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Abstract

The following article will discuss the history of formal education in Barbados and will situate how this emphasis on the equal access to education between the sexes facilitated the emigration of Black Barbadian educators, most notably Black women, in the mid-20th century. This article argues that the emphasis on education was a deliberate and calculated initiative by the Barbadian Government to assist in the socio-economic advancement of its Black population up to the mid-20th century. The author has chosen this period to reflect the mass emigration of Black Barbadians to Canada prior to liberalization of the latter's immigration policies in the late 1960s and beyond. The article highlights that female and male Black Barbadian migrants capitalized on their educational background to circumvent and challenge racist international migration barriers. Moreover, the following will situate Black Barbadian educators in Canada in the 1950s and 1960s.

Keywords

Barbados, Canada, gender, education, immigration, race

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Introduction

Education and the pursuit of higher education were 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. It is a character trait created and instilled by the Barbadian Government in the early 20th century (Hannah-Jones, 2009). 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" (Hannah-Jones, 2009, pp. 1-2). To be a proud Barbadian was to be an 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.

The following will discuss the history of formal education in Barbados and will situate how this emphasis on the equal access to education between the sexes facilitated the emigration of Black Barbadian educators, most notably Black women, in the mid-20th century. The article's focus on mid-20th century gender and education in Barbados is notable. As recorded in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) 2012 publication, *World Atlas of Gender Equality in Education*, one third of countries globally have yet to achieve gender parity in primary schools (UNESCO, 2012). In contrast, Barbados pushed to achieve gender parity and equal access to primary, and secondary, education in the early 20th century.

The article begins with an examination of the establishment of the Barbadian education system beginning in the late 17th century for White Barbadian children. This is followed by the push to educate former Black slaves following Emancipation in 1834 and the end of Apprenticeship in 1838 in Barbados, and the establishment of the Government's first *Education Act* in 1850. The Barbadian Government invested heavily in its education system in the late 19th to mid-20th century. This article argues that the emphasis on education was a deliberate and calculated initiative by the Barbadian Government to assist in the socio-economic advancement of its Black population up to the mid-20th century. The author has chosen this period to reflect the mass emigration of Black Barbadians to Canada prior to liberalization of the latter's immigration policies in the late 1960s and beyond. The piece highlights that female and male Black Barbadian migrants capitalized on their educational background to circumvent and challenge racist international migration barriers. Moreover, the following will situate Black

Barbadian educators in Canada in the 1950s and 1960s. It will also underscore that Barbadians continued to advance their desire to teach and learn as contributing members of Canadian society. In sum, this is a story of agency within the structures of migration and settlement: It positions the history of Black migrants as active agents, and not simply marginalized objects, of transnational and Canadian history. This is a case study that also challenges the myth of the subaltern class of uneducated Blacks and Black immigrants in Canada.

A History of 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-20th century. This article emphasizes the efforts to educate Blacks and all Barbadian children since the late 18th century and contextualizes how domestic policies contributed to the Barbadian Government's emigration schemes. Barbadian officials were confident that these educated individuals were well-suited to represent themselves and the Island as "exceptional" migrants who challenged racist and discriminatory immigration policies.

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 20th-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 laboring class precipitated discussions of sponsored emigration during the late 19th century. However, Barbados experienced a "Brain Drain" of a highly educated and upwardly mobile population during the mid-20th century following the implementation of a comprehensive education system. For example, the exodus of educated Barbadians during the mid-20th 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" (Migration, 1968, p. 43).

Throughout the late 19th and early 20th century, Barbadian officials feared the loss of highly skilled labor 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 that saw education as a means for self-empowerment and growth within a liberalized and globalized environment. In his memoir, renowned author 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. (Clarke, 2005, p. 211)

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 in the 1960s. The Barbadian Government facilitated the emigration of its people to various locations abroad, but more importantly, the early 20th-century emphasis on education provided the foundation for Black Barbadians to challenge the racialized structures of the international migration system. The Government of Barbados provided the necessary education to assist the emigration of Barbadians during this period.

Despite not being able to afford to attend secondary school during the 1940s, young Black Barbadian Reginald Eric Taylor, who became a teacher upon his arrival in Canada in the late 1960s, benefited 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-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. 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 (R. Taylor, 2010). 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 must begin with the history of education on the Island to contextualize the positive and internationally marketable characteristics of the Barbadian prior to her or his migration abroad.

Education was a means for social mobility and prosperity originating in the late 17th century. The "philanthropic efforts of private individuals and by the humanitarian interest of the Churches" founded the Barbadian education system (Planning Research and Development Unit of the Ministry of Education, Youth Affairs and Culture, 2000). 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. John Elliot and Rowland Bulkley donated the considerably large sum of \$1,000 (the seventeenth century equivalent to mid-twentieth century Eastern Caribbean Currency, which became the Barbados Dollar in 1973) for the establishment of a school for poor White children in 1686. In 1709, Captain Francis Williams donated 100 acres to launch a charity school for White children, which became the Foundation School in Christ Church (Planning Research and Development Unit of the Ministry of Education, Youth Affairs and Culture, 2000). The establishment of first-grade schools continued in the early to mid-18th 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 colored 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 (Planning Research and Development Unit of the Ministry of Education, Youth Affairs and Culture, 2000). 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 enrollment of 7,452 students. By 1846, the Barbadian Legislature provided the first state education grant of £750. 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. 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 20th century, the Barbadian Colonial Government officially recognized 169 elementary schools with an enrollment of 24,415 children and 532 students attending the three first-grade and five second-grade schools, respectively (Planning Research and Development Unit of the Ministry of Education, Youth Affairs and Culture, 2000).

The historical emphasis on education continued to expand during the 20th 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. (Colonial Reports, 1929, p. 2)

By the late 1920s, the free elementary education system was considerably successful in providing the training needed for a highly intelligent and skilled Black middle class workforce. The system was, and continued to be, a success. The Colonial Report described how it 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, a 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 (Colonial Reports, 1929). 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 3 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” (Colonial Reports, 1929). By 1927, the Government abolished all school fees for elementary children and established St. Michael’s girls’ school. In 1928, the Government proposed the establishment of a West Indian University (Colonial Reports, 1929). 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 (Colonial Reports, 1939), and in 1949, the number of Government-funded elementary schools fell slightly to 124 (*Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Year 1949*, 1950). 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” (*Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1952 and 1953, 1954*, p. 38). Government schools

provided the necessary training and teaching excellence for Barbadians to attend prestigious universities in Britain. 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 achievement was paramount as Barbados Scholarship winners attained "a standard equal to that prescribed by the Colleges of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge." Scholarships were awarded "from the results of the General Certificate Examinations at Advanced and Scholarship Levels of the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board" (*Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1952 and 1953*, 1954, pp. 38-39). 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 (Eastern Caribbean Currency) was loaned to 21 students. Of the 21 individuals, 13 students attended University College of the West Indies, 5 pursued their education in the United Kingdom, 2 in the United States, and 1 at Codrington College in Barbados (*Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1954 and 1955*, 1957).

By the late 1950s and early 1960s, 116 primary schools were free for both boys and girls aged 5 to 14, and education and access to education became the main priority for the Barbadian Government. That being said, male to female enrollment ratios began to show an alarming trend. The male to female ratio was relatively similar for elementary school enrollment 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 with 467 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; *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1958 and 1959*, 1961).

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 (Silvera, 1989). The initial program included women from Jamaica and Barbados. To qualify, the woman had to be between the ages of 18 and 35, single, have attained at least the equivalent of a Grade 8 education, and able to pass a medical examination. The final applicants were interviewed in the Caribbean by Canadian Immigration officials. A number of 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 1 year. After the year, they could remain domestic or find work elsewhere (Silvera, 1989). 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 domestic workers, or 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 households and public institutions promoted increased emigration outlets that their government desired. 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 challenged discriminatory Canadian immigration policies. Historical factors facilitated Barbados’ emphasis on female transnational social mobility.

Historically, Barbadian female population demographics characterized the Island’s unique position in relation to other British West Indian colonies. Since the late 17th century, the Barbadian slavocracy 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 (Beckles, 1999, p. 3). 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 (Beckles, 1989). Early 20th century emigration left twice as many women on the Island due to sex selective emigration prior to 1921. Due in part to male emigration during this period up to the mid-20th century, 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 (Coppin, 1995; Lowenthal, 1957).

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 that 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 child care program 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 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 inter-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 (Edmonds & Girvan, 1973). Declining fertility rates due to the Government’s active family planning program and the increased access to secondary education for girls in Barbados in the 1950s led to higher Black Barbadian female participation in the labor force in the 1960s (Coppin, 1995). 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 (Coppin, 1995).

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; in 1959-1960, \$3,644,009; and in 1960-1961, \$3,798,221 (Eastern Caribbean Currency) (*Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1960 and 1961*, 1962). 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 and 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. (*Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1960 and 1961*, 1962, p. 7)

Barbados also produced scholarships to send Barbadian teachers to Canada for further education. These included one Commonwealth scholarship 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 (*Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1960 and 1961, 1962*).

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 also highly educated in a system that to this day, still garners substantial respect internationally. Since Emancipation in the mid-19th century, the Barbadian Government played both an indirect and direct role in the emigration of its people, most notably its teachers. Government initiatives educated an upwardly mobile and transnational population. It was a population willing to share its national “culture of education” in Canada.

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 (personal communication, March 3, 2012), argued that “those who attended McGill University or medical school in Scotland, or other parts of the United Kingdom, seemed to dominate the Barbadian medical field.” Taylor (2012) 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.¹ (C. Taylor, personal communication, March 3, 2012)

In addition to the socio-economic push factors that facilitated Barbadian emigration, Taylor indicated that the socially mobile and educated elite who “went away” were better qualified and better received as leaders in their respective industries once they returned to the Island. One may attribute 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 (2012) 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.² (C. Taylor, personal communication, March 3, 2012)

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. Domestic workers were objectified and bound by the constraints of their labor in an inherently sexist and racist immigration system in Canada. Students and educators in the late 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-20th century.

Barbados’ primary and secondary education system produced Barbadians capable of succeeding among 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 de-value

their class positions and academic achievements in order to fit the gendered and racist immigration system of the Domestic Scheme established in 1955. 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 Taylor, helped build the Canadian education system. They also contributed to the education of the wider Barbadian community in Canada with organizations such as the National Council of Barbadian Associations in Canada (NCBAC). It must be noted that several female and male Barbadians earned scholarships and were accepted to attend Canadian universities prior to 1962. This was another example of how Barbadian academic prowess was used as a means to circumvent racist and discriminatory immigration policies.

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 6th form (the equivalent of 12th grade in the United States' education system) at Queen's College (C. Taylor, 2012). Taylor taught at St. Paul's Girls' School from 1960 to 1964 prior to attending Barbados' teacher training institute, Erdiston Teacher's College (C. Taylor, 2012).³ Following their graduation, many of the new graduates applied for teaching positions in Canada while also receiving their immigrant status. Taylor (2012) 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. (C. Taylor, personal communication, March 3, 2012)

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. 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 understood by Barbadians, and Canadian ships in the Bridgetown

harbor 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 toward 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 with England and the United States. Taylor (2012) 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. (C. Taylor, personal communication, March 3, 2012)

Taylor exemplified the autonomy and perseverance of the Barbadian woman in Canada. Women who obtained their primary and secondary education in early- to mid-20th century Barbados capitalized on the Island’s equal access to education for boys and girls. Equality and collective advancement through universal and free education defined the Black Barbadian’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. Despite the gendered focus on international male labor migration, women earned the tools and skills needed to become “model immigrants” in Canada and other host countries during the mid-20th century. Gendered and discriminatory immigration policies, most notably the Domestic Scheme and Canada’s openly racist immigration policies prior to 1962, hindered their transnational movement. The success of educated Barbadians in Canada challenged the racially charged preconceived notions of Black identity, which ultimately defined Canada’s supposed “right” to exclude Blacks through its immigration policy.

The following profile of several female and male Barbadian educators in Canada, 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. The educational reforms in Barbados throughout the early- to mid-20th 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. This is important as these men and women settled in Canada and became leaders in the Canadian mainstream. It recognizes their want and desire to contribute to Canada as Canadians and “model immigrants,” and not simply become drains on the system. The following 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 35 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.” 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” (Greaves et al., 2010, p. 25).

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 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 (Greaves et al., 2010).

Oscar Braithwaite came to Canada in 1965 following a 6-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.” 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 as a vice principal and principal in the Toronto area. Her immigration story began in 1958 as she believed “minority students need strong, visible role models.” 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 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. He subsequently obtained a master of education from the University of Ottawa and a teaching certificate from an institution in Newfoundland and Labrador (Greaves et al., 2010).

Harrison College was and is one of the top first-grade secondary schools in Barbados. It produced a number of Barbados’ greatest achievers in and outside the Island, as well as many teachers and educators noted in this article. 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 25-year teaching career in 1965 (Greaves et al., 2010). 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 (Moore, 1985). He chose tailoring as a trade that subsequently led to a job once he emigrated to Canada in the early 20th 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-20th century to pursue their careers as educators and capitalizing on their teaching experience on the Island (Moore, 1985).

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 contributed as educators in Canada. These brief biographical excerpts of notable Barbadian-Canadian teachers supported the theory that Barbadians used their education to emigrate and pursue upward social mobility and to act

as educators in Canada. Reginald Eric Taylor did not have the same educational opportunities in Barbados as the above-mentioned emigrants because 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. Taylor was one of the many Black Barbadian migrants in the United Kingdom in the early 1960s who understood their marginalization as a subaltern laboring class (Western, 1992).

Taylor and his colleagues capitalized on any and all educational opportunities for advancement outside 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 who did not finish secondary school and earned bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Toronto and was accepted to the school's doctoral program. 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 (R. Taylor, 2010).

Conclusion

Barbadian teachers and those who 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. Some may have wanted to repatriate following a brief sojourn abroad; however, 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. This article was a case study of Barbadian educational achievement. It highlighted how education facilitated the emigration of young Barbadians and how they contributed to the Canadian educational system upon their arrival and settlement. The British and internationally recognized Barbadian education standards were a vehicle

and a means for emigration, and subsequently provided both male and female Barbadian migrants with the intellectual tools and mental fortitude to not only survive but also succeed in a discriminatory and sometimes hostile, Canadian environment. Future case studies on this topic of other former British West Indian colonies will emphasize the historical similarities toward education shared throughout the archipelago. While the population size of the British Caribbean may seem small, the majority of Blacks in Canada reported in the 2006 Canadian census were of West Indian descent (Statistics Canada, 2010). These individuals will then show that analogous to Barbadian scholarly credentials, Black West Indian migrants fulfilled Canadian immigration requirements during the mid-20th century. Most importantly, as characterized by Barbadian Reginald Eric Taylor's migrant story, their reverence for education and academics provided the wherewithal to integrate, assimilate, and persevere in Canadian society and contribute as Black Canadian educators.

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Notes

1. 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 (LSE) 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.

2. 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 policemen 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.
3. 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, 1967 edition of Barbados' *The Advocate*, titled "Canadian Minister Tours Institute" highlighted the Canadian teachers working at Erdiston Teachers Training College who were there through the Canadian External Aid programs. 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 program was educational assistance." *The Advocate*, January 5, 1967. Dr. F. L. Bates was a Canadian education expert "loaned to the West Indies under a scheme for Technical Assistance by Canada to the West Indies" (Barbados National Archives, *Colonial Office Annual Report on Barbados for the Years 1960 and 1961*, 1962, p. 7).

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