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They "Could Care for Our Elderly in Our Homes": The historical impact of Black caregivers

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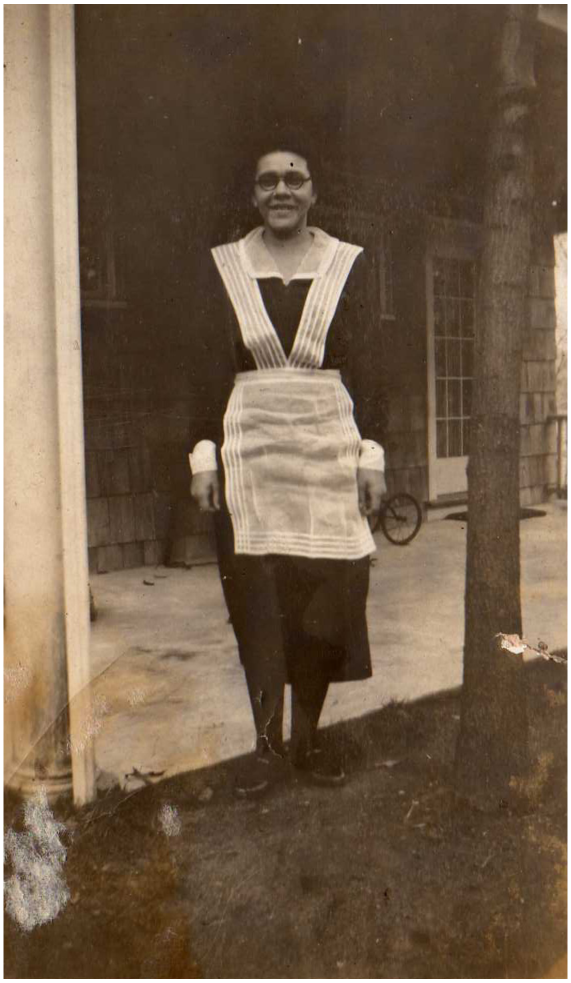

Unnamed Domestic Worker in St. Antoine Ward

(Photo in author's personal collection, Montreal, n.d.)

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Abstract

My aim is to interrogate prevalent assumptions about health and social services through a survey of notable chapters in the history of Black caregiving in Quebec. The assumptions have created expectations and a false narrative built upon historical myths and erasures that undergird the provincial population's understanding of its relationship with Black caregivers. Blacks, both Francophone and Anglophone, though not exclusively so, have had a significant connection to the care and well-being of Quebec's residents. Black caregiving in Quebec is not recent—indeed, Black caregivers have been intimately tied to Quebec's labour force aspirations and development for centuries. Even so, it is rarely acknowledged, to the point of being virtually unknown. This paper seeks to address those gaps in the narrative by presenting a timeline dating back to the 17th century. It will reveal intricate connections between the different periods when it comes to segregation, prejudice, migration, immigration quotas, and bans.

Introduction

Over the centuries, English-speaking Blacks, though not exclusively so, have had a connection to the care and well-being of Quebec's residents. Blacks as caregivers are not new to Quebec's labour force. However, except for the 1955 Second Domestic Scheme (discussed below) and oral histories of day-to-day domestic work, policies about Black caregiving, or patterns of state and institutional control of Black labour, have not often been studied by historians in Quebec. How these factors affected the nascent development of the English-speaking Black community up to the mid-20th century is explored in the present paper from the perspective of domestic labour, which was a widespread occupation for Blacks.[1]

Caregiving, my focus, is often defined as a component of domestic work. Domestic workers "provide a range of services in private homes: they sweep and clean; wash clothes and dishes; shop and cook; **care for children, the elderly, and the disabled** [emphasis mine]; they provide gardening, driving, and security services." [2] A more comprehensive definition in legal contracts covers domestic work tasks outside the private home and includes a broader definition of caregiving:

> *Domestic worker means a person whose primary employment duties include housekeeping; house cleaning; home management; nanny services, including childcare and child monitoring; caregiving, personal care or* ***home health services for elderly persons or persons with illnesses, injuries, or disabilities who require assistance in caring for themselves*** *[emphasis mine]; laundering; cooking; companion services; chauffeuring; and other household services to members of households or their guests in or about a private home or residence, or any other location where the domestic work is performed.*[3]

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[1] Indeed, accounts by Sarah-Jane Mathieu and Stanley Grizzle lay bare how domestic work was integral even to the job of porter, which Black men occupied for decades: "Porters made beds, cleaned house, tended to white children, shined shoes, [ironed clothes on demand], served food, and catered to passengers' caprices." Sarah-Jane Mathieu, *North of the Color Line: Migration and Black Resistance in Canada, 1870-1955* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 11; see also Stanley G. Grizzle, *My Name's Not George: The Story of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in Canada* (Toronto: Umbrella Press, 1998).

[2] WIEGO, Women in Informal Employment Globalizing and Organizing (accessed March 2, 2023), https://www.wiego.org/informal-economy/occupational-groups/domestic-workers. The literature on caregiving through the 1955 Second Domestic Scheme is replete with accounts of caregiving, particularly to children in the home. See Dionne Brand, *No Burden to Carry Narratives of Black Working Women in Ontario 1920s to 1950s* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1991) and Francis Henry, "The West Indian Domestic Scheme in Canada," *Social and Economic Studies* 17(1), March 1, 1968, Periodicals Archive Online (accessed March 2, 2023).

[3] Law Insider, Legal Definitions Dictionary (accessed March 2, 2023), https://www.lawinsider.com/dictionary/domestic-worker.

This paper offers only a cursory exploration of four discrete periods in Quebec's history demonstrating historical patterns in Blacks' occupation as caregivers for white Quebecers:

1. During the slavery period in New France, French colonists advocated for the "importation of the enslaved domestic to care for the elderly."
2. Between 1910 and 1912, the "importation of the Francophone household domestic worker" was meant to answer the needs of Francophone Quebecers for subservient and cheap labour in the First Domestic Scheme.
3. Between 1900 and 1950, Negrophobia prompted a "fear of Black nursing caregivers," and systemic barriers prevented local Blacks from accessing professional training and jobs as caregivers (for instance, to become doctors or nurses), whereas many Blacks were working as caregivers to whites, either as domestics in white homes, or as porters on the railroad.
4. In the postwar period, Canada opened its doors in the Second Domestic Scheme for a "reluctant importation of household caregivers" who were young women from the West Indies, leading to a demographic upheaval and the Caribbeanization of the Quebec Black community.

Importation of the Enslaved to Care for the Elderly: 17th–18th Centuries

The practice of enslavement in the territory now known as Quebec was recorded as early as 1628. However, it was not until May 1, 1689, that King Louis XIV finally gave his assent for the importation of African slaves into New France.[4] With authorization in hand, there was nothing to do but wait for the Africans from Guinea to arrive. However, on May 17, 1689, just 16 days after authorization was given, war broke out between France and England. Under the terms of the League of Augsburg, a European-wide coalition of Protestant and Catholic countries lined up against Louis XIV. Their colonies followed suit, and intercontinental commerce slowed. The war lasted eight years, during which slave traders were unable to sell the "black ebony" directly to New France. [5] With no slave market in operation, prospective owners resorted to acquiring their enslaved from the spoils of war in the continent's hinterland (mostly fed by raids into "Indian" and U.S. territories).[6]

With the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, the European war ended. New France, having done without a fresh supply of Black slaves for eight years, expected to finally take advantage of the King's 1689 Royal authorization, which he reaffirmed in 1701.[7] Within three years after the Treaty was signed, the Superior Council approached the King's court again with another offer to pay for the transportation of slaves. Alas, a new war broke out. This again delayed any plans for the importation of slaves. Nevertheless, the need remained.

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[4] Memorandum to Jacques-René de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville, and Jean Bochart de Champigny, May 1, 1689, in Archives nationales du Quebec, *Ordres du roi*, series B, vol. 15, 108 et seq., cited in Marcel Trudel, *Canada's Forgotten Slaves: Two Hundred Years of Bondage* (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 2013), 274.

[5] During this time only four Blacks turned up in the New France records (Trudel 2013, 42). Note that the terms *black ebony* (*bois d'ébène*) and pièces d'Inde, come from the lingo of slavers who moved human cargo around the Atlantic. Africans were sold, and high(er) prices were established based upon one of these coveted appellations. Raphael Malangin, "Pièce d'Inde : commerce oriental et domaine atlantique français au XVIIIe siècle," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 395(1), 2019, 81.

[6] Trudel 2013, 35.

[7] *Ibid.*, 36.

With only 20,000 settlers, the labour shortage in New France was so significant that Intendant Michel Bégon under Governor Vaudreuil even considered bypassing the King and actively acquiring African slaves. However, the reality was that New France needed the cooperation of the Conseil de la Marine to direct the Compagnie des Indes to acquire the ships that would bring slaves to New France. He could not act alone.[8]

Thus, in October 1716, Bégon renewed negotiations. Rather than addressing his demand to Governor Vaudreuil, who disagreed with him, Bégon took advantage of Vaudreuil's illness to directly address the Regent, Philippe II, Duke of Orléans, now in power after the passing of Louis XIV. At first, the French government replied negatively. Then, in 1719, Bégon sent a new missive that elaborated on the value of African slaves. In 1720, the Regent queried the price the colonists would pay to acquire slaves. In 1721, Bégon sent the Regent an agreed-upon price of $600.[9] Philippe agreed to fulfil the order of 200 slaves through the Compagnie des Indes, which was finally unable or unwilling to fulfil the order (preferring to send African slaves to the West Indies where they could fetch $1,000).[10]

Below are the arguments that Bochart de Champigny (Intendant of New France 1686-1702) and Michel Bégon (Intendant 1712-1726) made to France in two separate briefs. The Superior Council was serious about getting permission to enhance colonial economic activity with slave labour.[11] Despite the 30-year gap between the briefs, list of needs and benefits for Black labour grew in the second plea. These are outlined in Table 1.

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[8] This narrative and what follows is a summary of Trudel 2013, 32-42. Yves F. Zoltvany, Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Philippe de, Marquis de Vaudreuil, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 2, 2013 (accessed February 8, 2023), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rigaud_de_vaudreuil_philippe_de_2E.html. For Vaudreuil's role in the negotiations, see Trudel 2013, 38.

[9] *Ibid.*, 38-39.

[10] *Ibid.*, 27-45, passim.

[11] *Ibid.*, 27-45, passim.

Table 1. Arguments by the Superior Council (le Conseil Supérieur) of New France to Paris about the Importation of African Slaves

1689[12]	1719[13]
Workers and servants are so hard to find	Difficulty of finding workers and day labourers
Workers and servants are so expensive	Wages [for servants] are excessively high
Negroes have borne themselves well [in the cold]	Negroes could be used for home defence, since they are more obedient than Indians
Negroes give the country an economic advantage	[Acquiring] Negroes would lead to an increase in the colony's trade
Negroes will wear beaver skin, thus fatten it, thereby increasing its value	Negroes could work the land [to derive income] so the elderly remain in their homes
	Slaves could do all the work
	[Negroes could work in our] iron mines
	Negro slaves ***could care for the elderly in the home*** [emphasis mine], relieving sons from the obligation of caring for parents
	Negroes could work on the land for city dwellers acquiring country property
	Negroes could grow hemp
	Negroes would be useful for home defence
	Negro tradesmen will increase the number of workers, thus increasing revenues

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[12] Intendant Jean Bochart de Champigny, responsible for submitting the first brief in Paris. See W. J. Eccles, "BOCHART DE CHAMPIGNY, JEAN, Sieur de Noroy et de Verneuil," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 2, University of Toronto / Université Laval, 2003– (accessed February 8, 2023), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/bochart_de_champigny_jean_2E.html. The arguments in the 1689 submission found in Trudel 2013, 29-32.

[13] Intendant Michel Bégon, responsible for submitting the second brief. Yves F. Zoltvany, "BÉGON DE LA PICARDIÈRE, MICHEL," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 3, University of Toronto / Université Laval, 2003– (accessed February 8, 2023), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/begon_de_la_picardiere_michel_3E.html. The details of the 1719 submission outlined in Trudel 2013, 37-41.

The two briefs provide a window into the mindset and concerns of the New France colonists in the 17th and 18th centuries. They expressed colonists' concerns around issues that impeded the successful settlement of New France. These points created a framework to argue that acquiring enslaved Africans would be vital to the colony's success and a boon to developing the land and its natural resources, and meeting their labour needs and, as made explicit in the second missive, these included caregiving labour.

As the mercantilists benefited from increased production, the Crown would enlarge its own coffers and prestige in Europe.[14] They knew the King or the Regent would not rely on household domesticity to produce a profit—and yet the colonists persisted in pushing their argument that enslaved Blacks, even those engaged in "non-productive" domestic labour, would free up white labour, bringing about a productive and lucrative result.

The French Crown's reluctance to prioritize New France for the importation of African slaves did result in their low numbers in the colony, in comparison with the Panis, who were Indigenous slaves. However, the African slaves' tasks in 18th century New France were numerous and valued, since their price was over four times that of the Panis. Caring for the elderly was one skill that Africans were already prized for. The enslaved were often also responsible for all aspects of domesticity including candle making, cleaning, childcare, cooking, baking, soap making, sewing, and cobbling.[15] Contrary to the popular understanding of slave roles that people might have today, Africans in New France worked in the homes of their owners as opposed to toiling in the fields.[16] African slaves were concentrated in New France's burgeoning cities of Quebec and Montreal, although their presence was not limited to them. The Africans were highly prized because of the high cost of acquiring them and their specific domestic skills, which New France colonists desired.

The 1719 brief from the Superior Council is insightful. It is the first written evidence of the African slaves' role as a key player in domestic affairs and household caregiving within the province. It was not to be the last evidence of Quebec linking Black labour to economic and societal benefits. Nonetheless, as early as the 18th century in Quebec, African slaves were already valued because they could function as personal caregivers, specifically to "care for the elderly in the home . . . to relieve sons from the obligation of caring for their infirmed or non-working parents."[17]

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[14] Economic players in New France, especially those of the Superior Council, were mercantilists with the goal "to extract as much wealth as possible from the colonies without investing much into them. The Atlantic slave trade is also inextricably linked to mercantilism. . . . Mercantilism developed as the primary economic model in New France (1534–1763)." Taylor C. Noakes, *The Canadian Encyclopedia,* s.v. "Mercantilism" (accessed March 1, 2023), https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/mercantilism.

[15] Recent scholarship is uncovering slave tasks through advertisements, making the periodical press a key source in understanding how enslavers used Black labour in the Canadas. Tamara Extian-Babiuk, "'To Be Sold: A Negro Wench': Slave Ads of the Montreal Gazette 1785-1805," Master's thesis (Montreal: McGill University, 2006). For details on slave tasks, see Marcel Trudel, *Dictionnaire des esclaves et de leurs propriétaires au Canada français* (Lasalle: Éditions Hurtubise HMH Ltée, 1990).

[16] In Quebec, agricultural and field work was usually assigned to First Nations slaves, called Panis, while the African enslaved were used for house labour. Interestingly, both briefs brought up the discussion of seeking an economic advantage by also using Black labour on the land. However, these slaves most often were domestics. Winks, 48; Trudel 2013, 35. See also Smithsonian Institute, "Popular and Pervasive Stereotypes of African Americans," which explores the connections to the products and cultures produced to soften and normalize enslavement in the Americas (accessed March 1, 2023), https://nmaahc.si.edu/explore/stories/popular-and-pervasive-stereotypes-african-americans.

[17] The details of the 1719 submission outlined in Trudel 2013, 37-41.

Importation of Francophone Household Domestic Workers, the First Domestic Scheme: 1910–1912

About 80 years after the abolition of slavery in the Canadas in 1834, once again we see the connection between state goals, Quebec households and the monetary undercompensation of Black labour in Quebec. It involved bringing in Black women contracted in Guadeloupe.[18] The origins of the scheme are found in 1910 in a small town, Saint-Hyacinthe, where Joseph M. Authier, the man behind it, resided.[19] From there, it became an explicit Quebec policy to satisfy the clamour for Black domestic labour in Quebec's French-speaking households.

The context of this first Black Domestic Scheme needs to be understood as a confluence of three forces. First, in 1910, Canada was in the midst of heightened Negrophobia. Negrophobia, or the fear of Black people on Canadian soil, undergirded government policies.[20] Historians have noted that, at various points across the country, for almost a century, the federal government led these efforts with anti-Black immigration policies. These policies curtailed settlement and stifled Black community development in the country.

Secondly, contributing to Negrophobia was the effect that decades of blackface shows had had on societal views of post-slavery Blacks in North America. Popularized after the carnage of the American Civil War, blackface minstrelsy fostered an entertainment culture specifically designed to ridicule and disdain the Black body and mind. The minstrel shows played up Black people's purported lack of intelligence, carnal nature, and lack of initiative, by exaggerated characterizations of "plantation" stereotypes. Minstrelsy exemplified the pushback against Black progress. The pushback was fuelled by the popular belief that the emancipated Black person was no better than the slave, and that they could never attain equal status to whites.[21]

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[18] Sherwood and Ébanda de B'béri have put forth an intriguing analysis claiming that Negrophobia was entrenched in the idea of Black women settling in the country. They suggest that, even more than for Black men entering the country, government efforts were really aimed at ensuring that nubile Black women did not settle and produce sons in white Canada, hence the hostility and policies against female settlement, even when demand for domestics, nurses, and other caregivers was high. See Dana Whitney Sherwood and Boulou Ébanda de B'béri, "Unsuitable to Become Canadian: Change and Continuity in Racial Discourse in Canadian Political Consciousness, A Mari Usque Ad Mare, 1850-1965"; Nina Reid-Maroney, Wanda Thomson Bernard and Boulou Ébanda de B'béri, eds., *Women in the "Promised Land": Essays in African Canadian History* (Toronto: Women's Press, 2018), 18.

[19] *La Patrie*, "Autre contingent de Négresses," April 19, 1911, 7.

[20] I use this term to define this era of anti-Black racism in Canada sanctioned by government policies to ensure that its bureaucracy made every effort to slow, deter, or ban black immigration into the country. Historians Sessing, Mathieu, and Williams have demonstrated how these policies were applied in multiple departments and were extremely effective. See Trevor Sessing, "How They Kept Canada Almost Lily White: The Previously Untold Story of the Canadian Immigration Officials Who Stopped American Blacks from Coming into Canada," *Saturday Night,* September 1970; Mathieu 2010; and Dorothy W. Williams, *The Road to Now: A History of Blacks in Montreal* (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1997), 40-43.

[21] For the most comprehensive examination of popular depictions of Blacks and corresponding effects in Quebec during the 19th century, see Daniel Guay, *Les Noirs du Québec*, 1629 à 1900 (Sillery: Les Éditions du Septentrion, 2004), 243-396 passim.

Canadians, although devoid of their own history of plantation culture, quickly embraced these racial biases. Canadian and American blackface troupes touring across Canada were wildly popular in Quebec theatres right up to World War I.[22] Even the author of "O Canada," French-Canadian Calixa Lavallée, participated in blackface minstrels for several years.[23]

The third aspect was the devaluation of Black labour, cemented and codified in the U.S. during the Reconstruction era, resulting in unbalanced wage scales which capitalists elsewhere also took advantage of. "Slave wages" was a popular term denoting the low monetary value attributed to free Black labour after the American Civil War. White labouring classes needed to differentiate themselves and to re-establish economic hegemony over Black earning power, even during a period of phenomenal American capitalist growth.[24]

In Canada, it was not unusual for Blacks to earn less than half the wages for the same work as their white counterparts. This took place with Canadian government acknowledgement. In 1918, W. D. Scott, an immigration superintendent who played a major role in erecting immigration barriers for Blacks, in communication with the Minister of Immigration, put it this way: "Coloured labour is not generally speaking in demand in Canada and it is not only regarded as the lowest grade, but it is the last to be taken on and the first to be discharged in most enterprises."[25] Moreover, Minister Scott used his position to block Black immigration. He "publicly asked American Negroes not to come to Western Canada since opportunities for them work better in a warmer climate."[26] Others, like historian Mathieu, lay bare the extent of Scott's Negrophobia. Scott insisted that "the Negro problem . . . should be settled only by shipping one and all back to a tract of land in Africa . . . one in which Canadians have no desire to share."[27]

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[22] *Ibid.*, 319. Canadian minstrel troupes included the Old Time Minstrels, the Sun Life Minstrel Troupe, the Vancouver Ship Minstrels and the Longueuil Minstrels.

[23] "Ottawa MP's motion only scrapes the surface of O Canada's dodgy origins," *The Globe and Mail,* January 29, 2016 (accessed March 6, 2023), https://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/music/quebec-mps-motion-only-scrapes-the-surface-of-o-canadas-dodgy-origins/article28457416/.

[24] Tera W. Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors After the Civil War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997). In Canada, the most in-depth analysis of the impact of unequal wages for Blacks has been the ground-breaking research by Agnes Calliste that explains how split labour normalized the devaluing of Blacks' wages and codified unequal employment across Canada in various sectors through the early 20th century. See Agnes Calliste, "Sleeping Car Porters in Canada: An Ethnically Submerged Labour Market," *Canadian Ethnic Studies / Études Ethniques au Canada* 19(1), January 1, 1987, 1; see also Agnes Calliste, "Race, Gender and Canadian Immigration Policy: Blacks from the Caribbean, 1900–1932," *Journal of Canadian Studies / Revue d'études canadiennes* 28(4), Winter 1993-1994, 131-148.

[25] Public Archives of Canada, RG 76, Vol. 566, File 810666, Scott to W. Cory, April 25, 1918. Cited in Calliste Winter 1993, 132.

[26] Winks, 312.

[27] Mathieu, 24.

Thus, these three forces—government-sanctioned Negrophobia, the popularizing of blackface stereotypes and racism, and the curtailment of Black migration and the devaluing of Black labour—were present in the country and contributed to the demise of Canada's First Domestic Scheme centred on Black female migrants, described below. Established in 1910, it lasted only two years in Quebec.[28]

Domestic work was a nation-wide labour sector at the beginning of the 20th century. Private domestic agencies employed 41 percent of all working women in 1891.[29] To satisfy the high demand for household labour, Canada instituted an open-door migration policy for women coming as domestics. This also contributed to a national goal of bringing in white childless women from Europe who were also expected to contribute to increasing the Canadian white population.[30] The nubile European female was welcomed under the auspices of private domestic agencies.

The exception to this arrangement originated in Quebec, since the federal government focus for domestic immigrant labour was on English Canada rather than the needs of Quebec's Francophone residents.[31] The province set up its own international network for recruiting French-speaking West Indian female contractors. These Black women were never included in the government's efforts to increase Canada's population and birth rate. Instead, they were brought into another scheme, in which they were offered only contract jobs with repatriation dates. This scheme began in the fall of 1910 in Saint Hyacinthe. It was the idea of a local retiree named Joseph M. Authier, a French-speaking American and former consul-general, who eventually managed the scheme.[32]

An initial trickle of women participating in the Black Domestic Scheme grew as the availability of cheap domestic help became more known. Depending on their numbers and the time of year, these women were conveyed to Canada in various ways. All began their journey northward by boat, but once through customs they could conclude their trek overland by train after disembarking at the port. Regardless of the method, they had to traverse multiple international borders. The scheme had transnational links. It saw scores of West Indian domestics boarding, landing, re-boarding, landing, and finally commuting to a Canadian address for which they had been contracted.[33]

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[28] In their 2022 article "Island Girls," authors Thomas and Lightman state that the program continued until 1914. I have found no evidence of this. However, some women did stay until the end of their contract and then left. This may have added an additional three years to wind down the Scheme. Carieta Thomas and Naomi Lightman, "'Island Girls': Caribbean Women Care Workers in Canada," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 54(1), 2022, 4.

[29] The Clio Collective, Micheline Dumont [et al.]. *Quebec Women: A History* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1987), 213.

[30] Williams, 48.

[31] The preference is discussed in Sherwood and de B'béri, 187.

[32] The French-speaking American, former consul-general, Joseph M. Authier, while retired in Saint Hyacinthe, publicly floated the idea of bringing Creole-speaking Guadeloupeans to work in the local villagers' homes for $5 a month (*La Tribune*, April 15, 1910). Born in Rhode Island, Authier had been a resident of the village for about a decade before his consular appointment on June 22, 1906. "List of Consular Officers of the United States Corrected to July 23, 1907, Supplement Official Documents," *The American Journal of International Law* 1(3), 1907 (accessed January 24, 2023), https://www.jstor.org/stable/2212482. This was followed up with a consular appointment in Guadeloupe. Retired in Saint-Hyacinthe by 1910, Authier contracted these women while on vacation in Guadeloupe.

Some arrived by boat, having made customs stops in the U.S. and then Nova Scotia. Montreal's first contingent was 50 Guadeloupean women.[34] Processed first through Ellis Island as "non-immigrant aliens from Guadeloupe," they arrived in New York with the address of their prospective employer in hand. Later, after their stop through Canadian customs (often in Nova Scotia), they arrived in Montreal either at the port or by train at Windsor Station.[35] Private brokers in New York transited these domestics from Guadeloupe to their homes in Montreal and various locales in Quebec. Their numbers are outlined in Table 2.

Table 2. French Newspaper Tallies of Guadeloupean Domestics Placed in Quebec, 1910 to 1911[36]

Saint-Hyacinthe	12
Saint-Hubert	1
Beloeil	1
Trois-Rivières	3
Montreal	155
Total	**172**

These domestics were expected to be between 21 and 35 years old, single, and childless. The childless stipulation reflected the notion that pregnant Blacks would become a public burden. Canadians believed these women would be more dependent on their employers, without taxing the infrastructure, if they were childless.[37] Being single and childless was also a moral issue at that time. In the words of scholar Barbara Roberts,

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[33] One such example of their circuitous routing was captured by Ellis Island photographer Augustus F. Sherman. His work and notes have recently been posted on the Internet. Louis Takács, *Let Me Get There: Deanonymizing Sherman and Hine's Photographs* (accessed February 4, 2023), https://scalar.usc.edu/works/let-me-get-there/deanonymizing-sherman-and-hines-photographs.

[34] Regarding women in the Scheme who came from other island nations, see note 32.

[35] Numbers fluctuated because several women on each trip did not meet customs requirements.

[36] Author's tally from the following newspapers: *La Patrie, La Tribune (Saint-Hyacinthe), La Vigie, L'Action sociale, Le Canada Français, Le Devoir, Le Courrier de Saint-Hyacinthe, Le Peuple (Montmagny), Le Soleil, L'Évènement, Sherbrooke Daily Record.*

[37] This belief was such a part of prevailing Victorian sensibilities about women, that being "a public charge" was used as a government stipulation for female deportation. Barbara Roberts, *Whence They Came: Deportation from Canada 1900-1935* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press / Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1998), 56-57.

> *Any female immigrant, [who] had indeed engaged in sexual relations outside marriage, by choice or by force, and had become pregnant, she would be subject to deportation on these grounds. The birth of an illegitimate child was proof of immorality, often forced women to become public charges, because they could not support themselves . . . or . . . pay the costs of confinement.*[38]

The women were expected to provide domestic services for the Francophones of Montreal and several other locations. For French-speaking employers, hiring Guadeloupean women had several attractive features. First, the women were on a two-year, instead of the usual one-year, contract. Second, the automatic devaluation of Black labour meant that the employers paid them only $5 a month compared with the $12 to $15 paid to white Canadian and European domestics.[39]

On the basis of employer surveys, the government initially heralded the scheme a success. Quebec mistresses praised Black domestics because they were fond of children, knew their place, and were acceptable providing they remained in the country as servants.[40] The newspaper *Le Canada Français* captured the excitement regarding the work of Black domestics, stating, "Plusieurs de nos familles ont fait venir des servantes créoles dont elles sont fort satisfaites."[41] At the height of the scheme, these women were popular. Indeed, newspapers recount a "near-riot" that occurred one day in 1911 at Windsor Station in Montreal. That day, only half the expected Guadeloupean women had arrived, and the prim and proper ladies awaiting them vigorously jostled each other to attract their attention.[42]

This condition, that is, that Blacks "were acceptable providing they remain in the country as servants," was in keeping with the federal government's stance, which was to ensure that only European stock ran through Canada's blood.[43] Thus, from the beginning it was not envisioned that Black females could settle and assimilate. Little wonder then that the emphasis was on contracts for these non-immigrant aliens and not their suitability as future Canadian citizens.

The original scheme arranged for several groups of Black women to come to Quebec. Perhaps because of the seasonality of the ports, and because the trek involved a mix of conveyances, their migration pattern was haphazard.[44]

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[38] *Ibid.*

[39] Interestingly, initially, in Montreal in particular, these French-speaking families wanted English maids working for them. Agnes Calliste, "Canada's Immigration Policy and Domestics from the Caribbean: The Second Domestic Scheme." In *Socialist Studies / Études socialistes: A Canadian Annual*, by Jesse Vorst. Toronto: Between the Lines, in cooperation with the Society for Socialist Studies / Société d'études socialistes, 1987, 136 (accessed March 1, 2023), https://archive.org/details/raceclassgenderb0000unse.

[40] *Ibid.*, 135.

[41] "Saint-Hilaire," *Le Canada Français*, July 7, 1911, 10.

[42] "On se dispute aux servantes noires : L'arrivée d'un petit contingent de négresses de la Guadeloupe donne lieu à une scène animée à la gare Windsor," *La Patrie,* July 21, 1911; "Fausse nouvelle à propos des servantes créoles venues de la Guadeloupe," **Le Canada**, June 16, 1911.

[43] Sessing, 1970.

[44] Quebec correspondents in New York and Guadeloupe appear to have reported on just four embarkations and disembarkations. Other articles track arrivals in New York or Montreal. These account for 155 contracted domestics from Guadeloupe. "Les domestiques pour le Canada," L'Action Sociale, April 1, 1911; *Le Courrier de Saint-Hyacinthe*, April 8, 1911; "Des négresses pour Montréal," *Le Devoir*, June 7, 1911; "Colored Servants for Canada," *Sherbrooke Daily Record*, June 8, 1911; "On se dispute aux servantes noires," *La Patrie*, July 21, 1911. There were also women contracted via Bermuda, Martinique, and other West-Indian nations. This topic requires more examination and is beyond the scope of this paper.

Authier and his teams in New York and Montreal did their best to meet the provincial demand for French-speaking Black domestics.[45]

Nevertheless, the federal government soon moved to bar additional migrants under the Scheme. For explanation, the government claimed that the women were physically or morally unfit.[46] Justifying the program's termination was even easier after some of the unmarried women had children while in service.[47] Eventually, the New York office that Authier oversaw was closed.[48] The authorities still had to contend with the scores of domestics already working under the Scheme, and more scores of Guadeloupean women waiting in New York to come up to Montreal. Both sets of women were repatriated back to Guadeloupe. The Scheme came to an end in 1912, just two years after it had started.

Conditions were ripe to shut down the migration of these Black contract domestics. The administration acted in a context of growing public unease about a new recession, and European migration was slowing as domestic work lost its allure.[49] There was also public pressure to reserve domestic service solely for Canadian women.[50]

Not all employers were pleased with the hand of government reaching into their kitchens. Canadian employers pleaded to keep their domestic help but were told to find other domestics. The federal government eventually deported every West Indian domestic, even those with children born in Canada. This treatment of Black female labour was not an isolated case. It coincided with the deportation of other Black women. On the basis of alleged stories that there were many unemployed Canadian women in the cities and towns willing to do domestic work, and worried that Black women might become public charges, federal immigration officials deported other Black Caribbean women as well. For decades, officials used these deportations to justify the restricted entry of Caribbean women into Canada.[51]

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[45] In New York, the office was managed by Mme Arcand and, in Montreal, by the offices of the Union Française de Montréal on Viger Street. Established in 1886, during its first decades, the Union offered home care services that included in-kind relief (food, coal, medicines, clothing) as well as medical consultations. Union Française, *Union Française de Montréal*, n.d. (accessed February 19, 2023), https://www.unionfrancaisedemontreal.org/a-propos/.

[46] Roberts 1998, 56; Thomas and Lightman, 4.

[47] Based on the oral history of domestic work in Canada, this was not an unusual situation. "Perhaps the most serious problem of the domestic servant . . . was her vulnerability to sexual exploitation." Alison Prentice, Paula Bourne, Gail Cuthbert Brandt, Beth Light, Wendy Mitchinson, and Naomi Black, *Canadian Women: A History* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Canada, 1987),124.

[48] In 1911, Authier's last request to bring in another group of women was refused. Calliste 1993, 143.

[49] Prentice [et al], 123.

[50] Perhaps the "nail in the coffin" for the Scheme was the highly publicized court case involving the desertion of a Guadeloupean domestic in Montreal. In December 1911, she won her case against her employer because her contract was considered invalid. Details of the case emerge in *The Quebec Chronicle*, "The French Colored Girl Wins Her Case," December 15, 1911, 8. It was a pyrrhic victory, because the "honeymoon" with Black foreign domestics was over. The Union Française de Montreal, the domestic service provider, immediately announced that "if its standard hiring contract would be contested, they will expel all Guadeloupeans that they had brought into the province since the spring." A similar account is found in "Les servantes noires," *Le Devoir,* December 15, 1911, 5.

[51] Calliste 1987, 136; Williams, 49.

Fear of Nursing Caregivers, "White patients would not allow Black nurses to touch them!": 1900–1950

While media eyes were on the migration of French Creole Black West Indian domestics, in the southwest of Montreal, the small Black English-speaking community had started to show signs of permanent settlement. For instance, a decade before the Scheme, in 1902, the small cluster of Black families and residents in the St. Antoine Ward saw its first institution, the Coloured Women's Club of Montreal (CWC), become formalized. Five years later, the Union Congregational Church was opened. By 1910, the St. Antoine Faubourg supported clusters of African Americans and West Indians who had planted roots with the establishment of a Black church and self-help initiatives.[52]

Community needs were dire in these years. Montreal was struck by four epidemics: typhoid, scarlet fever, diphtheria, and smallpox. The city lagged far behind other North American cities in improving the health, sanitation, and housing of its residents. Open sewers, outdoor toilets, and filthy crowded tenements were the norm for the poor. It was not at all unusual for 10 to 12 people or two families to live in a single room; even outdoor toilets frequently served more than one family. Conditions were so bad at this time that Montreal earned the dubious distinction as "the most dangerous city in the civilised world to be born in."[53] St. Antoine was identified as the most dangerous district in all of Montreal.

However, health and social welfare issues were low priorities for governments. It was the lack of a health or social network responsive to Black concerns that prompted the CWC to provide care to Blacks in St. Antoine.[54] It acted as a "self-aid society" during the ongoing public health emergencies that Blacks faced within their neighbourhood.

Immediately after the World War I, these health needs had not abated. They were indeed worsened when the Spanish flu added to the challenges of infections typical of crowded tenements with poor ventilation and little health knowledge. Additional support arrived in March 1921. The Black Cross Nurses (BCN), under the auspices of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), began ministering to Blacks in the district.[55] For decades, the poorest of the Black residents in St. Antoine received health ministrations and support from either the BCN or the CWC.[56]

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[52] Williams, 50-52.

[53] Terry Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal 1897–1929* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974).

[54] For details about the emergence and legacy of the Coloured Women's Club, the oldest continuous Black organization in Montreal, see David Este, Christa Sato, and Darcy McKenna, "The Coloured Women's Club of Montreal, 1902-1940: African-Canadian Women Confronting Anti-Black Racism," *Canadian Social Work Review / Revue canadienne de service social* 34(1), 2017, 81–99; and Prentice et al., 193.

Shunned by the Red Cross, the women of the BCN filled in many gaps in the neighbourhood. They provided education, training, first aid, midwifery, and other services. [57] The BCN also issued publications and actively worked to improve sanitation, prevent accidents, and even create a master plan for public disasters.[58]

Black women thus catered to the needs of their own community. However, despite their presence as domestic labourers in white homes, where they often assumed the role of caregivers, they were not granted access to professional occupations in the healthcare sector. This prevented them from catering to the need of the rest of the Quebec population in professional caregiver capacities.

The early local Black response to healthcare and social service provision played out to a backdrop of jazz culture and, by the 1930s, the Depression. Both had world-wide effects and were felt acutely in the St. Antoine district. America's path to Prohibition eventually led to Montreal. Within 10 years of the mass deportation of the West Indian women who had been brought only to serve temporarily as domestic labourers, the first elements of a Black economic ecosystem arose in St. Antoine. It was centred on the entertainment industry, offering venues to enjoy jazz, bebop, and swing.[59] However, once rooted in the district, the Black economy struggled over the next 30 years as it was hit by multiple setbacks. The first was the crash of 1929. Tourism travel dried up, dampening the supply and demand for leisure and entertainment. Incomes generated through clubs and various underregulated activities diminished. From 1930 to 1933, a domino effect damaged other sectors of the local economy, leading to collapse with a steady out-migration of African Americans.[60] Recovery was slow.

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[55] In the U.S., the networks of the Red Cross mimicked the worst of Jim Crow. They segregated both facilities and care and refused Black women volunteers and workers. The UNIA auxiliary of the Black Cross Nurses arose to fill in the gap in underserved Black communities. Leo W. Bertley, "The Universal Negro Improvement Association of Montreal, 1917-1979," Ph.D. dissertation (Montreal: Concordia University, 1980), 98-101; and June Bertley, "The Role of the Black Community in Educating Blacks in Montreal, from 1910 to 1940, with Special Reference to Reverend Dr. Charles Humphrey Este," Master's thesis (Montreal: Concordia University, 1982), 270-276.

[56] It was also at this time that professional care (licensed nursing) took off in Canada. This occurred in 1921 in the U.S. See *Canadian Nurses Association* (accessed February 10, 2023), https://www.cna-aiic.ca/en/ about-us/who-we-are. Nursing increasingly lured women out of domestic service. In addition to teaching, nurses' training was highly sought after by middle-class girls or girls aspiring to the middle class. By 1909, there were over 70 nursing schools operating in Canada. None of them accepted Canadian-born Blacks, prompting protests in Nova Scotia and Ontario.

[57] For a glimpse of the history and purpose of the UNIA Black Cross Nurses, see Carla Marano, "Black Cross Nurses in Canada," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 2018 (accessed February 7, 2023), https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/black-cross-nurses-in-canada.

[58] An excellent overview of the activities and responsibilities of the UNIA Black Cross Nurses is laid out in Natanya Duncan, "The 'Efficient Womanhood' of the Universal Negro Improvement Association: 1919-1930," Ph.D. dissertation (University of Florida, 2009).

[59] John Gilmore, *Swinging in Paradise: The Story of Jazz in Montreal* (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1988); Nancy Marrelli, S*tepping Out: The Golden Age of Montreal Night Clubs*, Illustrated. Edited by Nancy Marrelli. (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 2004).

[60] This was the emerging picture over three decades. Americans once dominated Black culture in Montreal. Montreal still benefited from jazz culture as American entertainers continued to ply the city, right into the mid-1950s. I do not imply that everything collapsed overnight, but the 1929 economic shock lingered into the 1950s in Montreal's Black economy (Williams1997).

Further, the city's general economic insecurity during the Depression led to wide-scale anti-Black discrimination. This affected the lives of Black residents, especially Canadian-born youth striving to achieve upward mobility via employment in the health sector. To foster prospects for self-sufficiency, economic mobility, and independence for their gifted and brightest youth, Blacks in St. Antoine pooled their efforts to fight for training and employment opportunities within the city's hospitals, clinics, and practices. They quickly realized that there was an insurmountable brick wall in the city's health and medical sector.[61]

Prior to World War II, racial exclusion was typical of white institutional practices elsewhere. Dorothy Sterling writes of the African American experience: "Black women had been nurses from the first days on the American continent, but they were barred from professional nursing. . . . Although their colour kept them from staffs of white hospitals, from the Army Nurse Corps and the Red Cross, they found employment in black communities and as private duty nurses."[62]

In Canada, when Blacks tried to enter nursing, they too were rebuffed, right into the 1940s. Sociologist Agnes Calliste describes the harsh Canadian reasoning for the exclusion of African Canadians in the nursing profession:

> *Canadian nursing schools did not admit Canadian-born, Black students before the 1940s, apparently because Canadian hospitals would not employ them. . . . It was only after a public campaign against this racist, sexist exclusion was conducted by the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, supported by some trade unions and church groups, that the policy was challenged. . . . Caribbean students were admitted into nursing schools because the assumption was that they would return to their countries of origin for employment.*[63]

Within a very short period, the hospitals had become central to nursing training, making them major gatekeepers within the country's emerging health and social services. These institutions, most often built by white men of power and influence, were driven and codified by entrenched policies, custom, and prevailing racist beliefs about healthcare.[64] So, despite past periods of Black caregiving to whites, by the 1920s and 1930s, the prevailing practice in Canada was to racially segregate healthcare to minimize direct contact and, at the same time, to control employment access in the field to diminish Black competition with whites. Professional health associations in Canada did not lead; rather, as in the U.S., they mirrored the biases of the public at large.

This was Canada's stance, and Montreal moved in lockstep. Canadian-born Black youth in Montreal paid the price. Those wanting to improve themselves academically and professionally found that this was almost impossible to achieve in Quebec. White professional classes exhibited the same type of behaviour seen elsewhere in the country. Blacks who could afford to become professionals were perceived as a threat. Professional bodies did not certify Blacks because their members did not want to compete with them in the province's shrinking job market.[65] The Black community in St. Antoine felt the sting of blatant discrimination in the city's vaunted medical professions.

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[61] Williams 1997, 78-82.

[62] Dorothy Sterling, We Are Your Sisters: Black Women in the 19th Century (Toronto: Norton, 1984), 437.

[63] Agnes Calliste, "Women of 'Exceptional Merit': Immigration of Caribbean Nurses to Canada," *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law,* (6)1, 1993, 99, as summarized in Tania Das Gupta, "Anti-Black Racism in Nursing in Ontario," Studies in Political Economy, (51)1, 1996, 3.

[64] See discussion in Kerri L. Hunkele, *Segregation in United States Healthcare: From Reconstruction to Deluxe Jim Crow*, Spring 2014 Honours Theses and Capstones, 188 (accessed March 1, 2023), https://scholars.unh.edu/honors/188.

The community's response was direct, but to no effect. This is aptly illustrated in the story of Vivian Layne-Sullen. She had a "brilliant [academic] record" and wanted to train to be a nurse in the 1930s but was refused entry. The UNIA formed a committee to find a hospital that would accept her. With the status of his collar and education, Reverend C. Este of Union United Church was tasked with the job of advocating for Black youth. He met with the Superintendent of Nurses of the Montreal General Hospital. During their interview, the Superintendent informed Reverend Este that, although Black nurses could train in Montreal, they would never find employment there, since there were not enough Black patients to care for in the hospitals, and "white patients would not allow Black nurses to touch them." It appears that Reverend Este and other committee members were repeatedly disappointed. He records that, no matter where they turned, the city's hospitals were firm in their support of racially segregated care. The hospitals would not budge.[66]

Reverend Este was undaunted. He approached people of influence to ask for their help, including John Cragg Farthing, the Anglican Bishop of Montreal at the time. Before Farthing's retirement in 1939, Reverend Este met with him. Reverend Este assumed that the Bishop would show a desire to help. However, Farthing was leading his flock amid rampant Negrophobia in Montreal. His response to Reverend Este was: "white people would not want Black people to look after them. I can't help you. Try the United States."[67]

With no opportunities in Montreal, Vivian Layne-Sullen trained at the Lincoln School for Nurses in New York and found employment there. She later achieved some measure of local fame when she was the attending nurse for Martin Luther King Jr. after his stabbing on September 20, 1958.

Vivian Layne-Sullen's story illustrates well how entrenched systemic racism was in Quebec, even within its health sector. Other families with girls aspiring to be nurses were forced to rely on extended families or close friends in the U.S. to achieve that goal. This option was only for those few families who could afford to send their daughters across the border for training and jobs. For the small Montreal Black community, the loss of Layne-Sullen, and others like her, was a brain drain.[68]

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[65] The health sector was not alone in perpetuating intergenerational poverty. It was not unusual for Black doctors and lawyers to don the porter's uniform to keep a roof over their heads (Mathieu, 70-72).

[66] Williams 1997, 78-80; Hostesses of Union United Church, T*he Hostesses Memory Book: Union United Church* (Montreal: Union United Church, 1982), 229.

[67] Williams, 79.

[68] Hostesses, 1928, passim.

Nursing was not the only profession affected by these segregation practices. Montreal hospitals, unwilling to have Black doctors and interns care for patients, gave McGill University justification for a tight quota system against Black students. This is because McGill was quite aware of the situation that Blacks had to face in the field. The official line in private and public hospitals in Montreal was that they were open to Black medical trainees and residents, and the occasional foreign-born candidate was accepted.[69] Yet even as the 1920s closed, McGill officials felt that:

> *it was necessary to tell the coloured students that if the Hospital should at any time object at clinical work, they will have to go to a Negro hospital in the United States for this part of their course—but it has not been necessary to enforce it.*[70]

The McGill Faculty of Medicine and Howard University (a historical Black university) made an arrangement whereby Black graduates could serve their internship in Washington, D.C., where separate facilities existed for African Americans because of legal segregation.[71] It was common knowledge in the Montreal Black community and a major disappointment that no Blacks interned at the Royal Victoria Hospital from the early 1930s to 1947 when, finally, some barriers were taken down.[72]

In the inter-war period, the efforts of the Black community to foster an environment that supported growth was already strained as a result of global pressures. Negrophobia (that is, the institutional and structural biases that were hidden, covert, and silent) hampered it further. It was a quagmire to navigate. In most establishments, official signs warning of segregated services and facilities were barely posted. Blacks quickly found out what to avoid and how low the concrete ceiling was when they attempted in vain to gain access. In Montreal, like other North American cities striving to offer first-class services, expertise, and care, the privilege to gain access to this labour market was not extended to deserving Black youth.

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69 Hospitals and associated medical schools did not outright bar Black entrants. Foreign-born applicants on scholarship or independent students could find spots because the expectation was that foreign-born candidates would leave the city after graduating. It appears that, as "gatekeepers," schools, hospitals, and university admissions offices feared that accepting Canadian-born Black doctors was unacceptable given that they might attempt to join the profession and open practices in Canada. Ida Greaves, *The Negro in Canada: National Problems of Canada,* no. 16 (Orillia: Packet-Times Press, 1930), 69.

70 *Ibid*.

71 Hunkele, 2014

72 Williams, 79; "Nos hôpitaux catholiques accepteraient des infirmières nègres," *La Tribune*, September 26,1947, 4.

Importation of Black Household Caregivers, the Second Domestic Scheme: Post-World War II

Change was afoot in the post-war period, albeit by small steps. As late as 1950, when Canada's Department of Citizenship and Immigration was created, "white, if possible" continued to be the rule for selecting potential immigrants.[73] Even the new Immigration Act of 1952 did little to show that Canada accepted non-whites on the same basis as white immigrants. Officials could refuse prospective immigrants for their nationality, citizenship, or ethnic group.

After decades of bars and quotas, however, Blacks in Canada and abroad agitated against Canada's restrictive immigration policies.[74] Official West Indian immigration to Canada had not exceeded 3,400 between 1905 and 1955. The turn of the century immigration restrictions had worked. By 1955, there were only 7,000 West Indians in the country. This closed door was not lost on the West Indian island nations, where Canada was lobbying for access to markets. Repeated requests for wider economic activity produced a hemispheric tug of war. The island nations put pressure on the Canadian government to open their borders, while Canadian banks and businesses lobbied for more latitude to operate in these islands.[75] Faced with their own post-war baby boom and rising unemployment, West Indian Commonwealth nations grumbled about the lopsided neo-colonialism and pushed back against Canadian trade requests. They tied any potential agreements with Canada to having Canada agree to open its doors. That was the diplomatic phase. On the home front, Blacks in Montreal and Toronto and other places came together to lobby the federal government to change its restrictive immigration policies. They felt they should have the right, like other immigrants, to bring in their family members. Canada resisted.[76]

This dual pressure set the stage for the Second Domestic Scheme. The Canadian government finally reacted a few years into the post-war boom. By 1949, there were not enough white European servants to meet Canada's national demand. White women clamoured to get into the workforce but had a baby boom to contend with. Refusing West Indian requests, Canada initially targeted Black Caribbean domestics working in England as a potential source of immigrants. This ended up being a short-term fix because these women eventually moved on to other jobs such as nursing attendant and healthcare aide. The need for caregivers only increased. Canada had little choice but to change its immigration policy to accept women coming directly from specific West Indian islands. Thus, the federal government created the

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[73] Sessing 1970. See also Department of Citizenship and Immigration (1950-1966) fonds [textual record, graphic material] (accessed February 26, 2023), https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/home/record? app=fonandcol&IdNumber=66.

[74] Mathieu's masterful work clearly maps out the effects on Blacks in Canada. (Mathieu, passim).

[75] *Ibid.*, 84-88.

[76] *Ibid.*, 211.

Household Domestic Scheme in 1955 to stem the loss of servant labour in Canada.[77] Canada signed bilateral agreements with Jamaica, Trinidad, and Barbados and established the Domestic Immigration Service Agreement. Provisions of this Second Domestic Scheme continued to be modified until the mid-1960s.[78]

This turned out to be a rupture in Canada's treatment of Black domestic labour. The program changed Canada's demographics forever as the residency, education, and sponsorship openings led to Black settlement never seen before in the country. This cannot be stressed enough. In 1955, there were approximately 6,000 Blacks in Montreal, perhaps over 70 to 80 percent of them living in the West End (today's Sud-Ouest borough). By 1960, immigration rules changed in favour of domestics, to let them sponsor relatives from the West Indies. Within a decade, family sponsorship rapidly increased the Black population, and family members streamed into the city. By 1970, the English-speaking Black community had grown to tens of thousands. It continued to grow through the 1970s.

The modern English-speaking Black community in Montreal was thus built on the backs of successive waves of these domestic women. Because they were allowed to remain as landed immigrants, some would leave domestic service to access education and enter the nursing profession, finally penetrating as professional caregivers in institutional settings. Their progeny and communities built up a community of close to 80,000. The effects on the small Black community of St. Antoine are still being measured.[79]

The other impact of this massive immigration influx was the normalizing of West Indian culture. For the first time in Montreal, the remnants of African American culture were overtaken by the infusion of various West Indian cultures, food, dance, music, and stories. We moved from an African American ethos and culture to a West Indian culture. This led to the Caribbeanization of Blackness, meaning it is the dominant cultural reference in Montreal's English-speaking Black community.

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[77] La Patrie, "L'immigration n'a pas rempli les cadres du service domestique," *La Patrie*, September 11, 1957, 11.

[78] Williams, 106.

[79] Winks, 434-440.

Conclusion

This narrative has covered Black caregiving, its origins and variety, and Quebecers' attitudes. These aspects were examined in four discrete eras, milestones of Black experience in the province: 1) caregiving in the period of enslavement; 2) the challenges of healthcare at the dawn of the early Black community; 3) the consequence of Negrophobia and anti-Black racism leading to fear and rejection of Canadian-born achievement; and 4) the reluctant development of Black domestic immigration policies and the consequential demographic sea change affecting the entire country.

The path forward has not been linear or consistent. However, each era offers a little more understanding of the expectation of Black caregiving. Within these few pages, I have exposed the interplay between state and institutional caregiving policies and outcomes in the lived experiences of the English-speaking Black community of Montreal.

I posit here that, at times, Blacks have been unwelcome in the province as residents, except as slaves (through forced in-migration) and sought-after domestics. At other times, English-speaking Black caregivers were actively shunned or segregated, and subject to forced emigration. As a result, demographics of the English-speaking Black community were negatively affected. Yet there are contradictions even in these assertions. As Quebec developed in areas of healthcare, black domestics also participated as valuable commodities and essential workers. They were not only pariahs or seen as a burden on attendant systems.

In sum, the Black communities of Montreal, both English- and French-speaking, have developed out of a history of racialized labour. This was enforced by both French- and English-speaking authorities and employers. Indeed, English-speaking Blacks often faced minoritization and exclusion as a result of the actions of other English-speaking communities. Regardless of mother tongue, privileges and access were not equally or willingly shared with the Black caregiving class.

When considering policy and the need to educate, the historical lens of this analysis can better help to position Black caregiving. With few doors open, for decades, caregiving defined the labour history of the English-speaking Black community in Quebec. It was what Blacks did, not who they were. And yet, in the context of Black caregiving, new truths have been uncovered that can help us reframe the dominant historical narrative. Indeed, that history does not just have a legacy seemingly tied to an Anglophone elite which pulled levers of economic control in the province. It also has a legacy of marginalization around caregiving, migration, belonging, and citizenship throughout the past centuries. In that vein, I concur with David Este's summation of anti-Black racism in Montreal:

> *It is disconcerting yet not surprising that manifestations of anti-Black racism experienced over a century ago continue to persist. [This paper] draws attention to the uncomfortable reality that subjugation of certain groups is perpetuated over time and across generations, thus amplifying the structural nature of racism and oppression.*[80]

If we are to address the persistence of today's inequality, systemic barriers, and negative outcomes, this needs to be understood and acknowledged.[81]

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[80] David Este, Christa Sato, and Darcy McKenna, 97.

[81] The role of Blacks in the healthcare system was highlighted recently during the COVID crisis. See "Black women's disproportionate role in Quebec's health network source of community pride," *Global News*, February 14, 2022 (accessed March 6, 2023), https://globalnews.ca/news/8617996/quebec-black-nurses-healthcare-role-covid19/. Ironically, Blacks are also affected by profound health inequalities documented by a recent federal survey. Ifrah Abdillahi and A. Shaw, S*ocial Determinants and Inequities in Health for Black Canadians: A Snapshot,* (Ottawa: Social Determinants of Health Division, Public Health Agency of Canada, 2020).

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