


# Black History in Bermuda

TIMELINE SPANNING 5 CENTURIES





This publication is dedicated to  
the life and racial justice advocacy  
of Dr. Eva Naomi Hodgson

9th October 1924 – 29th May 2020

Dr. Eva Hodgson



***“Faced with a collective forgetting, we must fight to remember.”***

RENI EDDO-LODGE

## **Black History in Bermuda Timeline**

This publication was researched and compiled by Citizens Uprooting Racism in Bermuda (CURB). We are grateful to the Human Rights Commission (HRC) for their consistent support for the mandate and mission of CURB, and for their assistance in producing the *Black History in Bermuda Timeline* as a public resource for all of Bermuda.

We hope this broad and significant timeline of events in Bermuda’s history will provide people with a greater understanding and perspective of the history of Bermuda and Black Bermudians. It reflects the courage, fortitude and resistance demonstrated in the traumatic events of the past, but also in facing the systemic barriers and continuing obstacles placed along the way. This is not a complete timeline, but we hope it serves as a useful starting point to encourage further learning and research and to that end a bibliography of sources is included.

The creation of a separate Black History in Bermuda Timeline is intentional due to the absence of substantive Black history in the vast majority of published literature, educational curricula and texts readily available to date. Contemporary books by Black historians have filled a massive research void left by earlier historians who focused on select descriptions of Bermuda’s colonial history, while omitting and thus erasing the Black narrative. This timeline seeks to pull together research references, primarily and painstakingly sourced by Black historians, in an easy-to-read and accessible format. It is designed for the reader to compare and analyse what is included and what is excluded from early works on Bermuda’s history. We hope that in the future the need for a distinct timeline may be less urgent, as a fully inclusive telling of Bermuda’s history becomes more widely recognised and honoured.

By the middle of the 20th century Bermuda had accumulated a succession of laws, policies and social rules that marginalised and disenfranchised blacks across multiple spheres of life. Since Emancipation these laws and policies were in place for 137 years and sanctioned racial segregation and discrimination across multiple areas like hotels, restaurants, employment, hospitals, maternity wards, theatres, funeral homes, home ownership, and churches. Today, that history of oppression has serious legacy issues for Bermuda with social, political, health and economic ramifications, continuing inequality and inequity, identity conflict and the tragedy of collective and intergenerational-trauma.

Despite this oppression, Black Bermudians fought countless battles to overcome their oppression to achieve and excel. This timeline honours those ancestors and is dedicated to their fight.

**This timeline is a living document. It is intended to be an evolving resource and will be enhanced by additional research and contributions. There may be errors, and omissions. We invite your knowledge and feedback. Please contact CURB to flag any errors or you wish to provide any further information for consideration as we intend to update the electronic document regularly. Thank you.**

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CURB is grateful to the former Commission for Unity and Racial Equality (CURE) for their foresight in 2003 in printing the first timeline entitled *Bermuda Timeline: Significant Events in the History of Bermuda's Race Relations from the 17th Century to the Present*; and in 2009 for developing an updated version in a series of 3 booklets entitled *400 Years of Bermuda's Race Relations*.

CURB has continued to expand on the timeline and broaden its focus on black History, and much of the research was incorporated into CURB Hidden History and structural racism workshops presented by Cordell Riley (past CURB President) and Lynne Winfield (current CURB President). Since 2010, CURB President Lynne Winfield continued to research and develop the timeline, incorporating new data from Bermuda's contemporary historians.

Most importantly CURB is thankful to all the individuals who have researched, written and collected the history of Black Bermudians, many of whom are cited in the Bibliography. Additionally, we are grateful to those who have kindly taken the time to provided us with invaluable oral history and/or reviewed the Black History in Bermuda Timeline and provided their feedback and guidance.

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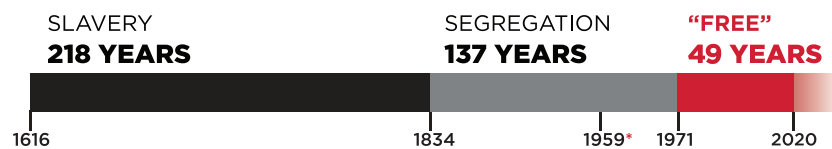
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**J. E. Belinda Wright**, Manager, Client Immigration Services, Conyers Dill & Pearman Limited.



BERMUDA



**\*Theatre Boycott**

*Desegregation of schools was not mandated by law until 1971.*

**ADVISORY**

Please be advised this document includes explicit references to the violence of enslavement and segregation, with some graphic descriptions taken directly from historical literature. References to the systemic oppression of Black Bermudians and other marginalised groups, including racist policies, practices and legislation are also reflected in this resource.

"UNTIL THE LIONS HAVE THEIR OWN HISTORIANS,  
THE HISTORY OF THE HUNT WILL ALWAYS GLORIFY  
THE HUNTER."

~ CHINUA ACHEBE

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# Black History in Bermuda

"NOT EVERYTHING THAT IS FACED CAN BE  
CHANGED, BUT NOTHING CAN BE CHANGED  
UNTIL IT IS FACED."

~ JAMES BALDWIN

# 17<sup>th</sup> Century



**1505** Earliest known discovery of Bermuda by Bermuda's namesake – Juan de Bermudez. He was a Spanish slave trader and former shipmate of the world's most notorious colonizer and Native American-enslaver, Christopher Columbus. When de Bermudez discovered the island, he was on his way back to Spain after delivering a cargo of enslaved Africans to the colony of Hispaniola. De Bermudez briefly explored the island, deposited hogs on it for a food source for future Spanish vessels, then marked it on his charts for future Spanish settlement. Therefore, our island home of Bermuda first entered the consciousness of Europeans during the Slave Trade and holds the name of a slave trader. (J. Maxwell Greene, mainly taken from the works of Maj. Gen. J. H. Lefroy).

## 1603

A Spanish ship captained by Diego Ramirez, brought the island's first known black visitor – a crewman named Venturilla was part of the landing party that came ashore for supplies and fresh water while the ship was being freed from the reefs and repaired. (Packwood, 1-3; Swan, 74).

## 1609

Shipwreck of the Sea Venture. It was taking settlers and supplies to the new English settlement of Jamestown. (Bermuda Timeline, 2003).

## 1612

The Charter of the Virginia Company is extended granting it control of Bermuda. Bermuda becomes a settler colony.

## 1615

Shareholders of the Virginia Company purchase Bermuda for £2,000 setting up the Somers Island Company (also known as the Bermuda Company). (400 Years Series 1: 17th - 18th Centuries).

## 1616

- ▶ The Bermuda Company instructed Governor Daniel Tucker to establish a settlement on the rocky spit along Castle Harbour. Tucker laid out streets, established a garrison, and encouraged settlers to support themselves through farming, whaling, pearl fishing and beach-combing for ambergris. (Ombudsman's *A Grave Error*, 2013).
- ▶ The first non-whites brought to the colony were a person of African descent and a Native American from the West Indies to dive for pearls. Although it was believed by earlier historians these were indentured servants, later research indicates that they were likely to have been enslaved.
- ▶ As early as May 1616, blacks from the West Indies were already at work in Bermuda providing expert knowledge about the cultivation of tobacco. *Smithsonian Magazine*



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## 1619

- ▶ Almost 200 enslaved Africans were loaded onto a Portuguese ship the *São João Bautista*, headed from Angola across the Atlantic to the Mexican port of Vera Cruz. Two English privateer ships *The Treasurer* and *The White Lion*, both who had license to capture Spanish ships, boarded the *São João*, taking off some of its cargo including some 50 - 60 slaves to be sold in Virginia. When *The Treasurer* captained by Capt. Daniel Elfrith arrived in Point Comfort he discovered that the Duke of Savoy had made peace with Spain. Fearful that he might be charged as a pirate and hung, Elfrith quickly set sail for Bermuda. Upon arrival the governor, Samuel Butler, seized the 29 slaves who were sold off to various Bermudian colonists, whereas most of the rest were put to work on behalf of the [Bermuda] Company. (Heywood & Thornton, 7).
- ▶ The first recorded Africans arrived in Point Comfort the British Colony of Virginia in late August 1619, bringing 20 to 30 enslaved Africans. (The New York Times Magazine - The 1619 Project, 2007).

## 1622

Bermuda Assembly met for the first time with Governor Nathaniel Butler presiding. The first act of the Assembly made it unlawful to hire out any "servant or apprentice" without written permission from the landlord; and the first [conservation] laws passed to protect the young turtles and the indiscriminate cutting of the islands' cedar forests.

## 1622

Bermuda's first inter-racial marriage took place. One of the Native American women who accompanied Pocohontas to England was married in St. George's, "to as fit and agreeable a husband as the place would afford. Over 100 guests attended the ceremony." (Simon).

## 1623

- ▶ The Bermuda Assembly has the notoriety of passing the earliest set of laws anywhere in the British Colonies to control blacks, i.e. an Act of the Second Assembly #12 to suppress black people entitled "An Act to Restrayne the insolences of the Negroes", which severely restricted the freedom of blacks. The Act forbade blacks to buy, sell or barter or exchange tobacco or any other produce without the consent of their masters.
- ▶ An Act "against the ill keeping of the ferrie" made it illegal to row anyone between Bailey's Bay and St. George's on Sunday. Those who were caught committing this crime would be whipped. Since many blacks used this crossing to earn extra money, this law had the effect of further limiting the amount of financial freedom enjoyed by free or enslaved blacks in Bermuda.

## 1626

"By 1626 'Chattel Slavery' was established in Bermuda... with the decree of Governor Henry Woodhouse's Council that the offspring of any slave-mother was itself to be considered a slave and to be treated as a chattel to be owned by the mother's master, or to become property of the Bermuda Company." (Robinson, 312).

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## 1629

Population is given as being approximately 2,500 white and between 300 to 400 black and Native American. (Simon).

## 1637

- ▶ Chief Sassacus and other Pequots seek refuge with neighboring tribes, but the tribes are intimidated by the English (and in some cases already unfriendly with the Pequots). Sassacus is refused sanctuary. English receive severed heads of Pequots as tribute from other tribes, including the head of Sassacus sent by Mohawks. (Simon).
- ▶ The Massachusetts General courts ordered that captives of the Pequot War be sent to Bermuda as slaves. Fifteen Native American boys and two women were sent by Governor Winthrop to Bermuda by William Pierce. They reportedly never made it and were sent instead to Providence, Bahama Islands. Historian Henry C. Wilkinson felt this deflection was intentional. (Simon).

## 1638

Treaty of Hartford – No Pequots may inhabit former Pequot territory, with the name Pequot to be expunged. Pequot slaves must take name of tribes to which they are enslaved. (Perhaps reason St. David's Islanders were referred to as Mohawks, instead of their own tribe). (Simon).

## 1639

Patrick Copeland, Paget Tribe, wrote Governor Winthrop to send captives and he would "see them disposed of here to honest men". (Simon).

## 1644

Pequot Native Americans brought to Bermuda. (Simon).

## 1649

The execution of King Charles I gave rise to what is called "Bermuda's Civil War" by the calling out of the militia, the swearing of allegiance to the Crown and forcing the Independents or Puritans to leave Bermuda for the Bahamas.

## 1650

The settlers began launching the first locally built deep-sea vessels, and "... developed a regular and profitable trade with Barbados and other Caribbean islands and "... forged a regular and profitable trade as they shuttled provisions, livestock, and Bermudian emigrants to Barbados and returned with sugar, rum, cash, and small numbers of African slaves." (Michael Jarvis, 49).

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## 1656

An aborted slave conspiracy resulted in all free blacks being banished from Bermuda. (Bermuda Timeline).

## 1661

An aborted slave and Irish indentured servants' conspiracy resulted in punishments, banishments and a nightly watch being maintained. (400 Years Series 1: 16th - 17th Centuries).

## 1663

Miscegenation [the interbreeding of people considered to be of different racial types] was prohibited. (Bermuda Timeline).

## 1664

Proclamation by the Governor that all able-bodied free Negroes were to leave the islands immediately, with a return to slavery being offered as an alternative. (Smith, 54).

## 1670

Population estimated at 8,000 including enslaved peoples. The enslaved population represented about 25% of the total. (Bermuda Timeline).

## 1673

- ▶ A slave conspiracy is put down. Certain conspirators were branded with the letter "R" for rogue, had their noses slit and were whipped prior to execution, the remaining branded and whipped. (400 Years Series 1: 16th - 17th Centuries).
- ▶ Bermuda claims and settles the Turks Island.

## 1675

Native American prisoners of war brought to Bermuda from New England. (Simon).

## 1675

Amid concerns that an increasing black population posed a security threat, whites took careful measures to control the black population and Governor Sir John Hayden banned the importation of new enslaved Africans to Bermuda. (Jarvis).

## 1677

An Act of 1675 prohibiting the importation of slaves is upheld. (Bermuda Timeline).

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## 1678

The salt trade is established in the Turks Island using enslaved Africans, including enslaved blacks from Bermuda. (Bermuda Timeline). Enslaved people in the Turks Island suffered greatly from starvation, with open sores and boils from standing in brine all day and bright sunlight, at night they were locked up in a long shed so they could not escape. (Maddison-MacFayden, 73).

## 1678-1680

Native American prisoners are enslaved and sent to Bermuda from New England in the aftermath of 'King Philip's War' 1675-1678. Many of these enslaved Native Americans were owned by white Bermudians in the East End of the island and intermarried with enslaved Africans, giving rise to the interracial community informally referred to as the St. David's Mohawks/ Native Americans. Some of which currently trace their histories to certain Pequot Nations today. (Maxwell, *Race and Servitude*; Jones; St. Clair Brinky Tucker).

## 1682

A slave conspiracy involving 5 males is uncovered and put down. (Bermuda Timeline).

## 1684

Bermuda becomes a Crown Colony of Britain. Privateering develops alongside the [growing] salt trade as a major source of income. (Bermuda Timeline).

## 1687

A law prohibiting the baptism of blacks, both free and slave, was passed. (Bermuda Timeline).

## 1690

An Act to Prevent Buying and Selling or Bargaining with Slaves.

## 1698

An Act to prevent the stealing of oranges and other fruit with slaves being severely whipped on the naked back throughout the parish where the crime took place. [Three lashes at every 30 paces]. (Smith, 303).



Black History  
in Bermuda

18<sup>th</sup> Century



## 1700s

- ▶ Slave Rebellions – Ten recorded conspiracies, with two being “major violent [conspiratorial events]” in the eighteenth century i.e. (the Poison plots 1718-1730 and the Conspiracy of 1761).
- ▶ From the early eighteenth century, Bermuda’s maritime commercial economy found itself in the middle of a radical expansion. Large numbers of sloops... constructed out of... Bermuda cedar plied the waters of the Atlantic world... engaged in activities that ranged from the carrying trade, wrecking, fishing, whaling and privateering. Enslaved blacks in Bermuda played a significant role. (Maxwell, 143)

## 1704

An Act ‘against the Insolency of Negroes and other Slaves for attempting or getting white women with Childe, and for furnishing all such white women’ (Robinson, 1). This Act included a clause for castration as a punishment, however Whitehall quickly acted to disallow that clause by 1705. (Robinson, 292)

## 1705

Following a period of unrest all free Negroes, mulattoes, and Indians, were forced to leave. (Smith, 68)

## 1706

An Act to impose a tax of forty shillings a head on all Negroes or slaves who were brought to the island (Smith, 67). [A failed attempt to restrict the number of blacks being brought into the island].

## 1711

An Order in Council issued authorizing the master of any ship greater than 44 feet to use as many blacks and/or slaves as crew as he thought necessary but limited the number of whites to six. (Packwood, 2).

## 1718

- ▶ A slave conspiracy is feared due to “Negroe men... grown soe very impudent and insulting of late that we have reason to suspect their riseing.” (Bermuda Timeline).
- ▶ Multiple slave conspiracies known as “the poisoning plots” begin, ending in 1730 with the burning of Sally Bassett at the stake. (Bermuda Timeline).

## 1720s

References to dancing, beginning in the 1720s, point to the origins of Gombey dancing, a custom of African origins that became common among Bermuda’s blacks sometime before the mid-eighteenth century. (Bernhard, 211).

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## 1724

Bishop George Berkeley proposes a scheme for the erection of a college in Bermuda for “the converting of the Indians to Christianity.” (Bermuda Timeline).

## 1728 - 1729

An Act to prevent any person or persons allowing and encouraging any Negroes or other Slaves from rioting and meeting at unreasonable times in his or their houses and possessions. (Robinson, 2).

## 1730

- ▶ An Act for the security of the subject, to prevent the forfeiture of life and estate upon killing a Negro or other Slave. (Robinson, 2) [Protecting slave owners from death or loss of property if they killed a slave].
- ▶ The attempted revolt of slaves during the absence of the regular British Army garrison, the Independent Company of Foot, which had been sent to the Bahamas to deal with pirates. This incident involved a number of slaves who planned to poison their masters and culminated in the trial and execution of Sarah [Sally] Bassett.
- ▶ Sally Bassett, a slave, was burnt at the stake for the alleged poisoning of her master (the end of “the poisoning plots”). (Bermuda Timeline).
- ▶ An Act for the further and better regulating Negroes and other Slaves (controls/reprisals following the Sally Bassett conspiracy). (Robinson, 2).
- ▶ An Act extirpating all free Negroes, Indians and Mulattoes. An Act requiring all freed slaves to leave Bermuda or be sold into slavery. (Smith, 303) [Extirpation: to destroy or remove [something] completely. Miriam-Webster dictionary].
- ▶ An Act “laying an Imposition on Negroes Imported and other slaves imported into these Islands” is passed. (Smith, 303). The Act expressed concern at the “great quantities of Negroes and slaves” on the island, levying £5 on all imported blacks to the island “except those that may be imported from Africa.” (Smith, 67-68). [An attempt to control numbers of enslaved blacks being brought into the island].
- ▶ The population is given as 8,774, being 5,086 white and 3,688 black.

## 1743

An Act to Prevent Buying, Selling or Bargaining with Negroes and other slaves. (Smith, 84).

## 1749 - 1815

A slave for most of his life, James “Jemmy” Darrell was granted his freedom at the age of 47 because of his outstanding skills as a pilot. He was one of Bermuda’s first King’s pilots, as well as the first known black person to purchase a house. (*Bermuda Biographies*).

## 1755

An Act stating that striking a white person could result in death, loss of an ear or ears and banishment (Packwood, 132-133).

## 1761

- ▶ A Slave Conspiracy is uncovered. Over half of the black population laid plans for a bid for freedom and to kill their slave masters. Six slaves executed, including one female. The Legislature reacted by banning all black festivities including Gombey dancing. (Robinson, 120) [This took place 30 years before the Haitian Revolution].
- ▶ The Council and Assembly enacted legislation to banish free Negroes and mulattoes from Bermuda. Those who did not leave were to be sold. (Smith, 71).
- ▶ "An Act for the speedy Tryal of divers Slaves, (etc.) charged with Conspiracy and Rebellion as well as such other Crimes Intent to Take Away the Lives of the White Inhabitants of these Islands & to Overturn & Totally Subvert the Government Thereof." (Robinson, 2) (Bermuda Archives, Statute of Laws 1620-1952).

## 1762

A Watch Law is passed. Any slave not found of a night in the place where he or she should be would receive 100 lashes. (Bermuda Timeline).

## 1764

An Act for better Government of Negroes, Mulattoes & Indians, bond and free; and for the more effectual punishing Conspiracies and Insurrections of them. (Robinson, 2). Which spoke of poison plotters masquerading their designs as administrations of medicines. (Maxwell, 164).

## 1773-74

Elaine Forman Crane cited a census in which 40% of all 'Negro men' were recorded as sailors. (Maxwell, 146).

## 1774

Michael Jarvis calculates that between 1670 and 1774 at least 87% of white households owned slaves.

## 1778

The voluntary return home of the *Regulator's* crew of seventy slaves from Boston where they had been offered freedom and domicile. All seventy chose to return to Bermuda and all but the one who died on the way succeeded in doing so. (Robinson, 4).

## 1779

An Act to prevent Negroes, Mulattoes or Mustees [an individual one-eighth black], whether bond or free, from retailing any goods wandering up and down throughout these Islands. (Packwood, 119).



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1782

"Most enslaved people in St. Thomas were directly from Africa... thus, it is probable that when Captain John Vesey, a Bermuda islander slave-trader, acquired 390 enslaved people in 1781 from St. Thomas for shipment to the French island of St. Domingue (Cape Francois) aboard the *Rebecca* – the shipment included a young slave boy, soon to become permanently known as Denmark [Vesey]." The leader of the foiled slave insurrection in Charleston, South Carolina (1822). (Flemming, 11).

1785

Mary Prince is born. (Junos)

1791 - 1804

The Haitian Revolution was a successful anti-slavery, anti-colonial insurrection by self-liberated slaves against French colonial rule in Saint-Domingue and ended with the former colony's independence.

1793

French refugees from the slave revolts in Haiti arrive in Bermuda. (400 Years Series 1: 17th - 18th Centuries).

1795

A slave conspiracy is "instigated by the Haitian Mulattoes." (Bermuda Timeline).

1795

Pilot Jemmy Darrell's extraordinary and historic feat of piloting Admiral Murray's flagship, the seventy-four gun battleship *Resolution*, into Murray's Anchorage—an achievement which so impressed the Admiral that he was led to ask the Governor-in-Council to manumit Darrell.

1798

Mary Prince is sold within a few months of turning 12 –"Mary was sold at an auction in Hamble Town (Hamilton), Bermuda, along with her younger sisters Hannah and Dinah. Her younger brothers were not sold that day... A different slave-owner purchased each girl. Captain John Ingham purchased Mary for GBP57 Bermudian currency. He was her third slave-owner. ... Captain Ingham and his wife, Mary Ingham, were cruel slave-owners who flogged their slaves as an 'ordinary punishment for even a slight offence' (*Mary Prince*, 7). Mary Prince and the other Ingham slaves were subjected to torture." Dr. Margot Maddison MacFayden [www.maryprince.org](http://www.maryprince.org)

1799

Revd. John Stephenson, an Irish Methodist Missionary, arrived in Bermuda to preach to enslaved and free blacks. He is arrested and imprisoned for 6 months between December 1800 - June 1801, and left Bermuda in April 1802.



SOMERSET WATCH HOUSE

Photo courtesy of Martin Buckley



SMITH'S PARISH WATCH HOUSE

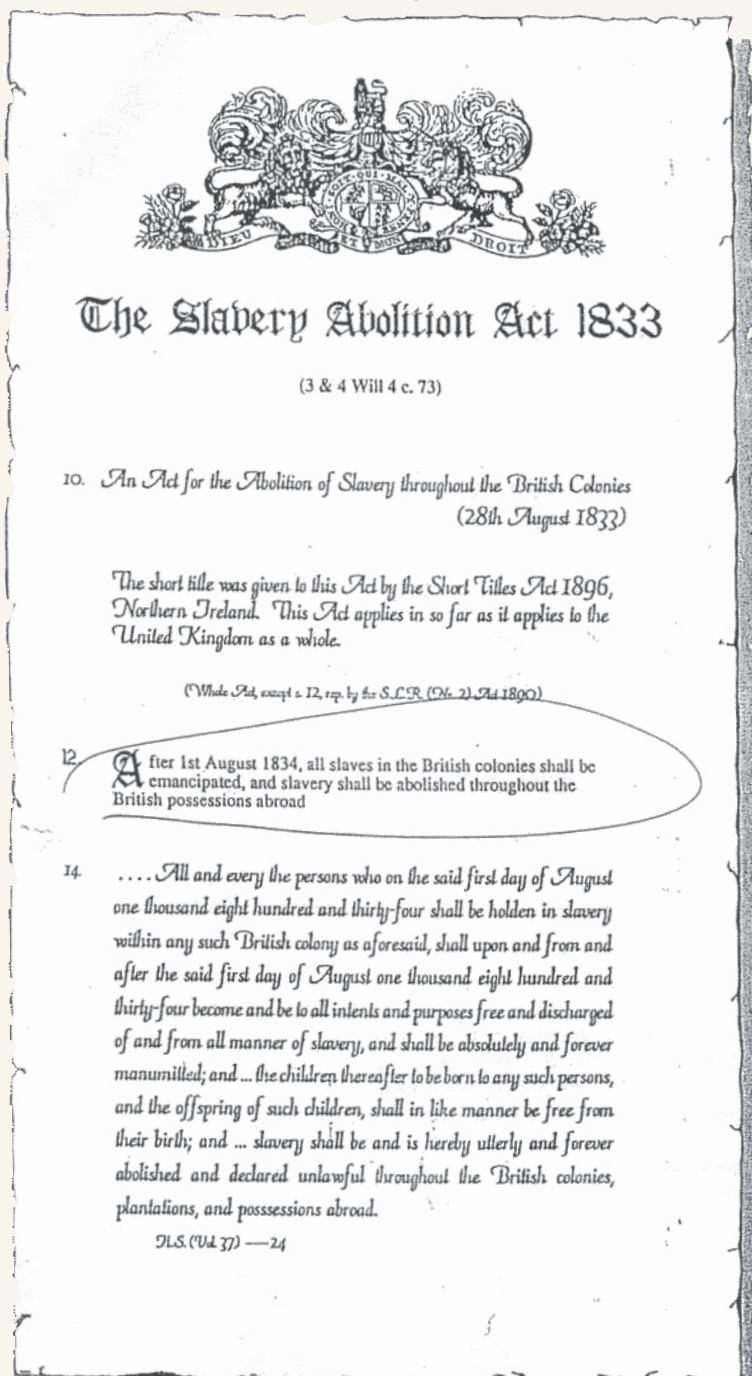
Photo courtesy of Martin Buckley

Watch Towers on Somerset Road and Middle Road (east of Flatt's post office) where enslaved Bermudians were locked up as punishment.



Bermuda Biographies

Pilot James Jemmy Darrell, one of Bermuda's first freed slaves



Bermuda Online

Emancipation medallion issued 1834

Black History  
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19<sup>th</sup> Century



## 1800

The murder of Hetty – Mary Prince’s owner Sarah Williams died in 1798 and two years later, her husband was about to remarry. In order to raise funds for his impending wedding, Mr. Williams sold Mary, then twelve, to Captain John Ingham. Ingham and his wife were cruel and abusive masters. In her book *The History of Mary Prince a West Indian Slave*, Mary describes the murder of Hetty, the Ingham’s slave and Mary’s friend, who was flogged so severely, that she was killed along with the baby she was carrying.

## 1806

- ▶ “An Act to Regulate the Emancipation of Slaves and to disable Free Negroes and Persons of Colour from Being Seized of Real Estate. The verbiage of this Act indicated a fierce and aggressive antagonism towards Black people on the part of the Legislature. (Robinson, 4). Here was an Act, not just to stop Blacks from possessing land, but to make it impossible to inherit land as well.” (Packwood, 120).
- ▶ The Act imposing duties upon free Negroes and free persons of colour exercising certain of the mechanics trades. The intent of this Act was... a counteraction to the dominance which black men held on carpentry, joinery, coopering, masonry, shipbuilding and other ‘mechanic arts’ – as is evident from the fuller introductory preamble which read “An Act for granting Bounties to white person and imposing duties upon Slaves exercising certain of the Mechanic Trades.” “Whereas the black population of these Islands, has of late years increased, and is increasing, in a manner very injurious to the welfare of this Community; and whereas it is thought expedient to adopt all such proper and practicable measures as may be calculated to diminish the relative proportion of the black to the white population....” (Robinson, 13).

## 1808

Joshua Marsden arrived in Bermuda in early May 1808, and in the slavery-dominated Bermudian society he affirmed by example his belief that the blacks were human beings, supervised the building of a chapel in which integrated services were held, opened a Sunday school in which blacks learned to read, and managed to quell the opposition of the government and the white community. When he came to Bermuda he was considered “an imposter, an enthusiast, or something worse”; when he left in 1812, there were 136 members in the Methodist society. (*Dictionary of Canadian Biography* – Joshua Marsden).

## 1810

The building of the Royal Naval Dockyard commenced. Bermudian Blacks, both enslaved and Freeman, along with King Blacks or Captured Slaves, French Blacks, American Refugee Black Slaves and Florida Blacks worked during early construction performing skilled and unskilled labour under the supervision of English engineers. (400 Years Series 2: 19th Century).

## 1811

An Anglican day school for blacks opens in St. George’s. (400 Years Series 2: 19th Century).



## 1824

Convict labour is first used in the continued construction of the Royal Naval Dockyard. The convicts, transported from England, joined a workforce composed in part of slaves and free men of colour, many of whom were skilled tradesmen and labourers, for the project. Convict labour was used until 1863. (Bermuda Timeline).

## 1825

- ▶ A "regular system" of education to instruct blacks was adopted which had a distinct religious bias. (Bermuda Timeline).
- ▶ Cobbs' Hill Methodist Chapel, built by slaves in the moonlight between 1825 -27, is consecrated. (Bermuda Timeline). Built on land given to them by [Judge] James Christie Esten. (Robinson, 4).
- ▶ July 18: The *Bermuda Recorder* newspaper was started by Messrs. R. Rubain, D. Augustus, H. Hughes, M. Martin and A. B. Place as a "newspaper in the interest of the coloured people of Bermuda." Closed 12 July 1975 by then owner Sir John Swan.

## 1827

The law allowed sworn testimony from slaves and free blacks; but only with a certificate of good character from their parish vestry.

## 1828

The voluntary return of eight of the crews of two Bermudian vessels from Belfast, Ireland, whence their ships had carried a cargo. A magistrate... offered them their freedom... but nine declined declaring they wished to return to their families in Bermuda. Two only accepted the magistrate's offer and another did not attend the hearing. (Robinson, 4).

## 1829

Archdeacon Spencer opens a day school in Paget for the education of blacks. This is followed shortly by the opening of a free school for poor white children and three-day schools for blacks, as well as several Sunday schools. (Bermuda Timeline).

## 1830

The Gombeyes have existed in Bermuda for a long time, well before Emancipation. (Packwood, 95).

## 1831

- ▶ During Christmas 1830 two slaves used the arrival of a Gombey troupe as a means of escape. Ajax and Mentor mixed in the large crowd, and when it followed the performing Gombeyes, they moved too and escaped. An 1831 advertisement posted in the *Royal Gazette* by John Walker offers a reward for the return of two slaves who ran off with the Gombeyes, and also for the conviction of those who harboured them. Walker writes, *It is to be hoped that this late nuisance, the Gumba and other clamorous puppet shows of the*

*Negroes, will meet the attention of all men of reflection, that they be suppressed – as none but the worst or most ignorant Negroes follow such ridiculous shows; those who profess to instruct them, I trust, will forgive my officiousness when I remind them of their duty.* (Packwood, 95).

- ▶ “An Act for the removal of certain doubts respecting the use of tread wheels and for regulating punishments thereon” specifying duration on how these particularly torturous punishments were to be applied to black offenders (white convicts exempted).
- ▶ Bermudian Mary Prince’s account as life as a slave is published in London, UK *The History of Mary Prince a West Indian Slave, Related by Herself* – it tells a brutal story of punishment, torture, sexual abuse, murder and loss. (Maddison-MacFayden).

## 1832

September 16: The Young Men’s Friendly Institution founded by Richard Tucker (born 1786) was the first lodge or Friendly Society formed by free blacks in Bermuda around the time of Emancipation, with goals of self-development and financial support for those in need. (Robinson, 152). It remained in existence for more than 30 years. Its role in securing freedom for the Enterprise slaves has ensured its place in history.

## 1833

The population is given as 9,195, being 4,297 white, 3,612 slaves and 1,286 free blacks. “Indeed, it [blacks] was, by that latter date, the majority portion of the country’s total population. Since that majority had been attained by means of natural increases rather than by large and frequent eighteenth and early nineteenth century importations.” (Robinson, 187).

## 1833 - 1834

- ▶ Slave Registers enumerated the numbers and work of slaves for the purpose of determining compensation paid to the slave owners upon Emancipation.
- ▶ For various reasons, many holders of slaves did not register all of their slaves. One of the reasons for not doing so prior to 1833 was to avoid paying slave tax. Therefore, regrettably, no accurate record exists of the exact number of slaves in Bermuda up to 1834 or the total number sold in those final days. After 1834 slaves discovered on ships on the high seas were considered as contraband goods, therefore, ships’ captains did not carry records that would incriminate them. (Musson, 60; *Royal Gazette* December 17, 1839)
- ▶ Throughout the summer of 1834 the *Bermuda Royal Gazette* advertised a number of slave auctions. “The illogic of these sales cannot be over-emphasized except that Southern plantation owners (American) were offering several times more than the British Crown had agreed to pay in compensation to Bermuda slave owners. As a result, slave sales increased immediately preceding Emancipation Day of August 1st. (Musson, 57). Therefore, claims made of “slave kidnappings, and unadvertised sales right up to midnight on July 31st” may be considered most accurate.” (Musson, 57; Lefroy, 264-266)
- ▶ The slaves anxiously looked forward to that glorious day they would have “freedom at last!” But something began to happen in Bermuda that was to deny many slaves the liberty they had long fought for. The forthcoming emancipation of the slaves in the colonies triggered the ‘rise in the price of slaves in the United States.’ After Emancipation in the British

colonies prices on American plantations rose to 'two to three hundred dollars for a female slave' and as much as 'three hundred and fifty dollars for a male.'" (Musson, 57; Zuill, 166).

- Oral history relates that ships anchored off the north shore waiting to carry their human cargo away from the Island and away from approaching freedom. Because of the British embargo on ocean trading, slaves were quickly secreted from the colonies to the American mainland. (Musson, 57). Free blacks and white abolitionists fought the traders and many hid slaves or helped them escape. (Musson, 59).

## 1834

- July: "[Cyril] Packwood highlights a case from July 1834 (on the cusp of abolition) in which a runaway, Jeffrey, was discovered after having hidden in a cave (now known as Jeffrey's Cave) for over a month. Along with an enslaved female, Syke – who had been bringing him food – he was sentenced to three days hard labor on the treadmill and seven days of solitary confinement." (Swan, 78).
- July 29: The Provost Marshall scheduled a 'Sale of four Slaves' which was to be held at the residence of Solomon Joell Tucker... within sixty-one hours of the hour for the 'Abolition of Chattel Slavery' in Bermuda. (Robinson, 200).

## 1834

- An Act to Abolish Slavery is passed, becoming effective 1st August 1834. Emancipation in Bermuda.
- A further Act to repeal "all Acts and Enactments applying exclusively to the free blacks and free Coloured persons, and to confer on them all rights and privileges enjoyed by the other inhabitants of this colony," is passed. (Bermuda Timeline).
- Following Emancipation, the white oligarchy quickly doubled the voting property qualifications by passing an Act to fix qualifications for jurors, voters, electors and candidates, and positions of trust. This effectively disenfranchised the majority of Black Bermudians for years. Dr. Kenneth E. Robinson described the act as a "cold-blooded retrograde piece of legislation." Due to the increased qualifications it took 50 years till 1883 before Bermuda's first black, William Joell, won a seat in Parliament. (Robinson, 197)
- Over 3,000 slave owning families throughout the British Empire were compensated for the anticipated loss of free slave labour upon Emancipation, in most of the colonies other than Bermuda slave owners went on to enjoy another four years of nearly free slave labour under the "apprenticeship" concept.
- The total compensation to the slave owners for the next two or three years is estimated to have been approximately 40% of the British economy. As many slave owners were absentee, living in Britain, they invested their windfall in the UK thus fueling the Industrial Revolution. (Atlantica Unlocked). Slave owners were paid £20M (40% of the UK's annual budget). Bermuda's population 4,297 or 47% white; 3,612 or 39% slaves; 1,286 or 14% free blacks. Enslaved African-Bermudians provided the majority of Bermuda's workforce until freed in 1834.
- Segregation is supported by law and codified in culture for the next 137 years.
- Free blacks and Friendly Society members agree to financially assist and provide credit etc. to any formerly enslaved who are victimized and thrown into dire straits after August

1 emancipation date, as long as the formerly enslaved undertake to act responsibly and to maintain a peaceful and stable post-emancipation community. (Bradshaw).

- "A portrait of Olie Tucker, a former slave. Enscription: *"Coloured woman called Olie. She belonged to Robert Tucker who lived at Tucker's Island, Bermuda – Henry Robert Tucker [born Sandys, Bermuda 1813 - died Baltimore 1870] who lived many years in Baltimore – when a child fell into a pond in Bermuda this old coloured woman [jumped?] into the pond and brought him out and thus saved his life."* (Ombudsman, *Atlantica Unlocked*, 30)

## 1835

February 11

- A ship named the *Enterprise* carrying 78 American slaves bound for South Carolina from Alexandria, Virginia, reached Bermuda after experiencing stormy weather and diverting to Bermuda for repairs. A Black Bermudian Mr. Richard Tucker, President of the Young Men's Friendly Institution, applied to the Supreme Court for a writ of habeas corpus to have all the slaves released, of which 72 of the 78 slaves were released, with a mother and her 5 children choosing to remain on board.
- An Act is passed "to encourage the education of the poor white children of these islands."
- First commemoration of Emancipation Day is held in Bermuda and has been repeated every year without fail by the black population and supporters. Bermuda is the only country to have successfully held such commemorations every year since 1834. Initially it was not celebrated by all Bermudians and Black Bermudians risked their jobs and victimization to establish this important Bermuda memory. (Bradshaw).

## 1836

Lane School is opened, one of the first two schools established for newly-freed slaves by the Anglican Church.

## 1837

Richard Tucker became one of the first blacks to vote in a Bermuda election as a property owner.

## 1838

Government education grants of approximately 300 pounds given to all elementary schools, one of which at least existed in each parish. (Bermuda Timeline).

## 1839

The revitalization of agriculture is undertaken at the behest of Governor William Reid. The first agricultural exhibition is held. (Bermuda Timeline).

## 1840s

Immediately after emancipation Bermuda's immigration policies were overtly racialized when the government began to fund projects to import European immigrants. And while the



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Portuguese garner most of the attention in such discussions, these projects actually begin with attempts to bring in English agriculturalists in the 1840s and also Germans and Swedes - a practice that continued into the 1890s (Mudd, ch. 4-6).

## 1842

An Act to encourage [white] Emigrants coming to these Islands from the United Kingdom. (The first post-Abolition endeavor to increase, instantly, the relative size of the white population was launched.) (Robinson, 218).

## 1844

- The Bermuda Native Yacht Club (BNYC) was comprised of a group of black boatmen who sailed competitively during the mid-nineteenth century. According to Kenneth Robinson in *Heritage* the actual formation date was 'fugitive'. A published notice, dated 22nd September 1846, indicates that the BNYC was a viable entity well before this date with black boatmen 'engaged in sailboat racing for pleasure.' (Robinson, 35). The BNYC was led and formed by Esau Simmons, a ferry boat operator from Salt Kettle, Paget, who raced a boat called *Elizabeth*. Peter Tucker's *Teaser* was considered majestic, with a 48ft high mast that towered above all others. (Robinson, 46).
- Black Bermudian sailors dominated the waters during those times, including George M. Deshield, and Richard Deshield, among others. (Wasi).
- On 1 November when Royal Bermuda Yacht Club had its opening, it received a letter of congratulatory support from the Bermuda Native Yacht Club, which was already prominently placed on the island in Hamilton Harbour and in operation and racing before RBYC. (Esdaille).
- The Royal Dock Yard School opens for the purpose of technical education for apprentices and the general education of Admiralty employees. Attendance was compulsory, and no distinction was made as to race or colour. (400 Years Series 2: 19th Century).
- Joseph Henry Thomas was a founding member of the Industrious Man's Library, one of two libraries established in the 1840s by prominent black men to improve social conditions and raise literacy among blacks.

## 1847

The Legislature voted £400 as bounty for the owner of the first vessel that brought in Portuguese settlers. (Bermuda Timeline). There was objection to this initiative by blacks, as many were out of work and it was anticipated that the Portuguese settlers would undercut Black Bermudian wages.

## 1848

- Between the years 1843 - 1848 a group of men in the Town of St. George's who had recently been released from the bonds of slavery were determined to build a better life for themselves, met under a Pride of India tree to discuss their options. They became especially concerned about caring for those persons who were in a sick and distressed state." Their efforts resulted in the Somers Pride of India Lodge #899 receiving their Charter from the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows (GUOOF). (Wilson-Tucker).

- Brother Joseph Henry Thomas (1824-1908) was the founding father of the Odd Fellows lodges and, along with several other pioneers of the Order who were regarded as Charter Members, the Somers Pride of India Lodge in St. George's came into being on May 4, 1848, as the first Odd Fellows lodge in Bermuda. (Wilson-Tucker).

## 1848 - 1852

During these years the Somers Pride of India Lodge (in St. George's) were followed by the Alexandrina Lodge #1026 (in Hamilton City); and the Victoria and Albert Lodge #1027 (in Somerset) as the first international Friendly Societies in Bermuda. These were also the first of a chain of such lodges linking the Caribbean, Central America, Bermuda and North America. (Bradshaw).

## 1849

- First arrival of Portuguese labourers from Madeira on *The Golden Hind*. White employers who were importing the labourers received a subsidy from the government. (*Atlantica Unlocked*).
- Thereafter impoverished people from Madeira and the Azores continued to arrive in the colony, brought in as cheap labour to compete with the recently emancipated enslaved Black Bermudians, effectively holding down wages for all.
- For nearly 100 years the Portuguese were viewed as non-white and lived in working-class neighborhoods alongside Black Bermudians; they worked together, worshipped together, became friends and intermarried. Many Portuguese children attended small, one classroom black schools as they were not allowed to attend white schools. (Winfield).
- The Portuguese were later used as a buffer group between white and Black Bermudians. (Frank Manning, 27).

## 1850

The Odd Fellow Lodge "...took the leadership role as regards organizing the events [for Emancipation] after about 1850." (Bradshaw).

## 1853

- On 10th January about thirty boys, the majority black, became day students at St. Paul's College, Hamilton. St. Paul's, a non-segregating institution for the education of Bermudians and students from the West Indies, had the support of an imposing array of English noblemen and Church dignitaries, including the Archbishop of Canterbury. The venture, however, was violently opposed by a number of influential white Bermudians and had to be closed in 1856. (Bermuda Timeline).
- People protest against the government's plan to use taxpayers' money to import Portuguese laborers to undercut wage rates. "The Black people condemned the proposal as 'the last extreme of oppression' by a legislature composed totally of white employers to use taxes, to which Black people had contributed, to import to Bermuda competition that was clearly calculated to injure the Black workers." (Philip, 3-4). So oppressive were conditions

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in Bermuda that during the 118 years after Emancipation, workers were able to mount only three major demonstrations against exploitation of their labour in 1853, 1903, and 1945.” (Philip, 3-4).

## 1855

“Petition of Certain Persons of Colour Against the Immigration Resolves” that critiqued the use of government funds/tax-payers money to support a program that would have a negative effect on Black Bermudian employment (Robinson).

## 1862

Joseph Hayne Rainey escaped to Bermuda in 1862 and until 1866 he had a successful barbershop in St. George’s. His wife was a seamstress who opened a dress store, and is credited with bringing patterns to Bermuda, and creating fashionable clothing. The wealth he acquired in Bermuda elevated his status back home in South Carolina where he became the 1st African American to be duly elected to the US House of Representatives in 1870 during Reconstruction, the first time African Americans had voted en masse. His portrait was unveiled in the House in 2005. (Van Putten).

## 1868

Bermuda Friendly Society Act passed to regulate, supervise, and control these autonomous self-help and mutual assistance bodies which were rooted in the middle and working class. Special heritage and legacy assets still exist in these unique groups. (Bradshaw).

## 1869

Three black men in the (white) Methodist church, Benjamin Burchall, William Jennings and Charles Roach Ratteray, invited Bishop Willis Nazrey of the British Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada (outgrowth of the AME Church in the US) to come to Bermuda the following year, thereby launching the forerunner of the AME Church in Bermuda (from the timeline in *A Grave Error*).

## 1870

When the first African Methodist Episcopal church came into being in 1870 its services were held in the Alexandrina Lodge Hall for ten years. This lodge hall became the main cultural center for black folk. Some of the lodgemen soon branched out and organized their own band on 18 June 1873, and led some of the most elegant and spectacular events on the island during that era. (Wilson-Tucker).

## 1872

- ▶ General Assembly discussion of a petition against a “Tax on Negroes, Horses and Dogs” (*Atlantica Unlocked*, 8 & 10).
- ▶ The Bermuda Times, the island’s first black newspaper begins. (Bermuda Timeline).

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## 1879

The Berkeley Educational Society is founded to establish a "school or schools for the education of people generally." (Bermuda Timeline).

## 1880s

Cricket games and community picnics are a regular feature of the annual emancipation commemorations with players originally from the Odd Fellows lodges but soon included prominent contributors from the Good Samaritans lodges and other Friendly Societies. (Bradshaw).

## 1881

Only 800 registered voters in Bermuda, a statistic which underscored the fact that the franchise was restricted to a privileged few. (Smith).

## 1883

William H. T. Joell (1838-1885) is elected as the first black member of The House of Assembly almost 50 years after Emancipation in 1834. (Bermuda Timeline). A carpenter and cabinet-maker by trade, William Joell carved the original staircase of the Wesley Methodist Church and built the Glebe Road in Pembroke. He was one of the founders of the first Cooperative store on Court Street and one of 11 founders of the Berkeley Educational Society. (*Bermuda Biographies*).

## 1885

Bermuda's first African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church, St. John's, is dedicated.

## 1887

Saltus Grammar school opens for the education of white boys. (Bermuda Timeline).

## 1887 - 1968

"Pioneering community leader Alice Scott left an indelible mark in Sandys Parish. She was a registered nurse who founded a nursing home and a tennis club, a suffragette and one of the first women in Bermuda to run for a seat in Parliament. Scott, who never married, threw herself into the battle for women's suffrage, led by Gladys Misick Morrell. She was one of the few black members of the Bermuda Woman Suffrage Society (BWSS) and served on its executive committee. It is likely that despite Bermuda's then segregated society, she formed a kinship with Morrell, who was a tennis enthusiast and also lived in Somerset." (*Bermuda Biographies*).

## 1890

Tuckers Town – "By this time there was a tightly-knit isolated community of black farmers (Lamberts, Smiths and Talbots) who replaced the white landowners (Harveys, Trotts, Walkers and Sayles). A few whites remained, but essentially a black society with two churches, a general store, a school, a cricket pitch, a post office and a cemetery." (Tuckers Town Historical Timeline).

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## 1893 - 1986

Alfred Brownlow "A.B." Place was the founding publisher of the *Bermuda Recorder* and its driving force for 45 years. A printer by trade, he established the newspaper "in the interest of the coloured people of Bermuda." Naysayers predicted the newspaper would fold within six months, but it survived for half a century and had a lasting impact. (*Bermuda Biographies*).

## 1894

West Indian migration to Bermuda begins in earnest as cheap labour to compete with the local Black Bermudian workforce.

## 1895

Edgar Fitzgerald Gordon (20 March 1895 – 20 April 1955), born in Trinidad, was a physician, parliamentarian, civil-rights activist and labour leader in Bermuda and is regarded as the "father of trade unionism" there: "he championed the cause of Bermudian workers and fought for equal rights for black Bermudians, thereby laying the groundwork for much of the political and social change that came about after his death". He was president of the Bermuda Industrial Union 1945 - 1955. Dr. Gordon has been described as "Bermuda's most dedicated Pan-Africanist". In 2011, he was honoured as a National Hero of Bermuda.

## 1895

First push to challenge Bermuda's restrictive voting system came from women, first Anna Maria Outerbridge in 1895, and then the indomitable Gladys Misick Morrell, founder of Bermuda Woman Suffrage Society, who led a 30-year campaign for voting rights.

## 1897

- Berkeley Institute opens with 27 pupils, one of whom was white. (Bermuda Timeline). On October 6th, 1879, the first meeting of the Berkeley Education Society was held at the home of Samuel David Robinson on Princess Street. A subsequent meeting was held one week later and from this meeting The Berkeley Institute was formed. The founders comprised of Samuel David Robinson, Joseph Henry Thomas, Richard Henry Duerden, William Henry Thomas Joell, Eugenius Charles Jackson, Charles William Thomas Smith, William Orlando F. Bascome, John Henry Jackson, Samuel Parker Sr., Samuel Parker Jr. and Henry T. Dyer. United in their quest to provide the opportunity for Black Bermudians to receive a high school education, the founders proudly established The Berkeley Institute and its doors were opened on September 6th, 1897 at Samaritan's Hall.
- Late 19th Century – Revd. Charles Vinton Monk was a clergyman and journalist and came to Bermuda from Philadelphia toward the end of the 19th Century to take a post at the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Somerset. He was confronted with the ill-treatment of black workers in the Island especially the workers in the Dockyard. Reverend Monk established his own newspaper 'The New Era' in Bermuda. He wrote about racism and accused the oligarchy of being unjust. The church and black press were the platforms he worked from and the foremost channels he used in fighting racism and economic exploitation. (Bermudian Heritage Museum).





Bermuda Archives

1808 Methodist Minister Joshua Marsden arrived in Bermuda and preached to the enslaved and encouraged them to learn to read and write.



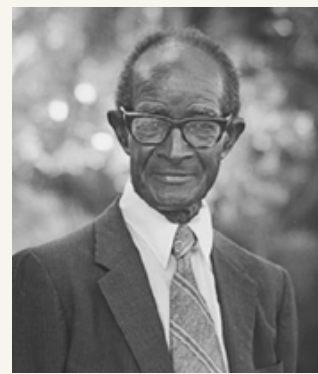
Bermuda Archives

Harrington Sound, Bermuda 1816.



Royal Gazette

Samuel David Robinson, founding father of The Berkeley Institute



Royal Gazette

Alfred Brownlow "A.B." Place, Founder & Publisher of the *Bermuda Recorder*.

Black History  
in Bermuda

20<sup>th</sup> Century



## Early 1900s

- ▶ C. H. Walker & Co. contracted by the British Admiralty, decided to import workers from Jamaica both male and female to complete the work on the Dockyard after Italian workers had rioted about poor working conditions and were sent back home.
- ▶ West Indians were viewed as troublemakers by the oligarchy, and fearful of the more progressive ideas being brought into the island, Black Bermudians were encouraged to see themselves as better than their West Indian 'cousins'. This led to strained relationships between Bermudians and West Indians, which even today plays itself out in our community. The adage of "Divide and Conquer" had once again been successfully deployed. (Winfield).

## 1901

1st West Indian Regiment transited in Bermuda on the way to the UK.

## 1901 - 1903

Boer prisoners of war interned at Hawkins Island.

## 1902

- ▶ First Cup Match is played in Somerset. Friendly Societies agree that as the annual cricket celebration was an emancipation entertainment that distracted from their moral and social worldview, it should be turned over to a community group as the 'Cup Match' between teams from the East and West. (Bradshaw).
- ▶ Conditions didn't change for the Jamaican workers in Dockyard and on June 21, 1902 Ireland Island once again witnessed riots against working and living conditions. Reverend Monk noticed this unrest and the imprisonment of several of the Jamaicans. On seeing these injustices and deaths of two of the workers Reverend Monk wrote an article calling for better working conditions and blamed the deaths on C.H. Walker & Company who imported the Jamaican workers. The Company retaliated and filed a charge of defamatory libel against Monk. (Bermudian Heritage Museum website).
- ▶ The riots and demonstration centered on mistreatment of several hundred Jamaican men, women and children who had been recruited under contract in their country to work on a project involving the expansion of the Royal Naval Dockyard. The Jamaicans were highly skilled workers who not long before had been involved in the construction of the Panama Canal. Upon arrival in Bermuda they were dismayed at what they termed gross violations of their contracts. Revd. Monk was charged with criminal libel and found guilty and sentenced to 6 months. Rev. Monk defiantly declared he did not expect justice, having to appear in court before a Chief Justice [Sir Brownlow Gray] whose son was the prosecuting Attorney-General [Reginald Gray], and the Assistant Justice on the bench was the latter's father-in-law. Rev. Monk's trial last 53 days and he was forced to conduct his own defence when the Jamaican barrister Matthew Henry Spencer-Joseph (a 42-year old brilliant, Jamaican lawyer reputed to be the most eminent lawyer in the whole of the Caribbean), who at great expense to the Jamaican labourers was brought to Bermuda, died a mysterious death the night before the sensational trial was due to start at the age of 42. (Philip, *History of the Bermuda Industrial Union*).

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## 1918

The first American Naval Base is established in the Great Sound at Morgan and Tucker's Islands.

## 1919

Bermuda's first trade union is formed - The Bermuda Union of Teachers in February 1919 by educators Adele Tucker, cousins Matilda and Edith Crawford and Rev. Rufus Stovell. These founders laid the groundwork for the creation of a union. It was the start of a long struggle to raise salaries and improve working conditions for black teachers. In 1947 the Bermuda Union of Teachers was the first union to register under the Island's first trade union law.

## 1919

June 30: Parliament ratified the agreement with Furness, Withy & Co to develop Tucker's Town.

## 1920

Tucker's Town – In July The Bermuda Development Company received its incorporation with a board of directors consisting of Stanley Spurling, John Hand, F. Goodwin Gosling and Henry Watlington from Bermuda, and Sir Fredrick Lewis, Harry Blackiston, Chares Blair MacDonald and Charles D. Wetmore from New York and London.

## 1920

- ▶ July 23: petition against the appropriation of their land was signed by 24 freeholders (22 black and 2 white) in Tucker's Town was presented to the House of Assembly by Dr. T. H. Outerbridge. Heading the protestors was Anglican rector of Smith's and Hamilton parishes, L. Laud Harvard. (*Ombudsman, A Grave Error*).
- ▶ There was a strong racial dimension to these developments. In transferring a huge swathe of land to wealthy white foreigners, the Tucker's Town scheme displaced 400 Black Bermudians – fishermen, shipbuilders, and small farmers.... Sadly, this would not be the last time that Black Bermudians would be required to sacrifice their homes for the tourist economy. (High, 47).
- ▶ The Development Company Act is passed for the expropriation of the remaining land at Tucker's Town to be used for the building of Mid-Ocean Club and the development of Castle Harbour Hotel. The enforced widespread purchase by a private company of land owned by blacks in Tucker's Town. Tucker's Town was a community of predominantly free blacks who owned and worked hundreds of acres of land in Tucker's Town at the eastern end of the island. They were pilots, sailors, fishermen, farmers and artisans, who built two churches, a school, grocer shops and a village community, and they lived there for over six generations before they were 'legally' dispossessed of their land by Bermudian legislators who passed the legislation to create the equivalent of a 'Palm Beach of Bermuda' for wealthy Americans. The system of white supremacy was clearly used in the purposeful eradication and memory of Tucker's Town, as "It required a majority of black Bermudians to surrender their lands to a private company dominated by wealthy whites. The immediate gain was thus a private one." (McDowall, *Trading Places*, 28), as "...the colony's commercial elite equated the project with its own economic agenda." (McDowall, *Trading Places*, 25).

"In such a society, the outcome was a foregone conclusion, with black folk understanding all too well they had little choice but to sell. Thereafter the story of Tucker's Town's Free Black community, now home to the rich and famous, disappeared from Bermuda's history and by the mid-50s Tucker's Town's roads disappeared from Bermuda's "handy-maps" to discourage curious visitors." (Winfield, *The Presence of White Privilege*; McDowall, *Trading Places*)

- ▶ The Governor instructed the Commissioner of Police to recruit White police officers from the UK. The feeling being that the island's police should not be predominantly black. (Bermuda Timeline). Up until that time the island police were predominantly black except for a senior officer who was usually from the UK. This led to the increased 'whitening' of the then named Bermuda Police Force, which broke down relationships between the police and Black Bermudians due to increasing racial profiling by the police, the legacy of which continues today.
- ▶ Bermuda Division of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) was formed. It thrived under the leadership of Antiguan Reverends Hilton Tobitt and E. B. Grant and Barbadian George Morris, who had all married into Bermudian families. Blacks were logically drawn to Marcus Garvey's calls for self-determination and the UNIA found life in the organizational structures of Bermuda's churches and Friendly Societies. The Bermuda Recorder (formed by A. B. Place and other Garveyites) were offshoots of the Movement. Despite attacks on the UNIA – which included the government's refusal to let Garvey enter the island on at least four occasions, the suppression of the *Negro World*, and political attacks on its leaders – the energy that it stimulated segued into the 1940s labor movement, which was championed by Dr. E. F. Gordon. (Swan, 13).
- ▶ A huge wave of white immigration in the 1920s was associated with the surge in tourism construction sponsored in part by Furness-Withy (e.g. the infamous Tucker's Town theft to build Mid Ocean, etc.) (Francis). These guest workers went on to establish domicile in Bermuda, and by 1956 were able to acquire Bermuda Status under the 1956 Bermuda Immigration & Protection Act.
- ▶ Throughout the 1920s "Bermuda's government imposed strict regulations aimed at banning the immigration of whole [Portuguese] families and restricting those workers who were permitted to enter the country to farming and menial labour." (Jones 119). The Portuguese endured ethnic discrimination for years, and "Employment freedom for Portuguese workers was restricted for decades, keeping many immigrants confined to jobs as farmers, cleaners or gardeners until later in the 20th Century. It was not until 1982 that the job-category restriction was lifted." (Jones, 119).

## 1921

Members of the Colonial Parliament debate labour shortages and comment on the undesirability of West Indians. (Bermuda Timeline).

## 1923

The final tenant at Tucker's Town, Dinna Smith, was physically evicted from her home near Tucker's Town Bay. Through the commission she was awarded a new Somersall Road home in Smith's. She died within a few years, many said of a broken heart.



## 1925

- ▶ A. B. Place decided it was time that Black Bermudians had a newspaper of their own. The *Bermuda Recorder* was published from 18 July 1925 to 12 July 1975. The paper was started by Mr. R. Rubain, David Augustus, H. Hughes, J. Martin, and A.B. Place as a “newspaper in the interest of the coloured people of Bermuda.”
- ▶ Sandys Secondary School becomes the second school to offer a secondary education to black students. Like the Berkeley Institute, it was privately funded by Black Bermudians who realized that one secondary school to educate blacks was insufficient.

## 1927

June 1: Lois Browne, later Dame Lois Browne-Evans, was born. Dame Lois Browne-Evans stood at the forefront of Bermuda politics for 40 years. She broke barriers, fought to eliminate racial discrimination and worked tirelessly to create a more equitable society that would benefit all Bermudians, not just a small elite group of bankers and merchants. She was Bermuda’s first female lawyer, first female Attorney General and the first female Opposition Leader not only in Bermuda but the British Commonwealth. (*Bermuda Biographies*).

## 1928

Marcus Garvey was reportedly denied permission by the authorities to land in Bermuda and The *Royal Gazette* failed to publish a letter critical of this decision. (Garvey was denied permission to land in Bermuda in 1928 and twice in 1937. The date of an earlier visit could not be verified.) (*Bermuda Biographies* – A.B. Place).

## 1930

- ▶ Hotel Keepers Protection Act enabled any hotel to refuse to register any person as a guest of the hotel of which he is the keeper if he sees fit to do so, and “...which gave hotels the right to turn away blacks and Jewish guests.” (Greening, 27).
- ▶ “The strict segregation of races occasioned by the shift to tourism set it [Bermuda] apart from other British colonies in the Western Hemisphere. The Act allowed hotel operators in Bermuda to deny services. This... provided the legal foundation for Jim Crow racism. Non-whites were excluded from tourist hotels, and segregation gradually extended to virtually all other aspects of life in Bermuda.” (High).
- ▶ “Ruled by and for a white oligarchy, Bermuda was one of the most reactionary colonies in the British Empire. There was no income tax. No inheritance tax. No luxury taxes of any kind. Property taxes were nominal at best. Without a system of direct taxation, the colonial revenues were largely derived from custom receipts. The great beneficiaries of Bermuda’s reliance on customs duties were landowners who paid nominal taxes and merchants who paid none. The great loser, by contrast, were working people who paid the price of higher living costs. As virtually everything had to be imported...” (High).
- ▶ The Government assisted the complete separation of the races by building separate schools for the Portuguese community (e.g. Gilbert Institute), so they would no longer be attending the black schools. At that time, the Portuguese were purposely separated from both the black and white communities to form a buffer middle group. (*Bermuda Timeline*).

Up till then Portuguese and Black Bermudians, as a growing labour group, lived in the same neighborhoods, worked together, were friends, attended black schools and intermarried. The separation of the races was a 'divide and conquer' tactic by the oligarchy aimed at splitting the growing working class. (Winfield).

- The Portuguese were not formally identified as white until the 1930s. (Swan, 89).

## 1931

- The Bermuda Railway commences operations.
- Kenneth E. Robinson received the first Bermuda Technical Scholarship, created specifically for boys of colour, as they were precluded from receiving the Bermuda Scholarship because of their race. Returning to Bermuda in the late 1930s he taught at the Central School and joined the Bermuda Union of Teachers. While an assistant teacher at the Berkeley Institute he became a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts in 1943, thereby enabling students of colour to sit and obtain commercial qualifications. Blacks would not obtain clerical civil service positions until 1953.
- He became known throughout the island for his fervent speeches addressing Bermuda's social ills and discrimination, and the need for educational reform. In 1952 he obtained his Doctorate in Education from Harvard University, and was the first Bermudian to attain this designation.
- During the 1940s he served as Principal of Sandys Secondary School. In 1945 he became founding Principal of Harrington Sound School and in 1950 the founding Principal of Francis Patton School. At these schools he was able to implement modern educational thought, procedures and materials. He became the Inspector of Schools in 1960 and subsequently he was appointed Bermuda's first Chief Education Officer in the Ministry of Education in 1970.
- Recognizing a dearth of appropriate historical materials, which would serve his students and reflect the contributions of the black population, Robinson embarked on 'writing us into the history' of Bermuda. His book *Heritage*, was to be the first of four, twenty-five year segments.
- Dr. Robinson described himself as an 'optimistic realist' which reflected his place and time as a Bermudian. As an educator his belief was that 'if you want to improve the product, then you improve the teacher.' (Shirley L. T. Pearman).

## 1932

- Roosevelt Brown was born on 28 November 1932 in Bermuda, he later transformed from "Roosevelt Browne of Bermuda to Dr. Pauulu Roosevelt Osiris Nelson Browne Kamarakafego, citizen of Liberia, Tanzania, Kenya, Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, St. Kitts; Pan-Africanist; organizer in the United Nations for non-governmental organizations; lecturer; community organizer; adviser to presidents and ministers; parliamentarian; builder; teacher; father; and keeper of a dream." (*Me One: The Autobiography of Pauulu Kamarakafego*).
- Professionally he was an ecological engineer, a field in which he held a PhD. He went on to become a world-renowned expert in ecological/ environmental engineering, specialising in rural technology. Beyond his professional training and expertise, he was deeply involved in political activism both in Bermuda and around the world. In the early 1960s the Committee for Universal Adult Suffrage [CUAS], led by Dr. Kamarakafego, campaigned for the extension of full democratic rights in Bermuda at a time when the Parliamentary franchise was restricted to property owners. Pauulu Kamarakafego is a National Hero of Bermuda.

## 1934

St David's island became the last of the major islands to be connected to the rest of the colony with the completion of the Severn Bridge.

## 1937

- ▶ Bermuda Immigration Act 1937 is passed outlining in s.5 (a), (b), (c), (d) and (e) who qualifies as domiciled in Bermuda. The Department of Immigration was established in 1937 with the introduction of the Immigration Act. This legislation made provision for 'statutory domicile' (legal residence) to Commonwealth citizens in Bermuda after meeting the necessary requirements.
- ▶ Margaret Sanger (birth control advocate, proponent of sterilization and eugenics) is invited in 1937 to Bermuda with three meetings taking place at the House of Assembly with members of the Assembly, Legislative Council, representatives of the Board of Health, the Bishop of Bermuda and Colonel Dill, the Attorney General, in the chair.
- ▶ Marcus Garvey was denied permission by the authorities to land in Bermuda twice in 1937 (*Bermuda Biographies* – A.B. Place).

## 1938

A flying boat service is introduced between Long Island NY and Bermuda.

## 1939

- ▶ Progressive Labour Party (PLP) leader Leonard Frederick Wade born June 28th, 1939 and universally known as "Freddie" was a teacher-turned-lawyer, whose true calling was politics. An early member of the PLP, he served the party in many capacities before becoming its leader. He was Opposition Leader for 11 years till his death in 1996.
- ▶ A 99-year lease is granted in 1939 by the UK to the USA for land bases at St. David's Island and Morgan and Tucker's Islands (Bermuda Timeline).

## 1940

- ▶ U.K. Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940 created a fund that would finance development projects in the Caribbean if the colonies enacted social reforms. Most of the colonies in the Caribbean quickly passed labor laws on the British model. Only resort colonies of Bahamas and Bermuda defied reform, thereby forfeiting the funds made available. "Despite the tremendous pressure brought to bear, Bermuda refused to implement any of these social and labor reforms. There was no trade union act. No compensation for workplace injury. No minimum wages. No child labor laws. No pensions. No labor dispute conciliation. No reduction in the fifty-four hour work week. (High, 119).
- ▶ For a hundred years concluded the American vice consul, 'a small group has made Bermuda its own paradise by controlling legislations and by seeing that taxation policy kept all but themselves in strict economic subjection. While they themselves accumulated fortunes subject to no taxes whatsoever...". (High, 119).
- ▶ By agreement all of the American civilians brought in to build the [U.S.] bases were white. In part, this was a result of Bermuda's effort to limit the growth of the colony's majority black population. (High, 121)

- ▶ A 21 December 1940 minute from the colonial secretary, one of the highest-ranking officials in the land, expressed his admiration for the sterilization orders being passed against European Jews. He cited, approvingly, the case of the Hungarian government that only permitted the oldest boy and oldest girl in any Jewish family to marry or have children. 'However', he lamented, 'I doubt whether many people in Bermuda would go as far as that with regard to the coloured population.' A written notation that followed nonetheless suggested that this matter 'had better come up for further discussion' in the Executive Council of the Colony." (High, 118).

## 1940 - 1941

- ▶ The US Army base in St. David's required the expropriation of 118 privately owned properties, home to sixty-five families. Those residents being displaced were mainly fishers, farmers and small business owners. St. David's was a center of commercial farming in Bermuda, including Bermuda lilies, fruit trees, vegetables, dairy, eggs, fishing, ducks, pigs and cassava.
- ▶ Many St. David Islanders lose their homes and for several years were housed in barracks on St. David's Island. Eventually they were relocated and squeezed onto small properties on the western side of St. David's.
- ▶ "Race and class exclusivity was openly invoked by some who hoped that the planned whitening of the island would increase their property values. Politician Sir Stanley Spurling, for example, intended to subdivide his waterfront lots (D-41) with "commanding views" of Castle Harbour and Dolly's Bay into a racially exclusive real estate development." (High).

## 1941

New houses for St. David Islanders failed to be ready in time, and so four prefabricated barracks were provided for many of the families who had yet to be rehoused. (High).

## 1942

For over a hundred years, the U.S. Vice Consul in Bermuda noted, the "attitude of the ruling class, composed exclusively of merchants and landowners who effectively control the legislature... may be summed up in such expressions as, "We may have to give the negro equal political rights, but we keep him so poor it makes no difference." (High, 119).

## 1943

Frederick Shirley Furbert became the first Bermudian principal of The Berkeley Institute and served for 29 years.

## 1944

- ▶ Trade unionism arises from the Friendly Society movement with the early leadership and membership arising from the lodges and meetings being notably held in Alexandrina Lodge hall and like venues. (Bradshaw).
- ▶ The West End Sailboat Club sponsored the first Long Distance Comet Race from the West End (Sandys) to the East End (St. George). The June 2019 race commemorated their seventy-fifth anniversary.

- ▶ A bill passed in the House of Assembly granting women the right to vote, but because of property qualification, political power remained in the hands of Bermuda's white, male elite. black parliamentarian and physician Dr Eustace Cann broke ranks with his fellow black MPs to vote for the women's voting bill, which helped ensure its passage. Following passage of the bill, MP David Tucker, a lawyer and editor of the *Bermuda Recorder*, said in an editorial *"Less than 300 ladies were powerful enough to alter our franchise. Surely 20,000 people, if united, should be able to bring about universal suffrage and, thereby given every adult in the Colony an opportunity to have a voice in the affairs of Government."*
- ▶ Bermuda Workers Association (BWA) – During the construction of two U.S. bases during the Second World War master carpenters Gerald Brangman, Robert Wilson and William David discovered that they were being paid less than their American counterparts. In July 1944, the three formed the NOB Workmen's Association and at a mass meeting elected Mr. Brangman as president, Mr. Wilson, vice-president and Mr. Davis, treasurer. At a subsequent meeting, support for the organization island-wide prompted a name change to the Bermuda Workers Association and Dr. E. F. Gordon replaced Gerald Brangman as president.
- ▶ Under the dynamic leadership of Dr. Gordon, the Bermuda Workers Association (BWA) fought for trade union legislation and social democratic reform. Bermudian workers made sporadic attempts to organize themselves since the 1800's, but it was the BWA that paved the way for change that went beyond improved working conditions for Bermudian workers. The BWA, later to become the Bermuda Industrial Union, was the vehicle through which Dr. Edgar Fitzgerald Gordon parleyed his considerable leadership ability to win legal recognition for unions and to lay the groundwork for the political transformation of Bermuda that came after his death in 1955.
- ▶ Dr. E. F. Gordon and Dr. Pauulu Kamarakafego thereafter led the push for universal adult suffrage and the broader battle for social and racial justice in Bermuda.
- ▶ The Parliamentary Committee on Emigration issues a report noting that due to overpopulation, Government should look for places where [black] Bermudians could emigrate. (Bermuda Timeline).
- ▶ Howard Academy opens providing secondary education for black children. (Bermuda Timeline). The late Edwin Skinner, a white teacher who was ostracized for educating blacks, founded the Howard Academy in 1944 and tutored children of all colours from inside a home on Tribe Road #1 in Devonshire. He was heavily criticised and ostracised for taking in black children during the time of racial prejudice and segregation. Past students of Howard Academy included former Premier Sir John, former union boss Ottiwell Simmons and shipwright Raymond DeShields, who helped to build the *Deliverance*. Roosevelt Browne (Pauulu Kamarakafego), who was a key person in getting black people the right to vote in Bermuda, was also an alumnus of the school. (*Royal Gazette*, 28 February 2011)
- ▶ "Since World War II... the aristocracy brought in West Indians as cheap labour, indentured Portuguese to perform Bermuda's most menial work and to function as a buffer group between the races, accelerated white expatriate immigration as a countermeasure to universal suffrage, and excluded working class whites from privilege while insisting that they keep separate from blacks." (Manning, 27).

## 1945

Parliamentary Elections Act 1945 (No. 21), section 5 still provided that to be *qualified* for election to serve in the House of Assembly as a member, a person must have owned land assessed at £240 (this was consistent with previous Acts that had required ownership of land since at least 1834 - where the value of the land was increased from £200 to £400 following Emancipation).

## 1946

- ▶ Dr. E. F. Gordon takes a petition to the post-war Labour government in the U.K. The petition protests the racial and economic conditions in Bermuda. (Bermuda Timeline).
- ▶ Dr. Gordon noted that only 7% of the population could vote and there were more votes cast than actual voters because a property owner could vote in every parish where he owned land, with elections being held over several days to enable voters to travel to where they owned land. Dr. Gordon said the system gave the "monied classes a distinct and definite control over the election results."
- ▶ "When even whites complained about disenfranchisement they were told that the land requirement was necessary to keep political power among Whites." (Swan, 17).
- ▶ 1946 Trade Union and Trade Disputes Act stated it was unlawful to picket in manners deemed to be intimidating.

## 1947

The Bermuda Industrial Union is formed out of the membership of the Bermuda Workers Association (BWA).

## 1949

Free primary school education was introduced after a long struggle, however, the statutory school age remained 7 to 13. (Bermuda Timeline).

## 1950s

Building on their early forays into establishing a social support system for all sectors of the population, the Friendly Societies propose a more assertive agenda which gives rise to the activism in education and politics and civic participation of post war Bermuda. (Bradshaw).

## 1951

The Royal Naval Dockyard is closed. (Bermuda Timeline).

## 1952

- ▶ After being denied tickets to attend the plays, Hilton Hill, his wife Georgine and his sister Carol Hill and cousin Eva Robinson, initiated the island's first direct challenge to segregation, organising a boycott against a play staged at the Bermudiana Hotel in 1952. Carrying pickets on Front Street to protest against the segregationist policies of the Bermudiana



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Theatre. Word filtered back to the United States and the United Kingdom, shining a light on segregation in Bermuda. Support for the protest came from various overseas entities and was raised in the House of Parliament in London. The Bermudiana Theatre Club protest is considered a forerunner of the 1959 Theatre Boycott, which ended segregation in theatres, hotels and restaurants.

- ▶ Subsequent to their protest, Hilton and Georgine Hill hosted meetings at their home, reflecting on local challenges. Included were: Edward DeJean, who was sustaining the Howard Academy miracle; Wilfred (Mose) Allen, a confidant of Dr E.F. Gordon and mentor to Lois Browne Evans; as well as (educators) Albert and Louise Jackson.
- ▶ David Critchley — a white social worker — captured the collective voice of the group and drafted a document; *'An Analysis of Bermuda's Social Ills'*. "They printed scores of copies in Canada and secretly circulated them throughout the community; promoting reflection.
- ▶ Edward DeJean rallied to sustain the effort started by Edwin Skinner, founder of Howard Academy, filling a gap in education for many young people at that time." (Fubler).
- ▶ "In 1952, Dr. Kenneth E. Robinson... in his dissertation entitled *"History of Education in Bermuda"* found it necessary to list the major educational philosophy, goals, and objectives with which colored Bermudians should be concerned. One such objective he indicated was "to cultivate White children for hereditary leadership." (Wade-Smith,100).

## 1953

- ▶ Dame Lois Browne-Evans becomes the first woman and black woman to be called to the Bermuda Bar.
- ▶ Select Committee on Race Relations found segregation to be an economic and social necessity. The Committee decided that black doctors should continue to be prohibited from practicing in the King Edward Hospital; black nurses would be given separate living quarters; the hiring of blacks in civil service positions should be kept to a minimum...; schools would remain segregated..." etc. (Swan, 15).
- ▶ July: Edwin McDavid, the President of the State Council and Minister of State for British Guyana (later, Guyana), arrived in Bermuda with his wife by accident. The BOAC aircraft carrying him (and his wife) to London to be knighted by the Queen had to make an unscheduled stop in Bermuda, owing to engine trouble. As Bermuda's Inn Keepers Act of 1930 did not allow Jews or Negroes or Catholics to enter a white hotel or guesthouse, only at the black-owned Imperial Hotel, they were not allowed entry at the St. George Hotel, like other passengers. McDavid and his wife protested this by returning to the airport where they spent the night sleeping on benches in the airport lounge. The same thing had happened a little earlier to the Speaker of the Barbados House of Assembly, bound for London for the same reason, who also went from Barbados via Bermuda. The six black members of Bermuda's Colonial Parliament sent a letter of protest to the Governor, but it did not result in any remedial action.
- ▶ The first appointment of blacks to clerical positions in the civil service.

## 1954

First Parliamentary ad-hoc Inter-Racial Select Committee to consider "the vital matter of race relations."

## 1956

- ▶ The Technical Institute opens as a replacement for the Dockyard Apprentice Training Scheme. It was the first non-segregated school supported by Government. (Bermuda Timeline).
- ▶ Bermuda's first integrated school, "the Tech" produced more than 600 graduates, many of whom went on to pursue higher education. 16 years later in 1972 it was closed. *Royal Gazette* 6 July 2016.
- ▶ Section 17 of the BIPA 1956 Act provides that if you were "deemed to be domiciled" in Bermuda on 30 June 1956 for the purposes of the Immigration Act 1937 (the "1937 Act"), then from 1 July 1956 you shall possess Status. A person will be deemed to be domiciled if they are a British Subject (as defined under the UK law applicable at the time); and (a) they were born in Bermuda or born of parents who at the time of their birth were ordinarily resident in Bermuda; or (b) they were ordinarily resident in Bermuda for the requisite number of years; or (c) they obtained such status from a grant of the Governor; or (d) they are the wife of a person to whom any of the foregoing would apply; or (e) they are the child or step child or adopted child under the age of sixteen of a person to whom any of the foregoing would apply. (Conyers, Dill & Pearman)
- ▶ The Act in effect drew a 'line in the sand' and anyone 'domiciled' (see 1937 Immigration Act) and a British subject before the introduction of the Act were considered Bermudian. Common Law defined domicile as 'the place or country which is considered by law to be a person's permanent home'." It does not refer to owning property/home. (Winfield)
- ▶ "The drafting and introduction of the BIPA legislation should be contextualized within
  - 1) the broader period of desegregation,
  - 2) Black civil rights in terms of condemning the land-ownership franchise, and
  - 3) the emergence of Black PowerTherefore, the specific agendas of the oligarchy were influential in the BIPA document and it is likely that they were intended to address any one of the three aforementioned contextual 'crises' facing the white ruling class." (Dr. Theodore Frances).
- ▶ The years of racialized immigration policies prior to the introduction of the Act heavily influenced who was able to qualify for domicile and/or apply for status under the domicile provision in the 1956 BIPA Act, with a disproportionate number of whites acquiring status (73% white), especially given the demographics of the population. (Winfield)

## 1957

Juanita Furbert (Guishard) became the first black nurse allowed at KEMH.

## 1958

- ▶ W. L. Tucker brought a bill to the House that called for the extension of the franchise, which was passed, and Mr. Tucker elected chairman of a parliamentary committee to examine the issue but were met with resistance over the next 4 years. The franchise was finally passed in December 1962, but W. L. Tucker admitted the law fell short of what black MPs wanted.
- ▶ Eight black legislators, Collingwood Burch, Russel Levi Pearman, W. L. Tucker, Hilton G. Hill,

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E. T. Richards, Walter Robinson, Arnold Francis and Dr. the Hon. Eustace Cann, formed a delegation to meet Alan Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies, during his visit to Bermuda.

- Between 1938 and 1958, [Sir Henry] Tucker had been arguing vehemently against universal suffrage and desegregation of hotels, restaurants and even tennis clubs. In May 1938, the year he was first elected for Paget, he argued against women's suffrage because he was 'afraid it will lead to universal suffrage which I feel will be detrimental to Bermuda'. A few years later he called himself a 'self-confessed reactionary and an unashamed conservative'. His rhetoric revealed him to be an unabashed racist too. 'It is not really undemocratic', he bumbled, 'to recognise that the world is divided into superior and inferior people'. (Greening, 117).

## 1959

- The Theatre Boycott – Desegregation was peacefully achieved in just over 2 weeks by the anonymous "Progressive Group". Flyers were distributed saying June 15 was the start date of the boycott, and by July 2nd theatre owners announced the end of segregated seating. Desegregation in restaurants and nightclubs were also announced, but not in hotel accommodation. The Progressive Groups' identity remained hidden for 40 years, due to fear over consequences, e.g. mortgages pulled, financial ruin, unemployment, etc. Although not linked to the Progressive Group, three days into the boycott Kingsley Tweed and Richard "Doc" Lynch passionately addressed the crowds, stating that Blacks spent about £3,500 a week in the theatres and with that much money could have "bought their own theater within six months." (Swan, 14) \* See Appendix 1 for members of The Progressive Group.
- Kingsley Tweed was one of the founders of the Bermuda Workers Association, he had also formed his own covert organization (the "Brotherhood") and was part of the struggle to end segregation. Kingsley Tweed's voice and others in the Black Brotherhood helped galvanize the black community during the 1959 Theatre Boycott. His activism came at a high price, as he was forced to flee Bermuda after receiving several death threats for his role in the Theatre Boycott. (Swan, 15) (Errol Williams, *When Voices Rise: Dismantling Segregation in Polite Society*, 2002).
- BIU'S Longshoreman strike in 1959 led by Joseph Mills. Dr. Eva Hodgson in her book *The Joe Mills Story*, stated that the strike "shook the very foundation of the entire white establishment's racist anti-working-class structure." Mills introduced concepts and ideas that were foreign to Bermuda and broke the back of the oppression that had burdened dockworkers since the 19th Century. Mills paid a heavy personal price. Blackballed by local employers he felt the full backlash and naked victimization of an old and dying gang of vicious oligarchs. (Philip)
- The dock strike led to the calling of the Riot Act, the first time in Bermuda's history. The majority White Police Force was brought out to subdue the strikers. (Swan, 15)

## 1960

- Racialized Immigration Policies – Following the Theatre Boycott and desegregation, Government continued their concerted effort to encourage white Immigration from Commonwealth nations during the 1960s, 70s, 80s and 90s, with legislation being passed in 1963 (ending in 1979) to provide them with the vote after only 3 years' residency. These racialized immigration policies resulted in thousands of people, the majority white, coming

to Bermuda, many eventually gaining Bermudian Status or Permanent Residence. (Winfield).

- ▶ A comparison of the 1950, 1960 and 1970 censuses reveal a remarkable increase in the number of non-Bermudians during the decade of the 1960s. In 1950, a total of 7,387 persons living on the island... were foreign born. By 1960, that figure had grown modestly, by 18%, to a total of 8,753. The following decade saw a significant escalation in the foreign-born population, an increase of some 66%, to a total of 14,496 persons. A small proportion of this was black, only 15%, while 83% were white. More than half of these new residents (56%) were from the British Commonwealth, they were all entitled to vote after living in the island for a period of three years. (Brown, 103).
- ▶ The 1960 Census shows a population of 42,640 with the 1960 Census status figures showing that 3,845 people had 'acquired' status (almost 10% increase in the population) other than by birth, of which 73% were white. Therefore, the vast majority of those 'acquiring' status was due to the domicile provision within the 1956 BIPA. (Winfield).
- ▶ This figure (3,845) is at odds with the figures provided by the Bermuda Government to the U.K. Government during the debate on the Bermuda Constitution as recorded in the 1967 U.K. Hansard Report, i.e. that 706 were 'granted' status (broken down racially as 700 white and 6 black) and included Edward (E.T.) Richards.\* The Bermuda Government *only* provided the U.K. Government with the 706 '**grant**' of status figures and failed to enlighten the U.K. Government of the 3,845 (73% white) who '**acquired**' status by the Act's domicile provision. (Winfield).
- ▶ The link for the 1960 Census Bermudian Status <https://www.gov.bm/sites/default/files/5-Bermudian-Status-Tables.pdf> "The table shows that the 3,845 Bermudians acquired their status by means other than by birth. This would include all other options available at that time. This data was self-reported and based on the understanding of the respondent as to their Bermudian Status. Also note the 'Summary of Bermudian Status' table on page 28 which provides the breakdown by race and indicates that 73% of the population who acquired Bermudian Status were white." (Department of Statistics 2018).
- ▶ The 1960 Census confirms a racial bias in favor of whites (particularly from Britain, the Commonwealth and America) in the granting of status, and clearly shows how immigration was used as a tool to artificially influence the island's demographics and the ability of the white minority to continue to hold political dominance for so many years during the 20th Century.
- ▶ In September 1960 "Roosevelt Brown [Dr. Pauulu Kamarakafego] began the first open revolt against the archaic system of voting, since Dr. Gordon exposed the limited franchise in the BWA [Bermuda Workers Association] petition to London in 1946." (Philip).
- ▶ "The emergence of Pauulu Roosevelt Osiris Nelson Browne Kamarakafego as one of the Caribbean's most astute Black Power activists. He was extremely politically active in Bermuda." (Swan).
- ▶ Newly returned from college studies, he formed the Committee for Universal Adult Suffrage (CUAS) and organized a series of highly successful public meetings. "The relentless efforts of CUAS, in conjunction with other contributing factors, led to the passage of the Parliamentary Election Act 1963, which introduced Universal Suffrage for all Bermudians, whether they owned property or not, but raised the minimum voting age to 25," said former Clerk to the Legislature and Bermuda political historian James Smith.

\*The U.K. Hansard Report has been questioned as not being correct as it is believed E. T. Richards acquired residency sooner as he practiced law in Bermuda prior to 1956. Further research will hopefully clarify this.

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- The enactment of the Restaurant Act in Bermuda created parity between black and white diners. (Bermuda Timeline).

## 1960s

The first rumblings of Islam arrived in Bermuda around 1960 when African Bermudian long-shoremen began distributing the Nation of Islam's (NOI) newspaper, Muhammad Speaks throughout the island. The paper was created by Malik Shabazz (Malcolm X), who was at the time a member of the Nation of Islam in the United States. The Organization was established by the Honourable Elijah Muhammad for the purposes of not only fighting the political, social and economic injustices inflicted on African Americans by "whites" but also for the purpose of uplifting the black man/woman in America. (Tankard).

## 1962

A law passed making it illegal for restaurants to deny service to blacks.

## 1962

Mount Saint Agnes Academy became the first all-white private or government-aided school in Bermuda to voluntarily admit a few black female students. Rolfe Commissiong, the son of parents who were members of the Progressive Group, became the first black male to attend Mount Saint Agnes Academy in 1963.

## 1963

- The Parliamentary Election Act was passed and universal, but not equal, suffrage was achieved. However, powerful white businessmen, who were the dominant force in Parliament at the time, also passed the Watlington Amendment, which gave landowners with rateable property a second vote... as well as increasing the age of voting from 21 to 25. (Brown, 103). This at a time when most countries were lowering the vote to 18.
- The Commonwealth Residential Vote 1963. Bermuda's rulers... moved to ensure that all British subjects living on the island for a period of at least three years were given the vote; this was made possible by a section included in the 1963 franchise legislation. (Brown, 103). This stayed in place until 1979.
- The Progressive Labour Party is formed 10th February 1963 by Wilfred "Mose" Allen, Edward DeJean, Hugh Richardson, Walter Robinson, Dilton Cann, Austin Wilson and Peter Smith. Its purpose was to form a political party to take over the government of Bermuda and directly address inequities in Bermuda which included its colonial relationship with Britain. It sought, among other things, an end to racial discrimination, better housing and health care and greater educational opportunities for all Bermudians. In May, it contested its first General Election, with six of its nine candidates elected. They were Arnold Francis; Dorothy Thompson; Russell Dismont; Walter Robinson; Lois Browne-Evans (first elected black woman member of the Bermuda Parliament and future National Hero) and Cecil Clarke.
- With universal suffrage a reality, government made a concerted effort to encourage immigration by the thousands... most of these were British citizens. This lasted until 1979, with all those given the vote allowed to retain it. All concessions, political observers have said, were aimed at diluting blacks' new political power. (Brown, 103).

- ▶ Dr. Eva Hodgson published her book *Second Class Citizens; First Class Men* in 1963.
- ▶ Parliamentary Elections Act 1963 (which repealed the 1945 Act), a person was no longer required to own land to be qualified for election but Section 6(2) was included to provide that a person was *disqualified* for election to serve in the House of Assembly if "he holds any office under the Government of these Islands in respect of which a salary is payable out of the Public Treasury". This ruled out many Black Bermudians running for election as the only option for educated Black Bermudians at that time was to go into the civil service, as despite desegregation having been announced in 1959 in effect educated Black Bermudians were still discriminated against in the public sector job market. History once again repeating itself as in the 1834 Emancipation legislation, which concurrently virtually doubled the requirements for voting and for access to be elected to the Legislature, effectively putting election to the House out of the reach of black people till 1885.

## 1964

The United Bermuda Party (UBP) is formed and it wins a major coup in its recruitment of [Sir Edward Trenton (ET)] Richards to its cause. Though one of Bermuda's foremost civil rights campaigners, Richards was also a conservative and an Anglophile. As a result, his individual philosophy was in tune with the UBP. (Greening, 119).

## 1965

- ▶ Government support for segregation in schools ended in 1965, as did the integration of the (black) Bermuda Militia Artillery and the (white) Bermuda Rifles into the Bermuda Regiment and the top ranks of the civil service. (Greening, 102). However, the voluntary integration of schools progressed extremely slowly.
- ▶ July: Governor Lord Martonmere used the Prohibited Publications Act to ban the Nation of Islam's newspaper, *Muhammad Speaks*, on the grounds that it was "calculated to incite racial hatred." (Swan, 19).
- ▶ Howard Academy, [a highly successful black school] has government funding withdrawn and is closed. Government also withdraws funding for racially segregated schools. (Bermuda Timeline).
- ▶ The Bermuda Democratic Party formed as a result of a split within the Progressive Labour Party based on ideological grounds. The new party however was unable to generate a mass following.
- ▶ Mrs. Ruth Seaton James became the Registrar General, the first black and woman to head a government department.
- ▶ BELCO Riots – "On January 19, 1965 over 80 workers went on strike to protest Belco's refusal to allow the BIU to represent its workers. Strikers were also concerned about Belco's racist policies, such as the hiring of Blacks as only labourers and not mechanics or operators...". "The Police Force eventually attacked the strikers on the grounds that the latter were obstructing employees from attending work.... The riot squad fired tear gas on the crowd, who armed themselves. A long and arduous fight ensued and several were injured.... The Strike was eventually settled on February 18. It exuberated pre-existing tensions that existed between Blacks and the Bermuda Police. In actuality this Force was only 'Bermudian' in name, for it consisted mostly of British officers who had served in other



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colonial territories such as Palestine, Cyprus, South Africa, and Rhodesia.” (Swan, 20). The company practiced unacceptable racial policies, e.g. locker rooms, toilets and wash-up room were assigned on race, and signs were posted to ensure that no one made any mistakes. Mr. Ottiwell Simmons, in his *Gateboy Memoirs*, made these pertinent observations: “The company symbolized the power and influence that had been handed down through generations of the slave-master era. The workers on the other hand maintained their conviction and determination to win union recognition. Therefore, one side had to break their shackles and the other side was obligated to tighten their reins. Herein lay the unavoidable hostility among the combatant parties.” (Philip).

- Calvin Smith is hired by Governor Lord Martonmere as the Bermuda Government’s first black Chief Statistician. (Greening, 108).

## 1966

- “In the summer of 1966, there were debates across the Atlantic by telegram and in the Bermudian press about who should make up the delegation [Constitutional Conference]. Martonmere’s description of the people he had selected to take part revealed his own chauvinistic and racial biases clearly. Tucker, for example was described ‘as the most able and influential political figure in Bermuda’. Another white UBP politician Bayard Dill was ‘broad-minded and judicious’ and Dudley Spurling was ‘widely respected for his stability and integrity’. Finally, UBP co-founder Sir Henry Vesey was ‘very able and industrious’. In contrast the PLP delegates were described as ‘venomous’ (Lois Browne Evans), ‘racially conscious’ (Walter Robinson) and ‘quite irresponsible and impractical’ (Dorothy Thompson). The proposed group of 18 included eight UBP MPs, three PLP MPs, four independent MPs, two of whom were black and two of whom were white, and three members of the Legislative Council, all of whom sympathised with the UBP. Twelve out of 18 members of the proposed delegation were white.” (Greening, 83).
- November: First Constitutional Conference convenes in the UK. The UK and UBP agree with the articles of the new Constitution and sign the report; the Progressive Labour Party declines to sign and produces a minority report, which recommended, as far as possible, equal electoral districts. This Constitutional Conference laid the groundwork for the May 22, 1968 election, which also saw the plus vote dropped altogether.
- Trade Union Act is passed [an act not to support Trade Unions but to restrict their actions].
- Parliamentary Election Amendment Act comes into force, abolishing the ‘plus’ vote and extending the franchise to include every adult Bermudian, by birth or grant, 21 years and over.

## 1967

- British MP Tom Driberg stated in the 14 June 1967 U.K. Hansard Report in the debate of the Constitution Bill, “The conference was dominated by people from the majority party elected on the old unjust boundaries.” (Greening, 82).
- On 19 June 1967 British MP Miss Joan Lestor states in the U.K. Hansard Report whilst debating the Constitution Bill “Another cause for confusion arises in connection with the classification created in respect of Bermuda called “Bermuda status”. In order to be nominated one must either be born in Bermuda or possess Bermuda status. I hope that my

hon. Friend will refer to the relevant figures because it seems to me that Bermuda status is reserved for white people. Since the establishment of this qualification 700 white people have been granted it and six coloured people. Two of the coloured people are Dr. King and Mr. Richards [Premier Sir Edward E. T. Richards], who are well known supporters of the UBP. If Bermuda status is to be one of the qualifications for standing for Parliament we need an explanation why 700 white people have achieved it as opposed to only 6 coloured people."

- ▶ It appears the Bermuda Government failed to advise the UK Parliament in 1967 of the thousands (3,845 of which 73% were white) who automatically, quietly, 'acquired' status under the domicile provision in the 1956 Bermuda Immigration and Protection Act, i.e. they appeared to have only advised the U.K. Parliament with the numbers (706) who were 'granted' status after the introduction of the 1956 Bermuda Immigration and Protection Act, i.e. from 1 July 1956 to 1967. (Winfield).
- ▶ First black student Gill Tucker admitted to Saltus Grammar, an all-white private boys' school.
- ▶ The Hotel Keepers' Protection Act is passed (allowing hoteliers the ability to monitor who is allowed to stay in a hotel). New Parliamentary Election Act becomes law enacting one-man, two votes and the voting age was lowered to 21. (Bermuda Timeline).
- ▶ Boundaries Commission set up to devise 20 electoral districts for the 1968 general election. This was "an attempt to make the white vote more significant than it might otherwise have been." This had already been condemned by a Select Committee as gerrymandering (Brown, 100-101). See Report of Select Committee Considering the Parliamentary Election Act, 1945 pg. 339. (Brown, 193).
- ▶ "The racially motivated immigration policy by the government caused the abrupt resignation of one of only two black UBP parliamentary members, George O. Ratteray, in April 1967. After making a blistering attack on his party's immigration policy he resigned from the Executive Council (Upper House) and the United Bermuda Party." (Brown, 104).
- ▶ "The second most important aspect of the Report is the promise of consultations to widen the basis of candidature. At present—and this is a most extraordinary aspect of the undemocratic system in Bermuda—all public servants are debarred from standing for the House of Assembly. This is extremely unfair because it means that some of the most educated and articulate people are debarred from standing—school teachers, for instance—because so many people are public servants in Bermuda, as the hon. Gentleman no doubt knows." (MP Tom Driberg UK Hansard Report 1967). This was supported by MP James Johnson who said "I would like to protest against the debarring of large sections of the working population, who would make fine members of the Assembly. Government employees should be allowed to stand as candidates." **Of note this policy still stands in 2020.**
- ▶ A UPI article entitled Bermuda Hails a Decade of Birth Control reports that Bermuda's drop in birth figures was hailed "as dramatic." Today it is argued that these programs were aimed primarily at Black Bermudian families and included coerced hysterectomies and forced sterilization.
- ▶ In a teleconference interview with Ottiwell Simmons in May 2017 – he stated that prior to 1967 it was tradition/policy that kept out Bermuda teachers from being able to run for Parliament. He also noted that during the 1950s and 1960s government workers, e.g. bus drivers, could not hold a second job. He said that Austin Thomas ran for the PLP but was made to step down as a teacher. He also noted that Aurelia Burch ran but didn't succeed, so she didn't have to step down as a teacher. He remembered Colin Benbow running for the UBP [1976-1980] but thinks he had retired by then as a teacher.

## 1968

- ▶ Bermuda Youth Disturbances. The April riots erupt. Considerable damage done, mostly to white-owned businesses in Hamilton. State of Emergency declared, and UK troops sent to Bermuda. (Smith, *Island Flames*).
- ▶ The first general election held under the new Constitution, the two-party system and with full universal adult suffrage was held May 22nd, 1968. This came about more than 40 years after universal adult franchise was adopted in the U.K. and Canada.
- ▶ The Wooding Commission convenes following the April riots and investigates the underlying causes by a Commission chaired by the Rt. Hon. Sir Hugh Wooding. He reports later on the causes of the riots: racial prejudice; an economic system which favoured whites, established interests; failures in the education system; voting franchise; lack of employment opportunities; an immigration policy favouring whites; substandard housing – mostly among black families. (Smith, *Island Flames*).
- ▶ The Wooding Commission “found that virtually everything in Bermudian society was viewed in racial terms”. Race defined all facets of society: relationships between the Police and blacks, the banning of “black” publications, the disputes between political parties and the attitudes of all Bermudians.” And summarizes by stating “We said... that the roots of the civil disorders lie deep in the history of Bermuda’s society. The society was typically white plantation in character and the history, in the years before the forties, was of accepted white supremacy with all the concomitant evils of segregation.” (Wooding, 63).
- ▶ Bermuda’s new Constitution comes into effect on June 2nd.
- ▶ Qualification and Disqualification 1968 Act provided that a public officer can run for the House of Assembly but had to provide an undertaking, that undertaking would be to step down in the event the individual was elected to the House. This legislative change was initiated by comments made by MP Tom Driberg in the UK Hansard Report in 1967, and supported by MP James Johnson who said “I would like to protest against the debarring of large sections of the [Bermuda] working population, who would make fine members of the Assembly. Government employees should be allowed to stand as candidates”.
- ▶ However, the 1968 Act did not go as far as was recommended by MP Johnson, and the seeming liberalization of the law outright banning public officers from running for office made minimal impact, as it was financially impossible for civil servants to run, as pay for MPs was so low that only someone of independent means could afford to give up a full-time job. NB Section 30(3)(a) of the Bermuda Constitution is not at odds with the 1968 Act, as the Constitution simply provides that the Legislature *may* enact a law to provide that a person shall not be disqualified for appointment, however the Legislature is not required to do so.
- ▶ In a teleconference interview with Arthur Hodgson in May 2017 he confirmed “the Bermuda Constitution had a clause put in it that prevented anyone from running as an MP who was paid out of public accounts. The PLP objected to this clause as they recognized it would prevent educated Black Bermudians from becoming MPs. As back in those days the few areas where educated Black Bermudians could get jobs was in government.”

## 1968 - 1971

Sir Henry James “Jack” Tucker was the first Government Leader of Bermuda and a member of the United Bermuda Party, which he helped found in 1964. He is considered – together with Dr. E. F. Gordon – one of the island’s two most important leaders of the 20th Century.

## 1969

### July 10 - 13

- ▶ The First Regional International Black Power Conference (BPC) is held in Bermuda, with Dr. Pauulu Kamarakefago as Chair of the BPC. The Black Beret Cadre emerged in its aftermath. (Swan, 9).
- ▶ "Black Studies" – Kenneth E. Robinson's fact-finding visit to the United States of America in the summer of 1969, which was followed by a Report and Recommendations to The Member for Education by K. E. Robinson. (NB the Member for Education disallowed the submission of this 37-page report to parliamentarians).
- ▶ Race Relations Act is passed. (Bermuda Timeline).
- ▶ The Black Beret Cadre was formed in late 1969. Its leaders were Dionne Bassett, Ben Aaharon and Jerome Perinchief. The Cadre, which the U.S. Consul likened to "Che Guevara at his most militant," uncompromisingly demonstrated the plight of Bermuda's majority black population. (Swan, 2)

## 1969 - 1970

In late 1969 a core group of six Berkeley Institute students, freshly inspired by their participation in the Black Power Conference, started a "Black Studies Program" on Thursday afternoons after school. They were required to have a teacher supervise their presence after school hours (three agreed) but nevertheless faced many obstacles and meetings with school authorities. They used US and Caribbean materials and inspiration including readings from MLK, Malcolm X and Fanon. They also did original microfiche research of the old Gazette in the general library. They borrowed recordings of Malcolm X speeches and The Last Poets from friends at the Bermuda Technical Institute (a couple of whom therefore occasionally attended). The school administration banned "outsiders" from the school property. Therefore, at the 1970 Berkeley Sports Day (when typically, students from other schools would play hooky to attend), the Berkeley student body, led by the Black Studies program organizers, staged a morning sit-in to protest the hypocrisy that "outsiders" were not prohibited from entering the grounds on the Sports Day. The Day was cancelled. This was the first and possibly the only sit-in at a school in Bermuda's history.

## 1970

- ▶ Race Relations Council Act is passed, and the Relations Council is appointed. Riots in October result in acts of arson and strikes. (Bermuda Timeline). (*Race: Polite White people the Problem? Bermuda Sun*, May 23, 2007)
- ▶ Inspired by the Cadre, in 1970 an island-wide Black Union of Students was formed with branches at the Academic Sixth Form Centre, Bermuda Technical Institute and the Sandy's Secondary and Churchill Schools. An estimated 400-500 students would meet regularly to discuss Black Power and the introduction of Black Studies into the schools. These students were criminalized by the media, the *Royal Gazette* saw the Berkeley Boycott as "a very radical stand", and the Foreign Commonwealth Office's Information Research Department together with the government resolved to take firm action against the Cadre and mount a propaganda campaign against them. (Swan, Ch.5).

## 1970 - 1971

Progress in school integration was slow, so in September 1970 primary schools were formally desegregated by law, with the hope that as children grew up together integration would occur naturally in the high schools. The passing of this law signals the final legal effort to bring about integration. However, white flight to private schools occurs resulting in de facto segregation.

## 1971

December

- ▶ Sir Henry Tucker retires as Government Leader. However, "Between the passing of the Parliamentary Elections Act in January 1963 and Tucker's retirement, British troops were called to Bermuda three times by Governor Lord Martonmere, while riots engulfed the island in February 1965, April 1968 and October 1970.
- ▶ Sir Edward (ET) Richards an Afro-Guyanese lawyer, Bermuda's first Black Knight, becomes the first black leader of the UBP and Bermuda's first black premier. (Manning).

## 1972

- ▶ The Bermuda College is established by joining together the Sixth Form Centre, the Technical Institute and the Hotel College. Police Commissioner George Duckett is shot dead. (Bermuda Timeline).
- ▶ [Sir] John Swan is elected to Parliament as an MP for the United Bermuda Party.

## 1973

- ▶ The Mid Ocean Club accepted its first black member. The Mid Ocean Club was located on 180 acres of Tucker's Town land which had been sold to the Mid Ocean Club Limited by Furness Withy in 1951.
- ▶ The Governor, Sir Richard Sharples, is assassinated along with his ADC Captain Hugh Sayers.
- ▶ The United Bermuda Party Black Caucus is formed by Gloria Juanita McPhee, who felt that Black Bermudians were underrepresented in the party.

## 1974

The Nation of Islam reached its peak in Bermuda with a membership between 200-300 individuals and an increase in businesses island wide. The Organization also purchased its own property on Cedar Avenue in Hamilton. They still reside there today with the property known as Masjid Muhammad. In February 1975 Imam Warith D. Mohammed assumes the leadership of the Nation of Islam upon the passing of the Honourable Elijah. Imam Muhammad transforms the NOI and embraces the universal principles of Islam (orthodox Islam) - Belief in One God, prayer, fasting, charity and a visit to Mecca. During the transition the name of the *Muhammad Speaks* newspaper is changed to *Bilian News* and today known as *Muslim Journal*. Additionally, Masjid Muhammad doors are open to all ethnicities. (Tankard).

## 1975

- ▶ The *Bermuda Recorder* closes after 50 years. It was purchased in 1973 by UBP MP John W. Swan (later Premier of Bermuda 1982 – 1995) and was closed in July 1975.
- ▶ Cyril Outerbridge Packwood publishes his book *Chained on the Rock*.
- ▶ In 1975, local Muslims submit an application to open a Muslim primary school. The Bermuda Government denies the application along with the many efforts of the Muslims to achieve their goal.
- ▶ A group of United Bermuda Party parliamentarians calling themselves “The Black Caucus” produced a Report outlining their areas of concern and calling on the UBP to ensure that blacks, not only in the party but island-wide, participated on an equal basis in the island’s prosperity. Members of the Black Caucus were Gloria McPhee, Clarence V. Woolridge, Dr. Clarence E. James, Dr. Stanley Ratteray, Arnold A. Francis, Anita B. R. Smith and Helen A. Brown. Noticeably missing was [The Hon. Sir] John Swan (elected to Parliament 1972). (*History of the United Bermuda Party*, 1987)

## 1976

- ▶ James E. Smith publishes his book *Slavery in Bermuda*.
- ▶ Boxer Clarence Hill won a bronze Olympic medal for Bermuda, the first Bermudian to win an Olympic medal.

## 1977

- ▶ Race Uprising – last major race riots occur in Bermuda following the hangings of Larry Tacklyn and Buck Burrows. The hangings of Burrows and Tacklyn were the last to occur on British soil worldwide. (Smith).

## 1978

April - July

- ▶ Pitt Commission convened in Bermuda and concluded its report in London. Similar to the findings of the Wooding Commission nine years earlier, the Pitt Commission found several contributory factors to the riots, including: a history of racial segregation and its debilitating effect on blacks; pattern of capital accumulation that largely favoured whites; immigration policy that disadvantaged blacks; the franchise system concerns still not fully addressed with unequal numbers of voters in each Constituency and the continued retention of the three year UK residency vote. (Smith).
- ▶ “The importance of substantially reducing immigration and assisting the promotion of Bermudians.” This recommendation was in direct response to the rapidly increasing expatriate population and an acknowledgement of the detrimental effects it was having on the African Bermudians population. (Pitt Report).

## 1979

- ▶ Dr. Kenneth E. Robinson, OBE, BSC., Ed.M., Ed.D. publishes his book *Heritage: Including an account of Bermudian Builders, Pilots and Petitioners of the early Post-Abolition period 1834 -1859*.



- ▶ A Constitutional Conference is held, attended by the UBP, PLP and British Foreign Office officials. (Bermuda Timeline).
- ▶ The granting of voting rights to persons who lived in Bermuda for just three years was stopped in 1979 (introduced in 1963). [Those who were given the vote retained it for the rest of their lives]. The vast majority of these people were white and polls continued to show that whites voted en block for the UBP. It was not until some 30 years later, in 1998, that the Bermuda Progressive Labour Party (PLP), which had majority black support, wins its first election. (Riley).
- ▶ Nellie E. Musson publishes *Mind the Onion Seed: Black "Roots" Bermuda*.
- ▶ Gina Swainson wins Miss World Pageant in the U.K.

## 1980 – July 30

Bermudian Dr. Paaulu Kamarakafego is recognized by the Vanuatu Government as a national hero and presented with a special independence award at their formal Independence Day Celebrations. This award was given to those countries or individuals who had helped Vanuatu on the road to independence and included Fidel Castro of Cuba.

## 1981

- ▶ The Human Rights Act is passed. (Bermuda Timeline).
- ▶ Bermuda's first General Strike – The crisis was precipitated by a dispute that involved 300 non-clinical employees at the two government-subsidized hospitals; plus 900 blue-collar workers in various government departments. What started out as an ordinary industrial dispute between a Union and an employer over wages on April 11, 1981 ended up as a national crisis. (Philip).
- ▶ By April 30 the Union had overwhelming public sympathy and support, and island-wide, hotel workers walked out and joined the picket lines. By May 1st an estimated 7,000 workers were away from their jobs. On May 7, 1981 the Government succumbed to the political, social, and economic pressures, which left them with no alternative, except defeat. After 25 days the General Strike was over, marking an indelible and momentous chapter in Bermuda's social, political and economic history. (Philip).
- ▶ Frederick 'Penny' Bean becomes the first black Police Commissioner. (Bermuda Timeline).

## 1982

Sir John Swan, a UBP MP, becomes Premier of Bermuda until 1995.

## 1985

- ▶ Louis Farrakhan is banned by government from coming to Bermuda.
- ▶ The Archibald Royal Commission on Drugs and Alcohol. According to the Archibald Commission, institutionalized racism was so bad that it occurred "throughout Bermuda society, in Government, business, banks, churches, schools, Unions, political parties, clubs and courts, and generally seemed to be committed in the name of preserving business traditions and maintaining standards, a fact that made it no less destructive of human life and self-esteem." (Philip, 3).

## 1987

- ▶ Ira Philip publishes his book *Freedom Fighters: From Monk to Mazumbo*. London: Akira Press.
- ▶ *The History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave, Related by Herself* appears in *The Classic Slave Narratives* compiled by Henry Louis Gates Jr in 1987.

## 1988

- ▶ Dr. Hodgson is a racial justice activist, author, academic, prolific writer, historian and human rights activist, and in 1988 she founded and became the Co-Chair of the National Association for Reconciliation in Bermuda. Bermuda was deeply segregated in the 1950s and ruled by a strong, powerful white oligarchy. Born in 1923, Dr. Hodgson studied in both Canada (Queen's University) and England (London University) and when she returned from England in 1959 having earned her second Honours Degree, she was deeply frustrated and angry at the indignities and insults that continued to be heaped on Black Bermudians.
- ▶ She began writing for the Bermuda Recorder (a black-owned newspaper) publicly expressing her concerns for the racism and social injustices she witnessed. In such a society she was quickly labeled a troublemaker and began to feel the backlash and economic pressures placed on a young, black woman who dared to raise her voice. With the help of scholarships she continued her education earning a MA in International Education, a M.Ed. in Counselling Psychology and later an M.Phil and PhD in African and Black American History from Columbia University.
- ▶ Dr Eva Hodgson has for 80 years raised her voice in protest against the racism and social injustices in Bermuda. At a time when it was considered crazy to go against the white oligarchy that ruled Bermuda, she stubbornly and with great courage, dedication and determination, continued to voice her concern at meetings and wrote passionately about the disparities and racial injustice in her society. Her deep love for her people and her country was the primary motivation for her commitment to the need for deep social change. She had studied and learned about the violence and oppression of 218 years of enslavement and the subsequent 137 years of segregation. She personally experienced segregation and witnessed the continued indignity, discrimination and prejudice that Bermudians of African descent experienced following desegregation in Bermuda. (Excerpt from CURB's biography of Dr. Eva Hodgson).

## 1989

Bermuda Immigration Protection Act 1956 – change in policy no longer offering discretionary grant of Bermudian Status due to bias in the giving of Status to majority whites. (Up till then 40 discretionary grants of status were made per year above and beyond those awarded to spouses/children of Bermudians).

## 1990

After fifteen years of going back and forth without Bermuda Government approval, Clara Muhammad Primary School opens on Cedar Avenue in Hamilton (Tankard).

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## 1990s

Predominantly black, Court Street community “Back of Town” area renamed “North Hamilton” after pioneering work of W. Carvel Van Putten, businessman and former City of Hamilton Common Councilor. (*Uptowner Magazine*, August 2008).

## 1992

- ▶ The Tumin Report called to investigate the Criminal Justice System in Bermuda.
- ▶ An NGO Global Forum, attended by 17,000 civil society participants was held in Brazil in parallel to the ground-breaking Formal United Nations Earth Summit - that adopted the Convention on Biodiversity and Agenda 21. Dr. Pauulu Kamarakfego was the resource person for the country of Vanuatu at the Earth Summit. He was also involved in the parallel NGO Global Forum. He was already highly regarded all over the world for his work as an environmental engineer in many projects with the Commonwealth Secretariat in which he promoted sustainable solutions using local materials and - uniquely - insisted upon leaving manuals in the dominant local language as a condition of his contracts. He was therefore well known at the NGO Global Forum and was elected by the plenary participants to organize civil society meetings for small island developing states for the next decade after the Global Summit. In 1994, Dr. Kamarakfego organized the first ever Global Conference for the implementation of Agenda 21 in Barbados. Titled *The Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States*, this civil society conference, was held parallel to (and involved vigorous daily lobbying of government representatives attending) the formal United Nations conference on the same topic.

## 1994

- ▶ The Office of the Commission for Unity and Racial Equality (CURE) is established. (Bermuda Timeline).
- ▶ Bermuda Immigration & Protection Act 1956 Amendment (1994), allowing those who have close ties to Bermudian families to obtain status. (BIPA Section 20B).
- ▶ The Newman Report *Bermuda's Stride toward the Twenty-First Century* is published highlighting the existence of racial discrimination and institutional racial discrimination in Bermuda. (Bermuda Timeline).
- ▶ The National Youth Alliance (NYA) published a newsletter, *The Nationalist*, which raised concerns about British colonialism, Black struggle, and the need to build a strong black community. When it denounced the effects of systemic racism on Bermuda's black youth, it was publicly portrayed as “violently racist.” (Swan).

## 1995

- ▶ HMS Malabar closes ending an association of 285 years with Bermuda.
- ▶ The US Naval Air Bases close under the pressure of negative press attention.
- ▶ The body of 12 CURE Commissioners is set up.
- ▶ A Referendum called by Sir John Swan on the issue of Independence. Opposition Leader L. Frederick (“Freddie”) Wade calls for a boycott of the referendum, and it is defeated leading to the resignation of Sir John Swan.

## 1997

- CURE publishes *The Code of Practice for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity in Employment*. (Bermuda Timeline).
- Upon retirement of Premier David Saul, Pamela Gordon became the first female leader of Bermuda. She served as premier until 1998 when the PLP won the General Election. She was later made a Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire.

## 1998

- For many, many years there had been a travel ban against the Muslim leader, Minister Louis Farrakhan from visiting Bermuda. On 18 February, he arrived in Bermuda and was welcomed by a crowd of more than 5,000 gathered at the Bermuda National Stadium to hear him speak. Sister Sumayah Farrakhan, the Minister's mother, was born in Bermuda. (Askia Muhammad/Washington Bureau Chief).
- In June over 600 people gather at Bermuda College for the first bi-partisan discussion on race. Out of this the organization Citizens Uprooting Racism in Bermuda (CURB) is formed. Active for approximately 3 years it eventually became inactive after receiving no financial support.
- The first PLP Government is formed under the premiership of The Rt. Hon. Ms. Jennifer Smith JP, MP. (Later Dame Jennifer Smith).

## 1999

Dr. Muriel Wade-Smith's book *Let Justice Flow: A Black Woman's Struggle for Equality in Bermuda* is published. In 1978 Dr. Muriel Wade-Smith achieved her PhD in Education Administration from Miami University. Throughout the following 2 decades and beyond she was never offered a position commensurate with her education, including three unsuccessful attempts to obtain a position at the Bermuda College. In her book *Let Justice Flow* she talks of a meeting at the Human Rights Commission in 1996, wherein it was indicated that she had been blackballed. Dr. Wade-Smith went on to indicate that like her, Dr. Eva Hodgson, had also applied on three occasions to the Bermuda College and had been displaced by lesser-qualified expatriates. (Wade-Smith, 100).

## 1999

- Virginia Bernhardt publishes her book *Slaves and Slaveholders in Bermuda 1616-1782*. Dr. Bernhardt gifted her raw research work product - two electronic, searchable databases of the 1832 and 1834 Slave Registers. They are now available at the National Archives, Bermuda National Library, Bermuda College Library and Bermuda National Trust.
- The Commission for Unity & Racial Equality Act 1994 is amended to allow CURE to collect specific data for the monitoring process. (Bermuda Timeline).



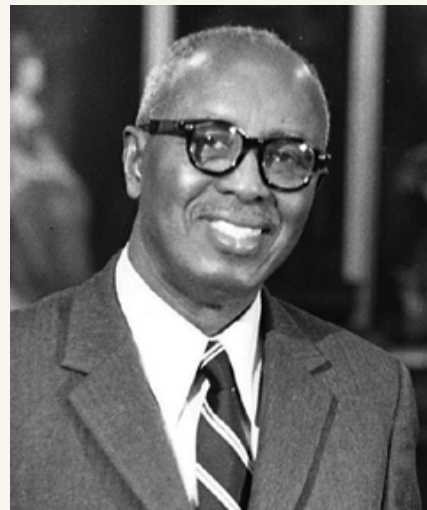
**DREAMS FOR SALE** How the Bermuda Development Company subdivided their 510-acre Tucker's Town site. To give an idea of its scale, the spit at the far right of the map contains the "Billionaires' Row" pictured on page 26

Bermuda Archives



Ira Philip. Monk to Mazumbo

Reverend Charles Vinton Monk, AME Pastor, Publisher & Editor of *The New Era* newspaper.



Royal Gazette

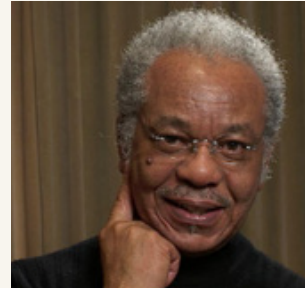
Sir. Edward Trenton Richards, Bermuda's first black Premier, 1971





Photo courtesy of Glenn Fubler

People protesting during the Theatre Boycott  
1959 - *The Bermuda Recorder*



RG Magazine 14 Feb 2019

Revd. Dr. Kingsley Tweed



Royal Gazette

Bermuda's first general strike, 1981



Black History  
in Bermuda

21<sup>st</sup> Century



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## 2001

Bermuda Immigration & Protection Act 1956 Amendment, providing Permanent Resident Certificates (PRC) to those who had been on island since 1st July 1989, providing safety of tenure and all rights, with the exception of the vote. Alongside this piece of legislation Term Limits were enacted, in order to no longer create the situation of long-term residents. 2016 Census shows 62% of PRCs are white, 15% are black and 5% mixed, 6% Asian, 11% Other.

## 2002

- April: *When Voices Rise: Dismantling Segregation in Polite Society* a film by Errol Williams about Bermuda's 1959 Theatre Boycott had its world premiere at the Bermuda International Film Festival.
- The first festival for Reconnection of the St. David's Island Pequot Native Americans with the New England Mashantucket Pequot/Wampanoag Native Americans, was held at Lord's Cricket Field, St. David's Island. Research bringing the two groups together was done by Jean Foggo Simon.

## 2003

- The Commission for Unity and Racial Equality (CURE) print the first Bermuda history timeline entitled *Bermuda Timeline Significant Events in the History of Bermuda's Race Relations from the 17th Century to the Present*.
- The Bermuda Constitution (Amendment) Order 2003 - The 2003 election was the first under a new voting system with single-seat constituencies, first-past-the-post. The number of seats was also reduced from 40 to 36 single-seat constituencies. This occurred 36 years after MP Tom Driberg stated in debating the Bermuda Constitution in the U.K. Parliament 1967 Hansard Report "Anything which enhances racial tension is bad. I maintain that this Constitution, retaining these gerrymandered elements of racial privilege, will tend to enhance racial tension."
- After winning the 2003 election for the PLP, Premier Jennifer Smith is voted out and replaced by W. Alexander Scott.

## 2005

- In August the final report of the Bermuda Independence Commission under the chairmanship of Reverend Bishop Vernon G. Lambe was published and released to the Bermuda public. The Commission whose members were selected by the Premier of Bermuda, W. Alex Scott, was given a mandate to provide a thorough examination of the issue of Independence for Bermuda.
- Following the 2005 Throne Speech given under the leadership of Premier Alex Scott, Citizens Uprooting Racism in Bermuda (CURB), a racial justice non-governmental, advocacy group, re-organize and become a charity in 2006.

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## 2006

October 27: In a leadership challenge by his Deputy Premier, Dr. Ewart Brown, Alex Scott is ousted as Premier during a PLP delegates conference.

## 2007

Premier, Doctor Ewart F. Brown launches the government sponsored *Big Conversation*, which begins an extensive two-year exploration of the issue of race relations in Bermuda.

## 2008

- ▶ Sally Bassett statue (by Carlos Dowling), an enslaved woman who was burned at the stake in 1730, is unveiled in the Cabinet grounds after it was rejected for placement at City Hall by the City of Hamilton's politicians.
- ▶ Tucker's Town Historical Society and CURB successfully advocate for Tucker's Town free black cemetery to be made into an Historic Preservation Area.

## 2009

- ▶ CURE prints an updated version of their 2003 timeline in a series of 3 booklets entitled 400 Years of Bermuda's Race Relations.
- ▶ The Government releases Columbia University's School of Social Works final report, *A Study of Employment, Earnings, and Educational Gaps between Young Black Bermudian Males and their Same Age Peers*, authored by Professor Ronald L. Mincy. The study was commissioned in the midst of rising gang violence in Bermuda.
- ▶ After accounting for differences in education, the racial differences in the predicted unemployment rates of Bermudian males were unchanged. *Race does account for 29 percent of the racial gap in predicted earnings* between young black and white Bermudian males. (Mincy, iv). Whereas *14 percent of the racial gap* in the predicted earnings of young Bermudian men was associated with higher levels of *educational attainment* among the latter [young White Bermudian men]. (Mincy, 26)
- ▶ Young black and white Bermudian men have similar employment, enrollment, and labor force participation rates. The big difference is unemployment. The proportion of young Black Bermudian men who are looking, unsuccessfully, for work is 14%; while the proportion of hite Bermudian men who are looking, unsuccessfully, for work is 8%. (Mincy, 23).

## 2009

The statue *We Arrive* by Bermuda artist Chesley Trott is unveiled at Barr's Bay Park celebrating the freeing of 172 American slaves aboard the ship *Enterprise* in 1835.

## 2010

- ▶ Former Governor Sir Peter Ramsbotham said in an interview that entrenched racism turned Bermuda into "a one-party dictatorship" in the 1960s and '70s and was the underlying cause of the 1977 riots. (*Royal Gazette*, 1 Dec 2010)

- ▶ The Commission for Unity and Racial Equality (CURE) is dissolved and amalgamated with the Human Rights Commission.
- ▶ Dr. Ewart Brown retires as Premier in October 2010 and is replaced by Paula Cox who is leader until December 2012, when the PLP is defeated at the polls by the OBA.

## 2011

Merger of the United Bermuda Party with the Bermuda Democratic Alliance forming the One Bermuda Alliance (OBA).

## 2012

- ▶ The Ombudsman's Special Report *Today's Choices, Tomorrow's Costs* is published 10th February 2012 and recommends that the Department of Planning "List the [Tucker's Town] cemetery as an historic building under Section 30 of the DPA, although already referenced under Section 31 as an Historic Protection Area, a Section 30 listing would add status and an extra layer of protection." Despite this recommendation 8 months later the graves were bulldozed.
- ▶ CURB releases the first of their Racial Justice Platforms.
- ▶ Mary Prince is recognized in 2012 as a National Hero of Bermuda.
- ▶ October 15-16: The 'protected' gravestones at the Tucker's Town Free Black cemetery are bull-dozed to the horror of descendants.
- ▶ December: The first OBA Government is formed under the premiership of The Rt. Hon. Craig Cannonier, JP, MP winning 19 of 36 seats.

## 2013

The Bermuda Ombudsman launches an investigation into the destruction of the gravestones at the Tucker's Town Free Black cemetery (*A Grave Error*).

## 2014

- ▶ The "People's Campaign for Equality, Jobs and Justice" was launched April 17, Committee members include Reverend Nicholas Tweed, Keith Simmons, BIU President Chris Furbert, BPSU President Jason Hayward, Dr. Michael Charles, Linda Meinzer, Molly Burgess, LaVerne Furbert and Dorita Rogers. (*Bernews*, 17 April 2014).
- ▶ May 1: People's Campaign March & Rally for Equality, Jobs and Justice. The group presented the Government with a "People's Manifesto" that will "set the standard of expectation outlined by the people of Bermuda." (*Bernews*, 1 May 2014).
- ▶ July 25: People's Campaign March on Cabinet calling for comprehensive Immigration Reform.

## 2015

Labour Force Survey shows 23% of our youth are unemployed, majority black.

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## 2016

- ▶ Protests erupt in late February and continue throughout March following Government's push to pass legislation making the access to Bermuda Status and Permanent Resident's certificate easier. CURB states that the legislation as presented would change the racial demographics of Bermuda within one generation and circulate their 2014 Immigration research paper *Bermuda's Immigration History: Race and the Quest for Votes* and hold several presentations across the island.
- ▶ March 1: Immigration Reform Action Group (IRAG) members block East Broadway during rush hour; protest at the Government Administration Building; later thousands of protestors turn up daily at the House of Assembly and a number encircle the House of Assembly preventing access to MPs.
- ▶ March 4: Occupation of House of Assembly grounds begin. Enda Matthie begins a hunger strike on the grounds of the House of Assembly.
- ▶ March 11: The People's Campaign together with Enda Matthie's hunger strike, IRAG, and 'Union Brothers & Sisters' call for an island-wide withdrawal of labour on Friday March 11th, as a show of people power and island-wide solidarity appealing to the Government to withdraw its intention to table the Bermuda Immigration and Protection Act 2016. (*Bernews*, 10 March 2016).
- ▶ March 11: CURB holds the first of several presentations on Bermuda's Immigration History: Race and the Quest for Votes at Cathedral Hall. Standing room only with people listening from outside the building.
- ▶ March 14: Thousands of Bermudians gather and many form a human chain around the House of Assembly to prevent the Pathways to Status bill being debated and voted on. With the numbers of protestors increasing daily, and the possibility of riots, the Government agrees at the 11th hour to withdraw the Bill and create the Consultative Immigration Reform Working Group to study the matter.
- ▶ December 2: A sad day that will go down in Bermuda's history. A peaceful protest, the culmination of many months of public concern, against the airport development deteriorated into violence after the unauthorized use of pepper spray by members of the Bermuda Police Force on members of the public.

## 2017

- ▶ January: Citizens Uprooting Racism in Bermuda launch the Bermuda Truth & Reconciliation Community Conversations. A 5-year project using restorative practices to bring 1,000 people together to discuss race, its history, legacy and resultant intergenerational trauma and inequity; to bring about a paradigm shift in society and to find ways to repair the damage of the past on an individual, group, community and societal basis.
- ▶ July: The Progressive Labour Party wins a landslide victory taking 59% of the popular vote and 24 of the 36 seats in the House of Assembly. The Hon. E. David Burt appointed Premier of Bermuda 19 July 2017.
- ▶ The Consultative Immigration Reform Working Group present their report in late October to Government.

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## 2018

- ▶ The People's Campaign Release their *Social and Economic Development Blueprint* document representing the People's Campaign's commitment to facilitate a people driven process for engaging in the discussion and development of socio-economic and political policies that will move towards greater equality, jobs and justice. (*Bernews*).
- ▶ February 13: The Minister for the Cabinet Office with Responsibility for Government Reform was notified by CURB that they had received non-deliverable emails from government indicating that CURB was a "banned sender." After a preliminary investigation CURB was advised that the ban was implemented by the previous Government in 2015 against the racial justice group, banning them from sending emails from their admin@uprootingracism.org email address to their members and supporters with @gov.bm email addresses. CURB was not aware of this ban for over two years. On 15 February 2018 Minister Lovitta Foggo confirmed the ban had been lifted.
- ▶ After further investigation it was confirmed by the Department of Information & Digital Technology on 3 October 2018 that the ban had been authorized by the then Attorney General on 15 December 2015.
- ▶ November 3: The Human Rights Commission together with the Bermuda College and Oxford University hosted the Race and Resistance Conference. The Conference was dedicated to renowned author, educator and racial justice advocate, Dr. Eva Hodgson.

## 2019

- ▶ June 14: 60th Anniversary Celebration of the Theatre Boycott held at the Earl Cameron Theatre, City Hall.
- ▶ July 10: His Excellency The Governor John Rankin announced he had granted a posthumous pardon to the Reverend Charles Vinton Monk in accordance with Section 22 of the Constitution.





Sally Bassett Monument, by Carlos Dowling, at Cabinet grounds Hamilton, Bermuda (2009)



The statue, *We Arrive*, by Bermudian artist Chesley Trott, erected at Barr's Bay Park, celebrates the freeing of slaves aboard the *Enterprise* in 1835



Tim Darrell (Dir: The Big Conversation 2009)

Tuckers Town Cemetery



Royal Gazette

Keith DuBois, Denny Richardson and Eugene Stovell leaving the destroyed Tucker's Town Cemetery



Photo courtesy of Kimberley Jackson /  
Mirrors Programme

60th Anniversary Celebration of the Theatre Boycott held at the Earl Cameron Theatre, City Hall. Photo showing members of the Progressive Group now in their 90s being congratulated by The Hon. E. David Burt, Premier of Bermuda



Photo courtesy of Sara Clifford, Human  
Rights Commission

Dr. Eva Hodgson  
October 2018 at the  
Bermuda College



Photo courtesy of Bermuda Industrial Union

On July 10, 2019, His Excellency The Governor John Rankin, announced he had granted a posthumous pardon to the Reverend Charles Vinton Monk in accordance with Section 22 of the Constitution.



# Appendix 1

## **\*MEMBERS OF THE PROGRESSIVE GROUP – THE THEATRE BOYCOTT 1959**

Each of the group's members — 18 young men and women — were only allowed to join after a careful vetting process; they were even banned from telling their spouses what was discussed at their meetings in Rosalind Williams' house in Flatts.

Vera and Rudolph Commissiong

William Francis

Izola and Gerald Harvey

Florenz and Clifford Maxwell

Marva Phillips

Stanley Ratteray

Erskine Simmons

Esme and Lancelot Swan

Clifford Wade

William Walwyn

Coleridge Williams

Edouard and Rosalind Williams

Eugene Woods

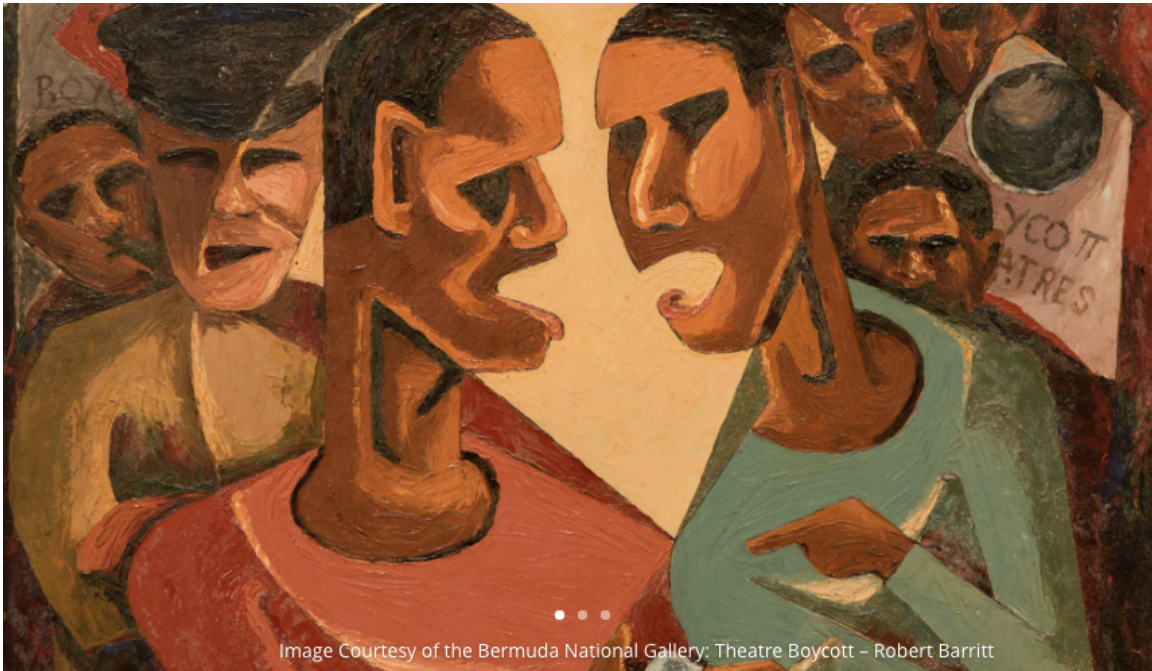


Image Courtesy of the Bermuda National Gallery: Theatre Boycott – Robert Barritt

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## Appendix 2

### EXTRACTS FROM THE JUNE 1967 U.K. HANSARD REPORT

14 June 1967 U.K. Hansard – Mr. Driberg, MP states “The second most important aspect of the Report is the promise of consultations to widen the basis of candidature. At present—and this is a most extraordinary aspect of the undemocratic system in Bermuda—all public servants are debarred from standing for the House of Assembly. This is extremely unfair because it means that some of the most educated and articulate people are debarred from standing—school teachers, for instance—because so many people are public servants in Bermuda, as the hon. Gentleman no doubt knows.” He goes on “If one looks at paragraph 15 in the Report of the conference, one sees that The Conference agreed that the present law by which all persons paid from public funds are disqualified from membership of the Legislature should be reconsidered. The United Bermuda Party representatives”—that is, even the dominant white minority—said that their Party would consult with the Progressive Labour Party and the Independents in the House of Assembly on this matter with a view to the alteration of the law. 495 I draw my hon. Friend’s particular attention to the words, ... with a view to the alteration of the law. I understand that an all-party committee was set up, consulted—of course, it was naturally dominated, as one would expect, by the U.B.P.—and, I gather, has recommended that there should be no change in the law. This is utterly false to the promise given to the Constitutional Conference and I would like to hear what my hon. Friend has to say about that and whether anything can be put into the constitution embodied in the Order in Council so as to ensure that all adults otherwise qualified shall be able to stand for election, whether or not they are in receipt of public funds. It is fantastic that, for instance, school teachers should be so debarred.”

Later in the same report Mr. James Johnston states “I am also told that teachers, bus drivers and conductors, and other manual workers in public employment will not be allowed to stand as candidates in the election. This will bar hundreds of able, capable artisans, mechanics, shop stewards and the leaders of unions, whose views ought to be heard on the Floor of the Assembly. Instead, the Assembly is to be dominated by a white, monied, landed element. This is an element which our reading of history shows us, is not helpful to mechanics, busmen, conductors or teachers. Can the Minister say in what other Colony this state of affairs prevails? I would like to protest against the debarring of large sections of the working population, who would make fine members of the Assembly. Government employees should be allowed to stand as candidates. We have also been told that in colonial constitutional discussions it is unusual to make large changes in the constitution against the will of the majority party in power. I suggest that in this case we should pay a little more attention to the minority, and a little less to the past oligarchy, which has been in power for so long. I sincerely hope that we shall have a second look at these matters, and will be able to debate in this House some of the proposed changes.”

“Mrs. Hart: Since it seems unlikely that we shall finish the debate this morning, perhaps I might correct one false impression voiced by my hon. Friend the Member for Barking (Mr. Driberg) and repeated by my hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow, Woodside (Mr. Carmichael). It was suggested by my hon. Friend the Member for Barking that the Select Committee which was looking into the qualifications of members of the public service to be candidates in elections had reported against making any changes. However, according to our latest information received from the Governor last night, that is not the case. The Select Committee is still looking into it and has not yet reported.”

"Mr. Driberg: I find that both the Minister of State and I were right in our different ways. The Committee is still technically sitting, but the U.B.P. majority has decided to make no change. It is thought to be holding back the report until after this debate, so that the debate may not be adversely influenced."

19 June 1967 U.K. Hansard Report - Mr. Gerard Fitt: "On the question of the ability to stand for Parliament, we are operating in a vacuum. Last week, the Minister said that no decision had been taken. My hon. Friend the Member for Barking (Mr. Driberg) said that, according to his 1037 information, a decision had been taken that no change should be made. If the present system is continued, the vast majority of the working class people will be debarred from standing as candidates for Parliament. Would my hon. Friend let us know whether this is the case? Has a decision been taken by the Select Committee that no change should be made, or has a decision been taken by the United Bankers Party, which would be more correctly entitled the United Bermudan Party, that, irrespective of the deliberations of the Select Committee, it will not accept that changes should be made which would open up candidature for Parliament to a lot of people who were previously debarred? This is very important. The passing of the Bill is not of great urgency. Surely the House would be better advised to take a decision when it is aware of all the facts than in a vacuum."

"Mr. Hugh Jenkins: I turn now to a point which was made by my hon. Friend the Member for Kingston-upon-Hull, West (Mr. James Johnson) in a well-informed speech and also by my hon. Friend the Member for Barking (Mr. Driberg), who said: The second most important aspect of the Report is the promise of consultations to widen the basis of candidature. At present—and this is a most extraordinary aspect of the undemocratic system in Bermuda—all public servants are debarred from standing for the House of Assembly. That is an extraordinary state of affairs. In paragraph 15 of the Report of the Constitutional Conference it is said that: The Conference agreed that the present law by which all persons paid from public funds are disqualified from membership of the Legislature should be reconsidered. The United Bermuda Party representatives said that their Party would consult with the Progressive Labour Party and the Independents in the House of Assembly on this matter with a view to the alteration of the law. That alteration has not taken place. What we should like to know is whether it is to take place. The words, with a view to the alteration of the law are important in that connection."

"Mr. Hugh Jenkins: A number of hon. Members have referred to the fact that public servants will not be able to offer themselves for election. It is not only a question of higher civil servants, which one might understand in a small community, because one can appreciate that higher civil servants would find it difficult to stand for Parliament, and the decision that public servants above a certain level should not stand would have justification. However, I understand that it applies to such people as teachers, bus drivers and conductors, and certain manual workers in the direct employ of the State. If that is so, it is going altogether too far."

"Miss Joan Lestor: I would like now to discuss what seems to me to be a contradiction in the attitudes towards the standard of living there, as expressed by one or two hon. Members last week. Reference was made to this in the Daily Telegraph recently and the problem was foreseen by Mr. Creech Jones, in 1947, when he asked for a system of direct taxation for Bermuda to alleviate the poverty which he could see would not be alleviated without some change in the structure. In October, 1966, just before the constitutional conference, the Daily Telegraph carried an article which said: There are no old-age pensions, no low-cost housing schemes, no unemployment insurance. The level of education is very low by British standards, and trade unions are only slowly being accepted ... Negroes feel at a disadvantage in getting jobs, and claim



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that the Board of Immigration admits unskilled volunteers too easily ... The population is now 48,000 and is growing ... There is no income tax, no estate duties, no profits tax, and no laws against monopolies. If U.B.P. gets its own way in the coming constitutional talks, particularly on the electoral boundaries issue, the present system will ossify and the grip of the oligarchy will tighten. As I read the Constitution which we are being asked to endorse—and I hope that my hon. Friend will clarify this when she replies—it seems that the proposed new Upper Chamber will have the power to veto any taxation Bill which it is desired to introduce. If this is so, it seems that we shall be bequeathing to Bermuda a constitution which will militate against economic advancement and against the policies of a Labour Party, or any progressive party, which comes to power and wishes to change the taxation laws.”

“Ms. Joan Lestor: The question of people standing as candidates has also been raised. We are told that public servants cannot stand for the Assembly—although it was agreed that all-party talks would be held in order to decide how best to deal with this question. I have here a quotation from the Bermuda Sun of May, 1967 dealing with a school teacher who voted Conservative when in England. He wished to stand in Bermuda, and he said: A teacher has to give his employer three months’ notice to make sure that he is not being paid out of the public treasury at the time of nomination. I think we should have the same system as in England that anyone should be free to stand as a candidate. ... In the light of all the points that have been put forward it is clear that much more explanation is required about the interpretation of the Constitution. Once this Bill is passed Britain loses responsibility and future intervention becomes very difficult.”

“Miss Joan Lestor: Another cause for confusion arises in connection with the classification created in respect of Bermuda called “Bermuda status”. In order to be nominated one must either be born in Bermuda or possess Bermuda status. I hope that my hon. Friend will refer to the relevant figures because it seems to me that Bermuda status is reserved for white people. Since the establishment of this qualification 700 white people have been granted it and six coloured people. Two of the coloured people are Dr. King and Mr. Richards, who are well known supporters of the U.D.P. If Bermuda status is to be one of the qualifications for standing for Parliament we need an explanation why 700 white people have achieved it as opposed to only 6 coloured people.”

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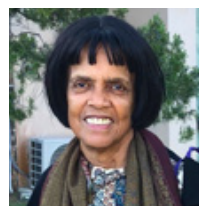
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## Appendix 5



### DR EVA HODGSON

### Biography

9 th October 1924 – 29 th May 2020

**EVA N. HODGSON**, born 9th October 1924 in Hamilton Parish of a family with strong religious convictions and a deep concern for social justice, began her education under the watchful eyes of her Aunts Annie and Emily Hodgson. As a teenager she was acutely aware of the oppression of segregation and became outspoken about the injustice.

Her undergraduate degree from Queen's University in Canada was made possible by a Government Scholarship. She returned to teach at Berkeley Institute and at the end of her first year there, she won a scholarship to study for the Diploma in Education at London University's Institute for Education, and on her return she continued to teach at Berkeley Institute. Later she won a scholarship to study geography in Great Britain and returned with an Honours Degree in Geography from London University.

Upon her return from London University in 1959 she began to write for the **Bermuda Recorder** (a Black owned newspaper) expressing her concerns about the racism and social injustices that were so deeply entrenched and widespread in Bermuda. Shortly after her return she was asked to become **President of the Bermuda Union of Teachers**, a position she held until the union was amalgamated with the **White Teachers Association** to form the **Amalgamated Bermuda Union of Teachers**, with Dr. Hodgson serving as its first President. Largely as a result of the amalgamation of the two unions and of her role as President, she won the **Russell Award for contributing to World Peace** from the **World Confederation of the Organization of the Teaching Profession**. This award took her to East Africa to attend the WCOTP Congress in Kenya, as well as to Egypt and Uganda.

Her continued concern about the indignities and insults heaped on Black Bermudians led her to write **Second Class Citizens; First Class Men** in 1963. She was invited to become one of the early members of the government's **Labour Relations Advisory Council**. By the time her book was on sale in Bermuda, she had already entered **Columbia University** to study for an **MA** in International Education. At the end of her first year, having acquired the MA, she began to teach at Essex County College while continuing her studies for a **M.Ed. in Counselling Psychology**. Her academic record in that programme led to her being awarded a series of Fellowships and Readerships at Columbia University, which facilitated her pursuit of an **M.Phil**

**and a Ph.D. in African and Black American History.** During this time she also taught part-time at the Staten Island Branch of City University and at Rutgers University in Newark.

Her second trip to Africa was made possible as a result of being awarded a nationally competitive research fellowship for field research in Liberia, at which time she was also able to visit several other West African countries, specifically Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Gabon.

She was appointed Chairperson of the History Department at Essex County College (ECC) in 1978 and completed her Ph.D. in 1980. Her contribution to the Social Science Division at ECC led to her being awarded a **Fellowship Grant by the National Endowment for the Humanities** in Washington. During the sabbatical year that grant made possible, she was able to do research for a study of human rights and social sciences at the **Center for the Study of Human Rights at Columbia University**. Also during her Chairmanship at ECC she worked with the New Jersey Historical Society on one of their oral history projects. That involvement reinforced her own interest in oral history and its presentation.

In 1983, as a result of her own proposal, she was seconded to the **Department of Education in a pioneering effort by the Bermuda Government to preserve oral history and to introduce human rights into the social science and civics curriculum**. This pioneering effort was initially facilitated by another semester spent at Columbia University as an **Associate of their international seminar at the Center for the Study of Human Rights**. Following this Dr. Hodgson became **Coordinator of Oral History and Cultural Preservation in Education** with the Department of Education, Bermuda.

*Above extracted from the biography detailed in **Second Class Citizens; First Class Men** by Dr. Eva Hodgson, Third Edition, published by The Writers' Machine, 1997*

## **CURB COMMENTARY**

Dr. Hodgson was a racial justice activist, author, academic, prolific writer, historian and human rights activist, and was a **founder and Co-Chair of the National Association for Reconciliation in Bermuda**, which was formed in 1988. She gave numerous lectures over the years, and was a prolific writer of Letters to the Editor to the Royal Gazette. In 2007 she was made an **Honorary Life Member of Citizens Uprooting Racism in Bermuda (CURB)**, a grassroots NGO of volunteers working to identify and dismantle racism in all its forms and to address its effects on our community [www.uprootingracism.org](http://www.uprootingracism.org). Until 2018 she was an active volunteer member on CURB's General Council until increasing age and decreasing mobility forced her to slow down.

In 2010 Dr. Hodgson was honoured at the **Bermuda Trail Blazers Awards** for her advocacy as an anti-racist activist.

### **1. Making a Difference**

Bermuda was deeply segregated in the 1950s and ruled by a strong, powerful white oligarchy. Dr. Hodgson studied in both Canada (Queen's University) and England (London University) and when she returned from England in 1959 having earned her second Honours Degree, and ex-

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perienced life in non-segregated societies, she was deeply frustrated and angry at the indignities and insults that continued to be heaped on Black Bermudians. She began writing for the Bermuda Recorder (a Black owned newspaper) publicly expressing her concerns for the racism and social injustices she witnessed. In such a society she was quickly labeled a troublemaker and began to feel the backlash and economic pressures placed on a young, black woman who dared to raise her voice. With the help of scholarships she continued her education earning a MA in International Education, a M.Ed. in Counselling Psychology and later an M.Phil and PhD in African and Black American History from Columbia University.

For nearly 80 years Eva Hodgson raised her voice in protest against the racism and social injustices she witnessed in Bermuda. At a time when it was considered crazy to go against the white oligarchy that ruled Bermuda, she stubbornly and with great courage, dedication and determination, continued to voice her concern at meetings and wrote passionately about the disparities and racial injustice she witnessed. Her deep love for her people and her country was the primary motivation for her commitment to the need for deep social change. She had studied and learned about the violence and oppression of 218 years of slavery and the subsequent 137 years of segregation. She personally experienced segregation and witnessed the continued indignity, discrimination, and prejudice that Bermudians of African descent experienced following desegregation in Bermuda.

The 1959 Theatre Boycott peacefully ended segregation but it took till 1964 for the Bermuda Government to complete their review of legislation and another 7 years till the desegregation of the primary schools in 1971. However, within a year there was “white flight” to private schools. Bermuda was now in an era of colourblindness, and anybody who so much as mentioned racial disparities, was labeled a radical and/or “playing the race card”. An oppressive silence about the past descended on both Blacks and Whites, and Blacks knew if they protested the continuing inequities, there would be rapid economic repercussions against them individually and their families.

Shortly after her return from university Dr. Hodgson was asked to become **President of the Bermuda Union of Teachers**, a position she held until the union was amalgamated with the **White Teachers Association** to form the **Amalgamated Bermuda Union of Teachers, with Dr. Hodgson serving as its first President**. Largely as a result of the amalgamation of the two unions and of her role as President, she won the **Russell Award for contributing to World Peace** from the World Confederation of the Organization of the Teaching Profession.

She wrote a number of books and article, one of them the seminal *Second Class Citizens; First Class Men* published in 1963, and for the first time provided a detailed history of the period 1953 – 1963. This was the most tumultuous period of Bermuda’s social history and civil rights movement and those Black individuals who courageously led the way. Over the years this book has been published three times and Dr. Hodgson continued to update and detail Black Bermudians’ fight for equality throughout the 1980s.

She advocated and succeeded in persuading the Bermuda Department of Education to teach Human Rights in Bermuda’s public schools. However, despite having a PhD in Black History, it was not allowed to be taught for many years in Bermuda’s public schools, despite the population being 70% Black.

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Dr. Hodgson for many years was the **Co-Chair of the National Association for Reconciliation** in Bermuda. She is an **Honorary Life Member of Citizens Uprooting Racism in Bermuda (CURB)**, a grassroots NGO of volunteers working to identify and dismantle racism in all its forms and to address its effects on our community [www.uprootingracism.org](http://www.uprootingracism.org) and only recently stood down from CURB's General Council.

Over the years she has written hundreds of Letters to the Editor to our national newspapers; these in and of themselves will one day be collated and published, as they not only detail Bermuda's evolution as a society but also the evolution of Dr. Hodgson herself as she fought racism as it continued to morph in our colonial society to become embedded as structural racism.

Until 2018 she volunteered as a panelist, speaker or facilitator for CURB, and in her latter years focused her attention on the psychological damage and intergenerational trauma internalized racism had wreaked on her people and the ongoing economic disparity that a two-tiered society continues to perpetuate.

## **2. Paying the Price**

As the Bermuda Government inexorably moved from segregation to post-segregation policies, Dr. Hodgson continued to write about the continued blatant economic inequities and social separation in Bermuda's society. The white community maligned and hounded her both publicly and privately, yet still she persevered despite the oppression, and continued to raise her voice against those with power. Her self-sacrifice ultimately meant she was marginalized and discriminated against in the Bermuda community because of her vocal fight to bring about racial justice, as a direct consequence she felt the full force and power of the white oligarchy's displeasure.

With an undergraduate degree from Queen's University, and a degree in Geography from her studies in the U.K, she went on to complete a M.Ed. in Counselling Psychology, followed by an MA in International Education and a M.Phil and PhD in African & Black American History from Columbia University, most of this while working, writing her first book and teaching overseas. However, upon her return she was denied many opportunities even though she was more qualified than any other in Bermuda. Opportunities that were open to white Bermudians and/or expatriates with lesser degrees were never offered to Dr. Hodgson.

## **3. Dr. Hodgson's impact on Bermuda Society**

Dr. Hodgson's example and leadership, her persistence and passion for social justice, has inspired many who continue her legacy to dialogue about race relations and to normalize the conversation, so that talking about race no longer raises the fear it did in the past.

CURB members understand the exhaustion and weariness that comes with doing such emotionally charged work since 2005. Dr. Hodgson has done this for 80 years. She witnessed and experienced the dark years of segregation; the following post-segregation years of marginalization, prejudice, and discrimination; and the years that followed in the fight for civil rights in Bermuda, and still she continued.

As an agent for change, Dr. Hodgson's unrelenting and fearless determination has earned her the respect and admiration of many in the community, albeit in some cases reluctantly. She continues to face criticism and abuse from those who disagree with her, most of whom do not understand her journey or her achievements. She continues to inspire and educate us about how racism played out historically and how it has morphed over the years and plays out today. Her energy and willingness to be present at any race relations discussion put many much younger than her to shame.

For almost 80 years her voice hasn't been silenced, and her tenacity and brilliance are an inspiration to those who follow her in the fight for racial justice and reconciliation. She has taught us that when you fight for truth it can be a lifelong journey, and that you do whatever you can, and keep going, because truth is what will eventually reconcile us as a nation.

Her strength of character, tenacity, moral leadership, work ethic and inspiration has led us to a more enlightened society, more willing to engage and face the trauma of the past and the need for truth-telling and healing. CURB is proud to carry on her legacy.

## **DR. EVA HODGSON PUBLICATIONS**

**Second Class Citizens; First Class Men.** By Dr. Eva Hodgson. 2nd Edition.

*A powerful book about Bermuda during the segregated 1950s. This second edition contains a special review of Bermuda during the 1990s after all of the changes had been made and Bermuda had established political parties.*

ISBN 0-9693491-0-6, hardback, US\$25.00 (History, Politics)

**A Storm in a Teacup.** By Dr. Eva Hodgson. Pontoon Series.

*The 1959 theatre boycott which led to a breakdown of racial barriers in Bermuda is presented. It contains challenging questions, a number of letters, and pictures to promote student discussion.*

ISBN 0-9693491-4-9, paperback, US\$15.00 (History, Politics)

**The Joe Mills Story: A Bermuda Labour Legend.** By Dr. Eva Hodgson with research by Dale Butler. 1995. "

Joe Mills is one of those forgotten fighters in the arduous and prolonged struggle for labour empowerment and social justice. As a leader of the Bermuda Industrial Union's longshoremen's division and the man responsible for winning that division's affiliation with the controversial international Longshoremen's Association, Mr. Mills was destined to face an uphill battle in his selfless campaign for workers' rights." (C. Walton Brown, Jr., Political Science lecturer, Bermuda College)

ISBN 1-896441-02-5, paperback, US\$10.00 (Biography, History)

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**The Experience of Racism in Bermuda and in its Wider Context : Reflections of**

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**Dr. Eva Hodgson Young Progressives National Heroes Convention Bermuda**

**May 14 2011**

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hnNIC8FwTaU>

<http://bernews.com/tv/video/266/Dr-Eva-Hodgson>





Images courtesy of the Bermuda National Gallery



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