucking Salt: Caribbean Women Writers, Migration, and Survival* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 2006). Also see chapter five of Gadsby's work, "Suck Coarse Salt: Caribbean Women Writers in Canada – Language, Location, and the Politics of Transcendence," for an analysis of Caribbean women writers in Canada.

worthy and equal partners in the betterment of Canadian society.<sup>796</sup> They did this not in a diplomatic boardroom, but in the heart of Canadian households. The women filled a subordinate role, but did not lose sight of who they were and why they chose and were chosen to come to Canada under the Scheme.

Despite the supposed benevolence of the Scheme and the positive opportunities for the West Indies and their people, Black West Indian women struggled to overcome seemingly insurmountable barriers as they faced exclusion and discrimination from a racist and xenophobic Canadian society. The women under the Scheme had high expectations prior to their arrival, but many were met with disappointment as the employment and the people they met in Canada, were cold, unforgiving, and deceitful.<sup>797</sup> The women were subject to racial, housing, and employment discrimination and experienced “outgroup hostility” – the strong distrust and non-acceptance of and by the Canadian population.<sup>798</sup> The women did have much better opportunities in Canada, but “for many the denial of civil rights...tarnished [their] experiences.”<sup>799</sup> As Agnes Calliste stated, Blacks, and Black women, lived and worked under a system of “racism, gendered racism and immigrant/migrant status [that] interacted with class exploitation.”<sup>800</sup> Their immigrant status,

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<sup>796</sup> Yvonne Bobb-Smith wrote of the “de-skilling” of West Indian nurses due to discriminatory and racist immigration policy and the Black women’s treatment by healthcare institutions. Yvonne Bobb-Smith, *I know Who I am: A Caribbean Woman’s Identity in Canada* (Toronto: Women’s Press, an imprint of Canadian Scholars’ Press Inc., 2003), 8.

<sup>797</sup> Henry, “The West Indian Domestic,” 86.

<sup>798</sup> *Ibid.*, 86-87.

<sup>799</sup> Denis, 43.

<sup>800</sup> Gendered racism according to Agnes Calliste is described as “the racial oppression of racial/ethnic minority women and men as structured by historically situated racist perceptions of gender roles and behaviour.” See below for full citation (the quote is also from page 143 of her article). Agnes Calliste’s article also focuses on Black men working on the Canadian railways in the “submerged split labour market,” and argued that portering – Black men working for railway companies as marginalized and subservient help – was the male equivalent to females working as domestic servants. Calliste argued that it “reinforced relationships of white superiority that had been established by slavery” in a Canadian society where Black men could only get employment as porters and women as domestics, and “roles ascribed to Black women and men did not change much from the 1700s (during slavery in Canada) to the 1900s.” The porter, and the domestic servant, perpetuated the malicious image of Black servitude created during slavery. The image in Canadian society of the Black man and woman

their racialized phenotype, and their objectified gender, confined them to a marginalized space in Canadian society; they were unable to remove the shackles of oppression and discrimination despite their desire and qualifications for upward mobility. Henry argued that the Scheme deterred integration into mainstream Canadian society.<sup>801</sup> Calliste further problematized the Black woman's marginalization to the Canadian periphery and postulated that the way in which the Canadian Government granted landed immigrant status to women under the Scheme "was highly indicative of racist factors that suggested that Caribbean women would most likely remain permanently as domestics."<sup>802</sup> Similar to Yvonne Bobb-Smith's position on the "de-skilling" of Black West Indian women involved in the Scheme, the Black woman's place in Canada was defined to be one of subjugation and servitude. Barbadian commentators at the time had difficulty evaluating the Scheme since it had both positive and negative attributes and outcomes.

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during the twentieth century was a reified ideology of the debasement and negative connotations of Black identity and the historical legacy of slavery. The porter and the domestic servant maintained the structures of binary race- and class-based Black/White relations in Canadian society. Agnes Calliste, "Nurses and Porters: Racism, Sexism and Resistance in Segmented Labour Markets," in *Anti-Racist Feminism: Critical Race and Gender Studies*, eds. Agnes Calliste and George J. Sefa Dei (with the assistance of Margarida Aguiar) (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Fenwood Publishing Company Limited, 2000), 143 & 152. Denis also argued that domestic workers, nannies, and caregivers were, and are, subject to gendered immigration policy. She believed that their work was not given extra consideration even if their labour was in high demand, as they "were never given additional points as occupations in which there was a shortage." Following reforms of the Scheme in the 1960s, Denis argued against the inequitable treatment of female applicants, believing "a sexist, racist and classist consequence is that most applicants are not admitted as independent immigrants, but in a category of *temporary* employment authorization." Denis, 42. See also Sedef Arat-Koc, "Gender and Race in 'Non-discriminatory' Immigration Policies in Canada: 1960s to the Present," in *Scratching the Surface: Canadian Anti-Racist Feminist Thought*, eds. Enakshi Dua and Angela Robertson (Toronto: Women's Press, 1999), 207-233.

<sup>801</sup> Henry, "The West Indian Domestic," 88. Calliste states that Canadian immigration officials perceived Black men and women as inferior, and only allowed for the entry to those "whose services in urgent demand." Calliste, "Nurses and Porters," 150.

<sup>802</sup> Bobb-Smith, 8. See Agnes Calliste, "Canada's immigration policy and the domestics from the Caribbean: The second domestic scheme," *Race, Class, Gender: Bonds and Barriers. Socialist Studies: A Canadian Annual* 5 (1989): 133-165. Although outside of the timeline and scope of this dissertation, once Caribbean women began to dominate the Domestic Workers Scheme and demanded fairer treatment, the Canadian state removed their guarantee of automatic landed immigrant status to a more temporary and precarious arrangement.

The distinguished Barbadian-Canadian writer, Austin Clarke, commented on the condition of female domestics in Barbados' *The Advocate*.<sup>803</sup> In Mitchie Hewitt's, "Canada Offers Domestic Chance for Improvement," in the May 21<sup>st</sup>, 1967 edition of *The Advocate*, Clarke was quoted as saying, "for Barbadian girls, far removed from the domestic class, this is an outlet and eagerly grasped as when the year's contract is complete there [sic] are free to seek other employment and to reside permanently in Canada."<sup>804</sup> Similar to Britain's Domestic Scheme mentioned earlier in this chapter and the discussion on Barbadian emigration in Chapter Three, Barbadian women and the Government of Barbados understood the restrictive nature of gendered and racist international migration. As Emigrant Ambassadors facilitated by their government, overqualified Barbadian women – those deemed unsuitable and undesirable for traditional immigration policy categories based on an arbitrary construction of "merit" and assimilability due to their skin colour – triumphed above both racialized and gendered structures and used the Scheme as a vehicle for migration. The penalty was one year's service as a domestic servant, but they could then utilize their skills, training, and education in Canada as permanent residents. As argued and reiterated by Clarke, the majority of female emigrants were not domestics through training and as their profession. Clarke stated, "...the Barbadian girls can survive, and be far better off than if they remained at home, and ready to take advantage of the opportunities which

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<sup>803</sup> Austin Ardinel Chesterfield Clarke, born July 26<sup>th</sup>, 1932 and migrated to Canada in 1955, published a "remarkable output of novels and short stories." Clarke wrote novels that dealt "mainly with the experiences of Caribbean immigrants to Canada and he has managed to mix the Bajan dialect with formal English in a most effective manner." He was Writer-in-Residence at several institutions including the University of Western Ontario, the University of Toronto, Duke University and Yale University. Clarke has received "honorary doctorates from Brock University, Trinity College in the University of Toronto, the University of the West Indies and York University." He also received the Order of Canada in 1998. *Some Barbadian Canadians: A Biographical Dictionary* (Ottawa: The High Commission for Barbados to Canada, 2010), 55. See Chapter Two for more on Clarke.

<sup>804</sup> Mitchie Hewitt, "Canada Offers Domestic Chance for Improvement," *The Advocate*, May 21, 1967.

exist in Canada.”<sup>805</sup> He asserted “if our girls go to Canada as domestics, there is nothing in the world to prevent them from qualifying for good positions during their period of working.”<sup>806</sup> Again, and acknowledging Clarke’s patriarchal language, Barbadian women and their government clearly knew how to circumvent Canada’s restrictive immigration policy and use it to their advantage. Female domestics and the Government of Barbados knew that they had to devalue themselves as proud and educated women. Canadian immigration called for the perpetuation of Black female gendered and racialized stereotypes; however, Barbadian women knew that following their period of indentureship they were free to become (and became) contributing members of Canadian society as Canadian citizens. Barbadians were and are socially mobile and transnational opportunists. More importantly, Barbadian women suffered at the hands of an abusive, racist and sexist Canadian society for the good of themselves and their country. Similar to race, gender played an important role in the history of Barbadian emigration to Canada.

Clarke was quick to buffer his overwhelming positivity for Barbadian women in Canada as domestics and admitted, “Let there be no mistake about it. Canada is a tough place for the Coloured West Indian.”<sup>807</sup> However, he believed “the privations which the Barbadian will be called upon to endure [her] first few months are nothing to compare with the financial and other benefits which will accrue later.”<sup>808</sup> He also offered some insight to the Canadian class struggles and ideas of Whiteness that many Barbadians may not have experienced on the Island. He stated, “Canada is a white man’s country with the whites doing from menial to executive jobs.”<sup>809</sup> The Clarke interview revealed the need for more

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<sup>805</sup> *The Advocate*, May 21, 1967.

<sup>806</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>807</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>808</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>809</sup> *Ibid.*

involvement by the Government of Barbados during the late 1960s, or continued and sustained involvement, of sponsoring and training emigrants to fit the needs of the Canadian labour market and economy. Hewitt wrote, “now that Canada is opening her doors to skilled West Indians everything should be done by the Barbadian Government to train them in the skills which are needed.”<sup>810</sup> That being said, Canadian officials argued that the new immigration regulations of 1962 rendered the Domestic Scheme obsolete. They underscored the liberalization of immigration policy and the possibility of the acceptance of domestic workers through the immigrant stream as long as they met the selection criteria. By October 1967 and following the implementation of the Points System, “it was felt that the special movement could no longer be justified as it would run counter to the principle of universality embodied in the Regulations. Consequently, the various governments concerned were informed of our decision to the special movement in 1968.”<sup>811</sup> Canadian officials repealed the Domestic Scheme but did not address nor ameliorate the gendered divisions of their immigration policy; xenophobia and discrimination towards Black West Indian women and men persisted throughout Canadian society.

Why would Canadian immigration officials and Canadian society as a whole allow Black immigration at all if it was supposedly such a detriment to the morals and beliefs of its citizens and the “White Canada” social fabric? If Black men and women violated the sanctity of Whiteness, why not eliminate the Scheme, the cases of “exceptional merit,” and bar the temporary or permanent settlement of all non-Whites? Cheap and racialized immigrant labour built Canada.<sup>812</sup> Black West Indian women were a product of a capitalist

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<sup>810</sup> Ibid.

<sup>811</sup> LAC, RG 76, vol. 1241, file 5850-3-555, Immigration from Barbados, Household Services Workers, 1955.

<sup>812</sup> Immigrant Chinese labour was at the forefront of the construction of the railway that connected Canada from “sea-to-sea” in the late nineteenth century, while immigrant Black labour catered to the whims and needs of its White Canadian passengers. Maria Castagna and George J. Sefa Dei argued it was “impossible to secure

Canadian and Western ideological belief that the “Other” – the groups that build, support, and maintain society – should be marginalized, hidden, and discarded once their services are no longer needed. Similar to the Chinese labour on the railroad and West Indian Blacks in Sydney Nova Scotia’s coal industry, the Black West Indian woman’s worth was tied to whether her labour was needed and whether society could accept and control her being, her physical presence in Canada, and her “otherness.”<sup>813</sup> This extended beyond Black women as domestic servants, but also to the many Black nurses admitted in the 1950s and 1960s. The women were allowed entry only if hospital staff and their employers were “aware of their racial origin,” and if they earned the ubiquitous moniker of “exceptional merit” by possessing qualifications “that exceeded those of white nurses.”<sup>814</sup> Jamaican-born registered nurse Beatrice Adassa Massop was forced to wait 14 months as she attempted to convince Canadian immigration officials that hers was a case of “exceptional merit.”<sup>815</sup> On October 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1952, Massop was the first West Indian nurse to seek assistance from Moore and the NCA.<sup>816</sup> After the first letter written from Jamaica in October 1952, it took the efforts of

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(cheap) white labour.” Maria Castagna and George J. Sefa Dei, “An Historical Overview of the Application of the Race Concept in Social Practice,” in *Anti-Racist Feminism: Critical Race and Gender Studies*, eds. Agnes Calliste and George J. Sefa Dei (with the assistance of Margarida Aguiar) (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Fenwood Publishing Company Limited, 2000), 33. For other works on immigrant labour, race, and Canadian nation-building, see Michel S. Beaulieu, *Labour at the Lakehead: Ethnicity, Socialism, and Politics, 1900-1935* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011); Donica Belisle, *Retail Nation: Department Stores and the Making of Modern Canada 1870-1955* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010); John Price, *Orienting Canada: Race, Empire, and the Transpacific* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011).

<sup>813</sup> Castagna and Dei also tie in the issue of climate discrimination – the illogical, and comical, excuse that Blacks were physically “unsuited” for the Canadian climate – that was used to deny them entry on Canadian soil. She stated, “Some Caribbean Blacks were allowed entrance to work in Sydney, Nova Scotia’s steel plant’s coke ovens because, in addition to labour concerns, it was presumed that they would withstand the hot coke ovens better than whites.” Castagna and Dei, 32-33.

<sup>814</sup> Calliste, “Nurses and Porters”, 150. Denis footnoted Dionne Brand who stated, “The majority of Black women in Canada (irrespective of their place of birth), “were excluded from the white women’s traditional occupations of clerical, secretarial and sales work until the late sixties and seventies.” Denis, 89. See Dionne Brand, “Black Women and Work,” in *Scratching the Surface: Canadian Anti-Racist Feminist Thought*, eds. Enakshi Dua and Angela Robertson (Toronto: Women’s Press, 1999), 83-96.

<sup>815</sup> Karen Flynn, “I’m Glad That Someone is Telling the Nursing Story’: Writing Black Canadian Women’s History,” *Journal of Black Studies* 38 (2008): 445.

<sup>816</sup> Moore, 139.

Moore, Massop, and the NCA until December 15<sup>th</sup>, 1953 for her to arrive in Toronto.<sup>817</sup> Moore was pleased by the July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1952 House of Commons announcement by Walter Harris, the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, to the changes to West Indian immigration policy and the implementation of cases of “exceptional merit”; however, even though Massop was offered a position at Mount Sinai Hospital in Toronto, her application was rejected by A.D. Adamson, the Immigration Inspector-in-charge in Toronto, and told “you do not come within the classes of persons admissible to Canada.”<sup>818</sup> Following a rejected appeal, Moore wrote directly to the Minister and Massop was deemed “exceptional” and Harris personally granted her entry.<sup>819</sup> Without the cordial and professional relationship established by Moore and the NCA with Harris and the Canadian Government, it is quite plausible that Massop would have succumbed to the arbitrary nature of the new “liberalized” immigrant class of “exceptional merit.”<sup>820</sup>

Despite the triumph of Massop, nurses from the West Indies continued to face restrictions and delays in their applications. Gloria Ramsay, the first Black Barbadian nurse

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<sup>817</sup> Ibid.

<sup>818</sup> Ibid., 141.

<sup>819</sup> Ibid.

<sup>820</sup> Moore and the NCA presented a brief to Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent as a part of a delegation to Ottawa, April 27<sup>th</sup>, 1954. Moore read the brief to Harris that outlined issues with Canadian immigration policy in regards to the unfair and unequal treatment of West Indian applicants including climate discrimination, differential immigration policy towards Black British subjects, the fallacy that Black West Indians could not assimilate to Canadian society, the lack of sponsorship possibilities by close relatives already in Canada since the state deliberately barred Black immigration throughout its history, and “cases of exceptional merit.” Harris acknowledged Moore’s position prior to his replacement as Minister of Immigration by J.W. Pickersgill. Ibid., 110-114. Upon his appointment Pickersgill replied to Moore, “I wish to assure you that we are always prepared to consider any individual cases which appear to have outstanding merit...In considering cases of exceptional merit, we give consideration to humanitarian and compassionate grounds, and to any special qualifications which an applicant may have.” Ibid., 120. Moore also had a good relationship with W.R. Baskerville, the District Superintendent of Immigration in the Department of Citizenship & Immigration in 1952. After numerous correspondences with Baskerville and meeting in May 1952, Moore recalled that “meeting with Mr. Baskerville forever broke the barrier of formality and prejudicial coverup [sic] which were always prominent in refusing applications.” Ibid., 96. Moore and the NCA had set the professional, authoritative, yet respectable tone with the Canadian Government to seek equity and justice. Moore wrote that “I had established such a rapport with the Immigration Department that I was able to phone [Baskerville] in Ottawa to explain any case which had created a problem in Toronto. Furthermore, I could phone the Hon. J.W. Pickersgill, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration on any urgent matter, and be treated with the same courtesy.” Ibid., 99.



in Canada, followed a similar seven months struggle which began in May 1954 and ended with her arrival as the second West Indian nurse to work at Mount Sinai on December 29<sup>th</sup>, 1954.<sup>821</sup> Pearl Thompson, another Barbadian nurse, experienced a year-long wait.<sup>822</sup> In his memoir Moore recalled, “I was aware that despite the ‘exceptional merit’ clause under which the nurses were admitted, future applicants would still encounter problems.”<sup>823</sup> Gloria Baylis, a Barbadian registered nurse trained in England, experienced arguably one of the most publicized incidents of overt racial discrimination.<sup>824</sup> Baylis submitted an application to the Queen Elizabeth Hotel in Montréal operated by Hilton Canada Ltd. in 1964 for one of the two vacant positions for graduate nurses. She was told that the positions had been filled, but upon further investigation the information she was given was deemed to be false and that she was denied the job because she was Black. With the help of the NCA and after a thirteen year battle, the Appeal Court ruled against Hilton stating that it violated its “general policy of non-discrimination.”<sup>825</sup> The arbitrary nature of “exceptional” status did not guarantee a fair or equitable review of Black West Indian applications and the NCA worked feverishly to assist as many nursing applicants as they could.<sup>826</sup> Moore and the NCA’s assistance was entirely voluntary; the Canadian organization only expected the nurses to act as ambassadors and follow the NCA’s official motto of its dedication to the making “of a better Canadian citizen.”<sup>827</sup> Nevertheless, racialized institutional structures in Canada remained barriers to the successful and equal integration of Black Barbadian and West Indian nurses.

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<sup>821</sup> Ibid., 145.

<sup>822</sup> Ibid.

<sup>823</sup> Ibid., 144.

<sup>824</sup> Françoise Baylis, “Black As Me: Narrative Identity,” *Developing World Bioethics* 3 (2003): 145.

<sup>825</sup> “Hilton nicked for 1964 race bias,” *The Montreal Star*, January 25, 1977.

<sup>826</sup> The NCA assisted over 50 applicants with the same effort as they did Massop, Ramsay, and Thompson. Moore, 150.

<sup>827</sup> Ibid., 89 & 146.

Calliste noted this “differential immigration policy,” which “reinforced black nurses’ subordination within a racialized and gendered nursing labour force.”<sup>828</sup> Black West Indian nurses and nursing students wanting to migrate to Canada between 1950 and 1962 faced racial, gendered, and class discrimination as opposed to the permanent settlement of White emigrant nurses.<sup>829</sup> While the Canadian Nurses’ Association publicly denounced any forms of discrimination for enrollment in nursing schools, “some nursing directors were complicit in supporting the exclusionary policies,” of the Canadian state.<sup>830</sup> This practice follows Laura Madokoro’s position noted in Chapter Four of the relationship between personal and institutionalized racism. In this case the nursing directors circumvented the open declaration of non-discriminatory practices in their field and displayed their own personal anti-Black sentiments. Karen Flynn’s article, “‘I’m Glad That Someone is Telling the Nursing Story’: Writing Black Canadian Women’s History,” reiterated Calliste’s sentiment and argued that Canadian nursing school directors painstakingly tried to find ways to prove that Black West Indian nurses were poor workers and not “exceptional” in order to bar further applicants on supposedly non-racist grounds.<sup>831</sup> Directors and immigration officials openly discriminated against both Black Canadian and Black West Indian immigrant nurses and potential nursing candidates. Black Canadian female applicants were “encouraged” to apply to train in the United States.<sup>832</sup> Nursing was one of the few occupations of prestige for Black women in the mid-twentieth century and these women fought to become “agents of their own destinies.”<sup>833</sup> Nevertheless, due to their colour and not their qualifications, Black nurses in Canada

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<sup>828</sup> Agnes Calliste, “Women of Exceptional Merit: Immigration of Caribbean Nurses to Canada,” *Canadian Journal of Women and Law* 6 (1993): 85.

<sup>829</sup> Ibid.

<sup>830</sup> Flynn, 447.

<sup>831</sup> Ibid., 448.

<sup>832</sup> Ibid., 447. In 1947 Frieda Parker Steele and Cecile Wright Lemon were the third and fourth Black students to train as nurses at the Hôtel Dieu of the St. Joseph School of Nursing in Windsor. Ibid., 443.

<sup>833</sup> Ibid., 444 & 449.

occupied a subordinate position in the Canadian workforce.<sup>834</sup> Racism dictated their socio-economic marginalization.

When one eliminates the illogical fallacy of race and primordial attachment, Black West Indian women and their male counterparts, were the best suited emigrants from the Economic South or “Third World” to assimilate to Canadian society. Education in their native English language gave them the advantage and knowledge of one of Canada’s official languages.<sup>835</sup> This was most apparent following the introduction of the Points System in 1967; however, as stated in Chapter Two and Chapter Four, the legacy of slavery and colonialism created inseparable political, ideological, and imperial links between the Barbadian, West Indian, and Canadian people. Many women and men who entered to study in Canada during the 1960s integrated quite well to Canadian society and Canadian values and remained in the country as landed immigrants and permanent residents after the completion of their academic studies. Ann Denis described emigrants from the West Indies as “atypical” since they did not fit the norm of the “inassimilable” immigrant category. They were also atypical because women were in the majority among “independent immigrants” due to the emigration of nurses and domestic workers.<sup>836</sup> Denis’ assessment is quite interesting when compared to Franca Iacovetta’s work on the “typical” working class peasant female Italian immigrant in Canada during the 1950s in “From Contadina to Woman

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<sup>834</sup> Calliste also believed that the Canadian Government accepted a small number of Caribbean nurses as a way to appease Caribbean people for overarching discriminatory immigration policies, and also for Canada to maintain good economic and trade relations in the region. Calliste, “Women of Exceptional Merit”, 86 & 88. There were four immigration categories for foreign nurses to be accepted under: 1. Registered Nurses (graduate) – would receive landed immigrant status; 2. Nurses needing the obstetrics course – would receive a student visa and landed immigrant status following the completion of their course; 3. Nursing Students – those enrolled in school and would receive landed immigrant status following the completion of their studies; 4. Nursing Assistant Students – would receive temporary worker status. *Ibid.*, 94-95. Elyse Dodgson argued that Black women were seen as perfect for service in nursing because of their supposed servile slave nature and colonial past. Elyse Dodgson, *Motherland: West Indian Women to Britain in the 1950s* (Oxford: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1984), 33.

<sup>835</sup> Denis, 44.

<sup>836</sup> *Ibid.*

Worker.”<sup>837</sup> As a mere handful (only 25 Black Barbadian women out of a total of 100 Black West Indians – Jamaicans – were accepted under the Domestic Scheme in 1955) of Black West Indian women fought for admission to Canada through the Domestic Scheme and cases of “exceptional merit” during the 1950s, more than 81,000 adult Italian women emigrated to Canada during this same period, which accounted for 30% of all Italian migrants.<sup>838</sup> The Canadian or Italian governments did not provide settlement or employment services for the women as they were expected to remain the charges of their husbands and “had obtained low levels of formal education and possessed few marketable skills for an industrial economy.”<sup>839</sup> In addition to the foreign language barrier stated by Barbados’ Prime Minister Errol Barrow noted in Chapter Four, Canada deemed that the English-speaking, educated, skilled, and middle class “atypical” Black West Indian was the immigrant class that had to show their “exceptionalities” for acceptance as compared to the peasant class of Italian migrants. Furthermore, the independent nature of the Autonomous Bajan’s decision to emigrate and settle in Canada without the support of her husband or family was juxtaposed to the Italian story during the 1950s where “women were generally denied a formal voice in the decision of the family to emigrate.”<sup>840</sup> Black West Indian female migrants challenged the structures of a gendered immigration system and a racist Canadian society during the 1950s, while the dependent condition of Italian immigrant women in Canada reaffirmed preconceived stereotypes and prejudices. Both Italian and Black West Indian women were employed in domestic service and confined to gendered forms of labour; however, the latter did not fall victim to a paternalistic family sphere where “paid employment [was] an empowering

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<sup>837</sup> Franca Iacovetta, “From Contadina to Woman Worker,” in *The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada: Essential Readings*, ed. Barrington Walker (Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press Inc., 2008), 250-263.

<sup>838</sup> *Ibid.*, 251.

<sup>839</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>840</sup> *Ibid.*, 255.

experience for immigrant women who might otherwise have been isolated in their homes.”<sup>841</sup> Many Black West Indian women were the heads of their households and sponsored their husbands. Black female self-empowerment characterized her “atypical” immigrant condition and this study argues that Black West Indian women and men were the prototypical immigrant that Canadian society needed and should have desired. It was the nefarious and illogically destructive concept of race and negrophobia that circumvented sound socio-economic reasoning for the settlement of more Black West Indians as opposed to the typical “inassimilable” White, anti-democratic, non-Protestant, non-English-speaking migrant that Canada preferred during the early to mid-twentieth century.

This paradox of hypocrisy defined the geographical and ideological space that Black West Indian women navigated. They defined their agency through the structure of White male patriarchy and “had to endure what has been referred to as the triple oppression of race, sex, and class: West Indian women *as a group* have, in other words, had to resist racism, sexism and class domination.”<sup>842</sup> It was the women who faced the day-to-day discrimination and exclusion and it was the individual that stood up for her rights and advocated for fairness and equality. As one female West Indian emigrant in the United Kingdom stated, “I think most of the women who came over are really strong. Most of them came on their own, some came before husbands or fiancés came to join them. I think they were really wonderful.

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<sup>841</sup> Ibid., 261. This is a good comparison in terms of categories of labour since manufacturing and domestic service were the two largest employers of European immigrant women in Canada in 1961 and most Black West Indian in Canada came under the Domestic Scheme or as nurses of “exceptional merit.” Of the 28% of European immigrants employed in service work, approximately 75% were domestic servants. Ibid., 259.

<sup>842</sup> Dodgson, 63. Dodgson’s book is an excellent work of firsthand accounts on the emigration, reception, living conditions, racism, child-rearing, discrimination, and gendered/family divisions of West Indian women in Britain. The book includes discussion points and comprehensive scenarios for the reader to emphasize and understand their life experiences. It is an interactive book that includes the script of the play of the same name, *Motherland: West Indian Women to Britain in the 1950s*.

They came here, they coped and they are still coping.”<sup>843</sup> The previous excerpt captured in Elyse Dodgson’s comprehensive and insightful oral history, *Motherland: West Indian Women to Britain in the 1950s*, is a testament to the strong will and perseverance of Emigrant Ambassadors. The female migrant was the trailblazer for West Indian emigration and challenged the added barrier of colour-blind sexism and gender inequality in Western industrialized nations. The women understood the confines of their race, but most notably their gender and challenged the hegemony of male power. One West Indian woman reclaimed the power of her sex while staying true to her West Indian identity and stated, “I think in every race it’s always the woman who holds things together. The woman does everything. She plans, she decides when they should buy a house, she decides the school the kids should go to, and she has retained all her West Indianness.”<sup>844</sup> Black West Indian women stood firm and attempted to wield their agentic power in the face of atrocious racial and sexual discrimination in the United Kingdom and Canada. However, their collected voices were muted and as Silvera argued specifically in regards to domestic workers in Canada, “their silence is a result of a society which uses power and powerlessness as weapons to exclude non-white and poor people from any real decision making.”<sup>845</sup> The marginalization and objectification of Black West Indian women in Canadian society challenged their civil and human rights; they were confined to a space where their labour and their bodies were exploited, violated, and disposed. Silvera’s book, *Silenced: Talks with working class Caribbean women about their lives and struggles as Domestic Workers in*

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<sup>843</sup> Ibid., 65. Dodgson stated, “The accounts you are about to read are taken from interviews with twenty-three West Indian women who live in the community surrounding Vauxhall Manor School in south London,” including Marlene Shory, who “came from Barbados in 1960 for better working opportunities.” Ibid., 2.

<sup>844</sup> Ibid., 65.

<sup>845</sup> Silvera, 12.

*Canada*, explored the lives and struggles of these women and told their stories, in their own words. According to Silvera:

The West Indian women talk about their lives as domestic workers in Canada, the bitter-sweet memories of family back home, the frustration of never having enough money and the humiliation of being a legal slave. They tell of working overtime for no pay, of sharing their rooms usually with a baby or the family pet, of shaking off the sexual advances of their male employer, and in the case of Hyancith (a domestic worker), of being raped. They talk about the experience of being manipulated and degraded by female employers. Although their cries are usually ones of despair at their isolation, they also talk about their lives as mothers and daughters and about continued visions of hope for the future.<sup>846</sup>

As Silvera notes, the domestic worker was a “legal slave”; a woman bound by the racist and sexist confines of Canadian immigration and the impunity of their male and female employers. Her safety and immigrant status perched precariously on her acquiescence, silence, and acceptance of unbridled power and physical and emotional violence. Hyancith’s rape, and her treatment following the assault, was a telling example of the nefarious power relations involved in domestic work.<sup>847</sup> Hyancith’s story, and the other victims of harassment and assault, is one of difficulty and pain, but her perseverance is telling of the struggles Black West Indian women faced upon their arrival in Canada. Hyancith described her first unexpected encounter with sexual harassment by her male employer in Canada: “The first week I walked into the house the man start to bother me and want sex. I was frighten like a mouse, I didn’t really expect that.”<sup>848</sup> The male adulterer manipulated her position as a domestic and used his power, as the one responsible for her wages and subsequent financial stability in Canada, to coerce her into sex. Hyancith stated, “I remember him telling me that if I had sex with him he would raise my pay. I tell him that I couldn’t do that because he was

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<sup>846</sup> Ibid.

<sup>847</sup> All the names from Silvera’s book – Hyancith, Irma, and Primrose – were pseudonyms.

<sup>848</sup> Silvera, 55.

married and his wife was upstairs.”<sup>849</sup> She was physically powerless to his advances. He understood his power and impunity in the face of her silenced subaltern position status as a Black immigrant woman bound by the insecurity of her place in Canada. The marginalized and vulnerable position of the domestic worker – not protected by laws and enforced legislation, but by the private and arbitrary authoritarian rule of individual employers – allowed for some of the most heinous violations of human and civil rights. Faced with no place to run, Hyancith had no other choice but to accept her pending fate.

The more I fight the more he seem to enjoy it, so after a while I just lie down quiet and let him finish. After he finish he jump off me, spit on the floor and tell me if I tell his wife or anybody he would see that they send me back to St. Lucia or that I go to jail. I was really frightened. I really believe that I could get locked up. For what I don’t know. It happened again seven or eight other times. I was just scared to say anything to anybody, further I didn’t know where to turn to. I didn’t know anybody here.<sup>850</sup>

Hyancith later told Immigration officials about her harassment, assaults, and rapes. The officials contacted the family and the wife reacted by blaming her for the entire ordeal. Hyancith remembered that the wife was “telling me that is me bring sex argument to her husband, and that we ‘nigger girls’ are good for nothing else.”<sup>851</sup> The rapist’s wife stood by his side claiming the sexually deviant “nigger girl,” whom they hired to care for their children, was at fault for her own brutalization. Iacovetta argued that post-war Black West Indian women were stereotyped as “sexually promiscuous single mothers,” and eroticized in a “racist, class-based, and heterosexist paradigm” in Canadian society.<sup>852</sup> The sexual objectification of Black immigrant women in Canada is not surprising when analyzing the

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<sup>849</sup> Ibid., 56.

<sup>850</sup> Ibid.

<sup>851</sup> Ibid., 57. Hyancith packed her things and left that same night and stayed with a friend.

<sup>852</sup> Franca Iacovetta, “Recipes for Democracy? Gender, Family, and Making Female Citizens in Cold War Canada,” *Canadian Woman Studies* 20 (2000): 12.



work of Mariana Valverde. Valverde's work focused on early twentieth century Canada; however, it is useful to contextualize the historical place of Black immigrant women in Canada. In "Racial Purity, Sexual Purity, and Immigration Policy," Valverde argued that Blacks were undesirable immigrants "because they were 'savages', that is, people who could not control their sexual desires and were thus unlikely to lead orderly and civilized lives."<sup>853</sup> Controlling sexual desire was supposedly a British-Canadian trait that supported early twentieth century Canadian nation-building and the state's immigration policy.<sup>854</sup> It was a civilizing characteristic absent from Hyancith's rapist, but justified his innocence and her guilt. Canadian society changed immensely during the period studied by Valverde and that of this dissertation; however, preconceived and misguided negative stereotypes of Black female identity and sexuality made it much easier for the White employers to blame Hyancith. Whether it was 1905 or 1965, Hyancith was still treated as a sexual deviant. This Black West Indian woman could not escape her racialized and sexually objectified identity despite the fact that she was the victim and the husband was clearly at fault. Her race, gender, class, and immigrant status in Canada facilitated her victimization.

Hyancith's abuse was not an isolated incident. Silvera's book included Irma and her attempted rape and constant sexual harassment by her employer's brother.<sup>855</sup> Her employer knew of the sexual harassment, but did nothing about it. Irma described the attempted rape:

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<sup>853</sup> Mariana Valverde, "Racial Purity, Sexual Purity, and Immigration Policy," in *The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada: Essential Readings*, ed. Barrington Walker (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press Inc., 2008), 175.

<sup>854</sup> *Ibid.*, 175-176. Valverde reproduced a statement by Rev. S.D. Chown, the head of the Methodist Church and a key social activist who told his followers to not "dribble away the vitality of our own country in a vain endeavour to assimilate the world's non-adjustable, profligate, and indolent parasites." *Ibid.*, 176. Valverde argued that Blacks were included as "parasites" and that the text from Chown showed the taboo on masturbation in Canadian society and the "unconscious" fears of miscegenation as the "link between individual character and nation-building is mobilized in the service of an exclusionary and racist immigration policy." *Ibid.*, 176-177. This topic is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but this argument is also useful for those examining how sexuality and gender influenced Canadian nation-building.

<sup>855</sup> Silvera, 85.

“One day nobody was home and he come to the house. He try to push me down on the sofa but I manage to push him off me. I was shouting at him, but he only laugh and say that if is the last thing he get is to sex me.”<sup>856</sup> Irma also revealed the racial discrimination she faced from her employer and their children. The children would call her “Blackie” and her employer expected her to use a ladder on her first day as a domestic worker since she expected that she climbed trees back home in Jamaica.<sup>857</sup> It was this paradox of seemingly unwanted but solicited help, which created a toxic and confusing environment for Black West Indian women working as domestics in Canadian households. Some men chose to treat the workers as sexual slaves; objects of their sexually perverted deviance. The female employers believed that the very presence of Black women molested the sanctity of their household, marriage, and their White gendered identity. Meanwhile, the Canadian Government prided itself on its altruistic and “humanitarian” venture of opening its doors to West Indian immigration to alleviate the region’s socio-economic ills. Primrose summarized the domestic worker’s Canadian dilemma, and unwanted want, succinctly: “Canadians have the feeling that we are coming here to rob them, to take away their jobs, yet we are the ones who clean up all their mess, pick up after them. We take the jobs that they wouldn’t take, and yet they hate us so much.”<sup>858</sup> The fear of the unknown and the destructive nature of race, class, male, and White privilege created a difficult environment that the women under the Scheme were forced to work and live. The Black West Indian women overcame the insurmountable; the Emigrant Ambassadors continued their pursuit of upward mobility in Canadian society. Canada placed many barriers for advancement, but the opportunities

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<sup>856</sup> Ibid.

<sup>857</sup> Ibid.

<sup>858</sup> Ibid., 88.

outweighed the disadvantages. This was most apparent in the Black West Indian woman's quest for higher education.

Education in the West Indies “was seen by the majority in the Caribbean as a way of increasing the chances of migrating, while for others migration was viewed as a means of improving the opportunities for education,” and “both education and migration were acknowledged by most people as a means of facilitating upward social mobility.”<sup>859</sup> Yvonne Bobb-Smith's book, *I Know Who I am: A Caribbean Woman's Identity in Canada*, revealed the West Indian woman's thoughts on attaining a good education and how it was the foundation and sometimes the only means for a prosperous future. Education was the key to social mobility and the “primary strategy of resistance” for agency that shaped the identities of West Indian women within the structures of sexism and racism.<sup>860</sup> Bobb-Smith stated the importance of education in the lives of West Indian women and relayed how education supported and facilitated upward mobility.<sup>861</sup> D'Arcy Holder, a mid-twentieth century Barbadian emigrant in London, England recalled that her primary school education was a “*solid* base.”<sup>862</sup> She stated: “I was surprised when I got here (London) to find my education was better than some of the English people I worked with! I had thought all English people must be wonderfully educated.”<sup>863</sup>

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<sup>859</sup> Thomas-Hope, 120. See pages 118-121 of Chapter 5, “Evaluations of work, education and modernization in migration behaviour,” in Thomas-Hope's book for an explanation of the relationship between education, migration and social mobility for Barbadians, Jamaicans and Vincentians. See Chapter Three's section “Barbadian Education System” for an in depth examination of the Barbadian education system and the relationship among education, social mobility, and emigration. This dissertation argues that it was an educated population that left and had the means to leave Barbados to seek socio-economic opportunities abroad, and specifically in Canada.

<sup>860</sup> Bobb-Smith, 45.

<sup>861</sup> *Ibid.*, 132.

<sup>862</sup> John Western, *A Passage to England: Barbadian Londoners Speak of Home* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 28.

<sup>863</sup> *Ibid.*

Through “gender ideology” and the legacy of slavery and colonialism, “older Caribbean women had internalized the importance of education and accepted it as an identifying force in their quest for independence.”<sup>864</sup> Bobb-Smith argued that education was more than a means for socio-economic mobility, but a tool for the emancipation of female subordination and dependence in a West Indian and subsequently Canadian patriarchal society. Education, and the pursuit of education, galvanized Black West Indian women politically, socially, and economically for a better future; “they coveted education as a means of increasing the value of their development and activism.”<sup>865</sup> Black West Indian women strove for self-improvement in the face of many obstacles and barriers in the Caribbean and Canada. The West Indian woman’s “historical experience of gender subordination and the struggle to secure educational provisions have become a political legacy that these Caribbean-Canadian women learned at home.”<sup>866</sup> Bobb-Smith asserted that education was a liberating means of resistance that challenged hegemonic structures in society.<sup>867</sup> The significance of the right to an education for West Indian women, specifically for Barbadian girls as outlined in Chapter Three, must not be understated; educational capital was the means to self-empowerment, self-reliance and most notably a means to leave their socio-economic circumstances and the region behind.

As Chapter Three discussed in regards to the Barbadian educational system, education was accessible to all classes of Barbadian girls and boys. It gave all Barbadians the opportunity to remove themselves from generations of destitute poverty. Yaa, a West Indian woman in Canada interviewed by Bobb-Smith, revealed the importance of education in her family’s life as the foundation for upward mobility in the West Indies. She stated,

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<sup>864</sup> Bobb-Smith, 132-133.

<sup>865</sup> *Ibid.*, 134.

<sup>866</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>867</sup> *Ibid.*, 135.

“We were dirt poor! This whole emphasis on education, they (grandmother, mother and aunts) felt that I could use that as a means to break out of the poverty trap. It was really interesting; I won a scholarship through sitting the 11-plus exam.”<sup>868</sup> Bobb-Smith also interviewed Toni and Aretha who reinforced the relationship between class, upward mobility and the value of an education. Toni contended that “education was tied to class at home. We were taught that education would broaden your mind and lead you to upward mobility.”<sup>869</sup> Aretha continued this sentiment stating “education was key, extremely valuable, and more important than to earn money. I know I had to get an education.”<sup>870</sup> The brief excerpts from Yaa, Toni, and Aretha highlighted the crucial link between West Indian female identity, education, class, and upward mobility. These first-generation Canadian residents shared their stories of how the indoctrination and acculturation of the importance of education in West Indian society allowed them to pursue their goals in Canada. Both girls and boys benefitted from Barbadian education initiatives in the early to mid-twentieth century, which resulted in many young adults seeking post-secondary education in Canada and abroad during the 1950s and 1960s. The Barbadian Emigrant Ambassadors were one of the first generations to benefit from the universal access to free primary education in the Island in the late 1920s.

### **The Barbadian Educator in Canada**

Education, and the pursuit of education, was a defining characteristic of Barbadians at home and abroad. Going “abroad” for higher education defined the successful careers of Barbadian professionals. Barbadian-Canadian educator, Cyriline Taylor, argued that “those who

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<sup>868</sup> Interview 10, June 15<sup>th</sup>, 1995. See Bobb-Smith, 40.

<sup>869</sup> *Ibid.*, 132.

<sup>870</sup> *Ibid.*

attended McGill University or medical school in Scotland, or other parts of the UK, seemed to dominate the Barbadian medical field.”<sup>871</sup> Taylor continued by stating that Barbados has been known to show preference in leadership positions to those “who have a hint of a ‘foreign accent’ or those who ‘went away’ – much to the chagrin of those who had never left the Island. One of the comments about a successful Barbadian Prime Minister was that he had gone to school with Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, so it was easier for him to communicate in the international political arena.”<sup>872</sup> In addition to the socio-economic push factors that facilitated Barbadian emigration, Taylor indicated that the socially mobile and educated elite that “went away” were better qualified and better received as leaders in their respective industries once they returned to the Island. One may attribute

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<sup>871</sup> The following section is based on a series of interviews with Cyriline Taylor during the month of March 2012. Cyriline Taylor (retired principal) in discussion with the author, March 3, 2012. Through magazine articles and advertisements, Canada attempted to attract the best and brightest West Indians to their universities. *The Canada-West Indies Magazine* was focused on Canadian issues, but enjoyed West Indian readership. The June 1953 issue of *The Canada-West Indies Magazine* included a short article entitled: “Students from West Indies Graduate at McGill University.” The article listed several Barbadians, including Charles Richard Grove Watson (Mechanical Engineering); Stanley Howard Watson (Bachelor of Science); Kenrick Herbert Cecil Thorne (Bachelor of Science in Agriculture); and Margaret Evelyn Johnson (Bachelor of Household Economics). *The Canada-West Indies Magazine* also showed several advertisements for Canadian schools and universities. In the June 1953 issue, the *Magazine* placed advertisements for Albert College, Ontario Ladies’ College, Alma College, University of New Brunswick, and Havergal College. The same issue included an article on Mount Allison University and a photo journal of Moulton College of Toronto (a girls’ school). BNA, *Canada-West Indies Magazine*, June 1953, 8, 13-16, 19.

<sup>872</sup> Cyriline Taylor (retired principal) in discussion with the author, March 3, 2012. Taylor later stated it was Barbadian Prime Minister Jon Michael Geoffrey Manningham “Tom” Adams (1976-1985), but upon further investigation it is believed that Sir Errol Walton Barrow – Barbados’ first Prime Minister – served as Chairman of the Council of Colonial Students and Trudeau was one of his contemporaries during his time at the London School of Economics in the late 1940s up to his return to Barbados in 1950. Both Barrow and Trudeau attended the LSE in the late 1940s, where Trudeau enrolled to do his doctorate in 1947, so it is quite possible that the Barbadian belief of qualified leaders having to study abroad stemmed from the relationship between Barrow and Trudeau. The information on Adams cannot be confirmed as he and Trudeau did not attend the same academic institutions. However, this fictitious wide-held belief in Barbados supported the push and authority for overseas and foreign academic credentials. If Barbadians believed it to be true, and subsequently held Trudeau in very high esteem as a politician and leader, then the reified conflation of Barbadian and Canadian leaders as a result of their non-Barbadian and non-West Indian alma maters was quite effective. Barbadians only needed to believe the invalidated myth was true for it to be used as a point of contention and the push for the need for foreign credentials as a true measure of a political leader’s effectiveness. While unfounded, it also highlights the diachronic Barbadian reverence for Trudeau and to some extent the Liberal Party. He was the Canadian Minister of Justice in 1967 (and Prime Minister in 1968) and was recognized as being a part of the implementation of the Points System. Many Barbadians and their families benefited from the liberalization of the Canadian immigration system. Taylor stated that it was the popular belief Trudeau himself ushered in the Points System and that he was personally responsible for their new lives in Canada.

this thinking to a collective colonized mentality; however, it is clear that this perception produced a common belief – particularly during the pan-African independence movements of the 1960s – that one had to leave the Island in order to reach her or his full intellectual potential. Taylor asserted:

The ‘Island Mentality’ perception was to leave the Island and you would be more successful and upwardly mobile once you came back. Some could say it was a part of our culture, but I saw it, and most Barbadians at the time would say that it was a status symbol – it enhanced your achieved status. You achieved success through academics. Even today, people who go and receive an education overseas, appear to do better than those that didn’t. They appear to end up in the top echelons of the labour, economic, and political strata. They are the Barbadian upper middle professional class. I was coming from a working class background, and I believed that upon return to Barbados after being educated in Canada, it would have helped me to gain entry into the upper middle class. Like many of my colleagues, we never returned home.<sup>873</sup>

As stated earlier in this chapter on women involved in the Domestic Scheme, class and upward mobility defined the Barbadian emigrant experience. Academic success and the pursuit of higher education gave Barbadians an opportunity to succeed and improve their socio-economic standing. Contrary to the de-skilling of middle class women involved in the Scheme in the 1950s, Taylor believed that a brief educational sojourn in Canada in the mid-to-late 1960s defined positive class mobility. Within two decades, gender, class, and race played a significant role in the migration of Barbadian women. Women such as those profiled by Silvera were objectified and bound by the constraints of their labour in an inherently sexist and racist immigration system in Canada. Students and educators in the late

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<sup>873</sup> The publicity and quasi-celebrity status well-known individuals received for emigrating was present in the newspaper coverage given to the professional class Barbadians. In a 1962 edition of *The Advocate*, an article highlights a former Barbadian policeman emigrating to Montreal. Mr. Barton Howard, “former station sergeant of the Barbados Police Force, left yesterday afternoon by BWIA (British West Indian Airlines) Britannia for Montreal to reside with his brother, Mr. Lawson Howard.” One may argue that the emigration of a station sergeant to reunite with his brother in Canada was not a newsworthy story; however, policemen were well respected and a part of the Barbadian professional class. His emigration was seen as progress and a step forward for him professionally and personally, while Barbadians shared in his success of he, and his family, having “made it” beyond the Island. *The Advocate*, February 19, 1962.

1950s and predominantly in the 1960s utilized their Barbadian education as a means to procure the human capital necessary for upward class mobility as they repatriated after a brief academic and professional excursion abroad. The fundamental link between the two cases of female migrants is that Black Barbadian women saw Canada as a land of opportunity for upward mobility through higher education and academic success. It was an extension of a culture of education created and developed in Barbados in the early to mid-twentieth century.

Barbados' primary and secondary education system produced Barbadians capable of succeeding amongst the best and the brightest prior to the liberalization of Canadian immigration policy in 1962; however, the restrictive nature of Canadian policy forced many Black Barbadian women to devalue their class positions and academic achievements in order to fit the gendered and racist immigration system of the Domestic Scheme. This chapter noted that several of the women used the Scheme as a platform for further education and some chose to repatriate while others, including a generation of teachers such as Augustine and Taylor, helped build the Canadian education system. It must be noted that several female and male Barbadians earned scholarships and were accepted to attend Canadian Universities prior to 1962; yet another example of Barbadian academic prowess as a means to circumvent racist and discriminatory immigration policy.<sup>874</sup> Despite racist and sexist barriers, education became the equalizing force for Black Barbadian women and men in Canada. A number of Barbadian trained teachers emigrated during the 1960s. They followed similar professional and educational trajectories as Taylor who started her teaching career in Barbados in 1960 after graduating from sixth form at Queen's College.<sup>875</sup> Taylor

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<sup>874</sup> See Chapter Three's discussion on the Barbadian Government's academic scholarships.

<sup>875</sup> Cyriline Taylor (retired principal) in discussion with the author, March 4, 2012.



taught at St. Paul's Girls' School from 1960 to 1964 prior to attending Barbados' teacher training institute, Erdiston Teacher's College.<sup>876</sup> Following their graduation many of the new graduates applied for teaching positions in Canada while also receiving their immigrant status. Taylor recalled:

There were pages of job opportunities for teaching in the local newspapers in Toronto. A good friend of mine, who was a recent immigrant from England, sent me a copy of the newspaper and I applied to several school boards. I was fortunate to be accepted by the Toronto Catholic Board as a primary teacher. It's amazing that I had a job offer even before my entry (immigration) papers were finalized. I remember fondly that at that time there was news circulating that in the same year (1967) there were 900 teachers from the United Kingdom headed to Canada to take up teaching positions throughout the country. There was such a desperate need for teachers in Canada that they were willing to give me a conditional offer.<sup>877</sup>

Many of the upwardly mobile students of Taylor's graduating class of 1964-1966 at Erdiston left the Island. The new graduates were aware of the limited opportunities in the education field in Barbados for promotion or attaining further qualifications.<sup>878</sup> Taylor recalled that Canada was a preferred destination during the late 1960s as events leading up to Expo 1967 put Canada in the spotlight of the Barbadian Public; the "Maple Leaf" was known and better

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<sup>876</sup> Teachers at Erdiston were trained by educators who had received their undergraduate and graduate degrees in England, Canada, and the University of the West Indies in Jamaica. From various formal and informal conversations, the students were able to get a good sense of what living abroad was like. Also, some of the professors at the Erdiston Teacher's College were from the American Peace Corps and also from Canada's Atlantic provinces. Teacher's College in Barbados was a very international environment. Cyriline Taylor (retired principal) in discussion with the author, March 4, 2012. The Thursday, January 5<sup>th</sup>, 1967 edition of Barbados' *The Advocate*, entitled "Canadian Minister Tours Institute" highlighted the Canadian teachers working at Erdiston Teachers Training College who were there through the Canadian External Aid programmes. The article stated, "Canada's Secretary of State of External Affairs, Paul Martin, said yesterday that in order to meet the problems of the modern world, skills were necessary and the way to get them was by training." Martin explained and highlighted the importance of Canadian aid through education, by stating "an important part of Canada's external aid programme was educational assistance." *The Advocate*, January 5, 1967. Please see Chapter Three's section on Education for more information on Dr. F.L. Bates, a Canadian education expert "loaned to the West Indies under a scheme for Technical Assistance by Canada to the West Indies." BNA, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1960 and 1961* (Barbados: Government Printing Office, 1962). 7.

<sup>877</sup> Cyriline Taylor (retired principal) in discussion with the author, March 4, 2012.

<sup>878</sup> Ibid.

understood by Barbadians and Canadian ships in the Bridgetown harbour were featured in the national press. Taylor stated that this was a time where the United States was embroiled in the Civil Rights Movement and due to the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* and widespread reported cases of overt racism in England, Barbadians looked towards Canada and its new liberalized immigration policy as a suitable destination for settlement. Social issues in the United States and England thus contributed to the Barbadian interest in Canada. There were no publicized situations of racial tensions in Canada compared to England and the United States. Taylor noted that “England was dealing with an influx of Visible Minority immigrants from the Commonwealth countries and difficulties with adequate housing, racism, and the emergence of the ‘Teddy Boys’ caused many would be emigrants to turn away from the UK. We all on the Island were drawn with interest towards Canada.”<sup>879</sup>

Taylor exemplified the autonomy and perseverance of the Barbadian woman in Canada. Women, who obtained their primary and secondary education in early to mid-twentieth century Barbados, capitalized on the Island’s equal access to education for boys and girls. Equality and collective advancement through universal and free education, as outlined in Chapter Three, defined the respective Autonomous Bajan emigrant’s transnational *habitus*. The Barbadian Government indoctrinated education and academic success as means for socio-economic advancement irrespective of each citizen’s sex or gender. The following profile of several female and male Barbadian educators in Canada,

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<sup>879</sup> Ibid. Throughout the course of Barbadian history, Canadian merchant and naval ships have always been a common sight in the Barbadian waters. Newspapers advertisements highlighted ship callings from Canada, specifically Canadian National Steamships from Montreal. *Barbados Advocate*, January 4, 1950. Taylor provided an excellent example of limited opportunities in Barbados and the need to emigrate for social mobility and to find success abroad. The Teddy Boys was a youth post-war counterculture movement in the 1950s that was known for violence against Black West Indians and non-Whites in Britain. Cyriline Taylor (retired principal) in discussion with the author, March 4, 2012. For more on the Teddy Boys see Edward Pilkington, *Beyond the Mother Country: West Indians and the Notting Hill White Riots* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1988) and John Western, *A Passage To England: Barbadian Londoners Speak of Home* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 61-66.

some of whom emigrated prior to the de-racialization of Canadian immigration policy in 1962, underscores that “exceptional” Black Barbadians were the rule and not the exception as Black Achievers. The educational reforms in Barbados throughout the early to mid-twentieth century facilitated the cultural and social capital needed to emigrate and promote successful integration in Canadian society. The liberalization of Canadian immigration did not change the character and capital of potential emigrants; it finally recognized that Blacks in Barbados exceeded the qualifications needed for entry prior to the 1960s. Racism and gender discrimination dictated Canadian immigration policy, but through its gradual liberalization in the 1960s, a wave of highly mobile Barbadian women and men were given the opportunity to settle and strive for further success in Canada. The following section will briefly profile several Barbadian-Canadian educators who came to Canada in the late 1950s and early 1960s beginning with Mr. Glyn Bancroft who emigrated from Barbados to Toronto in 1960 and subsequently taught for thirty-five years and retired as a principal in the city. Mrs. June Bertley completed a business diploma and BA in 1955 and 1959, respectively, at Sir George Williams University (now Concordia University) and taught throughout the Montreal region for a number of years. Along with her husband Leo Bartley, she co-founded the Garvey Institute in Montreal to “cater to students of African descent in a positive environment.”<sup>880</sup> The institute is registered with the Quebec Ministry of Education, and “promotes the ideal Black Excellence by emphasizing the contributions made by Blacks throughout history.”<sup>881</sup>

Following his primary and secondary school studies at St. Giles Boys’ School and Harrison College in Barbados, Harold Braithwaite completed his Bachelor of Arts from the University of the West Indies and received a diploma in education from the University of

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<sup>880</sup> *Some Barbadian-Canadians*, 25.

<sup>881</sup> *Ibid.*, 18 & 25.

Bordeaux, France. Braithwaite earned a Master of Arts in French from McMaster University in 1968 and taught throughout Ontario prior to his promotion to principal in Burlington. He earned the positions of Superintendent for French Language Schools in the Toronto Board of Education and Associate Director, respectively. In 1994 he was the first Black appointed director of a major Board of Education in Canada as head of the Peel District School Board. Lionel Braithwaite left for Canada in 1963 and received both his university degree and teaching certification from the University of Manitoba. Braithwaite held numerous positions in the education systems of Manitoba, Ontario and British Columbia. Oscar Braithwaite came to Canada in 1965 following a six year sojourn in England. He received his teacher education at the University of Toronto and taught secondary school and served as a department head. Braithwaite wrote numerous scholarly papers, “with the view of empowering black students to succeed in the education systems in predominantly white countries.”<sup>882</sup> Dr. Stanley Brookes emigrated from Barbados in 1966 after having taught at Combermere and Parkinson School, respectively, and working in Barbados’ Ministry of Education. He earned Canadian teaching qualifications and his post-secondary education from McGill University while he taught courses at various schools and institutions in the Montreal area. Cindy Browne served as a head of physical education and subsequently vice principal and principal in the Toronto area. Her immigration story began in 1958 as she believed “minority students need strong, visible role models.”<sup>883</sup> Eureka Bynoe attended Erdiston College and became a Canadian immigrant in 1967. She dedicated herself to teaching in the Ontario school system and in 1986 became the first Black female principal in the Toronto Board of Education. Her husband Gordon Bynoe, emigrated with his wife in

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<sup>882</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>883</sup> Ibid., 41-43, 45, & 46.

1967 and worked as an instructor in the Adult Basic Education Unit of the Toronto Board of Education. Sylvia Pollyne King Greaves also began her teaching career in Barbados and emigrated from the Island in the 1950s. From Concordia University she earned a Bachelor's in Early Childhood Education and a Master's in Education. John Lascelles Harewood taught in Barbados at Harrison College before he came to Canada in 1958 and earned Bachelor's and Master's degrees from the University of Toronto, respectively. He subsequently obtained a Master of Education from the University of Ottawa and a Teaching Certificate from an institution in Newfoundland and Labrador.<sup>884</sup>

Harrison College, as stated in this dissertation's third chapter, was and is one of the top First Grade secondary schools in Barbados. It produced a number of Barbados' greatest achievers in and outside of the Island as well as many teachers and educators noted in this chapter. Cedolph Hope, another Harrison College alumnus, emigrated from Barbados in 1958. After serving on the Toronto Junior Board of Trade and advocating with Donald W. Moore in their fight for the Canadian Government's liberalization of its racist immigration laws and legislation, Hope pursued post-secondary education at the University of Toronto and began a twenty-five year teaching career in 1965.<sup>885</sup> While Moore was born in 1891 and emigrated to Canada a generation earlier than the individuals profiled in this section in 1913, as a young boy attending Montgomery Moravian Boys School in Cave Hill, Barbados, he wanted to become a teacher.<sup>886</sup> He chose tailoring as a trade, which subsequently led to a job once he emigrated to Canada in the early twentieth century; however, his influence and position in the Black community in Canada and mainstream federal political circles facilitated the settlement of all Black Barbadians during the mid-twentieth century to pursue

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<sup>884</sup> Ibid., 49, 89, & 95.

<sup>885</sup> Ibid., 105.

<sup>886</sup> Moore, 16. See footnote 603 of Chapter Four for a brief biography of Moore.

their careers as educators and capitalizing on their teaching experience on the Island.<sup>887</sup> Harrison College and the University of the West Indies graduate, Neilton Seale, taught for several years at Combermere School before his emigration in 1965. The University of British Columbia Master of Education graduate taught English as a second language.<sup>888</sup> Similar to Hope, Ira Philips also emigrated in 1958 to further his education. He obtained a Bachelor of Science from Concordia University, a Master of Education from the University of Ottawa and a Teacher Training Certificate from McGill University. He subsequently taught secondary school from 1973-1989. Another 1958 emigrant and Erdiston Teacher's College graduate, Marcus Evelyn Sandiford, taught for several years in Barbados prior to obtaining a Bachelor of Arts and Master of Education. Sandiford taught secondary school classes until his retirement in 1985.<sup>889</sup> A Concordia University and the State University of New York graduate, Lincoln Springer also taught in Barbados for several years prior to his emigration in 1960. He acquired several roles in all levels of the school system until his retirement in 1999.<sup>890</sup>

This section on Barbadian teachers and educators supports this author's argument that a highly educated – female and male – Barbadian population emigrated abroad to further pursue their studies at the post-secondary level and seek greater employment opportunities.

Bertram Edward Smith, a “very promising athlete, cricketer, footballer and scholar,”

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<sup>887</sup> Ibid.

<sup>888</sup> *Some Barbadian-Canadians*, 172.

<sup>889</sup> Ibid., 170. While not an elementary or secondary school teacher, Dr. Keith Sandiford's accomplishments must be noted. Sandiford graduated from one of Barbados' First Grade secondary schools, Combermere School, and the University of the West Indies, before he attained his graduate degrees from the University of Toronto. Sandiford served as a Professor of History at the University of Manitoba for thirty-two years. Sandiford is a “truly prolific author,” and published “numerous articles, books, pamphlets and reviews on subjects ranging from Victorian politics, culture and diplomacy to Black Studies, Caribbean cricket, Barbadian culture and education, and West Indian contributions to Manitoban life.” He is a “pioneer in the historical sociology of sport [and] is universally recognized as one of the world's leading cricket statisticians and historians.” Ibid., 169-170.

<sup>890</sup> Ibid., 151, 172, & 185.

emigrated from Barbados in 1959. Smith obtained undergraduate and graduate degrees from the University of Manitoba before acquiring librarian and teacher certificates.<sup>891</sup> Earla Coralyn Walcott emigrated from Barbados in 1961 to Canada. After completing degrees from the University of Toronto and York University, she taught in Ontario with the Durham Region School Board from 1965 to 1994.<sup>892</sup> After his emigration in 1966 and work as a Draughtsman Clerk for the City of Toronto, Silfred Worrell completed the requirements for a Bachelor and Master of Education, respectively, from the University of Toronto. Worrell later received a specialization to teach languages and taught French, Spanish and English in the Toronto Board of Education from 1975 to 2001.<sup>893</sup>

These brief biographical excerpts of notable Barbadian-Canadian teachers and educators paralleled Taylor's story and supported the theory that educated Barbadians emigrated to pursue higher learning and upward social mobility. Reginald Eric Taylor, the protagonist of this story, did not have the same educational opportunities in Barbados as the above mentioned emigrants since he was forced to leave school early and work as an apprentice prior to his migration to Britain. However, his perseverance to attend night school in England while he worked during the day showed his dedication to his personal, professional, and academic growth. Taylor chose his path to success; he understood that education was the key to his upward mobility and his academic pursuits recognized the universal Black Power movement of self-empowerment during the 1960s.<sup>894</sup> Taylor was one of the many Black Barbadian migrants in the United Kingdom in the early 1960s that

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<sup>891</sup> Ibid., 184.

<sup>892</sup> Ibid., 197.

<sup>893</sup> Ibid., 211.

<sup>894</sup> For more on Black Power during the 1960s see Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1967); Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove Press, 1967); Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Richard Philcox (New York: Grove Press, 1963); Malcolm X, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X, with the assistance of Alex Haley* (New York: Grove Press, 1965).

understood their marginalization as a subaltern labouring class.<sup>895</sup> Similar to the domestic workers in Canada profiled in this chapter, Taylor and his colleagues capitalized on any and all educational opportunities for advancement outside of their contracted positions. Taylor's training and accreditation in England as an automotive engineer led him to a secondary school teaching position following his double-migration to Canada in 1967. While in Canada he defeated the odds of a child that did not finish secondary school and earned Bachelor and Master's degrees, respectively, from the University of Toronto and was accepted to the school's Doctoral programme. Taylor's journey was one characterized by Barbados' "culture-of-academic success." His family's financial situation denied him the educational opportunities as a child, but Barbados' emigration scheme created means for him to pursue higher learning and upward mobility first in England followed by the life he made for himself in Canada as a teacher.

Barbadian teachers and those that became teachers in Canada emigrated independently, but they shared a similar desire to contribute to Canadian society as educators. Many of the aforementioned individuals would not have had the opportunity to pursue their careers in Barbados as the Island had limited employment opportunities. Barbados could not support the breadth of teachers and well-educated individuals its highly regarded primary and secondary school system produced prior to Independence in 1966. Their success abroad should be attributed to a culture and government that regarded education as a sanctified and revered institution; it was a means for upward mobility and development. The British and internationally recognized Barbadian education standards thus became a vehicle and a means for emigration, but subsequently provided Barbadian migrants

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<sup>895</sup> See John Western, *Passage To England: Barbadian Londoners Speak of Home* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992) and George Gmelch, *Double Passage: The Lives of Caribbean Migrants Abroad and Back Home* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992) for more on the individual Barbadian experience of life in England.



with the intellectual tools and mental fortitude to not only survive, but succeed in a discriminatory and sometimes hostile, Canadian environment. Their scholarly credentials fulfilled Canadian immigration requirements, but most importantly as characterized by Reginald Taylor's migrant story, their reverence for education and academics provided the wherewithal to integrate, assimilate and persevere in Canadian society.

One may liken this national and moral obligation to succeed to the rhetoric produced by the Barbadian Government for its citizens selected for the Domestic Scheme to Canada. In the emigration information booklet, *Advice to West Indian Women Recruited for Work in Canada as Household Helps*, Barbadian and West Indian domestics became Emigrant Ambassadors from Barbados and the West Indies as a whole. The pamphlet outlined clearly, "Remember, if you fail you will let down not only yourself but your country. If you make good you will be a credit to your country and contribute toward the continuation of the scheme."<sup>896</sup> It noted the virtues of female chastity and West Indian morality, stating "your general conduct should be such as to earn the respect of the Canadian employer and to uphold the highest standard of West Indian womanhood," and warned that women who became pregnant out of wedlock faced the possibility of deportation.<sup>897</sup> The pamphlet outlined the specificities of one's conduct in Canada and warned against illicit behaviour,

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<sup>896</sup> The Domestic Scheme to Canada pamphlet was designed in such a way that it appeared Barbadian and West Indian domestics in the 1950s and early 1960s were groomed to be ad hoc ambassadors for the West Indies. The information booklet was intended for domestics and was a how-to guide on getting to, and living in, Canada. The history of the Domestic Scheme: "You probably know that since 1955 the Canadian Government has granted to certain territories in the West Indies a yearly quota to admit West Indian women to Canada as household helps." Most women worked for a period of one year in the same job. The pamphlet also gave advice on: clothing and arrival in Canada and the weather; the vast geographical distances in Canada; not going outside in cold weather without warm clothing; not getting your feet wet; and how to ease "tender" lips because of the "cold climate" by using Vaseline. It also added, "You should try and adjust your taste to the food, as Canadian food is different from that in the West Indies." BNA, *Advice to West Indian Women Recruited for Work in Canada as Household Helps (Information Booklet)* (n.d. most likely 1950s or early 1960s).

<sup>897</sup> Ibid.

which would reflect badly on oneself and most importantly on all Barbadians and West Indians. Barbadian and West Indian emigrants effectively became the ad hoc diplomatic representatives of the region, its culture, and people. The rhetoric and belief produced a sentiment that emigrants are “going to Canada to improve [themselves].”<sup>898</sup> The Barbadian and West Indian governments wanted the women to “remember the West Indies relies on you to do your part towards the success of this scheme,” and this chapter argued that Emigrant Ambassadors were given the responsibility for the success of further Barbadian and West Indian emigration to Canada.<sup>899</sup> Pressured by the outstanding conduct of large-scale female charter emigrants involved in the Domestic Scheme, the nurses of “exceptional merit,” and the upwardly mobile educators from a “culture-of-academic success,” Barbadian and West Indian women created an emigration outlet for all Barbadians and West Indians and laid the foundation for the liberalization of Canadian immigration policy.<sup>900</sup> Barbadian emigrants like Cyriline Taylor represented more than just herself, but the pride and nationhood of her country and her female ancestors. It was expected that the Barbadian in Canada would uphold the virtues and standards of success – ideals indoctrinated in her culture and upwardly mobile *habitus*. Barbadians were obligated to do well in Canada. Education and the pursuit of knowledge as a Barbadian cultural attribute, as well as the willingness to share that knowledge with Canadians, characterized Barbadian-Canadian teachers and immigrants in Canada. The educators, the nurses, and the domestics all had a common goal; the obligation to represent Barbados and be “a better Canadian citizen.”<sup>901</sup>

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<sup>898</sup> Ibid.

<sup>899</sup> Ibid.

<sup>900</sup> Ibid.

<sup>901</sup> See footnote 827 of Chapter Five.

## Conclusion:

### Where Do We Fly From Here?

*The distinction between a white man and a man of colour was for them fundamental. It was their all. In defence of it they would bring down the whole of their world.*

C.L.R. James, 1963<sup>902</sup>

*The need to locate cultural or ethnic roots and then to use the idea of being in touch with them as a means to refigure the cartography of dispersal and exile is perhaps best understood as a simple and direct response to the varieties of racism which have denied the historical character of black experience and the integrity of black cultures.*

Paul Gilroy, 1993<sup>903</sup>

*I am not the slave of the Slavery that dehumanized my ancestors.*

Frantz Fanon, 1952<sup>904</sup>

The physical, emotional and psychological terrorism of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and the institution of slavery in Barbados dehumanized the African in the Americas. The binary and nihilistic relationship “between a white man and a man of colour” was fundamentally destructive; it created an environment where Black subalterns and White hegemony in the West Indies struggled for ideological and physical survival in a world defined by violence, suffering, and greed. The reductionist and essentialist properties of racism denied the character and integrity of the Black existence, Black experience, and the Black Self in the West Indies. The Black Barbadian was created as a means for physical and sexual exploitation by Whites. Individuals created institutions that reified a nefarious ideology and dehumanized human beings. Chattel slavery, the calculated act of government sponsored terrorism, defined human history throughout the Atlantic World, the Americas, and the Caribbean; Whites sowed the deracinated humanity from the African continent in the fertile

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<sup>902</sup> C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 34.

<sup>903</sup> Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), 112.

<sup>904</sup> Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove Press, 1967), 230.

soil of the coral island on the easternmost edges of the Caribbean Sea. Out of these seeds grew a Diaspora that withstood the confines of the institution of slavery, colonialism, and the omnipresent debilitating stench of racism and phenotypic discrimination. Black Barbadian agency and perseverance developed within the structures of oppression, first used as a means of individual and collective survival under the physical and ideological whip of the overseer and the slave master, which subsequently epitomized their determination as migrants and Emigrant Ambassadors. The ideology of Blackness denied their human and civil rights and racist xenophobia defined the immigration policies of the very same nation-states that profited from and facilitated the Caribbean “culture-of-migration.” This dissertation highlighted the paradoxical and hypocritical relationship of race and racism and how Black Barbadians, and Black West Indians, navigated the confines of a discriminatory, racist, gendered, and class-based immigration system. The arguments focused on the emigration push factors from the Island and the region and how the Barbadian Government’s domestic and foreign initiatives for the socio-economic advancement of its people at home and abroad, facilitated the emigration of highly educated and highly skilled Barbadians. The Government’s education policy produced a generation of Barbadians that challenged Canada’s officially racist immigration policy prior to 1962. Race and Blackness dictated the international migration system.

The dissertation began with an overview of Black Canadian historiography and explained how “Flying Fish in the Great White North” fit within and added to the scholarship. This followed with a discussion of the creation of Blackness. “Black” and “White” are social and historical constructs; constructions designed to reinforce class and phenotypic divisions in Barbadian slave and colonial society. This concept structured the dissertation’s theoretical framework as it argued that race was a fundamental feature in the

exclusion of Black Barbadian and Black West Indian emigrants. Canadians practiced a British form of racism – the liberal racial order – towards Blacks that was first perfected in West Indian slave societies. Chapter Two discussed the creation of African and Black identity in Barbados and the mechanisms of ideological discrimination and the consolidation of racist hegemony in the Island. Twentieth century Black Barbadian emigrants overcame ideological and socio-economic debasement, and as Frantz Fanon stated, they refused to be the slaves of the slavery that dehumanized their ancestors.<sup>905</sup> Despite nearly insurmountable odds, the Barbadian achieved success at home and abroad.

The study followed with an examination of Barbadian emigration following Emancipation during the mid- to late nineteenth century. Chapter Three noted the roots of Barbadian emigration, and most importantly, the roots of government sponsored emigration schemes. During this period, the colonial Barbadian Government used sponsored emigration as a means to alleviate overpopulation on the Island. The Government facilitated the emigration of Barbadians throughout the Caribbean basin during the early twentieth century in attempts to settle their “surplus” population as Barbadians also took their own initiatives and left en masse to work in the Isthmus of Panama. Government sponsored emigration during this period was a means to control overpopulation, but it also was a means of alleviating the Government’s social responsibility as families could then rely on remittances for survival. The exodus of qualified and skilled young men both helped and hindered the Island’s socio-economic changes; the best and the brightest – those most qualified to lead and contribute to an ever-increasing semi-autonomous colonial state in the early twentieth century – emigrated and sent remittances, while vacating employment opportunities for those that remained. The Island experienced a “Brain Drain” that continues to define South-North

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<sup>905</sup> Ibid.

migration patterns. Chapter Three began with a historical sketch of the Barbadian political system during the early to mid-twentieth century followed by the Barbadian education system and how the Government's focus on free education – for boys and girls – inculcated a “culture-of-academic success.” Not only did it produce highly educated and upwardly mobile young Barbadians, as discussed in Chapter Five, it pressured these youths to emigrate abroad as Barbados could not support the surplus of highly skilled young women and men that sought further education and professional opportunities. Educational reforms during this period were the fundamental catalyst for mid-twentieth century Barbadian emigration.<sup>906</sup>

Barbadian emigration did not exist as a linear transnational movement sheltered from changes in the international diplomatic environment. Chapter Three, “The Agency of Culture and Movement: Barbadian Emigration Push Factors,” examined how immigration policy changes in the United States and the United Kingdom led to pressure on the Canadian Government to accept Black Barbadian and other non-White persons. Barbadian emigrants were first affected by the United States' exclusionary *McCarran Act* of 1952, and most notably Britain's *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* of 1962. Barbadian emigrants were “clients” to these respective exclusionary legislative acts; however, when one door to immigration closed, Barbadians sought to open another.<sup>907</sup> As both Chapter Three and Chapter Four explained, the British policy change pressured the Canadian Government to open its immigration policy to non-White Commonwealth brethren that Britain no longer wanted. It is no coincidence that 1962 saw the implementation of the racist and exclusionary

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<sup>906</sup> This dissertation focused specifically on the Barbadian education system and its “culture-of-academic success.” Future studies of individual West Indian islands – particularly the smaller Leeward and Windward Islands – should also address the possibility of a culture of education in their nation-states. This will provide a good foundation for comparative work on education systems and mid-twentieth century West Indian and Caribbean (French, Spanish and Dutch) migration.

<sup>907</sup> See James W. St. G. Walker, “Allegories and Orientations in African-Canadian Historiography: The Spirit of Africville,” *Dalhousie Review* 77 (1997): 155-177 for a discussion on Black Clients.

*Commonwealth Immigrants Act* in Britain and the official de-racialization of Canadian immigration policy. Immigration, arguably a domestic policy influenced by the Canadian public's racist xenophobia and consolidated by post-war Canadian leaders, was directly influenced by international diplomacy both in Britain and the Caribbean. Chapter Four also discussed the roots of Barbadian and West Indian-Canadian relations. Trade during the institution of slavery defined the historical relationship between the two British colonies in the Americas. The unequal, but mutually beneficial, partnership flourished throughout the late and early twentieth century with such transnational economic endeavours as the Canadian West Indian League established in Montreal. The League and its magazine, *The Canada West Indies Magazine*, spearheaded Canadian-West Indian trade during this period and was published "for the mutual interest of Canada, Bermuda, the British West Indies, British Guiana, British Honduras and other British countries in the Caribbean."<sup>908</sup> Canada and the West Indies had economic, social, and political relations. These positive relations both problematized and contradicted Canada's discriminatory immigration policy towards potential Black Barbadian and West Indian emigrants.

Chapter Four's section on "Race, Colour, and the Ideological Paradox of Canadian Immigration," revealed the arbitrary and ambiguous bigotry in Canadian immigration policy towards Blacks during the mid-twentieth century. Canada openly excluded Black Barbadians and West Indians on fallacious grounds, including the illogical belief in "climate suitability." What was most disturbing is that Canadian officials at all levels, including Mackenzie King, supported the exclusion of Blacks by any means necessary. Unless deemed of "exceptional merit," immigration officials circumvented any and all legislation to support the Canadian

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<sup>908</sup> See Chapter Four for a full explanation of the League and the *Magazine*.

public's fear of the unknown "monstrous" race.<sup>909</sup> Proven factual evidence was not necessary to support the exclusion of Blacks; immigration was a privilege, and Canada believed it had the right to bar those that would fundamentally alter the "character of the [Canadian] population."<sup>910</sup> As is true with the hegemony of racism, those in power were never held accountable simply because they held the power to define. However, Barbadian and West Indian officials, including Barbadian Premier Sir Errol Walton Barrow, challenged Canada's discriminatory immigration policy. They voiced their concerns and spoke against Canada's arbitrary selection and exclusion of potential Black Barbadians and West Indians. These challenges extended beyond Canada's official de-racialization of its immigration policy in 1962 as the state had yet to confront the inherent bigotry of its officials. Canada continued to discriminate through various means until the implementation of its equalizing Points System in 1967; however, legislation during the 1960s did highlight Canada's increasing commitment to a more just and equitable immigration policy.<sup>911</sup>

This dissertation highlighted the symbiotic relationship amongst the various factors and events that influenced Barbadian emigration up to 1967. Theoretically, the narrative conceptualized how race, class, and gender, influenced the political, social, and economic international migration climate. Race was the fundamental organizing principle throughout this dissertation and it is also a fundamental feature of Barbadian history and its relationship with Britain and Canada. Without critical race theory, one falsifies the history of Canadian immigration; Canada's settler society was built on the ideology of White superiority. This is

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<sup>909</sup> For more on John Block Friedman's concept of Blacks as the "monstrous" race, see Anton L. Allahaar, "When Black First Became Worth Less," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 34 (1993): 42.

<sup>910</sup> See Chapter Four's section on "Race, Colour, and the Ideological Paradox of Canadian Immigration" for more on Mackenzie King's 1947 comments on Canadian immigration policy.

<sup>911</sup> One can challenge, and rightfully so, that Canada continues to discriminate based on race to this present day. See the work of Yasmeen Abu-Laban, for example. Yasmeen Abu-Laban, "Liberalism, Multiculturalism and the Problem of Essentialism," *Citizenship Studies* 6 (2002): 459-482.



a concept that must be acknowledged throughout the historiography as truth. The history must also acknowledge the relationship between gender and Canadian immigration policy. Women were not simply adjuncts to male-dominated immigration schemes; moreover, the inherent gendered bias of labour and Canadian nation-building marginalized immigrant women as unwanted and non-existent in Canadian historical narratives. The intersectionality of gender and race operated within an analogous exclusionary paradigm, and Black Barbadian and Black West Indian women faced double discrimination based on their race and their sex. Chapter Five argued that Black women, most notably those involved in the Domestic Scheme, overcame racist, gendered, and class-based structures of a patriarchal international migration system. Not only did these Black West Indian female migrants personally rise above institutional and ideological barriers as individuals, they acted as Emigrant Ambassadors and spearheaded the mass migration of Black West Indians in the late 1960s. This wave of female emigrants included several teachers and educators that exemplified Barbados' "culture-of-academic success" and upward social mobility. These women, and men, understood that the Island gave them the tools necessary to compete on the global stage. As this dissertation argued, education and the pursuit of higher education was an integral push factor for the emigration of Barbadians to Canada and beyond. As one of the most literate countries in the world, education is a defining feature of Barbadian culture; a character trait created and instilled by the Barbadian Government in the early twentieth century.<sup>912</sup> Scholars attribute Barbados' intellectual success to four key areas: "high expectations for all students, strict discipline, substantial education spending and a culture that embraces education as a form of nationalism."<sup>913</sup> To be a proud Barbadian was to be an

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<sup>912</sup> Nikole Hannah-Jones, "Excellence in Barbados Starts With Discipline," *Institute for Advanced Journalism Studies* (2009): 1-2.

<sup>913</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

educated Barbadian. Education acted as means for socio-economic advancement and upward mobility where Barbadian youth could leave the Island with the hope of repatriation to repay the nation that invested in their future. Education was an investment in the individual Barbadian and the nation as a whole.

How then does one reconcile Simmons and Guengant's "culture-of-migration" theory? Can one define emigration – the act of leaving Barbados – as a cultural phenomenon? Simmons and Guengant argued that cultural forces "are of key importance of understanding international migration," whereby "international population movements are influenced not only by economic considerations but also by cultural values, including the propensity to move and resistance and/or prejudice against newcomers."<sup>914</sup> The authors' idea that international population movements are facilitated by "cultural values" is based on Dawn Marshall's "Caribbean culture-of-migration" theory that West Indian migration was, and is, an innate and unconscious movement due to an inherited *habitus*.<sup>915</sup> Simmons and Guengant stated that "following the culture-of-migration hypothesis, the first response of Caribbean peoples to subsequent economic hardships is to move away to areas of greater opportunity," and West Indians viewed "migration as integral to socio-economic mobility."<sup>916</sup> This dissertation agrees with the latter statement on migration as a means for upward mobility; however, Simmons and Guengant's ill-defined, and regionally generalized, concept of "culture" remains problematic, specifically for Barbadians. The authors contended that this "culture" emerged "from the uprooted history of the Caribbean people, first as slaves or indentured labourers from abroad, then as free villagers on marginal lands, dependent on

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<sup>914</sup> Alan B. Simmons and Jean Pierre Guengant, "Caribbean Exodus and the World System," in *International Migration Systems: A Global Approach*, ed. Mary M. Kritz, Lin Lean Lim, Hania Zlotnik (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 101.

<sup>915</sup> *Ibid.*, 102.

<sup>916</sup> *Ibid.*

seasonal plantation work and circulatory migration for survival.”<sup>917</sup> What is problematic with the previous statement with respect to Barbados is that Simmons and Guengant did not take into account the Barbadian Government sponsored emigration schemes developed in the Island as early as the late nineteenth century as noted in Chapter Three. The dissertation also confirmed that Barbados was one of the few islands in the Caribbean where the government took an active role in sponsored emigration; however, not for cultural reasons, but due to overpopulation in the late nineteenth century and they subsequently challenged the racist and discriminatory international migration system in the early to mid-twentieth century. Furthermore, Ceri Peach argued that the Barbadian Government was the only government in the West Indies that encouraged emigration and the author linked population density to migration to the United Kingdom.<sup>918</sup>

Can one definitely argue that this “culture-of-migration” was a “historically conditioned response” in Barbados, or was it a population movement that was dictated, regulated, and controlled? Nevertheless one may argue, and rightfully so, that the Barbadian Government created this migration culture in the same way it facilitated a “culture-of-education”; free education was one of the fundamental reasons why Barbadian women and men overcame exclusionary Canadian immigration policy. Simmons and Guengant failed to take into account the divergent histories of migration of individual West Indian and Caribbean islands, specifically the Barbadian Government’s direct involvement in the emigration of its colonial citizens.<sup>919</sup> The authors disregarded the agency embedded within

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<sup>917</sup> Ibid., 103.

<sup>918</sup> Ceri Peach, *West Indian Migration to Britain: A Social Geography* (London: Published for the Institute of Race Relations, London, Oxford University Press, 1968), 20.

<sup>919</sup> As was previously mentioned, the Jamaican Government was involved in the Domestic Scheme in 1955. This was followed by the involvement of other islands during the late 1950s and 1960s.

transnational migration and the autonomy of upwardly mobile Barbadians; Barbadians defined by a “culture-of-academic success,” pride and industry.

Chapter Three and Five argued in favour of academic success as an innate Barbadian cultural attribute. They also argued overpopulation, limited employment on the Island, and academic pursuits abroad forced the migration of the educated population. If migration was an inherent feature of Barbadian culture, would the Barbadian emigrants profiled in Chapter Five have left the Island if presented by the same or similar teaching and post-secondary opportunities in Barbados? A “culture-of-migration” implies migration was intrinsic and natural and did not account for social, economic, political, and other external and causal factors. Migration defined by culture becomes a rigidified structure; facilitated by a belief and manifested as a symptom of one’s membership to a specific national or primordial group. Marshall, and Simmons and Guengant, essentialized Barbadian people, negated their autonomy and represented them as marginalized and objectified clients in the world system. The reductionist categorization of a national or cultural group is analogous to the negative codification of Blackness and its racist and discriminatory connotations. “Black” was, and is, a derogatory classification, as is eliminating the individual Black Barbadian’s agency in the transnational structure of migration due to an innate and “cultural” explanation. Does one’s “culture” encompass dehumanizing and forced identities? Can “culture” be defined as a life destroyed and replaced by a socially constructed subjective identity? The term “culture-of-migration” alludes to elements of altruistic and even benevolent actions, whereas a “culture-of-forced-migration” is a more adequate description.

The authors’ theory of a “culture-of-migration” fails to account for the diachronic explanation of the destruction caused by the Transatlantic Slave Trade and British colonialism; it creates an ideology that Barbadians chose to migrate because they were

(in)voluntarily migratory creatures. Furthermore, geographically, the Caribbean had, and has, several of the smallest nation-states in the world; Barbados' land mass is only one hundred and sixty-six square miles. Overpopulation was a constant threat on the Island and as a result there were finite possibilities for social, economic, and political mobility. As one of the most stable and developed countries in the region in the early and mid-twentieth century, Barbados only needed so many teachers, doctors, engineers, lawyers, and other professionals. Moreover, the Caribbean is a series of heterogeneous island states in a tropical region; migration is inevitable.<sup>920</sup> The dehumanizing structure, characterized by a transnational culture, circumvents the agentic individual and autonomous achievements of Barbadians in Barbados and Canada. The "culture-of-migration" theory does not account for the environment that Barbadians chose to leave, nor does it emphasize the North-South institutionalized barriers to immigration, especially in Canada. Migration is reduced to "something that happened" as opposed to "something that (individual people) made happen."<sup>921</sup> The historiography subsequently represents Black Barbadians as clients of the Canadian immigration system.

This theory, however, can be supported. According to Philip D. Morgan and Sean Hawkins' book, *Black Experience and the Empire*, it is possible to validate the claims of a "culture-of-migration" as an intrinsic Black Barbadian characteristic. Morgan and Hawkins argued, "If one theme dominates the black experience, it is migration – from the forced migration of the slave trade across the Atlantic to the internal migration of workers within

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<sup>920</sup> This is interesting to note with respect to inter-island migration. As discussed in the section on the West Indies Federation, the British feared that with the failure of the Federation – and with it the end of free inter-island migration – more West Indians would migrate to the United Kingdom. This subsequently was one of the reasons for the implementation of the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* in 1962.

<sup>921</sup> The quotations are my emphasis.

Africa.”<sup>922</sup> Morgan and Hawkins did not differentiate between voluntary and forced migration, nor did they explicitly link the historical “black experience” as a cultural trait; nevertheless, in support of Simmons and Guengant, international migration was a part of the Barbadian and Black existence. Building on Morgan and Hawkins definition of the “black experience,” Thomas Hylland Erickson’s instrumentalist view of ethnicity exhibited the social construction of socio-cultural or ethnic identity. He argued that “cultural differences relate to ethnicity if and only if such differences are relevant in social interaction.”<sup>923</sup> Barbadian Black ethnic identity was, and is, a social interaction, which operates between groups. Ethnic identity “becomes an imperative status, an ascribed aspect of their personhood from which they cannot escape entirely.”<sup>924</sup> According to this definition, it was in the Black Barbadian’s culture, and a part of his identity, to migrate. However, identity and the Barbadian’s “culture-of-migration,” was a product of socialization; the social and political environment defined her and his transnational condition. Erickson highlighted the symbiotic relationship between structure and agency, while underscoring the individual Barbadian’s autonomy. Agency existed within socio-cultural identity formation. Heterogeneous social situations demanded an adaptable and malleable individual who constantly reshaped his or her own identity. If we conflate the similar relationship between culture and identity, defining Black Barbadian transnational movement through the structured lens of a “culture-of-migration” does warrant merit. However, this definition

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<sup>922</sup> Philip D. Morgan and Sean Hawkins, *Black Experience and the Empire* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 24.

<sup>923</sup> Thomas Hylland Erickson, *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Sterling, Virginia: Pluto Press, 1993), 6, 38, 58.

<sup>924</sup> Ibid. Stuart Hall further defined culture and ethnic identity. Applying his theoretical framework to Barbadian emigrants of the mid-twentieth century through the creation of national cultures and the construction of identity, he stated, “national cultures construct identities by producing meanings about ‘the nation’ with which we can *identify* (author’s emphasis).” Stuart Hall, “The Future of Identity,” in *Identity and Belonging: Rethinking Race and Ethnicity in Canadian Society*, ed. Sean P. Hier and B. Singh Bolaria (Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press Inc., 2006), 254.

allows for a fluid interpretation arguing Barbadian identity and culture was not static. Isolating their emigration as a result of cultural “migration” attributes negates the social, economic, and political push factors surrounding their transnational movement and agentic autonomy.

Was Barbadian emigration to Canada during the mid-twentieth century an innate and inherent cultural attribute? How does it differ from Simmons and Guengant’s “culture-of-migration” argument? The answers to these questions lie in Chapter Two and the creation of Blackness and Black identity during slavery. Twentieth century Black Barbadian migration should not be defined by the forced migration of their African ancestors. The subsequent erasure and denial of their Black Self and Black experience is further marginalized by the belief that their twentieth century transnational movements were historically conditioned. Unfortunately, the Transatlantic Slave Trade, similar to the negative codification of their Black identity throughout the institution of slavery, continues to define subjective Black Barbadian identity. It perpetuates a belief that Blacks are simply clients of White benefactors in the international migration system. Black Barbadian agency, autonomy, and achievements are rendered trivial and meaningless. The historicization and contextualization of the “culture-of-migration” theory, applied to the theoretical framework of Blackness and Black identity, problematizes Simmons and Guengant’s argument; it negates causal factors including overpopulation and the emigration of a highly educated citizenry. I conclude that there is some validity in Simmons and Guengant’s theory once applied to the Barbadian Diaspora in Canada. Barbadians did escape limited socio-economic opportunities for upward mobility abroad; however, they accomplished this feat through the conviction of their own nurtured abilities. Furthermore, even if emigration was a cultural trait, racist xenophobia in

the United States, Britain, and Canada prevented the settlement of Black Barbadians and West Indians.

Emigration was a deliberate, conscious, and individual act supported and facilitated by the Barbadian Government's domestic policies and international diplomacy and executed in spite of institutional obstacles. The Barbadian Diaspora in Canada must acknowledge and thank the perseverance and determination of its mid-twentieth century charter members. The story of Reginald Eric Taylor lives on in the lives of second- and third-generation Barbadian-Canadians. He is a beacon of hope and a role model to young Black Barbadian-Canadians, and young Canadians irrespective of their race, of how far hard work and perseverance can take you in life. His struggles and successes are a true representation of the Barbadian pursuit of excellence and agency despite structural and institutionalized barriers. His parents could not provide him with material wealth, but they – and his country – instilled him with a sense of pride and a drive that overcame nearly insurmountable odds. The life of Reginald Eric Taylor told in these pages is not a simply a Barbadian or Black or migrant story, it is a Canadian story; a story that is the fabric of who we all are as Canadians. His and the stories of other Barbadian-Canadians must be told accurately and comprehensively. They must also focus on the changing views and interpretations of gender, race, class, and Canadian identity and society in the new millennium. Why? Because the Flying Fish are here to stay in the Great White North.



## **Afterword:**

### **Flying Further: The Future of (Hyphenated) Barbadians in Canada**

As the first generation of Flying Fish in the Great White North have landed safely and become true Canadians in every sense of the word, what happens next? What happens to their second- and third-generation Barbadian-Canadian children and grandchildren who simultaneously identify as Black, Canadian, and Barbadian? Fluid and multiple identities are fundamental Canadian characteristics championed by our Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and our *Multiculturalism Act* (1988); to be from “here” and “there” is an accepted and promoted form of Canadianness. We Canadians pride ourselves in our multi-racial and multi-ethnic liberal democratic society. We, in the twenty-first century, believe that race, ethnicity, gender, and class, should not be barriers to inclusion in the Canadian democratic meritocracy. All citizens have the fundamental right to equality under the law and are guaranteed racial and religious freedoms. Despite the reality of said equality, it is a contested and problematic scenario in Canadian society, specifically for Visible Minorities and First Nations peoples. This dissertation has addressed the barriers to the immigration of Black Barbadians and Black West Indians; however, beyond the scope of this study is an examination of life in Canada for these migration pioneers and most importantly their children. Chapter Five highlighted stories of several Barbadians in Canada, but what about their offspring born and raised in Canada? These generations of Canadians were not educated in Barbados, nor did they experience the life-changing effects of international migration and settlement in a new and unknown world. These children are not naturalized Canadians like their parents, but *Jus soli* – citizens by birth on Canadian soil. However, in a

Canadian society historically stained by racial discrimination, one's phenotype has become the precursor to one's right as a "true" Canadian.

Barbadian emigrants fought for the right to come to Canada as ambassadors of their homeland and soon adopted a hyphenated Canadian sense of Self, without discarding their island nationality. Nevertheless, immigrant descendants are the true measure of integration and acceptance in Canadian society as they reveal the state's willingness to incorporate difference as an innate Canadian value. Immigrants navigated a new society, a new culture, and new institutional barriers relying on their transnational *habitus*, while their children and grandchildren have the opportunity to procure the necessary cultural and social capital to succeed in Canada as born Canadians. Second- and even third-generation Barbadian-Canadians should, and for the most part do, experience a higher level of acceptance and social gains as compared to their immigrant parents. However, institutionalized barriers, including the incendiary perpetuation of racial discrimination at every level of Canadian society, continues to inhibit the integration and recognition of an influential Black class. Second- and third-generation West Indian- and Barbadian-Canadians are equal partners within the Canadian mosaic; however, due to their skin colour, Canadians of Barbadian descent are forced to accept a hyphenated identity. It is an identity that may have been appropriate for their emigrant parents who battled racism and discrimination just for the opportunity to come to Canada in the mid-twentieth century, but being forced to accept a hyphenated identity – by the general public, supported by Canadian policy and institutions – in the new millennium as the Black Canadian "Other," is problematic and further marginalizes second-generation Barbadian-Canadians. The normalization of hyphenation in Canada has both negative and positive aspects.

Official Canadian multiculturalism facilitated the multiplicity of the Canadian “I”; individuality is characterized by the fluidity of one’s transnational or national belonging. Fluidity facilitates the hyphenation of Self, which is a common characteristic of Canadian identity. Many Canadians accept the positive connotations of the hyphen. It is a means for Black Barbadians and all Canadian immigrants to maintain a “back home” culture and identity, and an avenue for positive transnational and diasporic connections. However, the hyphen connects and divides. It does not remove the ambiguity of Canadian national identity, nor the tie that binds immigrants, Visible Minorities, and the dominant fractions in Canadian society. The hyphen separates and binds Canadians; it renegotiates social interaction and cohesion. Hyphenation, and the hyphen, create, maintain, and perpetuate imagined divisions in Canada’s multicultural society within a bicultural framework. The hyphen and hyphenated identity is a product of Canadian multicultural ideology and policy and Canada’s history of immigration.<sup>925</sup> The hyphen, and hyphenation, is an intrinsic manipulation of Canadian identity. It acts as a means of power and dominance, and also as a practice for segmented and constructed identities. The hyphen is a simultaneous mark of endearment and marginalization; the picayune and ambiguous marker essentializes Black immigrant and Canadian identity. This process creates a hyphen hierarchy, where Blacks in Canada, specifically Black Barbadians and West Indians, appropriate its dualistic and malleable properties.

Canadian hyphenation is a “play of identities” and hyphenated identity must be situated within Stuart Hall’s discussion of the three types of identity: the enlightenment

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<sup>925</sup> The history has its roots in pre-multicultural colonization within a British colonial framework.

subject, the sociological subject, and the postmodern subject.<sup>926</sup> The hyphen operates in all three types of identity, but is most distinct as a Canadian entity through the subjective and objective characteristics of the sociological subject; hyphenated identity is an interactive construction between the identified and identifier. Individual ownership validates its authority and authenticity. The hyphen's ambiguity is represented by the subjectivity of collective and individual identity. This process is not simply a characteristic of Black Barbadians, West Indians, or Visible Minorities; the fluidity of Canadian identity and what it means to be Canadian provides the convoluted framework for hyphenation.<sup>927</sup> Identity, and Canadian identity, is not static nor is it durable; it is defined by malleability and situational adaptability. Canadians construct their identity in response to how they are treated by the wider society. Visible Minority and ethnic Canadians are defined by who they think they are, how others see them, and most importantly how they react to who the dominant society would like them to be.

Hyphenation and the transnationalism that it implies, helps us understand the possibility of acceptance and incorporation of Black Barbadians in multicultural Canada. However, the Government's rhetorical obfuscation of the ideals of Canadian multiculturalism and its conflation with negative codifiers have created a stratified hierarchy of acceptance for immigrants, Blacks Barbadians, and all Visible Minorities. Stratification exists on all levels of society and incorporates socio-economic factors and volume of capital; but class or generational status masks the racist overtones associated with the hierarchy of acceptance in Canadian society. Race is a fundamental organizing principle of Canadian society. In Canada, the political and social construction, negative and ignorant in its origins and usage,

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<sup>926</sup> Stuart Hall, "The Future of Identity," in *Identity and Belonging: Rethinking Race and Ethnicity in Canadian Society*, ed. Sean P. Hier and B. Singh Bolaria (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press Inc., 2006), 249-253.

<sup>927</sup> Hall reveals that time, and space, are basic coordinates of systems of representation. *Ibid.*, 259.

of Black identity, is a legislated ethnic identifier. According to Statistics Canada, “Black” is a race, an ethnicity, and a place of origin.<sup>928</sup> Its official misappropriation by the Canadian state facilitates the hyphenated manipulation by specific Black ethnic groups, including Black Barbadians, eschewing the racialization of their ideological Black racial identifier. Scholar Cecil Foster contends that Black ethnicity is analogous to nation-state hyphenations such as Italian- and Ukrainian-Canadian.<sup>929</sup> Where one hyphen celebrates difference and mends the balkanizing effects of multiculturalism, the other perpetuates further marginalization. A self-identified hyphenated Canadian enjoys the “freedom of self-determination.”<sup>930</sup> However, few Canadian Blacks “have the choice that allows them to be accepted and fully recognized as unchangeable unhyphenated Canadians.”<sup>931</sup> The hyphen is subjective, imposed, and a barrier for acceptance in Canadian society. Presenting “Black” as an ethnicity, once again reifies its historical social and political construction. Black is no longer the denigrated and socially unacceptable racialized marker, but a sanitized ethnic group; its accepted hyphenated qualification on Canadian citizens “deprives social mobility,” most notably when “skin colour is the main determinant of their identity and their social and ethical relations with other Canadians and the [Canadian] state.”<sup>932</sup> Canadian Blacks, codified as Black-Canadians, are denied the “existentialism of infinite multiculturalism.”<sup>933</sup> The Black ethnic group further perpetuates its dehumanized racial history.

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<sup>928</sup> See the 2006 census and those prior that mention “Black” as a choice for Canadians to self-identify. “Ethnic Origins, 2006 Counts, for Canada, Provinces and Territories,” [www.statcan.gc.ca, http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/hlt/97-562/pages/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo=PR&Code=01&Data=Count&Table=2&StartRec=1&Sort=3&Display=All&CSDFilter=5000](http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/hlt/97-562/pages/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo=PR&Code=01&Data=Count&Table=2&StartRec=1&Sort=3&Display=All&CSDFilter=5000), [accessed December 21<sup>st</sup>, 2012].

<sup>929</sup> Cecil Foster, *Blackness and Modernity: The Colour of Humanity and the Quest for Freedom* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2007), 374.

<sup>930</sup> *Ibid.*, 388.

<sup>931</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>932</sup> *Ibid.*, 363-364.

<sup>933</sup> *Ibid.*

Despite its manipulative and incendiary nature, the hyphen can circumvent the negative connotations of hyphenated Black ethnicity. Contrary to Foster's argument, I contend that Blacks embrace hyphenated nation-state identities. Hyphenated nation-state identities shun the ideological inferiority of their racial identification as Black. They embrace the cultural and historical validity of their ancestral home. Good Barbadian-Canadian values, for example the importance of education, are dialectical oppositions to supposed Black-Canadian apathy and institutional barriers to academic success. Through co-ethnic transnational identity, and hyphenation, Black-Canadians manipulate their sense of Self, their "I," and subsequently politicize their identities for incorporation within the dominant Canadian society.<sup>934</sup> Canadian society must redefine its attitudes towards Blacks when confronted with heterogeneous and positive classifications of people with black skin colour. The hyphen creates positive cultural dialogue. Affixing the cultural virtues of nation-states challenges and successfully negates the ideology of "Blackness." The Caribbean or Africa will no longer be classified as homogenous regions of destitute Black people. A Barbadian-Canadian is not simply Black; he may be White, or of East or South Asian descent. An Arab-Canadian is no longer associated with terrorism, but historically rich Lebanese, Algerian, or Egyptian culture. Barriers and stereotypes are removed and the hyphen has the potential to facilitate real cultural understanding. Positive hyphenation is the act of moving beyond tolerance to build an allophilic environment in Canadian society.<sup>935</sup> The essentialization of "racial" origin is challenged by the ownership of hyphenation. The

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<sup>934</sup> Alan B. Simmons and Dwaine E. Plaza, "The Caribbean Community in Canada: Transnational Connections and Transformations," in *Negotiating Borders and Belonging: Transnational Identities and Practices in Canada*, ed. Wong, Lloyd & Vic Satzewich (University of British Columbia Press, 2006), 142-143.

<sup>935</sup> According to senior lecturer Todd L. Pittinsky of Harvard University, "allophilia" describes "positive intergroup dynamics superseding tolerance." For a description of the five components that measure "allophilia" (affection, comfort, kinship, engagement, and enthusiasm) see Sheema Khan, "Beyond tolerance lies true respect," *The Globe and Mail*, February 28, 2013.

hyphen divides but the divisions create avenues for positive inter-ethnic relations. Through hyphenation Black Barbadians, immigrants and Visible Minorities are given the chance to redefine themselves within the concept of inter-culturalism – disposing myths and stereotypes and sharing their reality of existence. The hyphen wields power. Those who own its qualifiers decide its meanings and values. Practical outcomes validate the hyphen's negative or positive effects.

Hyphenation redefines identities. Canadians are cognizant of the political implications of using different identities for purposes of social capital, networks, and most importantly for avenues for social mobility and inclusion.<sup>936</sup> Canada is a nation built on hyphens – a hyphen-nation. Mobilizing Canadian cultural capital is necessary for social cohesion and national identity formation. Hyphenation for Visible Minorities, specifically functionalist Black Barbadian and West Indians, is a tool for academic and political success, and an anti-racist and anti-discriminatory avenue for agency. Overarching transnational and hyphenated identity, acts as a unique form of collective cohesion with the dominant Canadian society. Each segmented identity is a social tool and the value of hyphenation rests in its individual usage.

Second-generation Canadians are the key to understanding the effects of hyphenation and more importantly the merits of multiculturalism and Canadian racial inclusivity. Visible Minority second-generation Canadians – children born in Canada of immigrant and first-generation Canadian parents – become the true litmus test of whether institutional and ideological racism is an inherent and indoctrinated feature of Canadian society. These individuals may grow up in a culturally hyphenated private sphere, but publicly they enjoy the same cultural and social capital as their White Canadian counterparts. They went to the

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<sup>936</sup> Steven Vertovec, *Transnationalism* (London: Routledge, 2009), 36.

same schools, watched the same television programs, played in the same baseball and hockey tournaments, and most importantly spent their formative years inundated by Canadian cultural norms. Second-generation Canadians, specifically Black, West Indian and Barbadian hyphens, should enjoy the same equitable social, political, and economic treatment as White Canadians. They should, but they do not. Black youth perpetually rank near the bottom of higher educational enrollment figures, have some of the highest secondary school dropout rates, and disproportionately lower economic earnings than their White Canadian counterparts. While there are several explanations for the generalized discrepancy, most notably a racialized and epistemically violent system, young second-generation Black Canadians continue to fight this perceived – and real – stereotype. Second-generation Barbadian-Canadians are not simply a marginalized and racialized immigrant group fighting for recognition and respect within the vertical silo of Multicultural Canada. We are Canadians, raised as Canadians, of Canadian parents. Similar to countless immigrant stories, Barbadian-Canadian parents came to this country to give their children the opportunities and privileges in which they themselves were denied as children or fought valiantly to procure. Racism and xenophobia were, and are, real barriers to success in Canada; barriers first generation Barbadian-Canadians struggled to overcome in order for their children to succeed in a multicultural – but unequal – Canadian society. However, while second-generation Barbadian-Canadians manipulate their sense of Self and attempt to purge the ideologically reified, and ever increasingly picayune, derisive societal stereotype of Black and Blackness, racialized institutional structures continue to restrict their mobility and agency. Canadian society continues to negatively codify second-generation Canadians, while Barbadian-Canadians attempt to eschew ideological debasement and demand to be treated as equal partners within the Canadian mosaic.



Barbadian-Canadian youth continue to struggle for equality in society. Along with their Barbadian Diaspora membership, Barbadian-Canadian youth belong to the much larger Black and African Diaspora. They must straddle their parents' national allegiance and soft primordial connection to their West Indian island home, while navigating the structures of a multicultural society as Black Canadians. Regardless of their colour and their predisposed diasporic allegiance, second-generation Barbadian-Canadian youth are Canadians and have the right to identify solely as Canadian citizens. Despite the marginalizing effects of institutional barriers, like their parents of the 1950s and 1960s, this group of citizens has contributed to all levels of Canadian society; from politics, to academe, to professional hockey. This influential group understands that they must lead by example, first and foremost as Canadian industry leaders, but also as members of an increasingly influential Black political class – a politicized Black Diaspora in Canada. The story began with the emigration of Barbadians in search of avenues for personal and professional growth, and through pride and industry they created a sound platform for the future of the Barbadian Diaspora in Canada. Future scholars must build on this study of Barbadian emigrants in Canada and document the stories of second-generation Barbadian-Canadians and diversify Canadian historiography.

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## Appendices

### Appendix A

#### Barbadian Population Demographics, Labour, and Migration Statistics, 1927-1963

	Total Pop.	Density	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net M. growth	Birthrate	Ill. BR %	Death rate	Infant Mortality	IM from Syphilis
1927	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	31.59	66.81	20.21	201	12.70%
1928	167,953	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	33.76	65.99	30.1	331	668
1929	170,391	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	32.04	63.7	23.74	239	556
1930	172,182	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	32.67	62.85	23.08	251	540
1931	173,674	N/A	N/A	N/A	1,127	28.06	60.46	25.95	298	545
1932	176,874	1,066	N/A	N/A	1,134	30.76	59.69	18.97	198	385
1933	180,055	1,205	N/A	N/A	3,181	29.79	59.9	20.13	235	413
1934	182,440	1,219	9,570	8,389	N/A	29.44	57.42	23.04	236	340
1936	188,294	1,114	9,661	8,753	908	31.8	59	18.54	198	172
1937	190,939	1,114	9,761	9,275	486	29.92	58.22	18.52	217	214
1938	193,082	1,163	9,753	9,174	579	27.3	59	19.38	221	217
1943	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	29.01	57.2	15.33	164	N/A
1944	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	29.1	56.91	16.41	186	N/A
1945	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	28.47	54.55	14.89	150	N/A
1946	195,348	1,198	N/A	N/A	N/A	31.6	53.74	16.83	157	N/A
1947	199,012	N/I	15,217	14,774	443	32.28	52.6 (est.)	16.09	163	N/A
1948	202,669	1,220	16,017	15,846	171	32.68	53	15.48	149	N/A
1949	N/A	1,250	16,870	15,847	1,023	31.06	56.54	14.56	133	N/A
1950	211,641	1,288	20,734	21,040	-306	30.74	57.38	12.85	125	N/A
1951	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	31.83	N/A	14.06	136	N/A
1952	219,015	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	34.16	N/A	14.93	146	N/A
1953	222,942	1,343	N/A	N/A	N/A	34.51	N/A	14.06	139	N/A
1954	227,550	N/A	20,937	21,288	N/A	33.6	N/A	11.3	109	N/A
1955	229,119	1,380	23,696	28,130	N/A	33.3	N/A	12.7	134	N/A
1956	229,579	N/A	25,758	29,944	N/A	30.9	62.3	10.6	97	N/A
1957	232,227	1,399	33,123	35,320	N/A	31.7	62.3	10.7	87	N/A
1958	236,812	N/A	35,635	35,867	N/A	30.3	62.6	9.8	82	N/A
1959	240,799	1,450	43,510	44,549	N/A	29.8	62.6	8.7	71	N/A
1960	242,274	N/A	50,019	54,250	N/A	32.2	63.6	8.8	60	N/A
1961	241,706	1,450	54,134	59,097	N/A	28	62.1	9.9	83	N/A
1962	237,376	N/A	62,477	63,822	N/A	29.3	64	9	54	N/A
1963	240,468	N/A	69,282	70,983	N/A	29.1	64	8.8	61	N/A

Glossary of Terms for Appendix A:

*Total Pop.:* Total Population of Barbados as of December 31<sup>st</sup> of the year in question. The reader must be aware that some of the figures are said to be estimations within the Colonial Reports and may not be completely accurate.

*Density:* Population density – number of persons per square mile.

*Immigrants:* Number of persons entering the Island

*Emigrants:* Number of persons leaving the Island

*Net M. Growth:* Net Migration Growth – the population increase through immigration in excess of emigration

*Birthrate:* Rate per one thousand people

*Ill. BR%:* Illegitimate Birthrate percentage – the number of births out of wedlock

*Death rate:* Rate per one thousand people

*Infant Mortality:* Deaths per one thousand live births

*IM from Syphilis:* Infant Mortality caused by syphilis – the overall number of deaths (or percentage as stated in 1927) caused by syphilis – one of the leading causes of death for children under the age of five.

## Appendix B

### Barbadian Primary and Secondary School Enrolment by Gender, 1927-1963

	P.School	P.Enrol	E.Boy	E.Girl	A. Att	A. Boy	A. Girl	S.School	FGS	A.Boy	A.Girl	Edu.Grant
1927	129	22,732	N/A	N/A	14,649	N/A	N/A	4	N/A	N/A	N/A	£46,148
1928	129	23,380	N/A	N/A	15,197	N/A	N/A	11	N/A	N/A	N/A	£56,925
1929	129	23,374	N/A	N/A	15,717	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1930	127	23,281	N/A	N/A	16,330	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	£50,196
1931	127	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1932	128	23,944	N/A	N/A	16,621	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1933	128	24,101	N/A	N/A	16,986	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1934	127	24,888	N/A	N/A	18,257	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	£52,642
1936	126	26,113	N/A	N/A	19,376	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	£59,706
1937	126	26,397	N/A	N/A	19,582	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1938	126	27,168	N/A	N/A	20,204	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	£76,725
1947	126	28,880	14,557	14,323	N/A	N/A	N/A	11	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1948	124	28,982	14,783	14,199	N/A	N/A	N/A	11	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1949	124	29,716	15,223	14,493	N/A	N/A	N/A	11	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1951	124	30,080	N/A	N/A	22,127	10,992	11,135	11	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1952	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	22,629	11,485	11,144	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1953	124	32,010	16,301	15,709	23,821	12,173	11,648	10	1,349	967	382	N/A
1954	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	26,039	13,155	12,884	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1955	124	35,977	18,289	17,688	27,793	14,208	13,595	10	1,341	929	412	\$1,602,360
1957	116	34,200	17,545	16,655	27,762	14,058	13,704	10	1,368	953	415	\$1,632,895
1959	116	36,311	18,609	17,702	28,613	14,644	13,969	N/A	1,484	1,017	467	N/A
1961	116	38,976	19,819	19,157	30,349	15,432	14,917	10	4,135	2,530	1,605	N/A
1963	117	40,732	20,672	20,060	33,299	15,432	16,333	10	4,325	2,580	1,745	N/A

Glossary of Terms for Appendix B:

*P. School:* Total primary schools in Barbados

*P. Enrol:* Total primary school students enrolled each year

*Note: In 1951 approximately 15% of Barbados' total population was enrolled in primary school.*

*E. Boy:* Total boys enrolled in primary schools

*E. Girl:* Total girls enrolled in primary schools

*A. Att:* Total yearly average attendance in primary schools

*A. Boy:* Yearly average attendance for boys in primary schools

*A. Girl:* Yearly average attendance for girls in primary schools

*S. School:* Number of secondary schools

*FGS:* Total number of student attendance at First Grade Schools

*Note: Up to 1959 the number only includes three First Grade Schools (Harrison College, Lodge School, and Queen's College). For 1961 & 1963 the attendance is for all ten secondary schools in Barbados.*

*A. Boy:* Yearly average attendance for boys in secondary schools

*A. Girl:* Yearly average attendance for girls in secondary schools

*Edu. Grant:* Education Grant given by the Barbados Government

## Appendix C

### Barbadian Revenue, Expenditure, and Public Debt, 1947-1963

	Revenue	Expenditure	Public Debt
<b>1947 (£)</b>	1,942,778	1,774,535	605,360
<b>1948 (£)</b>	1,940,467	2,051,626	605,360
<b>1949 (\$)</b>	9,553,594	10,290,424	2,905,728
<b>1951-52 (\$)</b>	13,181,295	11,010,420	1,498,514
<b>1952-53 (\$)</b>	13,757,830	11,423,910	1,630,462
<b>1953-54 (\$)</b>	14,155,478	12,543,583	N/A
<b>1954-55 (\$)</b>	16,272,736	12,668,071	N/A
<b>1955-56 (\$)</b>	16,304,071	14,290,244	2,995,548
<b>1956-57 (\$)</b>	19,124,815	16,216,542	N/A
<b>1957-58 (\$)</b>	20,132,191	19,303,149	7,405,392
<b>1958-59 (\$)</b>	23,761,801	20,723,432	N/A
<b>1959-60 (\$)</b>	23,157,771	22,253,481	25,013,891
<b>1960-61 (\$)</b>	26,035,81	22,683,604	24,502,219
<b>1961-62 (\$)</b>	26,209,316	27,157,008	33,398,979
<b>1962-63 (\$)</b>	28,324,718	28,398,654	31,038,720

Note for Appendix C:

In 1949 Barbados switched from the British Pound to the British West Indies Dollar.

## Appendix D

### West Indian and Barbadian Farm Workers in the United States, 1956-1963

	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963
<b>Total West Indians in US</b>	7,502	8,640	7,433	8,626	9,681	10,267	10,123	11,548
<b>Total Barbadians in US</b>	1,360	1,564	1,223	1,446	1,540	1,554	1,152	1,959

Note:

All data collected for Appendix A, B, C, and D, from the Colonial Reports between 1927 and 1963 located at the Barbadian National Archives, the Lazaretto, St. Michael, Barbados. See bibliography for complete citation.



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