

correspond to the present geographical area from the Ivory Coast-Ghana to Nigeria-Camerouns. We are aware that the issue of African origins of enslaved peoples is a very complex one and that figures for coastal embarkation points can only serve as a rough guide. However, there is sufficient qualitative evidence along with these figures to suggest the rough geographical areas from where enslaved Africans to Barbados originated. For purposes of this paper, we intentionally avoid the highly contentious and problematical issue of ethnic origins. For persons interested in this issue see the following source: "The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database" at <http://www.slavevoyages.com>.

65. Susan Denyer, *African Traditional Architecture: An Historical and Geographical Perspective* (New York: Africana Publishing, 1978), 99.

66. Handler, "Slave Settlements", 124-25.

67. Denyer, 138; Vlach, *Afro-American Tradition*, 138.

68. Handler, "Slave Settlements", 129-30.

69. Denyer, 4, 82. "The building process in sub-Saharan rural Africa", Prussin [p. 191] writes, "is a communal process . . . [and] involves the community at large". For exchange labour in rural Barbados, see Handler, "Small-Scale Sugar Cane Farming in Barbados", *Ethnology* 5 (1966): 277-78, 281, 282.

70. Studies of indigenous African architecture offer clues to the range of wattle-and-daub houses, including the rectangular house form that Prussin informs us was the "architectural prototype of the rain forest", and which was probably found in Barbados during the earlier periods of slavery (*Architecture in Northern Ghana: A Study of Forms and Functions* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969], 4); *ibid.*, "Indigenous African Architecture". Cf. Denyer, 96, 133-42; Paul Oliver, ed., *Shelter in Africa* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1971), 7-25; S.D. Dodge, "House Types in Africa", *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science Arts and Letters* 19 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1928), 59, 61, 62.

71. The Barbadian "chattel house" was a post-emancipation development [see Henry Fraser et al., *A-Z of Barbadian Heritage* (Kingston: Heinemann Publishers, 1990); Mark R. Watson and Robert B. Potter, *Low Cost Housing in Barbados: Evolution or Social Revolution?* (Mona: University of the West Indies Press, 2001)], 50-55). Although the basic "chattel house" is similar to wood-frame houses found elsewhere in the Caribbean, "it is distinguished", writes an art-oriented architectural historian, "by the steep pitch of the roof and the fretted bargeboards and ginger-bread on the porch"; it may, indeed, as Edwards has claimed, "represent an amalgam of many distinct architectural currents which have swept over the island" historically (Gosner, 113; Jay Edwards, "The First Comparative Studies of Caribbean Architecture", *New West Indian Guide* 56 [1983], 176-77). Clear architectural drawings of different styles and types of Caribbean wood-frame houses are shown in Slesin et al., 280-84.

Demystifying Bay Street Black Tuesday and the Radicalization of Bahamian Politics in the 1960s

NONA MARTIN and VIRGIL HENRY STORR

Abstract

This article is an effort to trace the radicalization of Bahamian politics that occurred in the 1960s. Although scholars have argued that the United Bahamian Party led by the Bay Street Boys won the 1962 election by speaking to voters' concerns about the Black led Progressive Liberal Party's radicalism, the PLP responded to their defeat by intensifying rather than quieting their rhetoric and became increasingly radical in the run up to the 1967 elections. As such, we argue, it was widespread fear of Bay Street's power that explains the PLP's defeat in 1962, and it was the PLP's ability to demystify that power that led to the party's narrow victory in 1967 and their overwhelming victory in 1968.

Introduction

The United Bahamian Party (UBP) led by the 'Bay Street Boys', a group of White and near-White merchant-politicians, who had controlled the Bahamas economically and politically since the nineteenth century, soundly defeated the Progressive Liberal Party (PLP) in the 1962 elections. According to Michael Craton and Gail Saunders, "the main reason for the PLP's 1962 setback . . . was almost certainly fear of the consequences of Black majority rule, shared not only by the White minority and the non-White middle classes but by many Blacks themselves".¹ Craton and Saunders assert that the PLP had engaged in a highly charged, racialized campaign and Bahamian voters rejected that message, opting for the security and stability of the familiar, ruling White

oligarchy. Interestingly, the PLP responded to their defeat in 1962 by intensifying rather than quieting their rhetoric and became increasingly radical in the run up to the 1967 elections, which the PLP won narrowly. If Craton and Saunders's analysis of the 1962 elections are correct, then the PLP somehow managed to overcome the voter's concerns about their radicalism by, paradoxically, becoming even more radical. We contend, however that it was widespread fear of Bay Street's power that explains the PLP's defeat in 1962, and it was the PLP's ability to demystify that power that led to the party's narrow victory in 1967 and their overwhelming victory in 1968.

Bahamian Blacks had begun chipping away at Bay Street's façade since the 1942 riot.² "Black Tuesday", however, played a critical role in demonstrating to Bahamian Blacks that Bay Street could be resisted and defied. On Tuesday, 27 April 1965 a large noisy crowd gathered outside of the House of Assembly. As the Assembly continued the debate over the drawing of constituency boundaries, the parliamentarians could clearly hear the din of the crowd below. After the House rejected the PLP's motion to have the constituencies redrawn under the direction of the United Nations, Lynden Pindling, the opposition leader, denounced the Bay Street politicians as dictators, took hold of parliament's ceremonial mace and threw it out of the window to the waiting crowd below.³ Milo Butler, a leading figure in the PLP, followed suit and tossed out the quarter-hourglasses, used by the Speaker to keep time. The PLP members of the House then stormed out of parliament. It was a defiant act by the PLP and ultimately a defining one for the Bahamian people. Black Tuesday was definitive proof that Blacks in the Bahamas were prepared and able to stand up to the White ruling minority. It was evidence that Bahamian Blacks were no longer afraid of the Bay Street oligarchy. They had been warned by the Bay Street elite not to protest, and to stay away from parliament. Still, large numbers had gathered on Bay Street. Black Tuesday was also proof that the PLP was the "Negro's Party" (as its propaganda vehicle, the *Herald*, repeatedly claimed).

There is a surprising dearth of scholarship about this important period in Bahamian history and about Black Tuesday in particular; more so since scholars generally acknowledge its socio-political significance. Craton and Saunders, for instance, devote only four paragraphs to Black Tuesday in their two-volume general history of the Bahamas, *Islanders in the Stream*, but describe the event as the climax of "parliamentary histrionics . . . [which] polarized Bahamian politics as never before."⁴ Albury's general history, *The Story of the Bahamas*, likewise contains only

a paragraph describing the events of that day, calling it a "dramatic form of protest".⁵ Similarly, Colin Hughes devotes only a few pages to the events in his *Race and Politics in the Bahamas*, but does stress that "the 1965 mace incident" was one of five events that came to symbolize the Black Bahamian majority's quest to wrest political and economic power from the Bay Street politicians and their colonial masters.⁶ Although noting that "throwing down the mace impacted the social consciousness and social realities of all the people in the Bahamas", Scott Sherouse does not offer much more in the way of analysis.⁷

Interestingly, the incident is given much fuller treatment in political biographies and memoirs. There is, however, a range of opinion and perspectives about the event itself, its purpose and its implications. Henry Taylor, a founding member of the PLP, who actually had severed ties with the party two years before the incident because he was unhappy with the increasingly vitriolic rhetoric that members of the party were employing, describes Black Tuesday as just another example of the preference for "intense propaganda" over respect for tradition and dignity, and as further evidence of the "childishness" that he associated with the radical branch of the party.⁸ In his biography of Pindling, Michael Craton described Black Tuesday as a necessary and ingenious bit of political strategy that had real meaning for the direction of the party and the colony.⁹ Doris Johnson, former PLP Senator and leading figure in the party, highlights its importance as a key event in the country's dramatic political history and the "PLP's efforts to establish a system of true representation of the Bahamian people".¹⁰

This article will offer an account of Black Tuesday. Section two will focus on its role in demystifying Bay Street, with particular emphasis on the inability of Bay Street's elite to prevent Black Tuesday. Section three will discuss the growing radicalization of Bahamian politics that occurred in the run up to, and aftermath of, the 1962 elections (that is, the PLP's increasingly vitriolic and racialized rhetoric and more frequent direct protests against Bay Street's political and economic hegemony). We will also link Black Tuesday to the racial politics that were occurring elsewhere in the West Indies and the United States.

This Is Black Tuesday

Bay Street, the main thoroughfare in Nassau, the Bahamian capital city, has been the stage for some of the most significant events in Bahamian history and has been at the centre of economic and political life in the

Bahamas since the nineteenth century. For two hundred years, Bay Street was the main commercial district in the Bahamas and also the home of the House of Assembly, the seat of parliament. As such, Bay Street has always been, among other things, a contested space: a place where economic and political power was concentrated and where protests occurred.¹¹ "Bay Street" also refers to the merchant princes whose businesses and offices were located on that street and who controlled a majority of the seats in the Assembly until 1967.¹² Although by the mid-1960s there were some cracks in Bay Street's iron control over the colony,¹³ the events that occurred on Black Tuesday demonstrated that Bay Street was powerless against an increasingly organized, increasingly defiant and increasingly recalcitrant Black majority.

Although the Bay Street elite was able to adopt the constituency boundaries legislation without having to bow to PLP pressure to alter it, in other respects the elite were powerless against a more confrontational PLP. The premier's inability to stop the PLP's supporters from continuing to picket outside the House is a case in point. From the beginning of the debate over the Draft Order, there was a "well-orchestrated show of objection from the PLP Members of the Assembly, supported by crowds outside".¹⁴ The PLP voices, both in and out of the House, were growing louder as the debate wore on,¹⁵ and there was no sign that they would relent. On the contrary, in their public meetings and through their pamphlets, the PLP were urging sustained action.¹⁶

On 26 April, and again on the following day, Black Tuesday, Premier Roland Symonette gave radio broadcasts in an attempt to put an end to the disquiet. His 27 April broadcast was in direct response to "leaflets which were distributed in Nassau [on the 26th] by members or sympathizers of an anti-Government group" which urged people to storm "Rawson's Square".¹⁷ Arguably, misjudging the political mood of the PLP's supporters, Premier Symonette's tone was paternalistic rather than conciliatory.¹⁸ He encouraged the "peaceful and law abiding people" of the Bahamas not to allow themselves to be influenced by the "misrepresentations that [were] being made about the report of the Constituencies Commission".¹⁹ He accused "certain sections in the community" of making false statements "which [had] the sole object of creating disturbances in our community", and of believing "that they [could] force their will upon the Government and the population by intimidation, threats and violence".²⁰ He warned his listeners that they should "not be persuaded to take part in disturbances which [would] injure [themselves] and [their] families".²¹ He threatened that if there were

disturbances", the government would be "prepared and [would] take whatever action . . . necessary". He continued, "I cannot believe, however, that the people of the Bahamas, for whom I have worked and worked hard for over 40 years, [would] allow themselves to be misled by this vicious, inaccurate and seditious propaganda."²² However, his encouragements and threats fell on deaf ears.

Interestingly, two decades earlier, the Duke of Windsor, then Governor of the Bahamas, had made a similar broadcast to calm tension in the colony in the aftermath of the 1942 riot. That event, which was arguably the first sign that Blacks in the Bahamas were becoming politically conscious, grew out of a dispute over wages.²³ On Monday, 1 June 1942, Bahamian Blacks marched to Bay Street in protest and, receiving no redress, began breaking windows and looting the swanky downtown stores. The riot continued into the night in the majority Black, poorer neighbourhoods, and resumed the next day with attacks on White-owned property in these areas.²⁴

When the duke finally addressed the Bahamian people on 3 June, two days after the initial disturbances, his tone was fatherly, as he expressed disappointment and regret. He declared that he was "surprised" and "mortified" when he learned of "the disorders that broke out [in the Bahamas] on Monday".²⁵ He informed his listeners that he had already taken up "the question of employment in the Bahamas" with the US government and that the labourers' desire for "substantial increases in wages" was "receiving . . . attention", when "on Monday morning, serious disturbances occurred which made it impossible for the time being to consider the questions" of wage increases.²⁶ He called for a restoration of law and order, and for the workers to return to work. He concluded that "it is in the sincere hope that . . . we may quickly return to the paths of peace and harmony to which we have so long been accustomed in the Bahamas".²⁷ Although the governor did not acquiesce to any of the workers demands, his urging (along with the curfew that was being enforced) was enough to restore order and to coax the labourers back to work.

This strategy of responding to Black dissatisfaction by urging them to "protect their reputation as peaceful and law abiding" worked for the governor after the riot, and would work for the Bay Street elite and the colonial administration multiple times in the years between the 1942 riot and Black Tuesday. In part, these calls were effective because there was a clearly established system of paternalism in place in the Bahamas in 1942: a system that continued well into the 1960s.²⁸ As Cyril

Stevenson, one of the founding members of the PLP, is reported to have said, "Black people will never follow a black man. They must always have a white or mulatto to lead them."²⁹ Although Stevenson would ultimately prove to be wrong, and that comment would become the source of his political undoing, the statement reflected sentiments that were commonly believed by both the Bay Street politicians and many Blacks.

In part, however, this strategy worked because the calls for Blacks to "return to their peaceful ways" were buttressed by not-so-veiled threats to their livelihood if they did not. Blacks in the Bahamas were almost entirely dependent on the Bay Street group for their employment. They knew that if they defied the elite too openly, they risked losing their jobs.

On Black Tuesday, however, neither paternalistic urgings nor implicit threats were enough to keep thousands of PLP supporters away from Bay Street. After Black Tuesday and Bay Street's obvious impotence in the face of Pindling and the PLP's assault on the traditions of the House and the merchant prince's political authority over the colony, neither their paternalistic calls nor their political threats would work again.³⁰ As Craton and Saunders state, the PLP "polarized Bahamian politics as never before, convincing many uncommitted blacks that the PLP was the only party with the dynamism to achieve substantial change."³¹

The Radicalization of Bahamian Politics

Many of the events and rhetoric of Black Tuesday, and more generally the events and rhetoric that surrounded the debate over the proposed constituency boundaries, were political theatre at its most outlandish. The events of 15 April, twelve days before Black Tuesday, are worth highlighting. The House had resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole to consider the proposed changes to the constituency boundaries. Defying the time limit on Member's speeches, the PLP's Milo Butler kept speaking beyond his allotted time. "It is very kind of you to remind me", Butler purportedly replied when he was told his time had expired. "I am going to talk on."³² The Speaker then moved to expel Butler from the House. "If I'm to leave", Butler replied, "you're going to have to take me out."³³ And so they did. Four policemen were summoned. They picked up and carried the husky Butler out of the House of Assembly and deposited him prone on the ground in Parliament Square.³⁴ Arthur Hanna, a much less rotund PLP House Member, rose to debate the new boundaries as soon as the Speaker reconvened the session. Like Butler,

he exhausted his fifteen minutes, refused to take his seat, was suspended by the Speaker and refused to leave the House. Like Butler, he too was carried out.³⁵ According to the *Tribune*, two policemen dragged the much smaller Hanna out of the House. But Sir Randol Fawkes, repeating what has now become lore, claims that Hanna insisted that he had a right to be attended by the same number of police officers that ejected Butler.³⁶

However, the Butler-Hanna incident should not be seen as mere political theatre. The drama that played out on Bay Street during this period, and the script that the key actors followed during the debate in the House and the protests outside the House, was key to convincing the Bahamian people that Bay Street's grip on the Bahamas was weakening and that the PLP, by then firmly established as the party of the Black majority, could defeat the UBP.

The PLP had grown more radical after their defeat in the 1962 elections, increasingly using racially charged rhetoric and more direct forms of protest. Throwing the mace out of the window on Black Tuesday was certainly the most dramatic political act during this era, but it was not an outlier. Properly understood, the events of Black Tuesday were part of the growing radicalization of Bahamian politics that was occurring in the 1960s.³⁷

The National Committee for Positive Action (NCPA), which was established in 1960, was in many respects at the forefront of the PLP's ever more radical posturing. This group, comprising the younger, more "extremist" elements in the PLP, acted as a kind of activist arm of the party but operated outside of the party's formal structure. Some of the leading figures in the PLP, however, were members of this group. Cecil Wallace-Whitfield, for instance, who was a PLP candidate in 1962 and party chairman from 1965 through the 1967 elections, was a member of NCPA. Eugene Newry (future ambassador to Haiti), Jeffrey Thompson (future PLP member of the House of Assembly), Loftus Roker (future assemblyman and cabinet member), Warren Levarity (future assemblyman), Clement Maynard (future assemblyman and deputy prime minister) and Arthur Foulkes (future assemblyman) were also members of this group.

According to H.M. Taylor, who was party chairman when the group was established, the NCPA wanted to take control of the party. There is some truth to Taylor's concerns. They did recruit members from both inside and outside the party, and established their own headquarters in New Providence.³⁸ Although the party's principal mouthpiece was the *Herald*, edited by Cyril Stevenson, the NCPA operated their own mouthpiece,

the *Bahamian Times*, edited by Arthur Foulkes. They also pushed for their members to be elected to the party's General Council. However, principally, as Craton explains, the NCPA saw itself as being "firmly aligned . . . with the black majority. . . increasingly impatient with the founding leadership of the PLP, and absolutely adamant that the Party should eschew any accommodation with the Bay Street regime".³⁹

The NCPA engaged in a highly divisive brand of politics both within the party and with the wider electorate.⁴⁰ Taylor reports that the NCPA hurled "racial and crafty slurs" at him and Stevenson, even though they were officers and founding members of the party.⁴¹ It is clear that the NCPA worked to push the "near-White" Taylor and Stevenson out of the party.⁴² Although Pindling and Butler were not officially members of the NCPA, they did enjoy the NCPA's support. The NCPA would certainly have endorsed Butler's almost constant references to slavery and the indignity of White rule in a majority Black country.⁴³ It is also likely that the "plot" for the mace incident on Black Tuesday was hatched within the NCPA. As Craton informs us, this group believed that the PLP needed "to take a more assertive policy on all fronts" and that "this would require a shake-up within the party, more attention to educating the people politically, a greater willingness to take lessons from independence movements elsewhere in the world, even learning from the tactics of the Black Power movement then gaining momentum in the United States".⁴⁴

These last two points, the influence of the independence movements and Black Power on Pindling, and the NCPA and their radicalization of the politics in the Bahamas, are worth exploring. Bids for majority rule and independence were going on all over the West Indies and throughout Africa. Bahamians followed these developments quite closely.⁴⁵ Articles about British Guiana's tumultuous journey to statehood, for instance, were front page stories in Bahamian newspapers. Pindling and the PLP, in fact, made deliberate attempts to learn from the goings-on in neighbouring West Indian countries. In 1956, and again in 1962, for instance, Pindling visited Jamaica in hope of learning from the people's experiences with self-rule and decolonization.⁴⁶ He was reportedly impressed by both "the flamboyant populist" Alexander Bustamante and "the more cerebral and calm" Norman Manley.⁴⁷ On trips to Central and East Africa to attend the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association meetings in the 1960s, Pindling reportedly learnt about decolonization on the continent. He later admitted being inspired by Kenyan leader Jomo Kenyatta.

The Civil Rights Movement in the United States had an even greater affect on the political tactics and rhetoric of the PLP than developments in Africa and the West Indies. This is not surprising. The Bahamas, throughout much of its history, has more closely identified with the Southern states than with the rest of the Caribbean.⁴⁸ Geographically, the islands are closer to the United States than to other West Indian countries and were able to follow US news through at least two quality local newspapers.⁴⁹ For instance, Godfrey Eneas, a Bahamian student at the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, wrote a column in the *Tribune* only a few weeks before Black Tuesday, detailing his pride as he witnessed the 1965 voting rights march from Selma to Montgomery.⁵⁰

Some of the PLP leaders had even closer experiences with the American Civil Rights Movement. According to Craton, Pindling was inspired by Martin Luther King: his rhetorical style, his non-violence policy and his use of mass demonstrations. As a matter of fact, Pindling took part in the March on Washington in 1963, as did other Bahamians [one of the most notable being Sidney Poitier, with whom Pindling marched].

The images, stories, philosophies, language and even songs of the Civil Rights Movement were well known to the Bahamian people. That Bahamian Blacks, like their brothers and sisters in the United States, sang "We shall overcome" and "The Battle Hymn of the Republic", as they gathered outside the House of Assembly on Black Tuesday speaks to how thoroughly the Civil Rights Movement in the United States was a part of the Black Bahamian's consciousness.⁵¹ Similarly, the language that Pindling used during the debate was influenced by the Civil Rights Movement. Like Dr King, Pindling insisted that he was leading a populist movement that was a natural outgrowth of his country's democratic traditions, not alien to them. For instance, as Pindling walked over to the Speaker's desk, took the mace (the 165-year-old sceptre) and walked to the window, he shouted that "this [mace] is the symbol of authority - and the authority - and the authority on this island belongs to the people and the people are outside".⁵² The placards that the protestors wore also referenced the Civil Rights struggle in the United States. One sign read, "This is not Selma", referencing the "Bloody Sunday" events that had occurred one month earlier in the United States where police attacked and beat several hundred Civil Rights marchers. Other placards read, "People Get Ready", referencing an anthem, by the musical group The Impressions, which was written to commemorate the 1963 March on Washington.

The PLP, however, had also learned from the study of the independence and Civil Rights movements that employing a more charged rhetoric and direct forms of protest (like marches and sit-ins) could be a double-edged sword. In Guyana, for instance, politics had become fractious and was at times violent. The PLP consciously tried to walk a fine line between presenting an increasingly radical message in hope of exciting the electorate but trying to avoid the violence that had accompanied similar political movements in other contexts.⁵³ Any violence, the PLP leadership understood, would turn off the more moderate elements of the Bahamian electorate. Indeed, the more moderate elements within their own party had already become uneasy with their use of increasingly confrontational tactics.⁵⁴ The PLP vanguard also understood that any violence would also undermine the UBP's efforts to gain self-governance from the British government (which the PLP supported), and would signal to the Bahamian electorate and the world that Bahamian Blacks were not "ready" to govern themselves.⁵⁵

On Black Tuesday, the PLP took a number of precautions to keep the crowd under control. PLP/NCPA leaders Cecil Wallace-Whitfield, Clifford Darling and Carlton Francis remained with the crowd to maintain order. Once the crowd began to grow restless, Cecil Wallace-Whitfield sent notes to Pindling urging him to begin.⁵⁶ Also, in an effort to avoid any confrontations with the riot squad and the possibility of being arrested, the PLP's leadership decided to vacate Bay Street once the Riot Act had been read. Rather than having their supporters dragged from Parliament Square, they opted to have them disperse and asked them instead to reconvene that night at the Southern Recreation Grounds for a rally.⁵⁷

Conclusion

On 27 April 1965, traffic on Bay Street came to a standstill as swarms of Black Bahamians, many of them wearing placards decrying the UBP's control over the colony, heeded the call of the more extremist elements of the PLP to "storm" the city's main thoroughfare. Their show of force outside the House and defiance on behalf of their leaders inside the House of Assembly constituted the beginning of the end for the Bay Street politicians. Scholars and others agree that Black Tuesday was an important day in Bahamian political history. As we have shown, Black Tuesday is significant because it demystified Bay Street. The hitherto tight control of this group on the colony had been shown to be loosening.

In spite of their attempts to divert support from the PLP and to dissuade PLP supporters from going to Rawson's Square on Black Tuesday, thousands of Bahamians marched to the House of Assembly.

Though not commonplace, the events of Black Tuesday should be seen as part of an effort by the PLP, and especially its activist arm, the NCPA, to radicalize Bahamian politics. As we have argued, Black Tuesday was part and parcel of the PLP's and the NCPA's decision, in the aftermath of their defeat at the polls in 1962, to employ more radical tactics. Inspired by the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, and the independence movements in the West Indies and Africa, but also learning from their mistakes, the PLP tried to project their party as the only hope for the Black masses without inspiring the violence that often accompanied the struggles for independence around the globe.

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Notes

1. Michael Craton and Gail Saunders, *Islanders in the Stream: A History of the Bahamian People, Volume Two: From the Ending of Slavery to the Twenty First Century* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 314. In a recent article, Saunders further argues that a key strategy for the PLP after the 1962 elections was to convince the "populace that Blacks could indeed govern the country" [Gail Saunders, "The 'Race Card' and the Rise to Power of the Progressive Liberal Party", *Journal of Caribbean History* 40, no. 1&2 [2007]: 61].
2. See Nona P. Martin and Virgil Henry Storr, "I'se a Man: Political Awakening and the 1942 Riot in the Bahamas", *Journal of Caribbean History* 41, no. 1&2 (2008); Gail Saunders, "The 1942 Riot in Nassau: A Demand for Change?" *Journal of Caribbean History* 20, no. 2 (1985).

3. Nassau *Guardian*, April 28, 1965.
4. Craton and Saunders, 340–41. To be fair, Craton and Saunders took on a momentous project in their two-volume work covering the history of the Bahamas from the pre-Columbian era to the end of the twentieth century. They obviously could not keep such a comprehensive work as coherent as they did while delving deeply into every topic.
5. Paul Albury, *The Story of the Bahamas* (London: Macmillan Caribbean: 1975), 278.
6. Colin Hughes, *Race and Politics in the Bahamas* (New York: St Martin's Press), 213–14, 216.
7. Michael Craton, *Findling: The Life and Times of the First Prime Minister of the Bahamas* (Oxford: Macmillan Caribbean, 2002), 97.
8. Sir Henry Taylor, *My Political Memoirs: A Political History of the Bahamas in the 20th Century* (Nassau, Bahamas: By Author, 1987), 329, 339–42. Henry Taylor, born on Long Island, entered politics by becoming the representative of the Long Island/Ragged Island constituency in 1949. In 1953, he co-founded the Progressive Liberal Party. Later, he too would be knighted. He was the third Bahamian-born man to serve as governor general of the Bahamas.
9. Craton, 114–21.
10. Doris Johnson, *The Quiet Revolution in the Bahamas* (Nassau: Family Island Press Limited, 1973), 57. During the 1960s, Dr Doris Johnson was the PLP's top female organizer. She led the movement for women's suffrage in the Bahamas. She was also the first woman in the Bahamas to run for parliament, the first woman Senator and eventually the first female cabinet minister in government as well as first female leader of the Senate.
11. See Nona P. Martin and Virgil Henry Storr, "Bay Street and the 1942 Riot: Social Space and Identity Work in the Bahamas" (paper presented at the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Cultural Studies Association, United States, 19–22 April 2006, Arlington, Virginia).
12. Spencer Klaw, in *Fortune*, described them as "a dozen or so Nassau merchants, lawyers, and real-estate brokers who are . . . [named after] the street where they have their shops and offices . . . [and are] in firm control of the Bahamas government, running it with a free hand" (Klaw, "Nassau's Busting Bay Street Boys", *Fortune* 59, no.1 [1959]: 92). Historian Rosalyn Themistocleous has dubbed them the merchant princes of Nassau with one-hundred-plus years of "hegemony . . . over non-white groups . . . [their] authority of the non-white majority and . . . [their] dominant position in the Colony" [Themistocleous, "The Merchant Princes of Nassau: The Maintenance of Political Hegemony in The Bahamas 1834–1948" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kent at Canterbury, 2000), 6].
13. Martin and Storr, "I see a Man", 74.
14. Craton, 119.
15. See Randol Fawkes, *The Faith that Moved Mountains: A Memoir of a Life and The Times* (Hialeah, FL: Dodd Printers, 1977) 263.
16. Hughes, 86.
17. *Guardian*, April 27, 1965.
18. Milo Butler found it to be an "intimidation" (*Tribune*, April 27, 1965).
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. "The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Assembly [to inquire into the 1942 Riots]", *Votes of the House of Assembly* (Nassau: *Guardian*, 1942); [Sir Alison Russe], H. McKinney, and H. Brown], *Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire Into Disturbances in the Bahamas Which Took Place in June, 1942* (Nassau: *Guardian*, 1942), 29. Copies of these documents are deposited in the Nassau Public Records Office.
25. *Nassau Daily Tribune*, June 4, 1942.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. Nona P. Martin, "Paternalism in the 1942 Riots: Exploring Accommodation and Rebellion in Governor Windsor's Bahamas" unpublished manuscript. Available at <http://www.bahamianstudies.org/publication.aspx?id = 156 >
29. Fawkes, 262.
30. After all, Black Tuesday was proof their grip on political power in the Bahamas, and especially their ability to control the Black majority, was evaporating. They had not sat idly by as the PLP increased the volume of the debate, but their efforts to stop the PLP's political manoeuvring had proved ineffective.
31. Craton and Saunders, 341.
32. *Nassau Guardian*, Weekend, April 17–18, 1965.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Tribune*, April 20, 1965.
35. *Ibid.*, April 17, 1965.
36. Fawkes, 262.
37. In Governor Grey's *communiqué* to London he acknowledged the following: "In the current prosperity of the Bahamas, the PLP has little to offer in opposition to the United Bahamian Party but an appeal to black racialism and colour consciousness. This is the line that has been intensified in the past year. With it there has been a desire on the part of extremist members of the PLP for violence in demonstrations. The desire culminated in the disorder in the House of Assembly on April 27, [sic] when Findling threw the Mace through the window of the House and Milo Butler threw out the hour-glasses. Adderley, Turnquest and S.S. Bethel claim to have no prior warning of this intention. Adderley made equivocal statements about the incident at the time and has done so again since. But he and Turnquest (who is a good Anglican Churchman and Chancellor of the Diocese) and Spurgeon Bethel are the moderates of parliamentary membership of the

PLP and doubtless consider that the party has more to lose than to gain from such behavior."

38. Taylor, 257.
39. Craton, 89.
40. Later, after the PLP came to power, its extremist views were not compatible with the party's platform and it became more of a distraction. Its most extreme members eventually formed their own party, the Vanguard Nationalist and Socialist Party (Craton and Saunders, 531n76).
41. Taylor, 263.
42. *Ibid.*
43. Craton, 93.
44. *Guardian*, October 31, 1962.
45. Indeed, William Lux situates the Bahamas struggle for Black rule that was occurring throughout the Caribbean (see "Black Power in the Caribbean", *Journal of Black Studies* 3, no. 2 [1972]: 207-25.)
46. Craton, 108.
47. *Ibid.*, 97.
48. See Whittington Johnson, *Post-Emanicipation Race Relations in The Bahamas* (Florida: University Press of Florida, 2006).
49. Both the *Guardian* and the *Tribune* reprinted and commented on American news events.
50. *Tribune*, April 1, 1965.
51. For their part, US civil rights leaders had taken interest in the Bahamas. Both Adam Clayton Powell and Martin Luther King Jr. visited the Bahamas in 1965. Powell made quite an inflammatory speech on one of his visits (*Tribune*, 24 May 1965).
52. *Guardian*, April 27, 1965.
53. For instance, they paused during the demonstration to consult legal books so that they were sure how far they were able to go (*Guardian*, April 28, 1965).
54. Cyril Stevenson, a founding member of the party, would formally disassociate himself from the PLP in the days following Black Tuesday (*Tribune*, May 2, 1965).
55. *Herald*, November 24, 1962.
56. Craton, 119. Although Pindling portrays Wallace-Whitfield as being impatient, the latter was right to be concerned. Just a short while before the climactic events occurred in the Chamber, fights erupted in the crowd.
57. *Tribune*, April 27, 1965.

Harnessing a Critical Resource

Black West Indian Migration to Puerto Rico during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

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Abstract

Caribbean societies have been referred to as 'immigrant societies' and their populations are, to a large extent, the result of immigration. Intra-Caribbean migration (including across linguistic lines) represents an important feature of the historical development of the region. Some of this migration was spawned by the international political environment, including the anti-slavery struggles as well as the hegemonic rivalries among European powers in the Caribbean. While much has been written about the migration of West Indian people to other Hispanic areas, less attention seems to have been paid to similar migration to Puerto Rico. This paper will focus on Black migration from the non-Hispanic Caribbean to Puerto Rico, demonstrating how migration was used by "those who sent", "those who went" and "those who received" to accomplish their personal, political and economic goals.

Introduction

That the Caribbean is a migrant society is an idea that is broadly accepted today. In fact, there is a long history of migration into and out of the Caribbean as well as within the Caribbean, all of which have been significant in the socio-economic and cultural development of the region. The nineteenth century was very important in a number of respects that bore on the phenomenon of migration in the Caribbean region. The twin occurrences of the abolition of slavery and the expansion of sugar production provoked a transfer of labour which profoundly affected most Caribbean islands, regardless of language grouping. As is already well