Broadcasting in the Triangle: Negotiating Colonial Identity and Race in Bermuda's Emerging Media Industries

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ABSTRACT

Caught within a triangle of identity, Bermuda posits itself today as colonized-British, but not English; Americanized, but not American; having deeply rooted ties to the Afro-Caribbean, yet, not a part of the West Indies, situating itself as an exemplar of cultural hybridity. With its political ties with Britain as the oldest colony in the British Empire, questions of identity become even more complex for Bermuda when historical narratives such as slavery, war and contestations of colonial power and control are woven into the social, economic and cultural fabric of the island. Likewise, the complicated and ambiguous relationship between national identity and broadcasting presents further challenge to Bermuda as its hybrid colonial broadcasting system intricately ties into its transitioning, and at times, tempestuous colonial identity.

This thesis will investigate the nuances of Bermudian colonial identity and Bermuda's emerging media industries between the 1930s and the 1960s, one of the most turbulent periods in the colony's history of identity construction. It will examine how contestations of identity and race played out in Bermuda's early media forms, such as newspapers and radio, influencing and shaping the arrival of television and articulations of colonial identity. The thesis will illustrate how economic challenges in Britain in the late 1930s led to the arrival of the US military base and the introduction of Bermuda's first national radio station in the 1940s. It will discuss how the American military shaped the arrival of television on the island with *ZBK-TV* in 1955, and impacted the emergence of Britain's first colonial television station, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's *ZBM-TV* in 1958. It will analyse how racial uprisings in black America and colonial resistance in the West Indies in the late 1950s helped in the desegregation of Bermuda in 1959 (during the island's 350 year celebrations of British colonialism), forging the arrival of the island's first racially integrated broadcasting company, the black owned Capital Broadcasting in 1963.

As Bermuda's radio and television industries emerged and developed, influenced by practices established within the island's colonial newspapers and

broadcasting cultures of America and Britain, this thesis illustrates the deep and complex connections between broadcasting and national identity in Bermuda, and how the colony navigated these factors both internally and externally. Moreover, as Bermuda sought to navigate its British colonial status and cultural affinity to American broadcast culture, and with the island's white hegemony operating as cultural architects to support and sustain colonial hegemony by reinforcing racial hierarchy through Bermudian broadcasting, this thesis argues that there is a direct relationship between broadcasting and national identity and that Bermuda and its broadcasting industry collaboratively articulate a transitioning hybrid colonial identity.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction Page 1

Chapter One Page 42
The Birth of Broadcasting in Bermuda

Chapter Two Page 68
Military Broadcasting in the Colony

Chapter Three Page 95
Structuring a Hybrid Broadcasting Industry: The Bermuda Radio and Television Company

Chapter Four Page 122
Contesting Colonial Identity with the Arrival of *ZBM-TV*

Chapter Five Page 157
Securing Colonial Hegemony: Race and Segregation in Bermuda's National Broadcasting Service

Chapter Six Page 195
A New Era of Bermudian Colonial Identity: Desegregation and the Arrival of Integrated Broadcasting

Conclusion Page 245

Appendix Page 253

Bibliography Page 255

INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 1959, during the 350th year celebrations of British colonialism in Bermuda, the small British territory experienced one of the most prolific transitions of national identity and broadcasting reform in its history. Colonial identity and white hegemony had been threatened as the island's black community engaged in protests in demand of racial equality and integration within the 24 mile long island, with Bermuda's colonial media and broadcasting systems also under attack. Pressure from the island's racial uprising and the black owned anti-hegemonic newspaper, The *Bermuda Recorder* during the 1959 Bermuda Theatre Boycotts saw Bermuda, its national broadcasting service, and the island's colonial newspapers unwillingly modifying their segregation policies as they began addressing how black Bermuda would fit into new articulations of Bermudian national identity within the newly integrated colony. Yet, as the Bermuda Government sought to appease its British administration by minimalizing and downplaying the island's internal social revolution and its impact on British nationalism within the colony, calls by the US military to reopen its American television station in Bermuda posed further challenge to colonial identity in the transitioning British territory.

America's Kindley Military Base had been instrumental in the development of The Bermuda Broadcasting Company's national radio service, with the base's American television station, *ZBK-TV*, also being influential in the arrival of Britain's first colonial television station, Bermuda's *ZBM-TV*. The two stations operated side by side, sharing the same television broadcast channel during *ZBM-TV's* first year of broadcasting. However, after one year of co-broadcasting, during the 350th year anniversary, Kindley's *ZBK-TV* closed down as *ZBM-TV* was deemed adequate in serving not only the local community, but also the military base service personnel stationed on the island. But in the midst of the island's racial crisis and period of anti-colonial sentiment, and as the Bermuda Broadcasting Company internally navigated integration and articulations of British colonial identity within its radio and television station, the US military base retracted their plans of permanent closure and made an

application to the colonial government to re-open their Bermuda based television station on a channel independent of *ZBM-TV*. With the island's British influence being amplified during the colony's period of significant hegemonic contestation, and with the national broadcasting service also increasing its British presence, Kindley argued that the Bermuda Broadcasting Company no longer met the needs of their military community, and that *ZBM-TV* was "not entirely appreciated by the Air Forces personnel and their families."[1] Having their own broadcasting license and operating full time on a separate channel from *ZBM-TV* meant that Kindley would have regular television programming from the United States and popular television programmes inaccessible to Bermuda's *ZBM-TV*. But more importantly, a full time American television station would ensure that US base personnel would have regular access to American content, sustaining American cultural identity while in the British colony.

The appeal by the US military to re-open *ZBK-TV* separate from the national broadcasting service was immediately met with scrutiny. It not only had the ability to reshape the colony's broadcasting landscape, but *ZBM-TV* was not able to compete with the well-supplied American broadcasters. The Bermuda Broadcasting Company argued that they could not only compete with *ZBK-TV*, but that issuing Kindley a license would violate the agreement that the Bermuda Government had with Kindley which restricted them from engaging in any business where the US military would be in direct competition with a local private company.[2] More significantly, issuing a new broadcast license to the US military and having the American television station operating full time, especially during the colony's turbulent period of identity reconstruction, would present further threats to Bermudian national identity. With *ZBK-TV* offering unrestricted access to American programmes throughout the British colony, and with Bermuda's own *ZBM-TV* already providing a significant amount of American content, Bermuda's broadcasting landscape would no longer reflect a hybridized colonial broadcasting service. With the re-opening of Kindley's

[1] Colonial Office, Document Number 9. November 9, 1959, Bermuda Archives.
[2] Bermuda Radio and Television Company, Letter to Colonial Office, August 31, 1959, Bermuda Archives.

ZBK-TV, Bermuda's broadcasting industry would have been dominated by American programming and American broadcasting culture, further diluting articulations of Bermuda's British colonial identity.

As Bernadette Casey et al. argue, "…by controlling the economic means of producing texts, America [could] freely transmit its own liberal-capitalist values and ideology in the content of its television programming,"[3] which for Bermuda meant that the dominant American broadcasting service had the potential to challenge the island's conservative British ideology. Further, with the technological capabilities and programming access that *ZBK-TV* had, if allowed to operate as a competitor to Bermuda's national broadcasting service, the island's already heavily-influenced national broadcasting station would become even more Americanized, and articulations of British-Bermudian colonial identity further weakened. In that scenario, as Casey et al argue, "American ideological hegemony [would be] thus maintained at the expense of radical and minority voices, and at the expense of local cultures and values."[4]

With pleas from the national broadcasting service to reject the military's application, and with British colonial identity already being threatened, Kindley's request was eventually refused. *ZBK-TV* resumed television operations on the shared channel in September 1959, broadcasting half a day for military personnel and their families. However, by the end of 1960, the US military television station in Bermuda had closed down permanently, and the Bermuda Broadcasting Company remained the only television station in the colony for the next five years. As Bermuda continued to manage its political ties with Britain and its deep external connections with America, while at the same time internally extinguishing any challenge to white hegemony, the island's colonial broadcasting service continued to articulate a transitioning hybrid colonial identity.

The way in which Bermuda navigated threats to its colonial identity through broadcasting with the American military's *ZBK-TV,* as seen through this brief

[3] Bernadette Casey, et al., *Television Studies, The Key Concepts*, London, Routledge, 2002, Pg. 10.
[4] Ibid. Pg. 10.

example, demonstrates how the island negotiated external contestations of identity during the 1950s. Along with examples of internal contestations of identity throughout the 1940s-1960s, this thesis will seek to examine more explicitly how Bermuda navigated challenges to colonial hegemony and will examine the intricacies and meanings of these relationships. Drawing upon key periods within the island's newspaper, radio and television histories as they intersect with Bermudian history, it will discuss how through its emerging media industries, Bermuda constructed, reinforced and articulated a nation that sits as an exemplar of a cultural hybridity. Through this investigation of Bermuda as a case study, this thesis provides a new lens with which to view post-colonial/colonial studies and national identity as it relates to international television/media history, and the influence of British and American broadcasting industries on economically and politically dependent nations, such as Bermuda.

As Lawrence Grosseberg argues, culture is "the site of the struggle to define how life is lived and experienced" and these meanings are articulated in "social practices and events."[5] Within cultural studies, Stuart Hall states that questions of global relations, "history-making capacities of capital" and "the complex relationship of power" can be similarly present within television history discourse.[6] Bernadette Casey et al also argue that television studies does not only incorporate television history, but includes inquiry into audience, industry and global relationships, encompassing various aspects of "lived culture", and contributes to "significant aspects of cultural life."[7] Television, argues Casey et al, "has its own specific history, characteristics and elements," [8] with cultural studies as "an important influence within television studies."[9] Therefore, this thesis examines the prehistory of broadcasting through its discussion of Bermuda's colonial press, and then leads on to the historical journey of the arrival of radio and television, presented through the lens of cultural studies, and with-

[5] Lawrence Grossberg, in *Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies,* edited by David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen, Routledge, 1996, Pg. 158.
[6] Stuart Hall, in *Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, Pg. 265.
[7] Casey et al. Pg. 54.
[8] Ibid. Pg. 55.
[9] Ibid.

in a postcolonial framework which comes as a result of what Hall describes as cultural imposition by "conquest and colonization."[10]

With a focus on Bermuda's colonial identity, race and the emergence of its radio and television industries, this thesis looks to investigate the dynamics and challenges that this complex and ambiguous relationship presents. Concentrating on the period between the 1930s and the early 1960s, Bermuda's most turbulent period of identity construction within its mediascape, this thesis examines the relationship between colonial identities and media institutions, arguing that Bermuda's culturally hybrid broadcasting industry, specifically, articulated a transitioning hybrid Bermudian colonial identity. As such, this thesis will also examine the histories of radio and television within the context of negotiations of identity and cultural representation formed by the historical, political, and racial impacts and relations between Bermuda, Britain, the United States, and at times, the West Indies.

Serving as a substantial critical analysis of Bermuda's emerging broadcasting industries and media institutions, this thesis provides a contribution to the field of international television studies, and situates itself within cultural studies and postcolonial discourse. The relevance and focus of this thesis on Bermudian broadcasting is further justified and summarized by Michele Hilmes, who states that the connection between broadcasting's development and articulations of national identity coincide "with the crucial period of nationalism that followed the transgressions and disruptions of World War I, not only in Europe and the United States but in former colonial nations as they began to define and fight for an identity separate from their occupying powers."[11] Thus, Bermuda, as Britain's oldest colonial territory, provides an alternative and necessary lens with which to address questions of colonial identity as Bermuda began developing its broadcasting industry orchestrated by British colonial power, shaped by centuries of repression through the colonial press, and guided by US economic and cultural influence.

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[10] Hall, *Critical Dialogues*, Pg. 265.
[11] Michele Hilmes, *Who We Are, Who We Are Not: Battle of the Global Paradigms,* in Planet TV, edited by Shanti Kumar and Lisa Parks, New York, New York University Press, 2003, Pg. 53.

Mapping out key periods of resistance and change in politics, economy and race relations, and drawing on work by Michele Hilmes, Robert Young, Ira Philip and numerous other multidisciplinary sources, this thesis will discuss how Bermuda's media history is deeply interwoven into the historical, political and racial fabric of the country, establishing the colonial and hybrid nature of Bermuda in historical and cultural terms. Through this merged introduction and literature review, this thesis will present relevant academic literature on national identity and broadcasting from a British and American perspective, providing a necessary framework for examining the ambiguous nature of Bermudian colonial identity and its relationship with colonial broadcasting. While the arrival of television and radio in Bermuda sit as a predominant critical focus within this thesis, the introduction significantly addresses Bermuda's press and reveals how Britain's oldest colony negotiated colonial identity and race during the emancipation of slavery, the precursor to segregation on the island. It will examine the meaning of Bermudian colonial identity within a historic and postcolonial context, offering examples of early practices of colonial hegemony and negotiations of identity seen in one of Bermuda's earliest and longstanding press agencies, the *Royal Gazette*.

National Identity and Broadcasting

Key to this investigation is the relationship between broadcasting and national identity and how they are intertwined with the cultural, political, economic and social factors of the nation. Within contemporary television history discourse, these elements are argued to be at the core of emerging national broadcasting industries. In order to fully comprehend this relationship within a critique of the development and structuring of a national broadcasting system, Monroe E. Price, for example, argues, "'National television' [and national radio] cannot be understood without a clearer definition for 'national identity.'"[12] Price states that national identity encompasses "any given set of language practices, myths,

[12] Monroe Price, *Television, the Public Sphere, and National Identity*. Oxford University Press, 2000, Pg.15.

stories, and beliefs propagated to justify a dominant group in maintaining power, or to justify a competing group in replacing them or shifting power among them."[13] According to Price, "these elements of national identity are usually bound up in arguments asserting that the common interest, history, and customs binding the residents of a nation-state far outweigh any conflicts among them."[14] While Price's definition draws direct links between cultural practices, history and power, the ambiguity and complexity of the term *national identity,* however, is agreed by many scholars as often problematic.

In providing a deeper understanding of the terms "Nation, nationality, nationalism," as used throughout this thesis, Benedict Anderson argues that they "all have proved notoriously difficult to define, let alone analyse."[15] He describes nationality and nationalism as "cultural artefacts" and suggests that if we are to comprehend their meaning, then "we need to consider carefully how they have come into historical being, in what ways their meanings have changed over time, and why, today, they command such profound emotional legitimacy."[16] Cultural artefacts, according to Anderson, were created as a result of:

> …historical forces; but that, once created, they became 'modular,' capable of being transplanted, with varying degrees of self-consciousness, to a great variety of social terrains, to merge and be merged with a correspondingly wide variety of political and ideological constellations.[17]

This indicates the transient nature of identities, especially constructions of national identities. Anderson argues that at different points throughout history, people join and assimilate under an illusionary unified banner within specific territorial boundaries creating *imagined communities*[18] which are "inherently limited and sovereign."[19] He suggests that these communities (or nations)

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[13] Price, Pg.15.
[14] Ibid. Pg.16.
[15] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities, Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* London, Verso, 2006, Pg. 3.
[16] Ibid. Anderson. Pg. 4.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid. Pg. 6
[19] Ibid. Pg. 6 (Inventing nations where they do not exist- Ernest Gellner, Thought and Changed, Pg. 169).

comprised of individuals who do not know each other or may never even meet one another, have a fabricated concept of togetherness.[20] For Anthony Smith, the idea of nationalism encompasses myths that he argues "refer to territory or ancestry (or both) as the basis of political community" with "many of the most bitter and protracted 'inter-national' conflicts deriv[ing] from competing claims and conceptions of national identity."[21] "Nationalism, the ideology and movement" argues Smith, "must be closely related to national identity, a multidimensional concept, and extended to include a specific language, sentiments and symbolism."[22] National identity "as a collective cultural phenomenon" states Smith, requires an investigation into the "historical sociology of the bases and formation of national identities."[23] Yet, while agreeing that national identities come out of historical occurrences, Chris Barker provides another angle for which to view nation. He argues, "The nation-state and national identity as collective forms of organization and identification are not 'naturally' occurring phenomenon, though we often think of them as such."[24]

Barker argues that this seeming naturalness of national identity is in fact a product of "contingent historical-cultural formations [and is a] fundamentally *political* concept which refers to an administrative apparatus deemed to have sovereignty over a specific *space* or territory within the nation-state system."[25] Barker asserts that the construction of national identity is directly located within a space of power by the state or government, formed at various conjunctures in history within specific political terrains. He also suggests that although the nation has been conceived as "one entity, it is useful and necessary to uncouple the concepts of nation and state since cultures and national cultural identities are not coterminous with states."[26] This would indicate that nation, as a cultural grouping of people, would be different from the grouping of people within political borders. When further probing the imagined communities that Anderson refers to, Barker warns that "one is likely to find diverse cultural and ethnic

[20] Ibid.
[21] Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*. University of Nevada Press. 1991 Pg. viii.
[22] Ibid. Smith. Pg. vii.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Chris Barker, *Television, Globalization and Cultural Identities,* Open University Press, 1999. Pg. 64.
[25] Ibid. Barker. Pg. 64.
[26] Ibid. Pg. 67.

identifications so that few states have ethnically homogenous populations."[27] As communities of individuals make up the nation, there are various dimensions to the identities present. As Smith argues, "the self is composed of multiple identities and roles- familial, territorial, class, religious, ethnic and gender" with these identities being "based on social classifications that may be modified or even abolished."[28] Yet, in spite of the diversity present, Anderson maintains it is still "imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship."[29]

James Schwoch, argues that Benedict Anderson "persuasively argued for the concept of an 'imagined community' that reaches its nationalist awareness through its self-recognition," stating that, "Mass culture is a key factor in stimulating and maintaining this communal self-awareness and the ability to sustain and act upon a collective imagination of the realized community."[30] He argues that Immanuel Wallerstein's theory of national identity is "valuable to a given populace only in a comparative context: national identity derives its ideological power when the populace possessing national identity simultaneously possess the awareness that, somewhere else, there is a population without a national identity."[31] Imagined communities from this perspective, argues Schwoch, "helps us get to the other side of Anderson, namely, the equal importance of "unimagined" communities in the emergence of national identity,"[32] with some critics seeing Anderson's illusionary nation of deep horizontal comradeship as a problematic concept.

Barker, for example, points out the shortcomings of Anderson's approach,[33] stating "Anderson overstates the unity of the nation and the strength of national

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[27] Ibid.
[28] Smith. Pg. 4.
[29] Anderson. Pg. 7.
[30] James Schwoch, *Television, Chechnya, and National Identity*, in Planet TV, Pg. 234.
[31] Ibid. Schwoch. Pg. 234.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Barker. Pg. 67.

identities which cover over differences of class, gender, ethnicity and so forth."[34] Homi Bhabha also addresses these differences, stating:

> Our nation-centered view of sovereign citizenship can only comprehend the predicament of minoritarian 'belonging' as a problem of ontology- a question of *belonging* to a race, a gender, a class, a generation becomes a kind of 'second nature,' a primordial identification, an inheritance of tradition, a *naturalization* of the problems of citizenship.[35]

Bhabha suggests here that within the view of nation from a place of sovereignty there exists the challenge of unnaturally unifying groups, creating basic and fundamental classifications of national identity where those in power override and perhaps negate the individual identity of the minority. This indicates that Anderson's nation as an imagined community on a surface level is integrated, but within the social fabric of the community, clear and very distinct cultural identities are exposed. Moreover, further examination of the nation reveals that there are forces at work to ensure that a collective national perception or image remains ingrained in the community, in spite of the differences that are actually present. Price argues that within the formation of political and geographic boundaries, symbols and representation of national identity are built into the structuring of society,[36] and hegemonic powers work to not only create an illusionary unified nation, but also establish safeguards within society to ensure that the fabricated national image is maintained throughout its history.[37]

Price argues that symbols are used to support a unified concept of national identity and "may sustain the idea of a people, but they are not sufficient to maintain the bonds of a state far beyond the convenience of its citizenry."[38] Due to their power, Price argues, national symbols "affect the duration and nature of any particular hegemony, and therefore, have a central place in the idea

[34] Ibid.
[35] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, London, Rutledge, 1994. Pg. xvii.
[36] Price Pg. 47.
[37] Ibid. Pg. 43.
[38] Ibid. Pg. 3.

of the state."[39]With symbols of nation playing such a significant role in the foundations of the state, Price further suggests, "ideas and ideology can be a substitute for coercion."[40] Likewise, when national identity is challenged, Price asserts, it must be "defended against those who assault it, particularly if that identity is the justification for the state."[41] Just as the nation is constructed, Price argues that its image must also be protected, "approximating a monopoly of force is part of the state's ambition if not definition."[42]

John Tomlinson adds to this argument, stating that "established hegemonies" ensure "that newness, in the shape of challenges to their hegemonic positions, doesn't enter the world."[43] His argument reiterates that the strength of the hegemony relies on the preservation of its nation's image, which in turn supports the hegemony in maintaining power. However, as Price argues, as "Empires rise and fall," there is a need for "new national identities […] to overwhelm the poisons of the old."[44] Price states that while the "combination of force and image, technology and prevailing ideology" transition over time, the "process of constructing or supporting identity"[45] does not. Barker suggests that these constructions of "nations are not only political formations but [are] also systems of *cultural representation* so that national identity is continually reproduced through discursive action."[46] He argues that "any representation of a national culture is a snapshot of symbols and practices […and] constitutive representation of shared experiences and history told through stories, literature, popular culture and, of course, television."[47]

David Morley also speaks to nation and mechanisms of culture. Referring to J. Donald's argument on "the apparatuses of discourse," Morley states:

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[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid. Pg. 47.
[41] Ibid. Pg. 43.
[42] Ibid. Price. Pg. 47.
[43] John Tomlinson, *Globalization and Culture*, The University of Chicago Press, 1999. Pg.145.
[44] Price Pg. 45.
[45] Ibid. Pg. 43.
[46] Barker. Pg. 64-65.
[47] Ibid. Pg. 68.

> We should focus our analyses on the apparatuses of discourses, technologies and institutions which produce cultures. As he suggests, from this perspective, the "nation" is an effect of these cultural technologies, not their point of origin. A nation is not reflected in or expressed through its culture: rather, it is cultural apparatuses (among other things) that produce the nation.[48]

Hence, Morley's argument gives rise to the idea that radio and television as technological devices or *cultural apparatuses,* are used to construct a national view of its self. This indicates that control over broadcasting would be imperative to hegemonic power and national image. Yet, as Price states, "nation after nation has learnt the modern impossibility of maintaining a monopoly over imagery, but the effort to do so persists."[49] The attempt at governing and dominating radio and television for example, according to Michele Hilmes, encompasses "a crucial part of defining who we are as a nation, defending our national interests over those of other countries, and creating a sense of national heritage and history."[50] As nations seek to establish themselves and assert their dominance, Hilmes argues:

> …radio and television as one of our nation's primary sites of cultural negotiation, dispute, confrontation, and consensus, a place where all of these things-nation, power, culture, history, identity- come together in a frequently infuriating and always fascinating mélange of sounds, images, and endless discussion.[51]

Based upon Hilmes' argument, the significance of the relationship between broadcasting and national identity construction and hegemonic power cannot be understated. In her research on the formations of British and American broadcasting industries, Hilmes sustains the argument that there is a direct relationship between broadcasting and national identity, and argues that the for-

[48] David Morley, *Where the Global Meets the Local*, Planet TV, Pg. 297.
[49] Price. Pg. 4.
[50] Michele Hilmes, *Only Connect*, *A Cultural History of Broadcasting in the United States*, Thomson Wadsworth, 2007. Pg. 9.
[51] Ibid. Hilmes. Pg. 11.

mations of broadcasting systems are "bound up in the identities of nations."[52] While stating that national identity is intertwined with "fighting wars, instituting governments, and defending our borders against foreign encroachments,"[53] Hilmes further states that national identity "also means shaping a notion of who we are and who we are not, of giving ourselves an identity as a nation apart from all others."[54] As identities are created within the establishing of society, Hilmes states, "those classifications and hierarchies that define each person's role and allot his or her position in life, (most relevantly race, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, class)- are just as vital to our national history as laws, wars, and politics (the stuff of traditional historiography)."[55] Hilmes' argument suggests that television and radio fundamentally sustain constructed identities within society, and prescribe the function of each within the nation. This also supports Price's earlier argument that symbols of national identity are built within the everyday structure of society.[56]

For Bermuda, as this thesis will reveal, the relationship between Bermudian national identity and Bermudian broadcasting is even more complex. With Britain's public service model and America's commercialized system most heavily influencing the structuring of Bermuda's broadcasting system, it is useful here to first briefly highlight Britain and America's early broadcasting systems in an attempt at further contextualizing the challenges that Bermuda faced with the emergence of its own broadcasting system. As both Britain and America confronted internal social issues in their attempt to sustain their imagined communities, while at the same time protecting them from outside pressures, their emerging broadcasting industries offer an example as to how national identity was articulated through broadcasting, and offers a framework with which to investigate Bermuda's emerging broadcasting industry.

During the 1920s, as Britain was navigating the development of its broadcasting industry, David Hendy states that "class divisions were painfully obvious;

[52] Hilmes, 'TV Nations', in *The TV History Book,* Pg.1.
[53] Hilmes, *Only Connect,* quotes Appleby, Hunt, and Jacob 1994, Pg. 10.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Price Pg. 3.

the mass of new voters were unable to experience most of the pleasures and reassurances of national cultural life."[57] He argues that through the emergence of radio, communities were unified, and "radio 'equalised' public life [giving] access to events and entertainment that only a tiny minority had hitherto been privileged to enjoy."[58] He suggests that John Reith's goal, however, when taking control of the British Broadcasting Corporation in 1922, was to take broadcasting in Britain beyond "something more than sell[ing] a new consumer good."[59] Hendy argues that Reith wanted to not only fill "an information gap but also to provide cultural 'uplift' for the lumpen masses and to make the nation 'as one man'."[60] Further, promoting the nation as more culturally superior to the United States (and other nations) by refusing to adopt an American style of commercial broadcasting, was just one of the ways that the BBC fostered a sense of British national and cultural identity through broadcasting.

By the end of World War I, Glen Creeber argues that the "British establishment regarded the US style of broadcasting as nothing short of chaotic and advertising was generally looked down upon as both vulgar and intrusive."[61] He further states that "the mission of broadcasting was the belief that it could reflect and cement notions of a *national culture*."[62] Through broadcasting, Creeber argues, "the BBC [was] intent on becoming 'the voice of the nation.'"[63] Creeber suggests that the BBC's aim to create a singular national image of British identity and its aim to "give the public what we think they need- and not what they want'"[64] was "unashamedly elitist."[65] He argues that the early controllers of the BBC took on the role of "custodian[s] of the nation's moral fibre,"[66] with the BBC- as the technological and cultural apparatus of the British establishment, articulating constructions of British national identity.

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[57] David Hendy, 'Television's Prehistory: Radio', in *The Television History Book,* Pg. 5.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Glen Creeber, 'The Origins of Public Service Broadcasting', in *The Television History Book*, Pg. 22.
[62] Ibid. Creeber, Pg. 23. Cites Scannell, 1990, Pg. 14.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid. Pg 23. Cites Briggs, 1961, Pg. 238.
[65] Ibid. Pg. 23.
[66] Ibid.

Hilmes states, "Great Britain as in other countries sought to avoid not only US domination of media production but its 'vulgar' cultural influence as well, by carefully regulating and restricting the commercialisation of television."[67] Hilmes argues that Britain steered away from the privatization of radio with "the goal of avoiding American chaos,"[68] and American influence, stating:

> "*American chaos"* ha[d] come to stand for "commercial competition" and its attendant "social unruliness" as a rationale for a unified system under centralized state-appointed control. Broadcasting in Britain would not be thrown open to individual or commercial entrepreneurship, as in the United States, but would be carefully controlled to limit the intrusion of "chaotic" voices from social groups and classes whose interests might clash with the maintenance of the existing social order and stability.[69]

This illustrates what Price and Tomlinson referred to when addressing challenges to the nation's image. Creeber further demonstrates this, arguing that by controlling what the nation listened to and creating licensing through "public taxation (to avoid commercialization),"[70] Britain attempted to preserve its British national identity and dispel any risks to its social structure. Hilmes states, for Britain, "a commercial broadcasting system" would essentially dismantle "dominant cultural order."[71] However, as Price states, "Advocates of public-service television [had] this much in common with their opponents: both groups [saw] the importance of imagery in altering the nature of community."[72] This suggests that both Britain and America, although having opposing broadcasting systems, saw the benefits of broadcasting in attempts at strengthening national identity.

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[67] Hilmes, *Television History Book*, Pg. 2.
[68] Hilmes, 'Who We Are, Who We Are Not', Pg. 57.
[69] Ibid. Pg. 59.
[70] Creeber. Pg. 22-23.
[71] Hilmes, 'Who We Are, Who We Are Not', Pg. 59.
[72] Price Pg. 4.

Looking at the example of the United States, Hendy suggests that social transformations had their part to play in the development of US broadcasting. He states, "America was experiencing new waves of mass immigration, which further muddied any attempt to define national identity."[73] Within American broadcasting, the British public service style was looked down upon, and suggested to be elitist and dominated by the state.[74] In Hilmes' analysis of the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) pamphlet*, Broadcasting in the United States,* she highlights key arguments that the NAB used to justify why they would not adopt a British styled broadcasting system. She says, while the US system portrayed itself with "American initiative and 'wide awakeness,'" [75] it was "contrasted with British complacency and sleepiness, with an underlying attribution of elitism that only a 'social revolution' could shake free."[76] Hilmes states that the article stressed that within British society, "there is not the marked diversity in racial, cultural, social and economic backgrounds which one finds in the United States. Each part of the country has priceless cultural heritages of its own, which color its viewpoint, and affect many of the radio programs it desires."[77] While the article suggested that American national unification existed within its diversity, and further highlighted the country's "racial consciousness"[78] within the "evolution of the American character,"[79] the reality was that America was structurally un-unified, despite attempts to create an image of national unity.

The role that broadcasting played in shaping and defining British and American national identity was essential to national strength. Price states, "Radio and television have been generators of mass public imagery, inscribed with special powers."[80] Control over the medium, "how it is organized, what images are permitted to pass through towers and transmitters,"[81] Price argues, are "ques-

[73] David Hendy, *Television's Prehistory: Radio*, Pg. 5.
[74] Hilmes. Pg. 59.
[75] Michele Hilmes. *Network Nations: A Transnational History of British and American Broadcasting.* Routledge, New York and London, 2012, Pg. 76.
[76] Ibid. Hilmes. Pg. 76.
[77] Ibid. 76-77.
[78] Ibid. 77.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Price Pg. 4.
[81] Ibid.

tions [that] have been the subject of almost a century of debate."[82] While he suggests that "radio and television are only an example, only a segment, of the general subject of images in society,"[83] and that there are various other symbolisms within identity construction in society,[84] the magnitude and complexities of this debate is not the concern of this thesis. This thesis will, however, discuss the role that media institutions play in constructions of national identity with a specific examination on Bermuda, incorporating discussions of both internal and external negotiations of national identity and race as the country embarked upon the formations of its own broadcasting industry.

Bermudian Colonial Identity

Anderson assesses national identity from the assumption that we are all viewing it from the same paradigm, and assumes that "We are all aware of the contingency and ineluctability of our particular genetic heritage, our gender, our life-era, our physical capabilities, our mother-tongue, and so forth."[85] But his restrictive view presents the question, who is the *we* that he is referring to? From a postcolonial identity, these assumptions are challenged, and as Frantz Fanon suggests, for the colonized, or the black colonial experience, this awareness has been created by the colonizer, and is not an innate paradigm for the black colonial identity or experience.

Before engaging with the analysis of Bermuda's broadcasting industry and its relationship with national identity, it is essential to first address the nature of Bermudian colonial identity, its racial identity and its status as a transitioning cultural hybridity within a postcolonial context. It will also be useful to briefly discuss Bermuda's historical foundations to provide context and a deeper understanding of the national and racial nuances that continue to shape race relations within the colony today. While the complexities of the term national identity have already been discussed, expressions of colonial, postcolonial identity and race used within this thesis present even more ambiguity when examining

[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Anderson. Pg. 8.

the relationship between broadcasting and national identity in Bermuda. The term black, for example, as a racial identifier is used interchangeably with the term coloured, which in itself is a contentious term referring to black people of African decent (African American, Afro-Caribbean, black British, black Bermudian), black and white mixed, and black and other mixtures. But, as Stuart Hall reminds us, the term black "is essentially a politically and culturally constructed category, which cannot be grounded in a set of fixed, trans-cultural or transcendental racial categories, and which therefore has no guarantees in nature."[86]

The term, as Hall argues, was "coined as a way of referencing the common experience of racism and marginalization in Britain and came to provide the organizing category of politics of resistance, among groups and communities with, in fact, very different histories, traditions and ethnic identities."[87] Within this thesis, however, the term black is provided in order to have clear racial distinctions between those of black African decent and the colonials of white European decent in Bermuda. This distinction provides an understanding into what Hall describes as "'The black experience'-a singular and unifying framework based on the building up of identity across ethnic and cultural difference between the communities [that] became 'hegemonic' over other ethnic/racial identities…"[88]

Complexities also exist with the use of the term Bermudian colonial identity. Colonial identities are argued to not only reflect the colonizer, but incorporate new forms of identity from within the indigenous cultures being controlled. Within this thesis, the term colonial Bermuda is referenced as an extension and variation of British national identity which was significantly contested and renegotiated throughout Bermuda's history and throughout the emergence and development of Bermuda's broadcasting industry. Robert Young argues that "a colony begins as a translation, a copy of the original location," but the new ter-

[86] Hall, 'New Ethnicities'*, Critical Dialouges in Cultural Studies*, Pg. 444.
[87] Ibid. Hall. Pg. 442.
[88] Ibid.

ritories "will, inevitably, always turn out differently."[89] With the essence of colonial domination being control, Young quotes Frantz Fanon's argument on colonization, describing the process as "a systematic negation of the other person and a furious determination to deny the other person all attributes of humanity."[90] He further asserts that those that are controlled by colonial powers are having "to ask themselves the question constantly: 'In reality, who am I?'"[91]

This identity question becomes ingrained within articulations of Caribbean identities, for example, formed as a result of European colonization in the various Caribbean islands. As Young argues, "translation begins as a matter of intercultural communication, but it also always involves questions of power relations, and of forms of domination."[92] Young states, "The Caribbean has always been a space of translation as a two-way process, through its different languages and cultures,"[93] and through the process of translation, he argues, there is "displacement, the carrying over and transformation of the dominant culture into new identities that take on material elements from the culture of their new location."[94] Young argues that through this process, "Caribbean creolization comes close to a foundational idea of postcolonialism: that the one-way process by which translation is customarily conceived can be rethought in terms of cultural interaction, and as a space of re-empowerment."[95] These cultural interactions within the postcolonial environment that Young identifies can also be looked at in terms of formations of cultural hybridities. Tomlinson argues that these hybridities are "simple mixing-intermingling, combining, fusion, mélange," stating that it is "the mingling of cultures from different territorial locations brought about by the increasing traffic amongst cultures."[96]

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[89] Robert J. C. Young, *Postcolonialism: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003, Pg. 139.
[90] Robert J. C. Young quotes Frantz Fanon. Pg. 139.
[91] Ibid. Pg. 139.
[92] Ibid. Pg. 140.
[93] Ibid. Pg. 142.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Tomlinson. Pg. 142.

In recognizing connections between hybridity and globalization, Tomlinson argues, "the hybrid experience is increasingly the global experience."[97] Young and Tomlinson's arguments assert that new cultural identities are formed in the process of mixing. And, as Young states, the "postcolonial world is a place of mixture."[98] Yet, as Young further suggests, as post colonialism examines the various injustices on those groups of people that have been affected as a result of colonization, and often connected to a struggle of power and control, it also engages with the challenges in establishing the "right to autonomous self-government of those who still find themselves in a situation of being controlled politically and administratively by a foreign power."[99] Although Bermuda today does not hold the nationally independent status associated with former colonies within postcolonial discourse, it can still be examined through a postcolonial lens. Additionally, while not politically a part of the Caribbean, Bermuda's history runs parallel to the colonization of the British West Indies with its foundations having vast similarities, intersections and deep cultural connections. As an exemplar of a colonial cultural hybridity, Bermuda still witnesses contestations of national identity and in challenges to its hybrid broadcasting system today, the result and ramifications of its nationally and racially turbulent past.

Discovered by Spaniard, Juan de Bermudez in the early 1500s, Bermuda was settled by the British in 1609,[100] with its parliament formed in 1612 making Bermuda Britain's oldest colony to date. The 21 square mile island located in the Northern Atlantic Ocean has historically been a strategic base for economic enterprise with America and a territory of cultural and racial hybridity.[101] White English settlers were the majority in early Bermuda, while the smaller numbers of Afro-Caribbean and Native American Indian indentured servants

[97] Ibid. Pg. 30-31.
[98] Young. Pg. 129.
[99] Ibid. Young. Pg. 113.
[100] A fleet of ships with British settlers traveling from Britain to Virginia was shipwrecked on Bermuda's shores.
[101] Although the Bermuda 2010 Office of Statistics list the ethnicity of the Bermuda population as being 54% Black and 46% White and other, it does not identify which of these groups that residents of mixed Black and White, Black and 'other' or White and 'other' are included in. Nor does it identify what ethnic or racial group 'other' represents.

began to steadily rise. Throughout the 1600s, as historian Cyril Packwood[102] argues, like many of Britain's colonies being set up in the Caribbean and the Americas, Bermuda was started as a privately owned company that had little or no financial backing from Britain. He states:

> The Somers Island Company (also called the Bermuda Company) was composed of many of the more alert and wealthy Virginia adventurers. Bermuda was important to these British underwriters because of the natural strength of its position, [favourable] climate, fertile soil, plentiful food supply, and great possibilities of profit from a variety of sources. The Company expected to develop profitable commodities in ambergris, pearls, whale oil, tobacco, and silk. Special attention was paid to sugar cane, because sugar commanded a high price in European markets.[103]

With money from private funding being invested into the development of the colony, settlers met the challenges of securing manpower to work the various industries by arranging for the importation of skilled black and Indian workers. This was essential to the development of the colony as English settlers were not accustomed to working in the hot temperatures or able to cope with extreme manual labour.[104] But unlike many of the blacks that were taken directly from Africa and dispersed throughout other colonial lands for the purpose of slavery (economic servitude), Bermuda's initial introduction of blacks and Indians was as indentured servants, having specific skills needed by the settlers.

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[102] Cyril Packwood argues that "many Black Bermudians have tended to regard Slavery as a shameful part of their past and have not recognized some edifying aspects of their heritage." He looks to "shatter some traditional stereotypes" (of the contribution of Black slaves) in Bermuda and look at the "other side of the coin".

[103] Cyril Packwood, *Chained on the Rock*, Eliseo Torres & Sons, 1975. Pg. 2.

[104] According to the United States History website, "African societies developed agricultural communities based on crops like rice, millet, sorghum, root crops, and various vegetables, using the same slash and burn techniques practiced by Native Americans across the Atlantic." African Roots': Slavery in the Colonies, The United States History Website, http://tdl.org/txlor-dspace/bitstream/handle/2249.3/663/05_slavery_colonies.htm.

Packwood argues, "Experts were needed to insure successful cultivation of crops, especially men proficient in the growing of tobacco [and] diving specialists were required for pearls."[105]

Packwood states that while many of the other colonial territories had black slaves, Bermuda's "first imported Blacks came not for their brawn, but for their skills," and "Blacks and Indians possessing these required skills were available in the West Indies."[106] As indentured servants on the colony, they were afforded rights similar to that of the indentured white servants on the island. They were allowed to marry and were tied to servitude for a specified period of time, but were not considered slaves. In fact, as James Smith argues, white slavery was more prevalent in Bermuda during the early 1600s. He states, slavery as a form of punishment was present in Bermuda, and even "white children were sold to defray the debts of their deceased parents."[107] However, Smith argues, "As the colony developed, white slavery disappeared altogether, but at its inception in Bermuda, slavery was certainly not the monopoly of the small numbers of Negroes and Indian who arrived."[108]

With Bermuda having experimented with a number of ventures, including salt trading with the Turks and Caicos, crops such as tobacco were proving to be one of highest yielding commodities for the growing colony. Packwood argues, "Tobacco offered a ready and immediate source of income and with its development, Bermuda soon had a one crop economy. It fast became the money crop capable of meeting the deadline of the yearly magazine ship."[109] Packwood suggests that the need for the colonist to expand their wealth meant the need for Blacks and Indians on the plantation changed as well. Blacks were no longer being brought to Bermuda for specific skills as indentured servants, but were now being used in order to meet the demands of the tobacco industry as plantation slaves. Packwood argues that the role that blacks once held in Bermudian society shifted as a result of capitalistic pursuits. He argues, "Cultiva-

[105] Packwood. Pg. 2.
[106] Ibid.
[107] James E. Smith, *Slavery in Bermuda,* New York, Vintage Press, 1976. Pg. 13.
[108] Ibid. Smith. Pg. 13.
[109] Ibid. Pg. 6.

tion and the curing of the tobacco became too demanding a task for white labour; therefore more and more Blacks were used. The initial demand for Black skills now gave way to demand for Black brawn. Heavy labor was performed by Blacks."[110]

The change in the colony's economic climate through the mid-1600s as demonstrated here, perhaps signifies the prelude of an era where colonial attitudes and previous relationships with blacks in Bermuda shifted in order to sustain capitalistic pursuits, although this debate is not a focus of this thesis. However, it can be assumed that as Bermuda's early economic demands transitioned, the way in which colonial social order operated would have also required necessary mechanisms to be put in place in order for this form of hegemony to be maintained. Thus, the role that blacks played in Bermuda, for example, would have needed to be re-established and redefined.[111] However, as Hall points out, "hegemony is not secured and is often challenged; identity and 'representation is a key site in such a struggle.'" [112] Hall's argument here indicates that not only is power and control not fixed or permanent, but it is continually confrontational.

Based upon this argument, it can then be concluded that the hybrid nature of Bermuda, in addition to being contentious, can be considered as an ever-changing, indistinct identity. It has transitioned and been redefined with the evolution of its economic and social conditions, being renegotiated based upon colonial attempts to secure hegemony. Thus, when looking at Bermuda's turbulent racial past and its contentious present, it is evident that the colonials (white Bermuda) would have needed to continuously define (and redefine), enforce (and reinforce) the role that they needed those in the margins (black Bermuda) to play throughout history. This form of fluid and malleable identity construction would be imperative to sustain colonial hegemonic structure, sup-

[110] Ibid.
[111] By the 1800s, for example, newspapers had emerged in the colony as key articulators of colonial identity and were used as direct tools of sustaining white hegemony. While this period of time is not a focus of this thesis, it will be briefly discussed later in this section.
[112] Stuart Hall, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, Sage Publication, 1997, Pg. 348.

port capitalistic endeavours, preserve British culture, and consequently, secure racial dominance. Based upon these factors alone, Bermuda imbeds itself securely within postcolonial discourse and further validates the necessity of this critical analysis of Bermudian national identity, race and colonial broadcasting.

Thus, it can be said that early colonial Bermuda possessed British nationalism, American capitalism, and Afro/West Indian ethnic fusion, often having ambivalent and conflicting relations. In postcolonial terms, the way in which Bermuda posits itself as colonized-British, but not English; Americanized, but not American; having deeply rooted ties to the Afro-Caribbean, yet, not a part of the West Indies, demonstrates a country still with an ambiguous existence in relation to its national identification, but situated justifiably as an exemplar of cultural hybridity. These factors all contribute to the negotiations of identity, cultural representation and race seen within the prehistory of Bermudian television and in the emergence and development of colonial broadcasting.

Identity and Hegemony in Early Bermudian Newspapers

Having established the framework for this thesis and provided essential background with which to understand the complexities of Bermudian colonial identity, it is just as useful, as a precursor to the focus on broadcasting, to illustrate how Bermuda's earliest media forms negotiated and contested Bermudian colonial identity, discussed within a postcolonial context. The relevance here is to provide a clearer picture of how national identity, from a colonial context, manifested itself within Bermuda's early mediascape, which provides direct examples of how these factors would also later impact the arrival of radio and television broadcasting in Bermuda nearly one hundred years later. Referring to J. Donald's argument on "the apparatuses of discourse", David Morley states that "we should focus our analyses on the apparatuses of discourses, technologies and institutions which produce cultures," arguing, "from this perspective, the 'nation' is an effect of these cultural technologies, not their point of origin.

A nation is not reflected in or expressed through its culture: rather, it is cultural apparatuses (among other things) that produce the nation."[113]

While Price argues that, "Almost by definition, radio waves are not respecters of national boundaries,"[114]with early radio serving as a key tool "for patriotism, for mobilization, and for maintaining morale in the Second World War,"[115]both radio and television "remained a tool not only in building the new society and providing reinforcement for national attitudes, but in projecting competing official views around the world."[116]Yet, while Price asserts that, "Broadcasting encompasses the narrative force of economic ideologies as foundations of identity," and the "centrepieces of national identity, has been a strong twentieth-century phenomenon,"[117] long before radio and television, the press contributed to society as a key cultural apparatus. Chapter three of this thesis will, in postcolonial terms, examine more closely the arrival of radio in Bermuda and provide a relevant discussion how the postcolonial environment shaped and impacted Bermuda's radio and television history. However, more significant to the colonial experience of Bermuda prior to the arrival of radio and television, newspapers produced within the colony guided and modelled after the British press and influenced by American news agencies, constructed and reinforced colonial attitudes of identity while supporting racial dominance and colonial hegemony.

Formed in 1828, six years before Bermuda's abolition of slavery, *The Royal Gazette* in Bermuda, for example, regularly demonstrated examples of its Britishness within the newspaper. Its editors were Englishmen, former newspaper publishers for the British Crown who structured the colony's newspaper to reflect British culture and identity. It included local and overseas news, current events, and posted regular messages and proclamations sent from the British Crown to her territories, consistent with media forms established under coloni-

[113] David Morley, 'Where the Global Meets the Local', in *Planet TV*, Pg. 297.
[114] Price. Pg. 6.
[115] Ibid. Pg. 7-8.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid. Pg. 16.

al rule during that period. During the early1830s, expressions of Bermudian identity began to shift. Bermudian colonial identity no longer reflected only dominant British culture, but began to exhibit characteristics of a strong American cultural influence, and characteristics of the island's own evolving hybrid identity. Unlike British newspapers, for example, which no longer promoted slavery, *The Royal Gazette* not only encouraged the slave industry within the British territory, but it articulated methods of ensuring control over its slaves, mirroring practices seen in America.

The Royal Gazette in the 1930s began to resemble many of the newspapers being circulated in America where slavery was still legal, demonstrating early articulations of Bermuda's ambivalence toward British cultural practices seen within colonial newspapers. Slave auctions, notices of missing slaves, instructions on how to control slaves, and general slave guidance were common features in Bermudian newspapers during the early1800s, leading up to the abolition of slavery in 1834. These features also significantly present within newspapers in the American South during the same period, suggest that Bermudian and American newspapers not only shared similar content, but that the two nations shared a similar view of sustaining hegemony through the enforcing of racial hierarchy within their communities. Britain, however, having affirmed its anti-slavery stance, had begun to enforce the abolition of slavery within its territories by proclaiming August 1, 1834 as the official Emancipation Day for Bermuda.

In the months leading up to enforced emancipation, the Crown sent proclamations to the various colonies alerting slave owners of the impending abolishing of slavery. Through public notices printed in colonial newspapers, slave owners were advised to register their slaves with the British office to account for the numbers of soon-to be freed blacks so that owners could receive compensation for their economic loss. In spite of their strong objection to the economically damaging decision,[118]the published notices in *The Royal Gazette* served

[118] Many of the British colonies opposed the abolition of slavery, as their agricultural based economies relied heavily on slave labour.

as reminder to Bermuda's slave owners that although they may not have agreed with Britain, they were essentially still under British rule. Further, Britain threatening to not grant compensation if slaves were not registered indicates that the island's colonial authority had its own methods of ensuring British control.

However, *The Royal Gazette* also provides evidence as to how the Bermuda colonials used the newspaper to manoeuvre around Britain's demands, while at the same time ensuring that white Bermudian hegemony was secured. In the weeks leading up to Emancipation Day in the colony, slave owners used *The Royal Gazette* to continue to post slave notices of slave auctions taking place right up until the day before the official abolition of slavery in the island. Further, statements printed in *The Royal Gazette* informed the colonials that while Britain was offering compensation for registered slaves, owners would not, however, be given anything for slave children. According to the *Royal Gazette:*

> One month from this date, the existing connection between the master and slave will forever be abolished. The necessity, therefore, of having them all registered before the first of August, to secure whatever compensation may be awarded, must be evident […] As we are led to believe it is imagined by some, that children under six years of age will not be paid for, we advise a return being made of such with as little delay as possible.[119]

According to Musson, with the notice suggesting that slave owners would take a financial loss with child slaves and that Bermudian slave owners could gain more from sales in America, owners took measures to sell off slaves in the weeks leading up to August 1st to higher paying Americans in the south.[120] Musson argues, slave sales "increased immediately preceding Emancipation Day,"[121] stating that "the illogic of these sales cannot be over-emphasized except that Southern plantation owners (American) were offering several times

[119] *The Royal Gazette*, July 1, 1834.
[120] Musson. Pg. 57.
[121] Ibid.

more than the British Crown had agreed to pay in compensation to Bermuda slave owners."[122] Up to the last minute, when slaves were anticipating their freedom, Musson argues, Bermudian slave owners "heartlessly sold them to Southern American traders,'" with many of the "soon to be" freed slaves stripped of their impending freedom.[123] While the full implications of *The Royal Gazette's* postings will never be known, it can be argued here that the role of the newspaper during the period prior to the emancipation of slavery was paramount in Bermuda's history, its Black history, and its media history.

The example of Bermuda presented here also illustrates how the cultural contributions of both Britain and America assisted in shaping Bermuda's own cultural hybrid identity articulated within its newspapers. As Tomlinson argues, the "power of hegemonic forces is felt within a hybridity," [124] and often filled with contention and ambivalence with the establishing of its independence. In seeking to establish its own independent identity, Bermuda, through its media, reflected what could be considered "colonial racism," which Fanon argues is "no different from any other racism."[125] Fanon states, "the problem of colonialism includes not only the interrelations of objective historical conditions but also human attitudes toward these conditions."[126] Further, just as Bermuda's white colonials demonstrated a strong cultural affinity to America and their slave practices, the colony's national allegiance to Britain had also come into question. Yet, in the wake of the abolition of slavery, statements printed in *The Royal Gazette* further highlight the complex, ambivalent and transitioning relationship between Bermuda and its colonial authority.

One year after Bermuda's Emancipation, the *Royal Gazette* demonstrated the colony's ambiguous loyalty to the British Empire. While *The Royal Gazette* embraced many of America's cultural attitudes, and had displayed a form of resistance to British authority with the emancipating of Bermuda's slaves, British nationalism was still articulated in Bermudian newspapers the year follow-

[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Tomlinson. Pg. 146-147.
[125] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin White Mask*, Pluto Press, 2008, Pg. 65.
[126] Young. Pg. 62.

ing the ending of slavery. The statement presented here taken from a *Royal Gazette* editorial, provides insight into how Bermuda continued to navigate its allegiance to Britain, demonstrating that the colonial newspaper articulated a complex and sometimes conflicting culturally hybrid identity.

> It is now time to bestow some consideration upon that part of the policy pursued by Great Britain during the past year, most interesting to ourselves… her conduct towards her occidental Colonies-The stupendous measure of Slave Emancipation, a question bearing upon so many interests, and involving so many rights- attended by so many difficulties, and beset by so many objection, has at length been carried. […] If therefore, the communications, which we receive from our Sister Colonies, and even if our observation of the state of things in our own land, (where Slavery was but a name) be not quite as satisfactory, and as cheering as we could wish, let us not indulge in the unvailing murmurings of discontent, or the morose sullenness of disappointment. But let us as in emulation of the patriots of our Mother land, considering the past as past, (and therefore its return neither to be accomplished, nor desired,) both by word and deed, endeavor to make the present as prosperous to ourselves, and as beneficial to others, as we can.[127]

In continuing to consider how Bermudian identity was impacted and articulated through Bermuda' early media forms, it is also beneficial to include how newspapers were used to redefine Bermudian identity with the introduction of segregation, providing context for the analysis of segregated broadcasting in Bermuda that will be addressed later within this thesis. As previously noted, the hybrid identity is not fixed or stationary, but a constantly evolving and changing form. The developing identity of the white colonial and the even newer presence of the free black Bermudian created challenges and negotiations that emerged as a result of Bermuda's economic and racial climate with the abolishing of slavery. With no structure in place for post-Emancipation Day, Musson argues that white Bermudians took the American approach for the "actual treatment of blacks, and codes, and practices," as they "were pat-

[127] *The Royal Gazette*, January 6, 1835, Pg. 2.

terned after Virginia traditions."[128] The status of slave owner no longer existed, and the new black-white relationship would have to be redefined. Blacks saw a new era of freedom, however, segregation became the new form of control.

Alasdair Pettinger argues, "…segregation emerged in response to racial anxieties prompted by the mixing of strangers in urban public spaces where there were significant numbers of free Black people."[129] These interactions posed a new dynamic within the social construct of Bermuda. Black Bermudians were no longer slaves in the colony, but free members of society. However, while they fit under the general term of *nation*, the role that they would now play within colonial society would have to be constructed and reinforced within new articulations of nation, and within colonial media. The *Royal Gazette's* contribution to the defining and shaping of the public's attitude toward the new black-white relationship would be crucial to the country's development moving forward, and essential in maintaining colonial hegemony.

One method used by *The Royal Gazette* to articulate the parameters of post-emancipation social order was the use of religious ideology printed in the newspaper. Sermons from local churches, although professing to celebrate the freeing of Bermuda's slaves, contained racially laced decrees that reinforced white racial dominance and supported colonial hegemony. One particular sermon published in *The Royal Gazette* only days after slavery had ended, stated that the former slaves should be grateful for the new role that they now played in Bermudian society, and that they should recognize their freedom as an "act of kindness"[130] by their former masters. The publishing of these forms of politely-racist material by *The Royal Gazette* and the church indicates that while the colonials had accepted that slavery was over, their fundamentally racist attitudes had not changed, supporting the island's hegemonic structure. Helen Davis reiterates this concept by citing Hall, who argues, "there are real class

[128] Musson. Pg. 63.
[129] Alasdair Pettinger, *Issues in Americanisation and Culture*, Edited by N. Campbell, J. Davies & G. McKay, Edinburgh University Press, 2004. Pg. 78.
[130] *The Royal Gazette,* August 4, 1834.

issues at stake in the way that the media systematically reinforces a dominant world view of society and its dissenter."[131]

As two of the island's key social architects and constructors of identity (the newspaper and the church) articulated white superiority within the colony- further imbedding attitudes of racial hierarchy- black and white relations became more contentious as the colony became segregated. However, just as early colonial newspapers articulated racist ideology to secure white hegemony, black newspapers emerging in the 1920s and 1930s operated in a space of redefining black Bermudian identity more positively as anti-hegemonic media forms. As will be discussed in later chapters, early black newspapers lay the foundation for black radio, and subsequently black television as the colony tackled contestations of race and identity in the 1950s and 1960s.

Two of Bermuda's first black owned newspapers, for example, the *Bermuda Times and Advocate* and the *Bermuda Recorder*, [132] demonstrate how new constructions of black identity were articulated through counter-hegemonic newspapers. These newspapers, although spread nearly one hundred years apart, provide an illustration of how the evolving economic and racial landscape of Bermuda allowed for new media entities to be formed, and how new representations of black identity began to be articulated within Bermuda's media industry by black Bermudians. As Young argues, these individuals "have been made to see themselves as other, alienated from their own culture, language and land," and the process of self-identification and perhaps, re-translation, comes about from "encounters" with "other translated men and women."[133] He further argues that during the process of identity translation, "new identities [begin to] take on material elements from the culture of their new location."[134] Young's argument here supports the idea that Bermuda's evolving and constantly transitioning black identity embraced cultural elements of the colonizer while also

[131] Helen Davis, *Understanding Stuart Hall*, SAGE Publications Ltd, 2004, Pg. 46.
[132] The Parkers, however, a family of journalists from Canada, arrived in Bermuda during the late 1800s, and assisted with the formation of Bermuda's first black-focused newspaper, the Bermuda Times and Advocate. As its aim suggested, 'For the People's Welfare', the Bermuda Times and Advocate supported a more positive view of the way that blacks began to see themselves within the community.
[133] Young. Pg. 142.
[134] Ibid.

forming something new. Thus, as Young argues, "both sides of the exchange get creolized, transformed, as a result," suggesting that "the one-way process by which translation is customarily conceived can be rethought in terms of cultural interaction, and as a space of re-empowerment."[135]

In the 1920s and 1930s deeply rooted connections with blacks from the West Indies allowed for dialogues of empowerment, cultural exchange and a new sense of cultural identity and consciousness. Interactions with blacks in America sparked an intellectual examination of the Black-Bermudian-self, and black Bermuda became supportive of the campaign against racism in the American South, especially to those that were experiencing extreme racism by the Klu Klux Klan. Musson argues that black communities worldwide expressed the need for a change, and this sentiment was solidified with a "Negro movement."[136] Black Bermudians through their encounter with other translated blacks, shared experiences and an exchange of cultural identities in what Young describes as "circuits of activism" and "circuits of desire."[137] As they embraced the struggle for social, economic and racial equality, they were, as Young describes, "active cultural translators in the process of refiguring" [138] the essence of black cultural identity.

Anti-racist and civil rights movements were taking place in America and throughout the black Diaspora, with Bermuda's black progressive newspaper being born out of a spirit of revolution. Jamaican born Marcus Garvey, whose philosophy, according to Young, was "based on a simple, powerful message of black power and pride," [139]had a lasting impact on blacks around the globe. Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in the early 1900s, aimed at unifying and empowering people of colour to be self-sufficient and independent from colonial and oppressive control, with the ultimate goal of returning back to Africa. Young argues that there was "probably no black immigrant to the United States [that] has ever had more political im-

[135] Ibid.
[136] Musson. Pg. 143.
[137] Young. Pg. 142.
[138] Ibid. Pg. 30.
[139] Ibid. Pg. 28.

pact."[140] He states, Garvey "translated anti-colonial rhetoric into the language of civil rights and black empowerment, and throughout the 20th century the two would move forward, inalienably bound together, propelling each other."[141] For Bermuda, and more specifically, black Bermuda, the UNIA movement prompted the formation of the *Bermuda Recorder* newspaper in 1925[142]by five black men whose vision for the paper was to disseminate anti-racism and anti-colonial sentiments and provide new articulations of black Bermudian identity.

Musson states, the *Bermuda Recorder* was "for decades the only newspaper that did not stereotype the Black person as being inferior."[143] Other newspapers, including the *Islander*,[144]the *Echo*, and the *Excelsior* were also formed during the 1920s and 1930s, and allowed for the black Bermudian experience to be more positively portrayed. Yet, it was the *Bermuda Recorder* that had the most significant impact on shaping articulations of black Bermuda. By the late 1950s, the black owned *Bermuda Recorder* demonstrated that ownership over the newspaper became a powerful tool in contesting white colonial identity and hegemony during the island's 350th year celebrations of colonialism. Both the colonial *Royal Gazette* newspaper, and the anti-hegemonic *Bermuda Recorder*, played a part in shaping articulations of Bermuda's hybrid colonial identity within Bermuda's mediascape, setting the foundation for articulations of Bermudian colonial identity within Bermuda's emerging broadcasting industry.

Methodology

As this thesis looks to investigate how identity and race was negotiated and contested within Bermudian broadcasting and media, creating what is argued to

[140] Ibid. Pg. 28-29.
[141] According to Young, "Garvey's movement around the Caribbean, the United States and England, make him an early example of what Salman Rushdie characterizes as the state of being a 'translated man'."(Young, 28,29)
[142] Henry Hughes, David Augustus, Joaquin Martin, James Rabain and Alfred Place, started the Bermudian Recorder newspaper.
[143] Musson. Pg. 137. Cited *Echo*, Vol. 1, no. 38, August 31, 1929.
[144] Musson. Pg. 145. According to Musson, Margaret R. Seon (editor) published many of her poems on racial equality in her paper, and after her death in 1937, some of her poems were published also in the Recorder.

be a transitioning hybrid broadcasting industry, it will pay particular attention to the period between the 1930s through the 1960s. This time frame is essential in the investigation of Bermudian national identity and broadcasting as it can be described as one of the most contentious eras of identity construction and technological development in Bermuda's history. While Bermuda in the 1800s and throughout the 21st century can also provide evidence of significant periods of colonial contestation, Bermuda between the 1930s and the 1960s, however, encompasses a number of monumental moments in the island's history that cemented connections between Bermuda's hybrid national identity and the culturally hybrid nature of its emerging broadcasting industry.

The arrival of Bermuda's national radio service, the introduction of television in Bermuda by the American military, the formation of Britain's first colonial television station, Bermuda's 350 year celebration of British colonialism, the desegregation of the colony, and the introduction of integrated broadcasting- all take place within the thirty year period identified within this thesis. Thus, an in depth examination of this time period is imperative and necessary for analysing, understanding and critiquing broadcasting in Bermuda, past and present. However, the focus on this time period presents a number of challenges with regards to methodology. Bermuda's early radio programmes were broadcast 'live,' therefore, there is no record of their content available for analysis.

Similarly, footage capturing early Bermudian television programming is not available for critique, as much of the content had been destroyed in a fire at the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, while other material had been misplaced or thrown away. As a result, there was a heavy reliance on archival material, as well as personal accounts, and more significantly, examination of newspapers from the 1930s-1960s that facilitate this sustained critique of Bermuda, its national identity and its broadcasting industry. More specifically, key to understanding Bermuda, its mediascape and the nature of its unique colonial broadcasting industry, is the reliance on Bermuda's colonial and anti-colonial newspapers.

As the dominant media form in Bermuda prior to and during the emergence of broadcasting on the island, newspapers are used throughout this thesis both as primary sources of reconstructing the social, political and colonial environment during the 1930s through the 1960s, and serve as text themselves for analysis. This thesis refers to a number of articles featured in a range of international newspapers during this time period, but relies more upon Bermuda's *Royal Gazette* and *Bermuda Recorder* newspapers in providing evidence as to how colonial identity in Bermuda was negotiated and contested, and in many instances is the only documented evidence of historical radio and television events surviving today. The *Royal Gazette* newspaper is chosen specifically for this analysis of Bermuda as it is the only media entity in Bermuda's history that has existed during slavery, the emancipation of slavery, segregation, the introduction of radio and television, and is the only daily newspaper remaining in the colony today. Thus, its presence within this thesis is crucial as it has been historically interwoven into the political, cultural and racial identity of Bermuda, having had considerable impact not only on Bermuda's history, but also the island's media history. Further, as will be illustrated, *The Royal Gazette* during the 1800s demonstrates how early Bermudian media navigated its colonial status with its strengthening cultural ties with the American south, while also operating as a tool of maintaining racial superiority throughout slavery.

It will be worth addressing here, that while the *Royal Gazette* has been an essential contribution as an archival resource, it also provides the challenge of being at times biased, as will be discussed more in detail in later chapters as it is also analysed and investigated as part of this research. As the newspaper of the colonial authority (or the establishment), the *Royal Gazette* presented a challenge for researching accurate accounts of life in Bermuda, and its content, although useful, was met with scrutiny. However, while it not only provided insight into Bermudian life, it provided evidence of the type of radio and television content being consumed by the Bermudian audience, seen through radio and television programme listings, thus, its contribution was still valuable. And although some of the radio and television programme listings printed in Bermuda's newspaper are discussed within this thesis, an extensive examination

into audience reception and programming is beyond the scope of this thesis, but is identified as an area for future research. However, the glimpses into Bermuda's broadcasting past presented within this thesis throughout the various chapters can help in providing an understanding of how, as this thesis argues, Bermuda articulated a hybrid Bermudian, British, American hybrid identity, as did its emerging and developing media industries. Thus, newspapers play a vital role in the understanding of Bermuda's mediascape and how national identity and race was negotiated and articulated within the colony.

Throughout this thesis, significant archival documents such as official letters by Bermuda's Colonial Office to Britain, letters from the Bermuda Broadcasting Company to the British Broadcasting Corporation (*BBC*), and correspondence between the US military and the Bermuda Government are also used to help provide insight as to how national identity and race was contested within the colony and through the island's media institutions. Official declassified government documents support this thesis' argument in illustrating how Bermuda's government used policy and legislation to maintain hegemony and the status quo, warding off threats to Bermudian colonial identity. But, perhaps the most valuable form of primary evidence contributing to this research comes from the industry practitioners themselves.

Over the course of three years, first hand interviews were conducted with some of the last surviving radio and television broadcasters from the 1950s and 1960s. The significance of this data is monumental. First, due to the time period focused on within this investigation, most of the early broadcasters that worked in early Bermuda radio and television have deceased, which further increases the value of the first-hand accounts of those that are still alive today. With most of the interviewees over the age of seventy years old, it was imperative that their accounts of early Bermudian broadcasting was captured and recorded as soon as possible, not only for the contribution of this thesis, but also for posterity's sake. Key interviews that were obtained included Bermuda's first black radio broadcaster from the 1950s, The Hon. Quinton Edness, C.B.E., who paints the picture of what segregated broadcasting was like for a young black Bermudian man working in white colonial radio and television. Monta-

gue Sheppard, the founder of the first black owned integrated radio and television station was able to briefly highlight some of the challenges he faced starting up the company in a newly integrated Bermuda. He identifies the many obstacles placed before him as he sought to establish the first racially integrated broadcasting company in direct competition with the establishment's Bermuda Broadcasting Company. With his health and memory deteriorating, his interview was kept brief, and all of his information further investigated. The Hon. C.V Jim Woolridge discussed what the business side of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company was like, as the first black marketing manager for the radio and television station as the island was still grappling with integration. And, Ira Philip and Charles Webb provide critical accounts of what it was like to be a journalist on the front line of the 1959 Theatre Boycotts, and part of the news team for Capital Broadcasting in the early days of a desegregated colony. Marlene. B Landy, who has passed away during the writing of this thesis, shared her account of early days of Bermudian radio for women, and the importance of speaking with a clear voice and accent, a topic also covered in this thesis in relation to radio and national identity.

Mindful of the interviewees age, health and mental recollection, all interviews were conducted in convenient locations (most in their homes), and were given enough time to share their accounts, taking breaks where needed. Further, with some of the interviewees having occasional lapses in memory, all content used from the interviews within this thesis has been cross-referenced with other interviews, newspaper articles and archival material. Through the process of ensuring historical accuracy, this thesis also references a number of Bermudian academics, journalists, and historians who support in the understanding of Bermuda and its historical colonial status. Unfortunately, however, due to significant gaps in critical work done specifically on Bermuda's broadcasting industry, this thesis also relies upon work from the neighbouring colonial West Indies and colonial Africa as it seeks to draw parallels and comparisons of their broadcasting institutions and national identity in understanding colonial Bermuda. Additionally, as this thesis takes on a multi-disciplinary approach in investigating broadcasting and national identity, it engages with a wide array of secondary sources from Cultural Studies, International Television History and

Postcolonial Theory as it constructs a plethora of angles with which to examine the culturally hybrid nature of Bermudian national identity and Bermudian broadcasting.

Chapter Structure

The chapter structure for this thesis follows a general chronological historical journey of Bermuda and its broadcasting industry, with some periods overlapping thematically. While there are moments where chapters probe particular time frames a bit longer than others and some sections go back and revisit already discussed periods (which is explained and justified within each chapter), the overall flow of the thesis begins briefly with the introduction of Bermuda's first radio broadcast license in the mid-1920s and ends with the arrival of integrated broadcasting in the early 1960s. Thematically, chapters one through four provide an analysis of how national identity was contested externally within the structuring of Bermuda's broadcasting industry, while chapters five and six are themed around Bermuda's internal contestations of racial identity and how this was articulated within colonial broadcasting practices and programmes.

Chapter one discusses how Bermuda drew upon both America and Britain's already established radio systems as a model for their own broadcasting system, addressing the challenges facing the colony during its period of cultural transition. It looks at how significant technological advancements in both Britain and America provided Bermuda with its own broadcasting achievements, such as the radio broadcast of the 1933 World Programme and the televising of the 1940s World's Fair. This chapter also addresses how early broadcasting and military relationships made with America through the Defenders for Base Agreement, and strong political ties that the island had with Britain, impacted the emergence of a hybridized radio broadcasting system, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company in 1943.

Chapter two examines the mid-1940s to mid-1950s. It continues to analyse Bermuda's developing broadcasting industry, with special attention on how the

introduction of America's Kindley Military base impacted articulations of Bermuda's British colonial identity. It discusses the influence of the American base on Bermuda's national radio broadcasting station, illustrating how early radio programming was culturally hybridized. It discusses contestations of national identity as the colony attempted to manage its British colonial influence with the more popular American-styled content, while the introduction of Kindley's own radio station further challenged colonial identity. It concludes with the arrival of television in Bermuda by the American military, and acknowledges Britain's attempt at minimizing American influence over its territory.

Chapter three will discuss how Bermuda began to structure its own television broadcasting service following the opening of the American military's *ZBK-TV*. It provides useful illustrations on how Bermuda drew upon examples by Britain and America as they strengthened national identity within their own television broadcasting systems. The chapter will also examine the technological and financial support that the Bermuda Broadcasting Company received from overseas investors as it formed the first colonial television service in Britain's overseas territories in 1958. It will demonstrate how the various foreign economic and cultural influences helped to shape the emergence of Bermuda's first colonial television station but added to the complexities of articulations of Bermudian identity.

Chapter four will explore the official opening of Bermuda's first national television station, The Bermuda Broadcasting Company's *ZBM-TV*, discussing how Bermuda's strong broadcasting connection with America promoted a strong American presence within Britain's colonial television station. This chapter addresses the clear contestations of power and control between America and Britain as they influenced the arrival of Bermudian colonial television. It will look specifically at the opening ceremonies of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's new television station, and highlights how the company negotiated Bermudian, British and American identity during its first television broadcast to the colony. It examines the series of speeches being televised to the country, including the official comments by the British Governor who reaf-

firmed Bermuda's British colonial status, while US officials reminded the colony of its reliance on American broadcast technology.

Chapter five focuses on Bermuda's 350th year celebrations of colonialism, discussing how Bermuda viewed its black population and reinforced racial ideology through broadcasting. It highlights the way that Bermuda and its national broadcasting service sustained white hegemony in Bermuda through institutionalized racism and segregation within Bermudian radio and television. This chapter is used to illustrate the dynamics of race relations in Bermuda, providing context as to how these relations shaped the island's broadcasting industry and articulations of white and black Bermudian colonial identity.

Lastly, chapter six demonstrates that while colonial broadcasting was used as a tool of hegemony, black media and broadcasting was used as anti-hegemonic tools to contest racial injustice. Chapter six brings to focus the events surrounding the 1959 Bermuda Theatre Boycotts that forced the colony to address its practices of racial discrimination and segregation. The chapter examines the role of the *Bermuda Recorder* newspaper during the boycotts as it provided a platform of resistance to colonial identity, while at the same time articulating a progressive and positive black identity. Through a series of specific examples, this chapter will demonstrate the impact that black ownership of the *Bermuda Recorder* allowed in evoking change with the desegregation of the colony, paving the way for black owned radio and television through the island's first fully integrated broadcasting station, Capital Broadcasting.

The various debates, media examples and cultural illustrations presented here provide a historical and theoretical backstory for analysing Bermudian broadcasting, and television in Bermuda more specifically. Within the context of negotiations of identity and race formed by the historical, political, and economic relations between Bermuda, Britain, the United States, and the West Indies, this thesis will now begin its examination of the emergence and development of Bermuda's colonial broadcasting industry as an exemplar of cultural hybridity.

CHAPTER 1

The Birth of Broadcasting in Bermuda

> Born in the struggles of World War I, radio promised capacities too valuable to military, political and economic powers to be left to develop on its own.[1]
> Michele Hilmes

Emerging in a climate of political, economic and cultural transition, Bermuda's radio industry surfaced in the mid-1920s, shaped by colonial ties with Britain and economic relations with America. Both Britain and America had already established the foundations of their radio industries and were exploring new ventures in television by the time Bermuda was positioned to begin developments in radio broadcasting in 1926. Still, it was Bermuda's historic and political associations with Britain and America that allowed for its entry into the global broadcasting community nearly three decades prior to the island's introduction of television. The affiliations that Bermuda had with both America and Britain would prove advantageous for its technological development and for the expansion of its local broadcast industry. However, the often ambivalent and culturally ambiguous dependency that Bermuda had with the two nations, would have greater impact on articulations of its transitional national identity, evidenced throughout its broadcasting's maturation.

This chapter examines the early development of radio in Bermuda and the impact of early broadcasting ties with the United States and Britain on Bermudian national identity. Although it does not provide an extensive and detailed account of all aspects of radio's arrival in the British colony, it does, however, provide insight into how Bermuda's radio broadcasting industry emerged shaped by a number of factors linked to Britain and America. The chapter takes a glimpse into the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s as Bermuda implements its first broadcasting license, revealing early opportunities for Bermuda to engage with American broadcast culture. It features key events such as the World's Pro-

[1] Hilmes, *The Television History Book*, Pg. 1

gramme and Bermuda's historic participation in international broadcasting which strengthened its ties with the United States. It examines how Britain's economic challenges during World War II saw the leasing of Bermuda to the US military through the Defenders for Base Agreement which further strengthened cultural ties between Bermuda and America, while also challenging articulations of British colonial identity. This first chapter offers key background information into the development of Bermuda's broadcasting industry (Los Angeles Times 1926) and demonstrates how Bermuda, Britain and America contested and negotiated Bermudian colonial identity in Bermuda's first national radio broadcasting service, providing context for examining the arrival of a nationally hybrid television station years later.

The Broadcast License of 1926

Early broadcast legislation signalled the first steps toward the introduction of radio on the island. According to the June 20, 1926, *Los Angeles Times* article, Bermuda Requires Licenses: Regulations for Radio, the Bermuda government issued its first set of broadcasting regulations requiring a license for all "radio transmission and reception."[2] The new regulations, mandated by Bermuda's British appointed Governor, stipulated that "all operators and stations must be licensed," and that all broadcasters were to be categorized as "Public broadcasting, special research, amateur transmitters, [or] tube and crystal receiving sets."[3] The broadcast license had specific restrictions which gave stations and amateur broadcasters limited operating time. Special research broadcasters had their own guidelines which indicated that they could be called upon with special orders from the Governor at any time, while all licensed radio users were also required to monitor the 600-meter area surrounding Bermuda for ships in distress. Although Bermuda's new broadcast license had many limitations, it was a significant first step in the arrival of Bermuda's broadcasting industry. As David Hendy argues, "it was radio that turned a pre-existing technology-the

[2] 'Bermuda Requires Licenses: Regulations for Radio Transmission and Reception', *Los Angeles Times*, June 20, 1926, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, Los Angeles Times online (1881-1989), Pg. C7.
[3] Ibid.

transmission of messages to distant receivers without wires- into a social phenomenon that we call broadcasting."[4]Further, beyond its local application, Bermuda's early radio licensing created an infrastructure linking Bermuda with the global broadcasting community.

For example, American radio operators wishing to broadcast in Bermuda were able to use their "certificates of licensed operators of the United States" in place of Bermuda's local broadcast license to operate within the British colony.[5] With Bermuda's close geographical proximity to the United States, the ability for American radio operators to broadcast throughout the island created an opening for America's own broadcasting culture and identity to be introduced through Bermuda's early radio systems. As Michele Hilmes points out, "radio's capacity for 'nationalized locality' made it a valuable medium for communication, discussion, and cultural cohesion across geographical boundaries."[6] She further states that "radio's emergent technology, closely linked to the processes by which nations determined radio's structures, uses and expressions, [and] set the basic terms under which television would be introduced a few decades later."[7] For Bermuda, that meant that the creation of the new radio broadcast structure would not only help to establish some of the vital broadcasting relationships with nations such as the United States, but would also support early construction and articulations of Bermudian national identity and its impact on the arrival of television, although this would not be revealed until nearly ten years later.

Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, however, radio initiatives in Bermuda and internationally continued to push the small colony to be more aligned with America's broadcast culture. According to the Bermuda *Royal Gazette*, the 1933 World Programme marked Bermuda's first live world radio broadcast as part of the opening ceremonies of *NBC's* Radio City in New York.[8] Bermuda

[4] Hendy, *Television's Prehistory: Radio*, Pg. 7.
[5] 'Bermuda Requires Licenses'*, Los Angeles Times*, June 20, 1926.
[6] Michele Hilmes, *Radio Reader: Essays in the Cultural History of Radio*, New York, Routledge, 2002, Pg.11.
[7] Hilmes, 'Technologies', *The Television History Book*, Pg. 7.
[8] 'Bermuda Participates in World Radio Programme', *The Royal Gazette*, November 18, 1933.

had undergone several tests to ensure that the country was ready to send the live broadcast to the "Riverside station which feeds *NBC* and *Columbia studios*," and by 3:15p.m., "watchful officials received the time signal."[9] The *Royal Gazette* confirmed that thirty minutes after the initial time check, Bermuda was "on the air," broadcasting live to America.[10] Yet, while this was a significant event for Bermuda and its developing broadcasting relationship with America, the island's British identity was the main focus during the country's historic occasion.

After an initial musical selection provided by the British regiment, British Captain Lindsay O.C. of the Northumberland Fusiliers gave the opening remarks. Captain Lindsay greeted listeners, stating, it was a "pleasure to be able to speak to you all in America, and to assist in this great radio enterprise from these beautiful islands of Bermuda."[11] In his address to the overseas American audience, he spoke at length about his regiment's strong British heritage which formed "250 years ago during the time of King Charles the second of England."[12] Bermuda, however, was mentioned briefly in his address, noting only that Bermuda was "the best station during our twenty years of foreign service. The climate is wonderful and the pleasant surroundings most delightful […] I trust that this effort to broadcast from Bermuda, will be successful in every way."[13] Articulations of Bermudian national identity during the country's first world radio broadcast, was secondary to celebrations of British nationalism. The focus on British heritage and culture in the address to America's audience, although transmitting from Bermuda, demonstrated Britain's colonial and cultural dominance over the island. Additionally, Bermuda's premier radio broadcast essentially celebrated America's technological progress, reinforced British colonial power, while marginalising the local Bermudian.

Yet, in spite of the Captain's minimal recognition of Bermuda, and the absence of Bermuda's history or culture being mentioned, Bermudian audiences fol-

[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.

lowed the live broadcast via short wave with the programme being rebroadcast on WJZ.[14] Bermuda's participation in the World Programme demonstrated its capabilities and advancement with broadcast technology and signalled the occasion as historic for the island's broadcast industry. Additionally, as a result of broadcasting the opening of Radio City, Bermuda and its radio audience had become participants of history as it was unfolding. Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz state:

> [T]he ceremonies celebrated by radio, and later by television, required neither relics, nor memories. An *adventus* without transport and transposed into an intimate register, radio and television events no longer needed to be inscribed in a tradition; they could even be events in progress. [15]

The World Programme not only positioned its participating countries within a context of making broadcast history, but for Bermuda, strengthened technological ties with America, further amalgamating Bermuda's emerging broadcast industry with American broadcasting culture. Dayan and Katz suggest that "the events evoke the same exhilarating sense of community that characterized the inaugural event. Viewers [or listeners] feel that they are experiencing history,"[16] at the same time, solidifying their connection to their national identity. They add, with such events, "the focus is on national identity." [17] Bermuda's broadcasting of the 1933 World Programme demonstrated that its radio capabilities had been tested and proven to be globally compatible, while articulating a dominant British-Bermudian national identity.

With a strong British influence and an interest in further expanding its own broadcasting industry, Bermuda kept abreast of broadcasting milestones in Britain, noting emerging developments within the British Broadcasting Corporation (*BBC*). In 1936, the *Bermuda Recorder* printed an article acknowledging broadcasting advancements taking place globally, and highlighted the *BBC's*

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[14] Ibid.
[15] Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz, 'Political Ceremony and Instant History', in *Television, An International History*, Pg. 100.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid. 98.

success with being "the first public high-definition television service in the world."[18] It noted that there were "regular daily programmes from the B.B.C. high-definition station at the Alexandra Place start[ing] sometime in November," [19] which served as inspiration for the small British territory. To Bermuda, it appeared that Britain was in line for more significant broadcasting achievements in the upcoming years, but World War II, however, slowed down Britain's technological development in broadcasting. Yet for Bermuda, technological advancements during the late 1930s and into the 1940s rose steadily and the island saw new opportunities created for broadcasting and cultural expansion, in spite of the war. With Britain engaged in military operations with World War II, national broadcasting events in America during 1939 and 1940 allowed for Bermuda's second significant historical broadcasting event to occur, further connecting Bermuda's broadcasting culture to America's.

A First Look at Television

As Bermuda's radio broadcasting industry continued to grow, the colony began to investigate further technological opportunities, paying close attention to trends in America and how television became intrinsically linked with nation. David Sarnoff, President of the Radio Corporation of America and Chairman of the Board, National Broadcasting Company, 1939 World's Fair argued:

> The ultimate contribution of television will be its service towards unification of the life of the nation and, at the same time, the greater development of the life of the individual. We who have labored in the creation of this promising new instrumentality are proud to launch it upon its way...[20]

Although television trials and prototypes had emerged as early as the1800s, the debut of a more revolutionized television system linked to a major national

[18] 'The World and Television. Progress in Many Countries', *The Bermuda Recorder*, Saturday, October 10th, 1936.
[19] Ibid.
[20] David Sarnoff, 'Probable Influences of Television on Society' in *A History of Early Television*. Vol.3 by Stephen Herbert, Oxfordshire and New York, Routledge, 2004. Pg. 157.

event saw America's broadcasting developments fuse, as as Sarnoff argues, with celebrations of its national identity. The opening of the 1939 World's Fair for example, held in Flushing Meadows, New York, demonstrated both America's technological prowess and its national glorification. According to the MZTV Museum of Television, this was "a pivotal moment in television history-especially North American television history."[21] With its theme being, "Building the World of Tomorrow," MZTV adds that the *World's Fair* "heralded the optimism of innovation and international cooperation."[22] This was significant for Bermuda where the close proximity to New York and already established relationships with the United States had proven advantageous for the island's previous technological advancements in broadcasting. Prior to the World's Fair, Bermuda's cooperative efforts in the successful live broadcasting of the opening of NBC's Radio City, demonstrated its optimistic view on innovative technology and global partnership. The World's Fair provided the opportunity for Bermuda to once again capitalize on America's broadcasting development and progress.

Michael Tracey states, "In the USA NBC's television service was inaugurated when Franklin Delano Roosevelt opened the New York World's Fair," with the NBC orchestrating the "three-and-a-half-hour broadcast of the event."[23] "Building the World of Tomorrow" was designed to create a sense of national unity, and, according to a New York Public Library review of the 1939 World's Fair, "stimulate local trade and industry long dampened by the lingering effects of the Great Depression."[24] MZTV describes the demonstrations of the first FM radio as "exciting consumer products-many seen for the first time at the Fair by its 45 million visitors,"[25] with Susan Briggs stating that "RCA had introduced 'the modern system of television."[26] Although Albert Abram-

[21] 'Building the World of Tomorrow', The MZTV Museum of Television. www.mztv.com. Last accessed September 5, 2015.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Michael Tracey, 'Non-Fiction Television', in *Television An International History*, Page 70.
[24] New York World's Fair 1939-1940 records, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library. https:/www.nypl.org/about/divisions/manuscripts-division. Last accessed September 2015.
[25] The MZTV Museum of Television.
[26] Susan Briggs, 'Television in the Home and Family', in *Television An International History*, Pg. 110.

son notes that a "few television receivers were sold,"[27] over 60 nations were represented and the *1939 World's Fair* "outranked every previous international fair."[28] 'Building the World of Tomorrow' represented America's commitment to technological advancement and its quest to be the host of the "greatest international exposition in history."[29]

However, poor management, overspending and financial loss meant that the *World's Fair* was forced to operate another year beyond its initial projection in order to cover costs. Televisions sales were much lower than expected and the 1939 World's Fair ended in debt.[30] The New York Public Library review adds, with "war spreading throughout Europe, a more pragmatic mood prevailed both in the administration of the Fair and across the country" which saw the opening of the 1940 World's Fair themed, 'For Peace and Freedom.' [31] President Roosevelt's televised opening of the 1940 World's Fair during the early months of World War II, demonstrated to the world America's continued progressiveness in technology. However, as a result of the war, Briggs says, the "progress of television in the United States and in Britain [was] brought it to an abrupt halt."[32]

Bermuda, however, made use of the opportunity to forge forward with its own broadcasting endeavours. Its previous broadcasting alliances with the United States allowed for the island to affix itself to the events of the 1940 World's Fair, creating an opportunity in which to profit from its associations with America and once again become a part of international broadcast history. The televised opening of the 1940 World's Fair was transmitted to Bermuda, becoming the island's first demonstration of television in its history. A watershed for Bermuda's broadcasting industry, The *New York Times* reported that, as Bermuda prepared "to see and hear their Governor," at the opening of the World's Fair, television "receivers had been placed in a shed around the

[27] Albert Abramson, 'The Invention of Television', in *Television An International History*, Pg. 19
[28] New York World's Fair 1939-1940. New York Public Library.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Briggs. Pg. 110.

dock."[33] The broadcast was to be relayed by engineers working in the capital city via "the steamship President Roosevelt, berthed at Hamilton."[34] Bermuda's first television demonstration of the World's Fair attracted an audience of "several hundred people crowded around the receivers to catch their first glimpse of television."[35]

While this event signified further progression in technological advancement for Bermuda, the country began to see the emergence of a Bermudian-British-American hybrid identity being articulated. Both of Bermuda's premier broadcasting moments in its history (the first live world radio broadcast and the first television broadcast) had been connected directly to America, with American nationalism as a key feature. As Bermuda's broadcasting industry continued to mature, its evolving hybrid identity became more apparent. Robert Young states that:

> Hybridity works in different ways at the same time, according to the cultural, economic, and political demands of specific situations. It involves processes of interaction that create new social spaces to which new meanings are given. These relations enable the articulation of experiences of change in societies splintered by modernity, and they facilitate consequent demands for social transformation.[36]

Within postcolonial discourse, hybridity and hegemony play a significant part in negotiations of identity and cultural representation and are key contributing factors that helped to shape the arrival of radio during the prehistory of Bermuda television.

John Tomlinson adds that, "hybridity is the mingling of cultures from different territorial locations brought about by the increasing traffic amongst cultures."[37] He goes on to say, "These complex transmutations of cultural practices and forms as they pass rapidly and effortlessly across national boundaries through

[33] 'Bermuda to See Television', *New York Times*, May 7, 1940, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
[34] Ibid. May 14, 1940.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Young. Pg. 79.
[37] John Tomlinson, Globalization and Culture. Pg. 142.

the transnational cultural economy perhaps provide a figure for what a 'globalized popular culture' may turn out to be like."[38] While he suggests that these mixtures and cultural exchanges 'pass rapidly and effortlessly across national boundaries,' Bermuda's unique position as an evolving Bermudian-British-American hybridity, demonstrates a relationship and cultural exchange between the nations that was often ambivalent and contentious at times. This complex relationship would impact Bermuda's political, cultural and broadcasting affairs throughout its history.

Only months after Bermuda had televised the opening of the 1940 World Fair, "Peace and Freedom," America and Britain had begun negotiating the terms of the United States' establishing of a military base on Bermuda's main islands in support of war efforts. As talks of American occupation surfaced, ramifications of Bermuda's early colonial history continued to impact race relations, economy and politics on the island, creating a local atmosphere of contention and resistance. Tomlinson argues, "...the power of hegemonic forces is felt within a hybridity which is none the less as experienced as having its own independent cultural power."[39] The penetration of American culture with the arrival of the military base created concern for the destabilizing of Bermuda's social, economic, and political affairs. Although Bermuda had already embraced the broadcasting culture of the United States, the concept of full time U.S military presence was not as readily accepted by the local government, and demonstrated Bermuda's often ambivalent relationship with America.

A brief examination of the circumstances surrounding the arrival of the US military exposes deeper issues of racism and hegemonic control as factors that greatly impacted Bermuda's transitioning national identity Further, highlighting the social circumstances of Bermuda, prior to and after the arrival of the US base reveals how American presence on the island helped to shape the development of Bermuda's broadcast industry, laying the foundation for the emergence of radio and television in Bermuda.

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[38] Ibid. Pg. 147.
[39] Ibid. Pg. 146-147.

The Defenders for Base Agreement

World War II significantly altered the political, economic, social and broadcast landscapes of Bermuda. Isolated in the Atlantic Ocean, Bermuda was ideally situated for US military defense against German attack. Located approximately seven hundred miles off the coast of New York and the Carolinas, Bermuda would become a central part of strategic operations for the US military. Due to their alliance with Britain, America presented to Britain a request for occupation on the main islands of Bermuda,[40] seeking to establish military bases on the British colonial territory in the name of defense and security. With Britain facing a number of significant economic challenges, various deals were made with the United States, including the 1940 *Defenders for Base Agreement.* By late 1940, Britain and America had solidified the arrangements of the United States' military presence in Bermuda through the first legitimization of American military, technological and cultural penetration on the island. Although there had been no monetary exchange between Britain and America, the US was granted permission to set up their military forces in the British territory with Britain receiving a number of old US military destroyers from the deal.

While this deal may have served as an immediate rectification of some of Britain's financial circumstances, the extensive exposure of American culture in the small British colony opened the door for British colonial dominance to be challenged. But this did not only occur in Bermuda. As Eric Williams points out, in addition to Bermuda, "the United States received from Britain 99-year leases of naval bases in Trinidad, Guyana, Antigua, St. Lucia, Jamaica, the Bahamas- as well as in Newfoundland."[41]This indicates that as Britain attempted to solve some of its national debt and restore British nationalism during the war, it inadvertently created more opportunities for British national identity to be contested within its overseas territories. Additionally, with Bermuda's local

[40] Bermuda is an archipelago consisting of seven main islands and about 130 smaller islands.
[41] Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro, The History of the Caribbean*, Pg. 426.
[39] Ibid. Pg. 426.

government having not been involved in the negotiations between America and Britain, attitudes toward colonial authority were further strained. Although Bermuda was under British control, it had been for the most part been internally self-governed. Yet, the agreement between the two powerhouses left the local government out of the arrangements and the decision made without local consent. America's impending arrival was met with strong local opposition and the initial plans set out by the military base were heavily scrutinized.

A local committee, formed to record and express Bermuda's concerns over the impending arrival of the American military base created a document detailing the country's economic, social and political concerns.[42] One of the "economic concerns" identified by the committee was the potential for Bermuda's economy to be destabilized with the sudden influx of the American military. It stated that the "character of the Colony would be violently changed by unsightly building, noise, bustle [and] in spite of its proximity to the United States, [Bermuda had] so far retained in marked degree British characteristics."[43] There was also concern of unemployment and loss of public revenue from decreased imports, although it was admitted that the construction of the base would create more jobs for locals in the short term. It was expressed that upon "its completion [the military base] would leave us permanently deprived of our amenities and our peace time source of livelihood."[44]

As an economically stable country, in spite of the negative affects that World War II had on countries elsewhere, Bermuda had a "peculiar attraction for American visitors who [found] in Bermuda their nearest foreign resort,"[45] popular as a vacation destination for the wealthy. However, Bermuda's attraction from American visitors came not only as a result of the wealth and prestige that the island was noted for. Like the United States, Bermuda also shared similar views of racial separation, which the committee felt would be impacted with the full time presence of US military personnel.

[42]The National Archives, catalogue reference: cab/66/12/15, property of HIS Britannic Majesty's Government, September 25, 1940.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid. National Archives.

Within the heavily segregated island, race relations were already an issue of significant "social concern." Bermuda's colonial history had been considerably linked to the slave trade, and the population of Bermuda between the 1920s and 1940s was made up primarily of white Bermudians (descendants of the British settlers), a mix of Afro-Caribbean black and Native American Bermudian slave descendants, Portuguese immigrants, and a number of wealthy Americans. During World War I and before the arrival of the US military, race in Bermuda was continuously contested within the colony, and reinforced within local media, and by the 1940s, racial tension in Bermuda was at a high point and British colonial resistance regularly articulated in the black media. Yet, in spite of the numerous anti-segregation campaigns and progressive movements within local newspapers to desegregate the island, at the signing of the1940 Defenders for Base Agreement, the island remained segregated.

The local Committee laid out their "Social concerns" with the impending arrival of the US military, stating that the colony was fearful of racial mixing between local "coloured" women and the "largely [white] unmarried service personnel."[46] Officials identified the potential for an increase of "illegitimate coloured births," describing them as "evils in themselves,"[47] as the colony had maintained a healthy majority over black islanders. While the colony resisted the arrival of the US military, their attitudes toward their black population reflected their strong similarities with racist ideology of the American South, seen previously in Bermuda's history.[48]Likewise, the colony's attitude toward the illegitimate births also reflected strong British high moral attitudes. However, as this thesis will reveal in subsequent chapters, issues of race would continue to be negotiated and contested within the British territory, with Bermuda's broadcasting landscape clearly articulating a racist ideology to support white control. However, in 1940, as Bermuda was contesting the arrival of the Americans, it was the committee's "political concerns" that were deemed to be

[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Blacks in the American south were experiencing extreme racism post slavery and America was heavily segregated until the 1960s and 70s.

one of the greatest of all the concerns, directly impacting Bermudian national identity.

Although Bermuda's local government had an ambivalent relationship with Britain, one of the main political concerns with full time American military presence was the impact on Bermuda's "devoted allegiance to the Crown."[49] Prior to the arrival of the American military, Bermudians had already developed an affinity to American culture, especially through its broadcast connections. Bermuda's broadcasting progress had been heavily influenced, and for the most part, due to the progress and ties with the United States. It had established key associations with *NBC*, and both of Bermuda's premier broadcasting events strengthened the union with American broadcasting culture through an American national-identity context.

However, in spite of Bermuda's technological development as a result of its ties with America, there was still a strong allegiance to the island's motherland. Michele Hilmes argues that "the history of broadcasting is as much about *establishing* and *maintaining* differences between national cultures and systems as it is about recognizing or disseminating an integrated, pre-existing cultural whole."[50] This ambivalence that Bermuda had toward both Britain and America added to the complex and dynamic relationship that the colony had with both nations. But the sudden immersion of American culture and American broadcasting on the island signalled that Bermuda's Britishness could be contested. The committee argued:

> …it seems doubtful whether these feelings strong as they now are [toward Britain], could survive the constant evidence of United States predominance in the defence of the Colony and complete control of [the] large area which the proposals entail.[51]

[49] Ibid.
[50] Hilmes, 'TV Nations'. Pg. 2.
[51] Ibid.

However, in spite of the committee's proposed concerns and local resistance,[52] Japan's attack on the United States on Pearl Harbour quickly brought the United States into World War II, and Bermuda into American cultural emersion. Military engineers began arriving in Bermuda in 1941 to begin construction of the Kindley US base, and the island braced itself for transition.

The Bermuda Broadcasting Company

> Whilst Bermuda sits out here in the mid-Atlantic, we embraced the universal language [of broadcasting] because we were a part of a growing community. I mean on the [American military] base for example, whilst I didn't get involved in the base television-radio station, the base was probably the greatest God-send that this country could have ever had…and that whole process just expanded, and we became an almost foreign culture…so many things happened during that particular period. [53]
>
> The Honourable C.V Jim Woolridge, CBE, JP, MP

While initial plans of America's arrival were met with resistance and concern, the establishing of the US military base on the island proved to be advantageous for Bermuda, and would be demonstrated within the development of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company. Globally, radio had transitioned during the early 1940s and throughout World War II as troops stationed in foreign military bases created a demand for new radio programs from their host countries. Hilmes says that "Great Britain was one of the first countries where sizeable numbers of American troops were stationed."[54] She states, as they "needed to keep up their spirits [with] a combination of familiar radio programs from home,"[55] and with the US "promis[ing] only low-powered transmitters operating only near bases," Britain and America joined forces to form the Armed

[52] Although changes were made to the initial location of the American military base, moving it from the center of the island to the eastern tip of the island, the committee continued to protest and making appeals to the British and American governments.
[53] Personal interview with The Honorable C.V Jim Woolridge, CBE, JP, MP, Radio announcer, former Minister of Tourism, Labour and Immigration, Bermuda. August 2013.
[54] Hilmes, *Only Connect*, Pg.137.
[55] Ibid. 135.

Forces Network (AFN). [56] This provided the US military servicemen stationed in the UK with both "British programs as well as American, with no commercials." [57]

By 1942, one year after the US military base construction began in Bermuda, the island remained without a national radio service, and the base was without an Armed Forces radio service. A group of local businessmen who saw the need for Bermuda to have its own major broadcasting station, and the necessity for the island to have radio communication during the war, applied for a radio broadcast license to form the Bermuda Broadcasting Company with the aim of creating a "great national service."[58] The proposed wireless broadcast station would transmit within Bermuda, as well as provide "news and entertainment programs to central and eastern portions of the United States and Canada and to South America […] aiding in the prosecution of the war."[59] Susan Smulyan states that "radio played an important part in World War II [and] the radio systems of the countries at war kept people informed of what was going on."[60] Although isolated in the Atlantic Ocean, Bermuda's new broadcasting station would not only link them to the global community engaged in war, but had the potential to create a deeper connection with the American military audience that was stationed on the island.

As David Hendy offers, "Through radio, the contemporary world became more real and vivid." [61] Expansions in Bermuda radio not only serviced the local community, but engaged the Bermudian community in wartime efforts alongside its military community as well. Bermuda had begun its transition from a quaint British colony, to a military influenced and technologically progressive island. The arrival of the Kindley military base, and the added emergence of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company united both America and Bermuda's wartime communication efforts from the island. The national broadcast station,

[56] Ibid. 137.
[57] Ibid.
[58] 'For a Bermuda Radio', *The New York Times*, June 7, 1942.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Susan Smulyan, in *Radio Reader*, Pg. 302.
[61] Hendy, in *The Television History Book*. Pg. 6.

whose intended aim was to support the war and to provide community service resembled in many ways, the British public service broadcasting style. Yet, with the selling of war bonds, its "petitioners added that the station would provide facilities for advertising Bermuda and British companies,"[62] also giving the Bermudian station an American commercial-styled broadcasting approach as well. Bermuda's first national broadcasting system, influenced by both British and American broadcast styles, reflected articulations of a hybrid Bermudian-British-American national identity that was beginning to surface within the colony.

From the outset, relations between the Bermuda government, British troops in Bermuda and the US military regarding the development and operations of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company were collaborative. Correspondence between the Officer Commanding British Troops in Bermuda, and various Bermudian and US military officials revealed specific discussions relating to the proposed broadcast station which had been scheduled to open. In a letter dated October 2, 1942, the Officer Commanding British Troops inquired if there was any "objection from a military, security or legal point of view," for the opening of the station which was "ready to go into operation." [63] The letter, which also informed the various local and military agencies that the station would be "available for you provided you are able to give reasonable notice," was responded to with no objection.[64] As the Colonial Secretary sent back his regards, acknowledging the government's appreciation of availability of the station should they need it, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company was prepared to open its doors. [65] The collaboration of both British and American forces with the Bermuda local government in the success of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company continued with the official opening of the new radio station, demonstrating a country with a developing Bermudian-British-American national identity.

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[62] *The New York Times*, June 7, 1942
[63] Letter from Officer Commanding British Troops, minute C.R.2489/A, October 2, 1942. Bermuda National Archives.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Letter from the Commandant, U.S Naval Base, Bermuda, October 8, 1942, Bermuda National Archives.

Three years after Bermuda witnessed its first public television broadcast the Bermuda Broadcasting Company was opened on February 11, 1943 by Bermuda's British Governor and the American Consul General, demonstrating a strong partnership between the two nations. As Hilmes argues:

> …national governments assumed a greater degree of control over the establishment and development of broadcasting than they dared for any other medium of communication, in the interests of social order, political control and preservation of central cultural and economic hierarchies.[66]

For Bermuda, although the Bermuda Broadcasting Company was established as a private enterprise, it signalled the direct connection between Bermuda's broadcasting industry and the government's national control over the medium, reinforcing Hilmes' argument.

Amidst several technical issues and channel interference with the *BBC* and a Latin radio signal, the Bermuda public was finally able to hear the official opening remarks by His Excellency the Governor on channel *ZFA2*. In his live official address broadcast throughout the country, he shared his personal views of his enjoyment of being stationed in Bermuda as Governor, and the joy he and his family had living on the island. He proceeded to state the aims of the company which were:

> 1. To provide the means for official information and instructions to be given directly to everyone in Bermuda in times of emergency;
> 2. To add to the facilities already given freely and helpfully by the local Press for explaining Government measures and the reasons why;
> 3. To give the opportunity for speakers with special knowledge to talk to you from time to time on all kinds of matters of interest.[67]

As he continued his address, he discussed how he believed in "giving to the public as much information as possible on everything connected with Govern-

[66] Hilmes, TV Nations, Pg. 1.
[67] 'Govt. Radio Station Officially Opened by Governor', *The Bermuda Recorder*, February 13, 1943.

ment policy which affects the daily lives of each one of you."[68] He shared that the new radio station would provide the community with entertainment and government information, as each person should know what is taking place in the government. He stated that "you cannot be expected to be able to understand, or appreciate, or even criticize constructively, unless you know the why and the wherefore of what you are asked to do." Adding, "after all, you should know, because government in the Bermudas is meant to be for the good of all of you-to ensure that your way of living, working and enjoying yourselves shall be made effective and efficient."[69]

The Governor's opening remarks about the role of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, although directed at the Bermudian audience, resembled the high moral attitude seen widely within critiques of early radio practices of the *BBC*. These sentiments are seen similarly within Glen Creeber's highlighting of John Reith's position of radio which was that "'Broadcasting is a servant of culture' and should therefore act as its moral guardian."[70] Creeber goes on to quote Asa Briggs stating that, "we are apparently setting out to give the public what we think they need-and not what they want-but few know what they want and very few know what they need."[71] Using Creeber's description of an "unashamedly elitist"[72] attitude within broadcasting, the Governor continued his speech describing the role of the government and the radio station, and reflected what Creeber refers to as "an institution that saw itself as custodian of the nation's moral fibre."[73]The moral obligation of the government to help shape the colony through its national broadcasting service draws direct connections to the way in which Bermuda's national broadcasting service maintained its British colonial identity.

Yet, Bermuda's Britishness within the official address shifted to include and recognize the union that existed between Bermuda, Britain and America. The Governor noted that the people of Bermuda should be "grateful that we have as

[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Creeber, 'The Origins of Public Service Broadcasting', Pg. 23 cites Reith, 1924, p. 217.
[71] Ibid. Creeber. Pg. 23, cites Briggs, 1961, p. 238.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.

much as we do, thanks to the British and American Navies and the way the American and Bermuda Supply authorities work together."[74] The inclusion of America's involvement with Bermuda and Britain throughout the broadcast further solidified a Bermudian-British-American presence, articulated live throughout the island. The significance of America's partnership in the developing of Bermuda's first national radio station was reinforced by remarks from the American Consul General. He stated:

> It is a great honour and privilege to be invited by the Hon. Sir Stanley Spurling, Chairman of the Bermuda Broadcasting Board, to join with His Excellency the Governor of Bermuda and other officials in inaugurating this evening the Colony's new short-wave radio station *ZFA2*. With the establishment of the American Defence Bases this station will serve as an additional and immediate communicating link with the eastern seaboard of the United States.[75]

The American Consul General added that "the many and varied Emergency War measures promulgated by His Excellency The Governor, all of which are so vital to the prosecution of the war […] will now be reinforced by the spoken word in conveying these measures to the people of Bermuda."[76] This indicates that not only was the American representative heavily involved with Bermuda's official ceremony, but the Consul General informed the Bermudian public through the live broadcast that the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, Bermuda's national broadcast medium, would be working directly alongside the American base as it provided a necessary "communication link" with America. This public display of national unification between the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, the Colonial Government and the American military signifies the foundations of a nationally hybrid broadcasting industry being laid.

Broadcasting National Identity in the 1940s

In the early days of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, Bermuda's airwaves were dominated by a heavy American presence. While there had been a selec-

[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.

tion of local radio programmes and various British centred radio shows, Bermuda's national radio service encompassed predominantly US military supplied material. With the Bermuda Broadcasting Company beginning with only a limited supply of radio material, its partnership with Kindley allowed for the Bermuda Broadcasting Company to work alongside the US Army Service Officer stationed on the island, obtaining a wide array of radio programmes from the US War Department.[77]The ability for Kindley to provide the Bermuda Broadcasting Company with extensive support in the development of their national radio service demonstrates the early dependence that Bermuda had on American radio culture, and indicates how American broadcast culture would have begun to penetrate the British colony.

By June 1943, the US military had regular radio programmes being aired on the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, geared specifically to their service personnel. Although accessible throughout the entire colony, the United States Army had begun broadcasting a five-minute news show especially designed for US troops stationed on the island, and by July, aired a special Independence Day show over *ZFA2*.[78] By November of the same year, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company had up to three programmes per week, with Mondays "usually devoted to Bermuda topics, Wednesday nights to matters of Imperial interest and Friday nights were given to the Americans for their own programme."[79] However, as the Bermuda Broadcasting Company attempted to include radio programmes to reflect both local content and British programming, the accessibility and abundance of radio programmes provided by the US War Department meant that Bermuda's early national medium continued to reflect a dominant American identity.

Aware of the heavy American presence on Bermuda's national broadcasting service, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company utilized its British resources and appealed to the British Broadcasting Corporation (*BBC*) in the months following its opening. With Bermuda and England being separated significantly geo-

[77] Report on Bermuda Broadcasting Company's first programme. Jan 1944. Bermuda National Archives.
[78] 'The Murmuring Megacycles', *The New York Times*, June 20th, 1943
[79] Report on Bermuda Broadcasting Company's first programme. Jan 1944. Bermuda National Archives.

graphically, correspondence between the two companies was often slow resulting in delays in obtaining a continuous supply radio programming. Yet, this did not stop the Bermuda Broadcasting Company from regularly requesting radio material. One of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's early letters to the Colonial Secretary of Bermuda indicated that the company wanted to obtain specific British-themed radio programmes from the London Transcription Service of the *BBC*. Some of the requests included:

> 1. "GOD SAVE THE KING"
> 2. "THE LINCOLNSHIRE POACHER"
> 3. "HEARTS OF OAK" (orchestral)
> 4. "O CANADA" (orchestral)
> 5. "THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER" (orchestral)[80]

In the months following, correspondence between the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, the Colonial Secretary and the *BBC*'s London Transcription Service indicates Bermuda's determination to incorporate a more dominant British national presence within the colony's national broadcasting service. In an attempt at better understanding the dynamics of Bermuda's colonial audience and to provide adequate and appropriate radio programmes, the *BBC* sent a questionnaire to the Bermuda Broadcasting Company clarifying the type of audiences present within the colony. In the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's response to the *BBC*, it noted that Bermuda's audience was interested more in celebrations of Britain's war-time efforts, as opposed to some of the conservative programmes that they had received. The company indicated that they have regular exposure to a wide variety of radio shows supplied by the US military, and that Bermudians were looking for more nationally stimulating content. The letter stated:

> From the information available to us, it would seem that some sections of the community enjoy the programme, while others have dubbed such programmes as "Twenty Day" – "sob-stuff". In Bermuda we are exposed to a broadside of the American effort to increase production in the United States and very little is said about the production of munitions in Great Britain and if we could get

[80] Letter from Bermuda Broadcasting Company to Colonial Secretary, March 20, 1943, Bermuda National Archives.

> something to the effect that England too is devoting all her energies to a marvellous output in munitions and agriculture, it would be good for the public to hear it.[81]

Bermuda Broadcasting Company's desire to obtain more radio programmes geared toward British culture indicates that although American radio shows were popular, much of the island still maintained its allegiance to its British colonial identity, and wanted its national radio station to reflect its colonial identity. In response, the *BBC* sent the Bermuda Broadcasting Company radio programmes such as, An English Family, Men Behind Victory and Berlin Raid, all celebrating British national identity.[82]

While the programmes sent from the *BBC* celebrated Bermuda's colonial heritage and its Britishness, they did not, however, reflect all aspects of Bermudian society. The Bermuda Broadcasting Company in its response to the *BBC*, also informed them of the cultural and racial make-up of the island colony. Local radio up to that point had been geared toward Bermuda's white colonial identity and its American military (white) guests. But Bermuda's marginalized black community, or "coloured" Bermudians (blacks and Indians) had been negated. Although Bermuda remained segregated, and with the occasional racial protests erupting within the colony, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company appealed to the *BBC* to provide content for all of its audiences, including its segregated black community.

On October 4, 1943, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company wrote to the *BBC* identifying the three main audiences in Bermuda and the specific types of radio programming that would best suit each group. They identified the presence of a "large American audience, composed of the American forces stationed in Bermuda, who display great interest in things British."[83] They noted that the US War Department had been providing the Bermuda Broadcasting Company with various American focused programmes, but that the Americans based on the

[81] Letter from Bermuda Broadcasting Company to *BBC*, London. August 13, 1943. Bermuda National Archives.
[82] Letter from Bermuda Broadcasting Company to *BBC*, London. July 5, 1943.
[83] Letter from Bermuda Broadcasting Company to *BBC*, London. October 4, 1943.

island were "more interested in programmes about Britain's contribution to the war."[84] A second group to be catered to was the "Bermudian audience,"[85]referring to the local white colonials. While Bermudians had benefited from American military radio programming, other aspects of media communications on the island had also been "largely saturated with American papers and magazines extolling America's war effort and which has comparatively little opportunity to learn of Britain's war effort."[86]

The final group to be addressed was the "coloured audience."[87] The request stated that "We have a large coloured audience, a considerable portion of which is well-educated and which is extremely interested in the performances of coloured troops, such as the Indian troops, and the award of medals for distinguished conduct to coloured troops."[88] Bermuda Broadcasting Company's classification of the "coloured audience" as a separate audience from the "Bermudian audience" and the singling out of "coloured troops," signifies the extent to which racial divide that existed in Bermuda during the formations of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company. Although racial-mixing had been raised as a serious concern by the local Committee prior to the arrival of the American military and before the introduction of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, three years after the Committee's document had been created, segregation and racial disparity was still very much a part of Bermudian society. Not only was Bermuda segregated, but segregation had continued to be present within the armed forces.[89]

Unfavourable living and working conditions, racial discrimination and social injustice had already sparked social unrest and revolt throughout the British West Indies during the mid-1930s into the 1940s.[90] With its strong connection

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[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid.
[89] "While the desegregation of the American armed forces began in 1948- becoming one of the few places of employment for African Americans that afforded some genuine chance of training and advancement- at the time of entry of the United States in World War II, it was still very much a segregated institution." A. Pettinger, Issues in Americanisation and Culture, Pg. 84.
[90] Williams, *From Columbus to Castro*, Pg. 473.

to the West Indies, Bermuda also continued to experience bouts of resistance throughout its segregated years. Bermudian workers had raised concerns over pay during the construction of the American military base, resulting in the formation of Bermuda's first labour union.[91] Anti-segregation protests continued around the island, and blacks voiced their anger over the discrimination experienced within local cinemas and theatres. As Eric Williams notes:

> The colonial nationalist movement in the Caribbean, like the colonial nationalist movement everywhere, was concerned with the abolition of colonialism. Inevitably in the parcellation of the area and its historical association with different metropolitan countries, the movement took different forms.[92]

With the Bermuda Broadcasting Company and the colonial government already mindful of the potential of Bermuda's black community to engage in anti-colonial uprisings, it was, perhaps, in the best interest of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company to acknowledge its black community within its radio programming and provide positive contributions of blacks in various war endeavours. Yet, while this may have also seemed on the surface to be an attempt at including black Bermudians under the Bermuda national umbrella through radio, the fact that the colony was still racially divided indicates that the Bermuda Broadcasting Company created what can be described as Anderson's "imagined community," within broadcasting. As World War II came to a close, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, although providing a limited supply of radio programming for its "coloured audience," continued to articulate a dominant white Bermudian colonial and American identity.

The period that immediately followed the ending of the war was full of transition for Bermuda. As Edward S. Herman and Robert McChesney write:

> The ending of World War II in 1945 marked the beginning of a new era of rapid growth. The United States emerged from the war stronger than ever [...]

[91] Nellie Musson, *Mind the Onion Seed*, The Worker's Association of 1941 became the Bermuda Industrial Union (BIU) Pg. 185.
[92] Williams, 'The History of the Caribbean', Page 463.

> With its unique power the United States was able to organize a new world order serviceable to its political and economic interests.'[93]

While Kindley military base remained open on the island after War World II had ended, the contributions of base personnel and their families to Bermuda's radio broadcasting industry became even more invaluable. New initiatives by the American base saw Bermudian culture becoming more immersed with American broadcast culture, further impacting articulations of Bermuda's colonial identity.

[93] Edward S. Herman and Robert McChesney in *Planet TV*, Pg. 25-26.

CHAPTER 2

Military Broadcasting in the Colony

By the end of World War II in 1945, the initial economic, social and political concerns that the British colony had expressed with the arrival of the US base years earlier, seemed to be in many ways in the distant past. With much of the world experiencing a period of recovery, Post-War Bermuda, however, continued to thrive. Chapter two examines how Bermuda profited from the presence of the Kindley military base throughout the years immediately following World War II, and how its relationship with both Britain and America during the late 1940s allowed for the island to witness a number of significant international broadcasting developments. The chapter focuses on the late 1940s into the mid-1950s as Kindley expanded its influence on Bermuda's radio industry, laying the foundation for the introduction of US military television. As Kindley's cultural and broadcasting influence continued to greatly impact and shape the development of Bermuda's own broadcasting industry, this chapter reveals how articulations of Bermudian-British-American hybrid identity started to become more solidified within Britain's island colony. While Bermuda continued to receive radio programming from the *BBC*, and local programmes reflecting Bermudian life began to increase, the island continued to embrace the strong American cultural influence articulated by Bermuda's national radio station.

Two years after the arrival of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, Kindley had engaged in a number of new broadcasting initiatives. *WXLQ* was created by Kindley as a first attempt at running its own broadcasting station, operated by the US Armed Forces Radio Service (AFRS).[1] While *WXLQ* was introduced by the AFRS for their personnel stationed in Bermuda, the *Royal Gazette* reported that *WXLQ* Bermuda "could be heard in most parts of the islands" from

[1] According to the Armed Forces Network Online, "At the height of World War II in 1945, there were about three hundred radio stations under AFRS auspices. Armed Forces Radio and Television Service, the First Sixty Years. American Forces Network Online.

Kindley base, with the station "broadcast[ing] for a few hours each evening."[2] However, as Bermuda Broadcasting Company's own *ZBM* radio (formerly *ZFA2*) developed into "full-scale commercial operations"[3] and with the war ending, the AFRS had majority of their operations scaled down.[4] Kindley's *WXLQ* radio station closed its doors after being in operation for only one year.

The *Kindley Air Theatre* was another of Kindley's initiatives that saw its first amateur dramatic group broadcasting a radio show on the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's *ZBM*. The radio show aired every Tuesday at 7:30pm on *ZBM* free of charge, and was produced for and by the American military personnel still stationed on the island.[5] Like much of the radio programming in the United States during the 1940s, the *Kindley Air Theatre* show was a series of "half-hour dramatic plays" using "top-notch professional scripts which ha[d] been used on America's biggest networks," and purchased from an American script agency using Central Base Funds.[6] The non-commercial programme was organized by the Information Service Office and featured a cast of "air men, officers, civilians and dependents" from the Kindley base.[7]

Michele Hilmes says, "From its inception, radio and then television broadcasting developed in deeply nationalist contexts, guided by the twentieth-century imperatives of national definition, unification and defence."[8] While she adds that radio was "carefully kept from crossing national lines, crafted to address only its own citizens and no others, shaped and regulated by national governments,"[9] the American military's *Kindley Air Theatre*, however, crossed national lines and did impact the surrounding local Bermudian community. Although *Kindley Air Theatre* was intended for the American servicemen stationed on and off Kindley base, the weekly broadcast of the American military's dramatic group became a regular fixture on the local Bermudian *ZBM*

[2] 'Colony's First Radio Station', *The Royal Gazette*, July 10, 1955.
[3] Ibid.
[4] American Forces Network Online.
[5] 'Radio Show Celebrates 8th Anniversary', *Skyliner*, May 5, 1955.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Hilmes, *The Television History Book*, Pg. 13.
[9] Ibid.

radio, fitting into a list of programming already dominated by American radio content. Thus, the deep connection that Bermuda had with American radio broadcasting culture post-war continued to strengthen. The prevailing American presence seen within Bermuda's broadcasting landscape was also demonstrated in the international broadcasting and communications landscape as well. Post war America was about growth, acquisition, and in many ways, control. According to Edward S. Herman and Robert McChesney:

> U.S planners understood that after the war the United States would have a dominance of the world not seen since the heyday of the British Empire, as even its victorious allies were being reduced to rubble in the war effort. A major priority was for the United States to usurp the European role in international communication and thereby consolidate U.S. hegemony.[10]

While America sought to establish clear structures for its telecommunications markets, Britain was also seeking to maintain its telecommunications control in the months following World War II. Bermuda, having direct links with both nations, geographically and economically closely connected to America, and politically and culturally connected to Britain, became a strategic venue for negotiations between the two powerhouses. In December 1945, the two nations met in Bermuda for the historical US-British Commonwealth Telecommunications Conference where they formed the 1945 Bermuda Agreement. The agreement, which would define the parameters of cost control and radio frequency allotment, was created by many of the leading forces in both American and British broadcasting agencies. According to Richard Collins:

> At Bermuda, the world's two dominant systems of international communications, those of the UK and its Commonwealth partners (Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand and South Africa) on one hand and the USA on the other negotiated how the imperial and US telegraph carriers and infrastructure would interconnect and how the parties would co-ordinate the world's two most important global communications systems.[11]

[10] Herman and McChesney, Pg. 24.
[11] Richard Collins, CRESC, Open University, May 2010, Working Paper No. 99.

While the 1945 Bermuda Agreement would be key in telecommunications developments moving forward for both of the dominant nations, Collins states that "the old global hegemony, centered on the UK and its partners, negotiated a new global communications order to accommodate the new global hegemonic power, the USA."[12] As America led in many post-war broadcasting developments, its broadcasting influence over the British governed Bermuda continued to also strengthen. Following the 1945 US-British Commonwealth Telecommunications Conference, Bermuda and the Bermuda Broadcasting Company continued to maximize its connection with the Americans.[13]

According to the *Radio Mirror*, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's *ZBM* joined the US based Mutual network, "bringing the Mutual stations up to 323."[14] By 1949, Bermuda had joined the Broadcasters Program Syndicate, and by 1950, Bermuda was heavily connected with the US with various broadcasting-tourism initiatives. Featured in numerous newspapers and radio shows around the United States, Bermuda had become a popular destination used in media campaigns and for various radio prizes across the US. The *New York Times* featured Bermuda in its article, "Bermuda's Queen- Famous Ship Gets a Royal Welcome for Her First Post-War Load of Tourists,"[15] describing the events surrounding the arrival of 612 passengers on the ship's first post war voyage to the island.

Noting the significance of American tourists to Bermuda, the *New York Times* said that "Bermuda's economy depends on tourism,"[16] and that the ship's arrival was a "revival of the [island's] social life."[17] According to an article published in *Broadcasting* in 1950, nearly 100 US broadcasters flew into Bermuda

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[12] Ibid.
[13] Bermuda became a key meeting point for other major international conferences involving Britain and America. On May 30th, 1953, the New York Times reported that the 'Allies Will Meet in Bermuda Club" for the Western Big Three Conference involving various Heads of State. These post war meetings continued for several years in Bermuda, and according to the Los Angeles Times, March 26th, 1957, included the Big Two talks with the British Prime Minister and the US President noting that "Bermuda was the most satisfactory international conference."
[14] Radio Mirror (July-Dec) 1946.
[15] *New York Times*, February 20, 1949.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.

as part of the celebrations of *KDKA* in Pittsburgh.[18] Identified as a luxury destination only a few hours from the United States, Bermuda continued to be featured throughout American radio broadcasting and newspaper promotions during the 1950s. As Bermuda's popularity increased in America, so did the popularity of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's American-centered radio programming amongst its local audience.

While there was an increased selection of Bermuda-focused locally produced radio shows and several British radio shows being aired on *ZBM*, the majority of programming continued to be dominated by American content. By 1952, the *Sponsor* reported that according to Steve Mann of Adam Young International, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company "catered to an audience of 40,000 people."[19] There were 10,200 homes with 10,150 having radios in the home, and 15,000 radios throughout the island."[20] With the majority of homes on the island having access to *ZBM's* predominantly American programming, articulations of Bermudian-British identity on the national broadcasting service had become more diluted. Additionally, as the Bermuda Broadcasting Company continued to increase in popularity, it opened its second station *ZBM-2* in February 1952.[21] Yet, as the Bermuda Broadcasting Company and the Kindley Field military base continued to develop its broadcasting partnership locally, major advancements in the Armed Forces Radio Services shifted the relationship between Bermuda and the US base, greatly altering Kindley Field's broadcast status, and significantly impacting Bermuda's broadcasting landscape.

On December 25th, 1953, ten years after the introduction of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, the Armed Forces Radio Service transitioned from a military radio broadcasting service, to a broadcasting service that would begin to incorporate television. According to the Armed Forces Network online, "The Secretary of Defense signe[d] a memorandum permitting military televi-

[18] Westing House Junket, *Broadcasting*, Dec 11, 1950 Pg. 20, 95.
[19] Steve Mann of Adam Young International, *Sponsor*, Media History Digital Library, #19, July-December 1952.
[20] Ibid.
[21] *The Royal Gazette*, July 10, 1955.

sion broadcasts, and the first experimental broadcast [was] seen on Christmas day from Limestone AFB, Maine."[22] This move by the AFRS opened the door for its military bases in the United States and around the world to pursue the new television broadcast technology. In 1954, within one year of signing the memorandum, the Armed Forces Radio Service added "television to its military broadcast mission and officially [became] the Armed Forces Radio and Television Service (AFRTS)."[23]

Within the same year, Kindley Field base made an application to the Bermuda Government requesting "permission to set up a television broadcasting station at Kindley Field, designed for the purpose of providing entertainment for Armed Forces personnel and as an assistance to morale."[24] According to the *Royal Gazette*, talks had progressed between Bermuda and the US base over the proposed television station, and there were specific conditions laid out by the local government that were considered to be "certain Bermuda Government safeguards"[25] needed in order for permission to be granted.

These included:

a. The right of censorship
b. The removal of advertising material
c. The right (of the Government) to have some time each day to broadcast material of community interest[26]

In addition to requesting that Kindley provide island-wide broadcasting, the Bermuda Government had planned to be involved in the parameters with which the US military base television station would run, and the "right of censorship" was a key safeguard in the agreement. Not only would this allow the Bermuda Government to control the types of programmes that they felt were appropriate for Bermuda, but it also allowed the government to have an element of control over the amount and type of American cultural representations that would be

[22] American Forces Network Online.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Colonial Secretary's Press Release reported by *The Royal Gazette*, September 24th, 1955 Pg. 13.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.

injected into the local community through the island-wide broadcasts, a position similarly seen with the *BBC*. Michele Hilmes says, "Great Britain as in other countries sought to avoid not only US domination of media production but its 'vulgar' cultural influence as well, by carefully regulating and restricting the commercialization of television."[27]

Based upon Hilmes' argument, Bermuda would need the safeguards in place in order to reinforce its moral (British) duty to protect the colony. At the same time, having the right to broadcast "material of community interest" each day ensured that a Bermudian presence, thus, Bermudian identity, would be articulated throughout the American operated television station. Hilmes adds, "first radio, then television, was defined by such states [United States and Great Britain] as a uniquely national medium, confined to the borders of the nation…and meant to construct and address a national public."[28] Although Kindley would maintain most of the control of the television station, the safeguards were, according to officials, "probably prove more theoretical than practical [but] were readily accepted by Kindley Air Force Base representatives."[29]

The proposed safeguards created by the Bermuda Government appeared to be a way for the local government to maintain a strong Bermudian-British element in what would be an American dominated television station. Yet, when a previous opportunity to open Bermuda's first owned and operated television station was presented, it had been denied by the local government. In April 1953, nearly one year before Kindley's television application, the Bermuda Press, owners of the *Royal Gazette* newspaper had also decided to enter the television broadcasting field. They had "filed an application for a wavelength,"[30] with the objective of bringing a television service to the island. Unlike the proposed television station at Kindley which would be mainly controlled by the Americans, the television service by the Bermuda Press would have been Bermudian-

[27] Hilmes. Pg. 2.
[28] Ibid. Pg. 1.
[29] *The Royal Gazette*, September 24th, 1955 Pg. 13.
[30] Ibid. January 20, 1958.

controlled. However, after "a series of frustrations and delays" [31] with local legislation, the company was denied, and unable to introduce the new television technology.

It may be argued that the circumstances around the Bermuda Press' television application, perhaps illustrates the desire by the Bermuda Government to maintain a greater degree of control over the new medium being introduced to Bermuda. While the local government through the agreed safeguards with the US base would have had a great deal of influence over the American broadcasting station, in the case of the Bermuda Press- as a privately owned initiative, the local government may have had little control in local television's development. In spite of the Bermuda Government being very much involved with the emergence of the national radio broadcasting service years earlier, it was still controlled and owned by the private Bermuda Broadcasting Company. Granting the Bermuda Press permission to form the first television service would mean that both Bermuda's first national radio broadcasting station and first television broadcasting station would have been controlled by private entities, instead of by the government; despite the fact that they would have been Bermudian.

Looking at an example of resistance to privatized television within British broadcasting developments in the 1950s, Helen Wheatley says that the Independent Television Authority "established a number of rules that aimed to keep programming and advertising completely separate… attempt[ing] to combat a potential 'Americanisation' of British broadcasting and the threat which this posed to Britain's cultural 'superiority.'[32] While it may have seemed that the government's rejection of the privatized introduction of television with the Bermuda Press would have been as a result of avoiding a repeat of the overshadowing of its Bermudian and colonial British heritage with American broadcast culture, seen in its early radio station, this was not the case. The Bermuda Government did just the opposite.

[31] Ibid.
[32] Wheatley, Pg. 76.

While they tried to eliminate advertising within the proposed safeguards, to a great degree, the local government actually embraced elements of "Americanisation'' and US broadcast culture, while at the same time attempting to articulate a Bermudian-British national presence. Although rejecting the Bermuda Press delayed the introduction of television to the island, working with the American military presented a number of benefits. It meant that the Bermuda Government would have the island's first television station fully financed, built and operated by the US military, while allowing for a significant amount of control by the local government over the newest national broadcast medium. According to Hilmes:

> One of the most influential sets of differentiations and oppositions in the history of world broadcasting has been that between the US and Great Britain, even though (or perhaps because) they share so many cultural elements in common. Both centered early on to the broadcasting stage, originating important technological and institutional developments that influenced nations across the globe.[33]

The introduction of television on the American military base would not only generate technological development on the island, but also would impact and help to shape the cultural dynamics of Bermuda as a nation. Hilmes goes on to argue that, "the commercial, privately owned broadcasting system of the United States, and the public service system of the *BBC* originated in Great Britain, served as models and basic paradigms for other nations as they grappled with early decisions about the new medium."[34] For Bermuda, the ambivalent relationship and culturally ambiguous dependency that the island had with both America and Britain had in many ways influenced the introduction of a hybridized television system to the island.

[33] Hilmes. Pg. 2.
[34] Ibid.

Negotiating Television in the Colony

With the Bermuda Government and Kindley representatives agreeing to the terms of the safeguard, Bermuda was in position to grant the Americans permission to build and operate the island's first television station. However, as plans were underway, it was discovered that there was a flaw in the agreement. According to the *Royal Gazette,* Kindley representatives presented the draft of Bermuda's safeguards to the Air Force Higher Command in the United States. Due to agreements between the United States Department of Defense and the various US television networks, which were the main suppliers of broadcasting content for the AFRTS,[35] it was revealed that Kindley would not be able to broadcast to off-base civilians, cancelling out the option of having island-wide broadcasting. The *Royal Gazette* reported that Kindley was advised to "restrict the broadcast to Forces personnel," and that it would be "a practical impossibility to remove advertising material from the programmes."[36]

With this new revelation, the agreement between the Bermuda Government and the US base to open an island-wide television service became void. However, with Kindley already having made plans for the new television station, they presented another request to the local government which saw the US television broadcast signal restricted only to the Kindley base. Kindley would continue to erect the television station, but according to the *Royal Gazette*, would limit the television broadcast signal with a "specially designed antenna and a transmitter of suitable low power."[37] The matter was reviewed and debated by local legislation, with the issue of broadcast leakage to the neighbouring areas posing a concern. The *Royal Gazette* reported:

> It was recognized at the time by everyone concerned that it would be impossible to prevent a small leakage of signal to St. George's Island east of the Town of St. George and that occasion might arise when, for reasons of freak

[35] *The Royal Gazette*. September 24, 1955.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.

> conditions, the broadcast might for short periods be received elsewhere in the Island. These minor deviations were, however, considered acceptable.[38]

There was concern also expressed by the Military Air Transport Service (MATS) Headquarters, and they asked Kindley "whether a TV station could be justified."[39] According to the *Bermuda Skyliner*, Kindley's Colonel George W. Peterson who had "maintained a strong personal interest in Kindley's television project throughout its planning stages," expressed that it was "his desire to continually improve living and working conditions for his personnel [and] strongly recommended the establishment of a station."[40] Additionally, Kindley's television station would "provide an educational media and additional off-duty entertainment for its personnel stationed overseas."[41] It was also noted that there were a number of other television stations "already in operation […] located at Wheelus Field, Tripoli; Lajes Field, Azores; Keflavik, Iceland; and Loring AFB, Maine," with Bermuda's Kindley Field adding to the US Air Force's group of new television stations.[42] With justification for a television station on its base being accepted, Kindley was given military approval by MATS Headquarters.

Yet it was still the Bermuda Government that controlled the final outcome of Kindley's television proposal. As Glen Creeber describes of the government's involvement with the *BBC*, "Although not directly controlled by the state, the future of the *BBC* ultimately lay in the hands of the government that continued to periodically renew its licence to broadcast and determine the cost of its licence fee."[43] However, with Kindley agreeing to Bermuda's terms, the local government gave full permission for Kindley to erect its new television broadcasting station, with a restricted signal to the Kindley Air Force Base. With the Bermuda Government no longer involved in the development, and Kindley receiving US military funds for the construction of the facility, the US base for-

[38] Ibid.
[39] 'Television Station Okayed for Kindley', *Skyliner*. May 19, 1955.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Glen Creeber, 'The Origins of Public Service Broadcasting' in *The Television History Book*, Pg. 23.

malized their plans and set the date of July 4, 1955, American Independence Day as their official opening day. However, as the controversy surrounding the restriction surfaced, the local community expressed concern at the fact that they would not be able to have access to the introduction of television in their own country, with the issue becoming a major topic of debate.

Local media covered the story extensively and various newspaper headlines in the months leading up to the opening of the television station reflected the country's ambivalence toward the impending arrival of television. The *Bermuda Recorder* on the front page of its May 18th edition printed:

> First TV Station in Bermuda Plans to Begin Telecast in July
> Broadcasts to be Restricted to U.S Air Force Base;
> Technicality Robs Rest of Colony of Signals[44]

The article explained that the American base television station "had originally planned to make the telecasts available to the entire population of Bermuda as well, in the interests of good community relations and in order to reach the 850 Air Force families living off the base."[45] It continued to describe the technicality with the American television producers and stated that while the television programs would be available to Kindley free of charge, "the situation of having their commercially produced films broadcast to a non-military, English-speaking public had not existed at any other Air Force installations which ha[d] established television stations."[46] It was also reported that the US Defense Department was in the process of trying to renegotiate an arrangement with the various producers, and if they were granted permission, "negotiations between the Colonial Government and Kindley AFB [could] be resumed with a view to establish island-wide coverage."[47]

Kindley's own US base newspaper, the *Bermuda Skyliner* reported that the US military were still trying to find a way to have the station accessible to the en-

[44] 'First TV Station in Bermuda Plans to Begin Telecast in July', *The Bermuda Recorder*, May 18, 1955.
[45] Ibid
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.

tire island, but had up to that point reached no agreement. They reported that if the American television producers granted Kindley permission to broadcast island-wide, then they would use a "television signal [that] could be micro-waved from the Kindley studio to a centrally located transmitter which would cover the entire island."[48] Regardless of the outcome, it was reported that Kindley had made plans to open the television station, with or without island-wide local access, and continued with their anticipated opening day of July 4, 1955.

With the broadcast restriction agreement between Kindley and Bermuda still in place, Kindley implemented a number of measures to ensure that the television broadcast signal would be limited to the immediate base area. Early tests detected that there was signal leakage in Kindley's direct vicinity, but elsewhere around the island the signal was thought to be weak and minimal. However, Kindley had made provisions for a transmitter and directional antenna to be used to help keep the signal restricted to the base.[49] The *Skyliner* reported that although "an outside antenna will not be necessary to pick up the station on base […]'Rabbit ears'- antenna mounted on the home receiver- or a larger antenna placed under the roof may be used. The same will hold true in the event of island-wide broadcasting."[50] With a number of modifications being made, and in "accordance with Federal Communications standards," Kindley had "conformed with [their] agreement with the local government."[51]

Local workers and tradesmen were brought to the base to help construct the building that would house the television station, with the month of May being dedicated to ensuring that the facility would be ready for when the equipment arrived in June. All "departments channeled their energy into this top priority project."[52] Studio equipment and transmitters arrived weeks before the official opening day via a MATS C-124, carrying the equipment in small sections to

[48] *Skyliner*, May 19, 1955.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.
[51] 'TV Agreement Explained', *Skyliner,* September 22, 1955.
[52] 'July 4th Named As "On The Air Target"', *Skyliner,* June 16, 1955.

Bermuda from the manufacturers in Indiana.[53] Once landed, the entire station was to be assembled at the Kindley base by seven US Air Force television technicians, with support from various experts from the US broadcasting industry under the supervision of the Kindley Information Services Office and the MATS TV Project Officer. [54]

Two weeks before Kindley TV was due to open, the *Skyliner* reported that the US military would have television sets available for rent and for sale before the official opening. It reported that, "eighty television sets are due in at Kindley next Tuesday for rental to base personnel by Sherbrooke Appliances Ltd. of Montreal, Canada, the firm which will operate a TV rental concession for the Base Exchange."[55] It reported that there would be a limited stock of television sets for sale to base personnel, but they would be able to rent a set with prices starting "at $12.00 monthly for a one year contract, $20.00 for one month, or $1.50 daily" with the price increasing by "23% for 21-inch sets."[56] It was also reported that those that rented their sets were able to purchase them at a later date, and that there would be an on-base facility for all television set repairs, as well as radio servicing.[57]

For those that would be able to purchase one of the limited supply television sets, prices were reported to be $120.00 for an Emerson 17-inch set and $150.00 for a 21-inch set, available from the base Exchange store.[58] Additional sets would be available for special order, arriving ten to twelve weeks later. While television sets purchased for airmen's barracks would be financed through the "Atlantic Division out of Nonappropriated welfare funds,"[59] the Post Exchange would finance the costs of building the station.[60] The *Royal Gazette* reported that the US had spent $50,000 to build and construct their televi-

[53] 'TV Personnel And Equipment Arrives'*, Skyliner*, June 23, 1955.
[54] Ibid. June 16, 1955.
[55] Ibid. June 23, 1955.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.
[60] 'Instal TV Equipment At Kindley Base; Machinery Worth $50,000', *The Royal Gazette*, June 26, 1955.

sion station at the Kindley Air Force Base.[61] Building the station overseas and transporting it to Bermuda demonstrated that the US military were sparing no expense in ensuring that their new television station would be one of the best, further demonstrating to the colony America's innovation in broadcasting.

The *Royal Gazette* added that the "TV installation at Kindley completes the chain of such stations for all sub-commands of MATS (Military Air Transport Command) in 'remote' areas [and] will be their most up-to date station," [62] with MATS being the "first major command in the U.S. armed forces to complete such a chain of stations."[63] Herman and McChesney add, "The most dramatic important media technology to emerge in the post-war period was television. As with other media, technology usage was initially heavily weighted toward the advanced capitalist nations."[64] The formation of Kindley's television station as part of the Armed Forces Radio and Television services, illustrated the progress in technology and military advancement evident with America throughout the post-war era, and its continued quest to lead global technological developments.

With the "complete unit" landed and assembled, including "everything needed to run a commercial TV station, including testing equipment,"[65] the new facility at Kindley US base was ready to be launched. According to the *Royal Gazette,* "Tests made by engineers had revealed that reception on the base was very good"[66] and "Kindley Air Force Base moved a step nearer on Friday as workmen and supervisory personnel installed the equipment that will bring this modern miracle into the homes of Americans living here far from their own homes and relatives."[67] On the day of the opening, the *Royal Gazette* printed:

> Kindley's TV Station Goes On Air Today

[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Herman and McChesney, 'The Rise of the Global Media', Pg 28.
[65] Ibid.
[66] 'Kindley's TV Station Goes On Air Today', *The Royal Gazette*, July 4, 1955.
[67] Ibid. June 26, 1955.

> Television makes its Bermuda debut today with the official opening of Station *ZBK-TV* to serve the Kindley United States Air Force Base only.[68]

With the island's first television station being opened by the US military, Bermuda's broadcast industry shifted from a Bermudian-owned but heavily American military-influenced national radio broadcast landscape, to include the new American-owned and American-dominated television broadcast station. However, it would be the US military's complete control over the new technology, and loopholes in the Bermuda-Kindley agreement that would allow articulations of American identity to become an even more dominant presence within the formative years of Bermuda's television industry. Amidst controversy and local dissatisfaction, the US military's Kindley Air Force base opened Bermuda's first television station on July 4th, 1955 at 4pm, further shaping the transitioning Bermuda into a more hybrid Americanized Bermudian-British identity.

American Base Television- Kindley Field's *ZBK-TV*

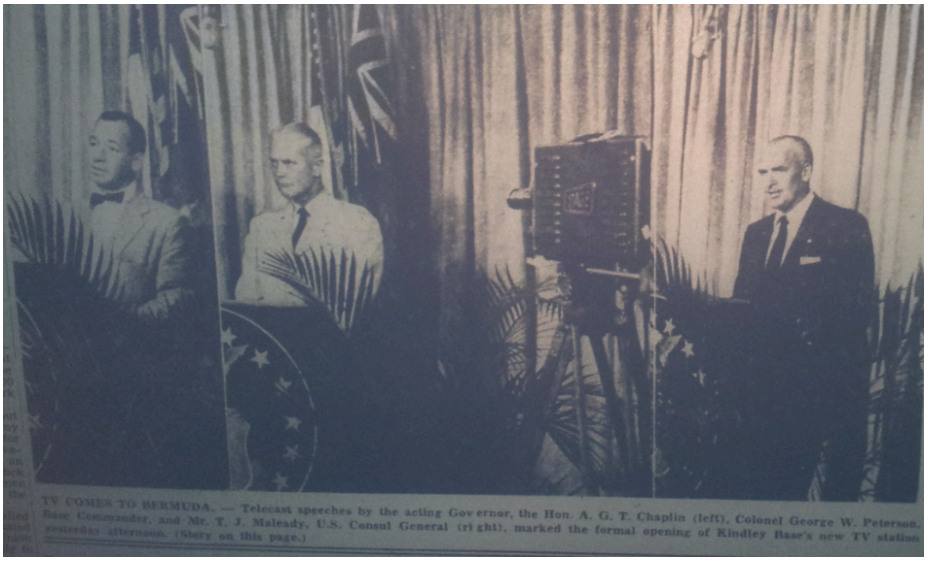


Image 2.1 The opening of *ZBK-TV.* Taken from the Royal Gazette, July 5, 1955

The transparency of the US military's involvement in the development of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company may have been slightly obscured as the is-

[68] Ibid. July 4, 1955.

land's first national radio broadcast station, emerged in the early 1940s during World War II. However, more than ten years later, the intentions of the US military with the opening of the island's first television station were very clear and unambiguous. From the onset, Kindley had requested permission for the installation of a television station for their base in Bermuda, with its primary purpose to service and entertain their personnel, bringing an increased sense of moral and the familiarities of home to their servicemen and their families stationed on the island, while celebrating American national identity during the post war era.[69]

Although Bermuda's local community was also thought to have benefited from an introduction to television, with good "neighborly relations" between America and Bermuda, Kindley's primary focus, however, was to cater to its own American community. At the opening of Kindley's *ZBK-TV* on American Independence Day, July 4th, 1955, the rest of the British colony continued with its daily routine. While the American military base embraced its new television technology, the host country, Bermuda, saw its local community excluded from one of Bermuda's most notable and historic broadcasting occasions.

According to the *Royal Gazette*:

> While the Colony was at work and tourists sunned themselves on the beaches a few score of people at the East End were witnessing the turn of a page in local scientific history- a page which in the near future may tell the story of a subtropical island community abandoning the outdoors as its chief source of recreation in favour of the living-room […] television has come to Bermuda.[70]

The opening ceremony of *ZBK-TV* was televised on the allocated channel 10 throughout the Kindley base, and started promptly at four in the afternoon with US Consul General, Colonel George Peterson officiating the event. Although most of the attendees were from Kindley base, there was also representation from several US military officers from MATS. The *Royal Gazette* reported that

[69] *Skyliner*, May 19, 1955.
[70] 'Kindley Base Opens 1st TV Station in Bermuda', *The Royal Gazette*, July 5, 1955.

Bermuda's acting British-appointed Governor, the Hon. A.G.T Chaplin, plus "a group of invited guests, including some Bermudians and senior Base officers,"[71] were also present. Similar to the opening of Bermuda's national radio station, the array of guests and speakers at the inaugural opening of Kindley's *ZBK-TV* reflected an element of partnership and collaboration between Bermuda, Britain and America. This time, however, it was the Americans that were orchestrating Bermuda's historical occasion.

Through the opening ceremonies of *ZBK-TV*, America's pre-eminence was even more visible to its audience as Colonel Peterson opened up the televised event standing at a rostrum with the US Kindley –MATS insignia to the front, and both the American and Bermudian flags in the background.[72] The British flag, which would normally be seen at Bermuda's national events signifying Bermuda's British colonial status, had been omitted. This example illustrated how America's connection and influence over Bermuda was beginning to erase elements of the island's British affiliation, while again, formalizing America's presence on the island. Furthermore, it also demonstrated how *ZBK-TV's* official opening articulated an American-Bermudian identity within its televised coverage, outshining the island's Bermudian-British national presence.

Nevertheless, in his remarks, Col. Peterson briefly acknowledged Britain's involvement in the development of *ZBK-TV*, expressing his gratitude to the "acting Governor and Colonial Parliament in receiving their permission to install the station," emphasizing that this day was "one of the biggest in his life."[73] Then he continued with his American-focused speech, noting that the US Armed Forces had begun working on Kindley TV development "some 20 months ago"[74] and the American military base staff and personnel had worked hard to make the day a reality. However, with the controversy surrounding Bermuda's inability to access the US television station still looming, and several of the Bermudians in attendance asking "how long will it be before the in-

[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.

evitability of progress brings this medium to the homes of the Colony in general,"[75] Col. Peterson's official address avoided the details surrounding the "unfortunate technicality."[76] Instead, his speech highlighted how Bermuda had benefited from American military presence, and how Bermuda relied on the Armed Forces, again reiterating a strong American-Bermudian relationship.

The Secretary of the US Air Force also sent a message of congratulations to Bermuda which Col. Peterson read in his televised address, relaying that while the Kindley Television station was a "memorable event, […] in the world-wide struggle for the preservation of freedom the U.S. Air Force represented the mightiest weapon ever known."[77] Col Peterson added, "Bermuda had been described as the crossroads of the North Atlantic. The Government and people of the Colony were not unmindful of it; they were conscious and grateful of the part played by the U.S. Air Force."[78] As Col. Peterson continued to demonstrate how Bermudians were appreciative and in need of the American Air Force, and how the Air Force had helped the island in many modern transport developments, he said, "the Colony had been able to maintain and advance the traffic through the islands which was of such great importance to their economy."[79]

With much of the Bermudian community initially resisting the arrival of the US base in 1940, including having major concerns for the local economy, Col Peterson's speech demonstrated that the island and its economy had in fact benefited tremendously as a result of developments created by the Kindley base. While Col. Peterson's official remarks celebrated the success and achievements of the opening of Kindley's *ZBK-TV*, more emphasis had been placed on the role that the US Air Force had on supporting the colony, versus how the new television station would benefit the US base or the island of Bermuda.

[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.

As more remarks by the various speakers unfolded, the ambiguous and ambivalent dynamics between Bermuda, Britain and America became more apparent. Acting British Governor, Mr. Chaplin, in an imperial-toned speech seen similarly at the opening of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company years earlier, noted that there was a strong relationship between Britain and America, but that "we are proud of our British heritage and institutions."[80] While at times the relationship between Britain and America had been contentious with regards to Bermuda, the acting Governor continued to express his admiration of the partnership between Britain and America stating that, "It gives me particular pleasure to testify to the happy relations which exist between the [US] Air Force and [US] Navy and the people of Bermuda."[81] And while the Bermuda public would not directly benefit from the Kindley television station, acting Governor Chaplin extended his well wishes to *ZBK-TV* stating, "I hope and trust this new venture will be the means of providing much pleasure and education."[82]

Remarks from General Hopkins, one of the main coordinators of *ZBK-TV's* development, acknowledged his satisfaction on the development of the facility. In speaking to the Kindley audience he said that it was his hope that, "this fine facility will bring you closer to home and fill your leisure hours with the contentment you justly deserve."[83] He also expressed his appreciation toward the Bermuda Government for granting Kindley permission to install its television station, and "for the understanding of its many problems here, especially in connection with television." [84] General Hopkins' speech emphasized how the Bermuda Government's approval of the new television station was essential for Kindley personnel as a way for them to be connected with their overseas home.

Michael Curtain states that with "most oligopoly corporations that are sanctioned by the government," similar to Kindley's *ZBK-TV*, "new television networks tried to legitimize their special status by promoting their services as of-

[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.

fering something for everyone, combined with the sporadic efforts to provide 'public service' programming." [85] Kindley's actions throughout the station's entire development validate Curtain's statement. They maintained that the television station was needed to boost moral of their personnel and that *ZBK-TV* would provide them with entertainment and education in order to feel more at home while living in Bermuda, while ultimately excluding the indigenous culture. Yet, as General Hopkins concluded his speech and all of the official remarks completed, *ZBK-TV* aired the island's first television programme, the American *Bob Hope Show*.[86]

As the first broadcast of *ZBK TV* launched with minor technical difficulties, the Kindley Field community indulged in their new television station. From the beginning, *ZBK-TV* operated from one channel like many other early television broadcasting stations, including the *BBC*. According to Tim O'Sullivan, "On the single *BBC* channel […] television transmission times remained limited."[87] He states, "By the early 1950s, the day began with an hour-long programme in the morning […] followed by an hour of afternoon programmes at 3pm, and an evening schedule which started at 8:30pm."[88]For *ZBK-TV*, its schedule ran from Monday to Friday from 4 p.m. till 10 p.m., and on the weekends was in operation from 4 p.m. till 11 p.m. While *ZBK-TV* had a small selection of early programming, it included many of America's "Top Notch TV Programs.''[89] On the initial programming list there were US shows such as *Eddie Fisher, Howdy Doody, Perry Como, Florian Zabach, Honestly Celeste, Name That Tune, Suspense, Talent Scouts* and the *I Love Lucy* show.[90]

A TV Audience Poll taken by the *Bermuda Skyliner* five months after the opening of *ZBK-TV* revealed the preferences of Kindley's television audience.[91] Comedy, Variety and Drama were the top three favourite types of programmes most enjoyed by the servicemen, which was also similar to the types

[85] Michael Curtin. The American Television Industry.
[86] *The Royal Gazette*. July 5, 1955.
[87] Tim O'Sullivan, 'Post-war Television in Britain: BBC and ITV', Pg. 30.
[88] Ibid.
[89] 'Topnotch TV Programs For Kindley', *Skyliner*, June 16, 1955.
[90] *Royal Gazette.* July 5, 1955.
[91] 'Skyliner Pictorial' *Skyliner*, TV Audience Poll, December 9, 1955.

of programmes favoured in local radio, and reflective of broadcasting preferences seen back in the United States.[92] Hilmes says, "In the US, early offering [of television] focused more heavily on the variety show, carried over from vaudeville via radio, and the comedy serials so popular on radio."[93] She also states that dramas were also popular, such as "Studio One and the Hallmark Hall of Fame,"[94] both of which aired on *ZBK-TV* on the weekends.[95] While the opening of *ZBK-TV* seemed to be a success within the Kindley community and the programmes well received by the American audience, within weeks of its maiden broadcast there were reports of broadcast leakage throughout parts of the island, allowing Bermudians to access restricted American television.[96]

Leaking American Television within the Colony

On July 17th, 1955, the *Royal Gazette's* headlines read:

> Reports of TV "Leakage" Spreading In Colony
> Reception Off Kindley Base
> Kindley Air Force Base's "dream boat"- ZBK-TV appears to be leaking…[97]

It had only been a matter of weeks after *ZBK-TV* had been in operation that it was discovered that the restricted television broadcast signal from Kindley was leaking. With some of the off-base Kindley personnel bringing their own television sets into Bermuda from the United States, and others purchasing their sets from the base Exchange, off-base personnel were able to watch much of the programming being aired on *ZBK-TV*, although the signal was supposed to be restricted to the Kindley base facility.

Kindley's Public Information Officer told the *Royal Gazette* that Kindley is "transmitting TV for on-Base only. If anyone [off base] receives it, it is unlikely that the pictures will be good. Results of our tests all over the Colony show

[92] Ibid.
[93] Hilmes, 'Programming:1950s-80s, Introduction', Pg. 68.
[94] Ibid.
[95] 'ZBK-TV Program Schedule', *Skyliner,* August 11, 1955.
[96] 'Reports of TV "Leakage" Spreading in Colony', *The Royal Gazette*, July 17, 1955.
[97] Ibid.

that no readable proper pictures are possible, according to all engineering standards."[98] Although Kindley said that it was unlikely that anyone receiving the signal would be able to get good reception, as the weeks progressed, this was not the case. Not only were off-base personnel watching *ZBK-TV* with their American television sets, but it was reported that in various parts of the island, "TV programmes [had] been received direct from America and from Cuba," although the occurrences had been classified as "freak reception."[99] A Kindley worker with a television set in Somerset, a town in the western and complete opposite end of the island from Kindley said that "he [got] the music and sound but that the fixed signal is 'fuzzy'."[100]

With reports of television reception from Kindley being received throughout the island, a direct violation of the distribution agreement between the Armed Forces and American television producers, an investigation ensued to determine the cause and the extent to which the signal was being leaked. Kindley's Commander Douglas Chamberlain was reported to have said that he was not prepared to make an official statement on the issue, but that he was going to try and "get equipment from Kindley to measure the strength of the signal."[101] However, as Kindley began to examine the allegations of leakage and began working with their engineers to test the broadcasting signal around the island, more issues arose that would further complicate the leakage situation.

Off-base Kindley personnel had purchased television sets for use in their homes, although it was understood that the signal was to be restricted to the base. For Bermudians, there had been a ban imposed on the importation of American television sets into the island. The Bermuda Customs department was faced with monitoring the importation of all television sets, and according to one spokesperson, "if it were permitted we would collect the duty, but the sets are not allowed to be imported."[102] They added that a television set had already been brought into the island by a Bermudian, but it had been confiscat-

[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid.

ed and "sent back."[103] But with the local government placing a ban on the importation of American television sets, a loophole was created.

There was no ban in place restricting Bermudians from purchasing and importing televisions bought from other countries. Within months of the opening of *ZBK-TV*, Bermudians had begun to purchase and import British television sets into the island. Using "Rabbit ears" and antennas to pick up *ZBK-TV's* signal on the modified sets caused an even greater dilemma for authorities, which according to the *Royal Gazette* "spurred the Bermuda Government into action."[104] By September 1955, the *Royal Gazette* reported:

> The first two television sets have been imported into Bermuda by a local businessman and it is believed that Hamilton merchants have ordered a number of television sets from England, specially adjusted for reception of telecasts from Kindley.[105]

As more televisions from the UK began to arrive, a number of reflectors were set to be "placed around Kindley Air Force Base to prevent [the] television signal 'leaking' off the base,"[106] and Kindley had "reduced the power of the Transmissions in response to Bermuda Government requests."[107] While these measures helped to lower the signal being emitted from the Kindley base in an attempt to stop Bermudians from accessing the signal, it also stopped the hundreds of off- base Kindley personnel that had also been watching *ZBK-TV*. This sparked more backlash and debate from the community, especially amongst the American military living off-base and local Bermudians.

Letters to the Editor published in the *Royal Gazette* during the months following *ZBK-TV's* opening, revealed a frustrated and confused population over the details surrounding the broadcasting and leakage of *ZBK-TV*. One member of the public wrote to the Royal Gazette expressing their amusement over the fact

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[103] Ibid.
[104] 'Kindley To Prevent TV "Leakage"?' *The Royal Gazette*, September 16, 1955.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid.
[107] 'No Word Yet Of Action On TV 'Leakage'', *The Royal Gazette*, September 19, 1955.

that the Bermuda Government was now "spurred into action" as a result of the importation of British television sets. They wrote:

> I should say the members of our Ancient and Honourable House of Assembly were "asleep at the switch" when it was agreed that English but not American TV sets could be imported. So everybody got ready to import…I wondered why- under the circumstances- the importation of any TV sets was allowed…I don't think American personnel living off-Base should be allowed TV reception any more than Bermudians should, or most of it-is still Bermuda- and subject to Bermuda's rules and regulations such as they are.[108]

Another letter signed *Disappointed Bermudian*, challenged the Bermuda Government not to "deny its citizens one of the pleasures of modern progress."[109] Another posed a number of questions to the local government, asking, "What is the big idea? Is it because the powers that be do not want Bermudians to have television at all?"[110] They continued to query why the government did not allow for the Bermudian television station to be incorporated when they were presented with the option. They referred to the application made by the Bermuda Press prior to Kindley for a local television station, but finished the article stating, "why scuttle a good ship? Let Kindley leak."[111]

A letter by an American off-base worker signed *Pro Leak*, expressed that he felt that his "rights and the rights of others [had] been abused" with the television controversy.[112] He described his frustration in not being able to identify who was actually to blame and that he was "unable to determine who or what is responsible, or why he, they, or it has or have taken this totalitarian attitude toward the complete control of the ether in this vicinity."[113] The worker explained how he had seen the opening of *ZBK-TV* and was "induced by the in-

[108] 'Letters To The Editor', *The Royal Gazette*, September 17, 1955.
[109] Ibid. September 20, 1955.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid. September 22, 1955.
[113] Ibid.

auguration of TV broadcasts, and the establishment of a TV sales and service concession under U.S. authority to purchase a TV set."[114] He added:

> Now we are informed via unofficial channels, grapevines, confusing newspaper reports and letters that every effort is to be made by the U.S. Government to keep TV from U.S personnel who reside off base and from 40, 000 Bermudians whose lives could be enhanced through this medium of entertainment and education.[115]

Although many homes around the island had become fashioned with antennas on their roofs in order to steal a clear television signal from *ZBK-TV*, the debate around Kindley's leakage continued for quite some time after its opening. The Bermuda Government and Kindley contracted special engineers to investigate ways to lower the frequency transmitted from the base, and in a press statement to the community nearly three months after *ZBK-TV's* opening, the local government stated that it was not in the Bermuda Government's interest "to prevent reception of the programmes by Bermudians or others living off Base."[116]

They did however, clarify that it was the duty of the Bermuda Government "to ensure that the community should not be misled into believing that the broadcast will routinely be receivable and thus spend sums of money in the purchase of television receivers."[117] They added that if "an island-wide broadcast"' was to become available, that "it should be done under proper arrangements with the proper safeguards for the community as contained in the original arrangement."[118] Until such time, they stressed that it was Kindley Air Force Base "under their own arrangements," that were required to ensure that all of their broadcast signals outside of the base were "unusable."[119]

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[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid.
[116] 'Why Kindley TV is Being Restricted To Base; Govt. Position Stated', *The Royal Gazette*, September 24, 1955.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid.

With the controversy and debate over leakage outside of Kindley Field continuing to plague Bermuda, and with hundreds of Bermudians exposed to the American programmes via off-base personnel or television sets and roof antennas, the Bermuda Government was forced to address the threat to colonial identity. In a historic and political move, the colonial government implemented the TELEVISION AERIALS (CONTROL) ACT, 1955. The new law made it an offense for any individual found with an aerial on their roof in order to steal the television signal to be convicted. The act stated:

> Any person erecting or causing to be erected, a vision aerial in contravention of this Act shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable on conviction by a court summary jurisdiction to a fine not exceeding ten pounds […] This Act shall continue in force until and throughout the thirty-first day of December, 1956.[120]

The new legislation was the first act by the government in using hegemonic power to sustain colonial identity within the island's emerging television broadcasting industry. As the success of *ZBK-TV* proved, Bermuda would need to secure ownership of its own television broadcasting service to articulate a dominant British colonial identity, and lessen the impact of America's cultural influence over its broadcasting landscape. While Hilmes suggests that the radio industry was the foundation for the television industry, she adds, "Control over the new medium [television] would pass smoothly into the hands of the radio giants."[121] With Bermuda's radio *ZBM*, and now the American military's *ZBK-TV* articulating a predominantly American identity, the island saw a shift in its cultural and national identity as Bermuda welcomed the arrival of Britain's first colonial television station, *ZBM-TV*.

[120] 'THE TELEVISION AERIALS (CONTROL) ACT, 1955', Pg 2, Bermuda National Archives.
[121] Hilmes, 'The Origins of Commercial Broadcasting in the US', Pg. 30.

CHAPTER 3

Structuring a Hybrid Broadcasting Industry: The Bermuda Radio and Television Company

The success of Bermuda's radio broadcasting industry in the 1940s and the arrival of the American military's Kindley *ZBK-TV* in the 1950s, can be justifiably attributed to the political and economic relationships that Bermuda had with both Britain and America, as demonstrated in chapters one and two of this thesis. Military negotiations during World War II and key broadcasting developments within the two nations saw Bermuda's own broadcasting industry benefit from the various collaborations. However, while the development of the island's national radio service drew upon the support of the US and the UK and articulated an emerging hybrid Bermudian-British-American national identity in its formative years, it is necessary to also shed light on the impact that the British West Indies had on the emergence of Bermuda's broadcasting industry during the same period. By examining the emergence of Bermuda's national broadcasting service and its connections with other British territories through a colonial/postcolonial lens, this chapter reveals how the political, social and cultural relationships between Bermuda and the West Indies also impacted the island as it began contemplating the television broadcasting model it would come to adopt in the late 1950s.

Examining the Bermuda Broadcasting Company prior to the opening of its television station, this chapter will first analyse Bermuda's connection to the West Indies during the 1930s-1950s, and how its colonial government identified the strengths and weaknesses of its Caribbean neighbours as they navigated the challenges of developing their own radio broadcasting systems. It will highlight some of the key obstacles that colonial governments faced as they began to construct colonial broadcasting systems, and analyse the benefits of having overseas investors such as the Broadcast Relay Service financing their national broadcast structures.

Finally, this chapter will draw attention to Britain's influence on the establishment of the Bermuda Radio and Television Company in 1956 and the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's *ZBM-TV* in 1958. It will analyse the significance of the merger between the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, the *Royal Gazette* and local and foreign investors, and address some of the political challenges the company faced acquiring television programming as the island moved closer to opening Britain's first colonial television station. These factors, coupled with the direct influence of America's broadcasting connections, support the argument that Bermuda's move to incorporate elements of both British and American broadcasting practices and structures through the formation of *ZBM-TV*, and the significant cultural link with the West Indies, although appearing to be a commercial system, constructed what can be described as a hybridized colonial broadcasting system, articulating a hybridized Bermudian-British-American colonial identity.

Caribbean Cousins: Colonial Broadcasting in the West Indies

Within this thesis, a hybrid colonial broadcasting system will be defined as a broadcasting system that is sanctioned, censored and/or controlled by the colonial government, which can also operate and function in a commercial capacity with private funding in the interest of national and public service. Although Bermuda is referred to as being connected to the British West Indies and the Caribbean out of cultural and colonial similarities and geographical proximity, it is not politically connected to these territories today, with many of the nations being independent and classified as former British colonies. However, due to a lack of substantial primary material on Bermuda's early colonial broadcasting journey, this section will refer to and draw upon islands such as Jamaica and Trinidad, identifying parallels within the social, economic and political events in the Caribbean that impacted the formation of colonial broadcasting stations in the British West Indies.

While official colonial radio broadcasting services emerged within the British West Indies region in the late 1930s and colonial television in the late 1950s,

the Caribbean had been a site for the dissemination of colonial propaganda for many years, witnessed as early as the 1920s through the introduction of colonial films. James Burns argues that colonial films "played an important role in the life of the colonised," and "had become a staple of imperial governance in British territories in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean."[1] He argues that the films "reminded audiences of their place in a vast and diverse empire," while "serv[ing] as instruments of propaganda that would be adopted by postcolonial governments."[2]

Lee Grieveson also argues this point, and stresses that World War II played a major role in the development of British propaganda within British colonial territories. He states, "War marked, in many ways, the apotheosis of empire for Britain,"[3] and early colonial films reflected the imperial strength of the British nation. However, by the time the war had come to a close, Britain was forced to address the fact that it was "deeply in debt to the US and unable to re-establish the old balance of power,"[4] requiring it to shift its national and colonial narrative. While Grieveson argues that Britain "harnessed film to instructional and pedagogical functions, putting media to work to shape the attitudes and conduct of populations to sustain colonial governmental order," colonial film was "cinema of imperialism."[5] The use of colonial film in preserving Britain's national image and maintaining colonial power during the 1930s and 1940s was similarly a key focus in the establishing of colonial broadcasting industries. While "film could supplement colonial rule carried out [at] a distance"[6] with the introduction of "mobile cinema vans" and "projection equipment,"[7] radio (and later television), could bring the presence of colonial power into the home.

[1] James Burns, *American Philanthropy and Colonial Film-making*, The Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation and the Birth of Colonial Cinema, Pg. 55.
[2] Ibid. Pg. 55.
[3] Lee Grieveson, 'Introduction', *Film and the End of Empire*. Pg. 1.
[4] Ibid. Pg. 2.
[5] Ibid. Pg 3.
[6] Ibid. Pg 4.
[7] Ibid.

In the early years of colonial broadcasting, there was a desire to link colonial territories with the Motherland, Britain. As early talks of establishing an official colonial radio service emerged, Sydney Head refers to a report of the 1930 Colonial Conference, explaining, "the Colonial Office had explored the acceptability in the dominions and the colonies of such broadcasts from home," with the aim of "creating a new and intimate bond of connections between the British communities…and also possibly its utilization for the purpose of the natives."[8] Much of the Caribbean had already witnessed experimental broadcasting events in the years prior, and according to Head, "The very year that the British Broadcasting Corporation was organized it began experiments with short wave transmissions to the colonies."[9] While he suggests that this involved "untried technology, new concepts of programming, and innovative financial arrangements,"[10] British colonial domination continued to be evident through the arrival of the Empire Service in 1932.[11]

As colonial authorities showed interest in having broadcasting services within their respective territories, the priorities and intentions with the colonial broadcasting initiative, was, according to Head, "the maintenance of home ties with British expatriates overseas and with the dominions."[12] However, the true power and magnitude of implementing a colonial broadcasting service was acknowledged by only a few of the colonial governments. Head suggests that "the Colonial Office, the Crown Agents, the *BBC*, and an advisor on colonial education," were all well aware of the power that a colonial broadcasting service would have. He quotes from the Broadcasting Services in the Colonies report:

> Regular daily contact with the Home Country (and at times with other parts of the Empire) and the repeated projection on the minds of listeners overseas of British culture and ideas, and all that this implies must exert a great influence.

[8] Sydney W. Head, *British Colonial Broadcasting Policies: The Case of the Gold Coast*, Pf. 30-40 Referenced, 1930 Colonial Conference, Great Britain, 1930:9.
[9] S. W. Head, *African Studies Review,* Pg. 39-40, Vol.XXII, no. 2, September 1979.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.

> The effect of this in the long run is perhaps the more valuable, because it is neither direct nor deliberate.[13]

While the colonial entities may have said in their report that the impact of the implementation of colonial broadcasting in the various territories was not direct or deliberate to influencing the colonials, this was not the case. It was evident through the way that they began negotiating and structuring their various broadcasting systems that their true intentions were, in fact, direct and deliberate. This is further illustrated by Head as he highlights the report, stating, "Speaking explicitly about the aims that colonial broadcasting should have, the committee described it as 'an instrument of advanced administration.'"[14] This indicates that they were well aware of the power that the broadcasting system could bring in helping to maintain colonial order. Head refers to the report again, stating that while they suggested that the broadcasting systems could be used "as a means for 'the enlightenments and education of the more backward section of the population and for their instruction in public health, agriculture, etc.,'"[15] it would also bring about a much needed array of "local programming for the indigenous population,"[16] and not just injections of programming from the Empire Service.[17] Head argues, however, that in spite of the claimed educational intentions within early colonial broadcasting, "persuasion and propaganda" prevailed.[18]

Establishing a colonial broadcasting system in the respective territories, once approved, did come with many challenges. While John A. Lent argues "Radio and television […] physically brought West Indians out of their small villages," he also suggests that it "came late to the region."[19] He argues that various factors, such as "the financially insecure position of the people, which made them unable to afford the media; the insularity of the islands; the lack of

[13] Head. Policies. Pg. 39-40.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid. Pg. 40.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.
[19] John Lent. 'THE AWAKENING (1938-44) AND AFTER BROADCASTING: FROM HAMS TO JAMAICA BROADCASTING CORPORATION' Third World Mass Media and Their Search for Modernity.

awareness of the benefits of advertising on the part of merchants, and the lack of extensive electrification on most islands,"[20] all contributed to the delay in the introduction of broadcasting in the Caribbean. Head states that while many of the colonial governors were in favour of introducing a colonial broadcasting system, they were, however, not as keen on taking on board "the *BBC*'s suggestion that each colony should share in the cost of originating the service," or the additional "cost of setting up local reception and relay facilities in the receiving zones."[21] Head argues:

> The Colonial Office left the responsibility for local implementation entirely to initiative in the field. In practice, this meant the personal initiative of the governor of each colony or, in the few cases where a nucleus of permanent European residents existed, sometimes to the private initiative of settler interests.[22]

This suggests that as British colonial governments were in the early stages of establishing their various colonial broadcasting systems, while the *BBC* would be a model and support for content, the actual structuring, financing and operations of each broadcasting service was left to chance, ingenuity or those nations with economic backing. If a nation had a progressive and forward thinking governor who fully embraced the power of a colonial broadcasting station, it would have made various steps to ensure that its nation's broadcasting station was up to standard and on par with other global contenders, even if they were operating on a much smaller scale. However, Head also argues that a primary challenge that the early colonial broadcasters faced was "difficulty of arranging for reception facilities overseas."[23]

Due to the fact that each colonial territory was responsible for their own funding, Head states that they "had no local equivalents of the *BBC* with funds and expertise to undertake local research and development,"[24] and adds, "the earliest receivers equipped with loudspeakers and short wave tuning capabilities

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[20] Ibid.
[21] Head Pg. 39-40, Vol. xxii no. 2, September 1979.
[22] Head, British Colonial Broadcasting Policies.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.

were expensive, cumbersome, and difficult to operate and maintain."[25] These facts alone would explain why Bermuda was drawn to the technological developments and broadcasting connections they had made with America. It would be vital for Bermuda to maintain its strong links with America and direct connections with the *BBC*, as the Colonial Office would have provided little support or no financial assistance in establishing a national broadcasting service in Bermuda. While the Bermuda Broadcasting Company had been met with approval by the colonial government as a privately owned station, other colonial nations that sought to establish commercial broadcasting stations within their countries were often met with government resistance.

Lent, referring to remarks made by a Barbadian radio announcer who described what he saw as the main reasons for a lack of broadcasting, states:

> The legislators and advisors failed to recognize the power of the modern media at their disposal and adamantly refused to grant any applications for licenses which were submitted…Numerous applications for stations were turned down by government because broadcasting 'supported by sponsored programs is not in the interest of the people.'[26]

While this may suggest that the colonial governments often failed to see the full potential of commercial broadcasting, it can also signify that even within colonial broadcasting, which was modelled on Britain's public service system, there was the threat of losing control over the medium. However, while many of the progressive Caribbean nations endured their early obstacles, colonial broadcasting systems were put in place with some of them being privately owned, with the countries benefitting from having established national broadcasting stations. Lent offers a snapshot of some of the emerging industries in the Caribbean in the 1930s and 1940s. He states, "On the individual islands local radio service did not arrive in Barbados until 1934-35, Trinidad in 1935, Bahamas in 1936, Jamaica 1939, Bermuda 1943, Montserrat 1952, Antigua

[25] Ibid.
[26] Lent. Pg. 63.

1955, and the Windward Islands 1954-55."[27] Yet, while colonial governments were adjusting to new broadcast media forms, and the islands had an increase in the distribution of colonial films with the introduction of the Colonial Film Unit in 1939,[28] a new complication was emerging within the West Indies that would further impact colonial broadcasting.

Within West Indian history, the period from 1930s-1950s is seen as one major resistance to colonial power. Labour disputes over wages, work conditions, and issues of unemployment peaked throughout the colonies. Countries such as Jamaica, Haiti and Puerto Rico had workers experiencing illnesses such as malaria and were severely malnourished.[29] Eric Williams states that "the condition of the worker necessarily reflected the harsh realities of colonialism,"[30] and suggests that "most families were heavily in debt; the extent of petty larceny in Trinidad, representing mostly thefts of food, was enormous."[31] He adds, while "food was not only insufficient, it was deficient."[32] The conditions throughout the West Indies were dire, with Williams stating:

> …every [Trinidadian] adult over twenty years of age [was] affected by deficiency disease, and the working life of the population reduced by at least one-half: 'a condition of lethargy pervaded the whole community, which was only broken on festive occasions or in times of disorder.'[33]

Although Nellie Musson writes, "Bermudians [had] been trained not to think of themselves as West Indian,"[34] blacks within Bermuda connected with the plight of blacks within the West Indies, and although on a much smaller scale, took part in their own forms of anti-colonial resistance. Throughout Bermuda and the Caribbean, print media (and later radio) became a direct part of the fight against colonialism and injustice. Lent argues, "The strikes and riots of 1938 that occurred on Trinidad, Barbados, St. Kitts, and Jamaica and their af-

[27] Ibid.
[28] Grieveson, Film and the Empire. Pg. 3.
[29] Williams, 'Twentieth Century Colonialism', *From Columbus to Castro*, Pg. 450-451.
[30] Ibid. Pg. 450.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid Pg. 451.
[34] Musson, *Mind the Onion Seed*, Pg. 144.

termath have been credited with steering the West Indian through his first real identity crisis. As he recognized who he was, the West Indian intellectual wanted to extol his cultural virtues to the rest of the world."[35]

These events, suggests Lent, sparked something within the West Indian psyche that had not previously been creatively or politically expressed before. He states:

> ...for the first time, newspapers, books, magazines, and art works took on the task of describing and portraying the West Indian- in newspapers such as *The West Indian*, in anti-colonial novels such as Adolphe Roberts's *The Single Star*, in books like *Nembhard's Jamaica Awakening*, and in social protest poetry such as that of Campbell and McKay.[36]

These new articulations of black identity challenged colonial establishment. The social unrest that emerged in many parts of the British West Indies, as blacks in particular began to question their identity and their position within the colonial nation, forced colonial governments to take a firmer hand in utilizing the media for *administration*, and new ways of articulating British colonial identity and national unification emerged. Grieveson also states that, according to Paul Gilroy, "colonialism is always war, and so requires, constantly, propaganda; that information, culture, power and government were, from the early twentieth century onwards, complexly intertwined."[37] As such, colonial governments in the West Indies were forced to rebuild national narratives during World War II as rioting and social unrest escalated, as well as modify their broadcasting strategies.

Pradip N. Thomas and Zaharom Nain write, "The early public radio communications facilities set up in Jamaica, for example, were meant to maintain the morale of the population and provide government information during the Second World War."[38] They argue that in addition to setting up various radio

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[35] Lent. Pg. 59.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Grieveson. Pg. 4.
[38] Pradip N. Thomas and Zaharom Nain, Who Owns the Media? Global Trends and Local Resistance, Pg. 76.

broadcasting initiatives, many governments, as in Jamaica, outright purchased various private stations, creating "one of the region's earliest radio broadcasting services."[39] New broadcasting services were formed, and orchestrated programming geared toward national unification indicated a necessary shift that took place in colonial broadcasting in the late 1930s going into the 1940s. Lent offers that early "Broadcasting in the British West Indies owed its inception to the local people's interest in cricket," and the region was heavily reliant on the *BBC*'s Empire Service.[40]

Darrell M. Newton argues, however, "The development of radio programmes for audiences of colour now moved beyond cricket matches, and often included pro-Empire propaganda and implications of racial tolerance."[41] He suggests that broadcasting during World War II in the Caribbean reflected portrayals of blacks unified and fighting for a national cause. He states, "According to reports filed in 1939, after Britain declared war on Germany 10,000 West Indian men, primarily from Jamaica, volunteered to fight."[42] He goes on to argue that the new "*BBC* Caribbean Service, which was now operational, served as a recruitment tool for African-Caribbeans who soon travelled to the UK to assist in war effort."[43] This indicates that various colonial stations, and the *BBC*, were directly involved in using the broadcasting stations to promote war efforts and national collectiveness. This would be vital to a colonial government that was engaged in contestations over employment, social unrest, riots and racial inequality amongst its disenfranchised population. Newton argues:

> After 1941, specific programming featured, among other things, West Indian troops on active service reading letters on air to their families back home in the islands. Through the launch of radio programme *'Calling the West Indies'*, a variety of segments revolved around West Indian culture, not as singular

[39] Ibid.
[40] Lent Pg. 63.
[41] Darrell M. Newton, *Paving the Empire Road: BBC Television and Black Britons*, Manchester University Press, UK. 2011. Pg. 19.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.

> aesthetic, but instead as a host of different, yet familiar forms of island music, dialect, and those individual heralded by the *BBC* as worthy of association.[44]

The practice of displaying colonials in a new light was not limited just to the radio productions being circulated throughout the Caribbean. Colonial films were also shifting. Grieveson states that the Crown Film Unit "would focus not on Britain or on frontline fighting by colonial troops, as other wartime propaganda had, but on the infrastructure which supported the British empire's war effort: food production; the manufacture of military equipment [and] medical and welfare services."[45] He suggests that portraying Britain in this unified light would "help enact the unity the film imagined."[46] While both colonial radio broadcasts and colonial films attempt to construct narratives of national unity within the Caribbean, Newton adds that the *BBC* also had a "pre-war television show, working closely with 'coloured visitors and interviewees.'"[47]

Bermuda's own disenfranchised and marginalized black (coloured) population (as discussed in chapter one), were also considered as the Bermuda Broadcasting Company began much of its early programming during Bermuda's period of social unrest and national identity modifications during World War II. The Bermuda Broadcasting Company, through Bermuda's Colonial Office had requested of the *BBC* content that highlighted and reflected the accomplishments of blacks fighting in the war, as most of Bermuda's early broadcasts were filled with America's military programming and the *BBC's* British Imperial programmes. Yet, Bermuda's colonial government, although supporting the development of its national broadcasting station, was not as forceful and direct in appeasing its calls for racial equality as seen in other colonial territories. Bermuda's extremely small size and geographical distance away from the tempestuous Caribbean islands didn't warrant complete intervention or control over the island's first broadcasting station.

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[44] Ibid. Newton. Pg. 19.
[45] Grieveson. Pg. 5.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Newton. Pg. 20.

This is not to say that social unrest did not exist in Bermuda. For many years there had been demonstrations in the colony against social injustice, racism and economic disparity. Various black newspapers had been formed as anti-hegemonic expressions within Bermuda. Yet, unlike many of the countries in the British West Indies, social unrest and protest was infrequent and generally non-violent amongst the highly educated black protestors in the small wealthy island. Furthermore, Bermuda did not join in the fight for independence from Britain in the way its Caribbean neighbours did. While many of the Caribbean nations were engaged in bloodshed, with significant numbers of lives lost in the fight for economic freedom and racial equality, Bermuda had been preoccupied with technological and economic developments with the arrival of the American military base. Although initially resistant to its arrival, Bermuda benefitted from ties with America, and rioting would have only served to temporarily disrupt one of Britain's wealthiest colonial nations. As indicated earlier by Williams, Bermuda's national agenda was strategically interlaced with its broadcasting structure, and the island's calculated economic and political decisions during the 1940s into the 1950s, helped to secure its position as the first colonial television broadcasting system in Britain's overseas territories.

Navigating Foreign Investors and American Appeal in the Colony

Significant external financial investments shifted the various Caribbean broadcasting systems as they began to head toward television. Throughout the West Indies, as well as in Bermuda, various overseas companies were expressing interest in broadcasting developments within Britain's colonial territories. Lent states, "The mother country's influence on British Caribbean broadcasting was apparent; one had only to examine program formats and ownership patterns,"[48] to witness the influence of the Empire. Surveying some of the early owners of broadcasting companies within the Caribbean reveals that one main company stood out as being the most influential in broadcasting investments and takeovers in the region between 1940s through to the 1960s- the Broadcast Relay

[48] Lent Pg. 65.

Services (Overseas) Limited, with its locally incorporated British Rediffusion Service.

According to the Broadcast Relay Service Limited website, "Rediffusion is the name given by Broadcast Relay Service Ltd to its system of distributing broadcast programmes"[49] to its various subscribers. It is a service that is "operated by local subsidiary companies,"[50] functioning in the UK or in an overseas country, using a wired broadcasting system providing "very high quality of reception."[51]Any transmission to the Caribbean would require a broadcasting system that would be able to withstand the often volatile hurricane seasons, as well as the tempestuous rainy periods. The Rediffusion system was able to endure the challenges of weather, "geographical situation, [and any] 'man made static' due to trolley busses or other electrical machinery [that could] affect the broadcast programme carried by wire [with] no risk of interference from unwanted programmes broadcast on a nearby waveband."[52]

These key factors alone, made the Rediffusion service extremely appealing to the isolated group of Caribbean nations, and especially Bermuda, sitting remotely in the Atlantic Ocean, 1,464 km from the Bahamas, 1,665 km from Miami, and 5,567 km from England.[53] The Bermuda Triangle region,[54] as it is now commonly known, was notorious for its unpredictable weather patterns and its abnormal magnetic affect on technology. A broadcast system that would provide continuous quality communication throughout adverse natural occurrences would be a worthwhile investment for Bermuda as it sought to maintain and further develop communications with mainland America and

[49] Broadcast Relay Service Limited website, www.rediffusion.info. Accessed December 2015.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Online World Clock. www.timeanddate.com.
[54] The Bermuda Triangle, also called the Devil's Triangle, is usually referred to the area between Bermuda, Bahamas and Miami. This treacherous area of the Atlantic Ocean has been the site for numerous missing aircrafts, ships and other mythical occurrences. While stories of this region have been recorded as early as the 1600s, it has been referenced also in early writings and poetry, such as Shakespeare's Tempest. While the area has been researched extensively, there has been no clear scientific explanation as to what lies within the infamous body of ocean. Yet, technological, communicative and transportation initiatives and developments in more modern times have considered the area of the Bermuda Triangle in their strategic planning. This can be seen as commercial aircrafts do not fly directly over the area, but routed around the Bermuda Triangle, often creating a longer flight path.

Britain. Yet, the ability for the Broadcast Relay Service to set up a Rediffusion service in a territory would depend heavily on the willingness of the local government. According to the website:

> The Rediffusion system operates under a general agreement with the Government Authority. An Agreement with the Local Authority grants the necessary permission for the operation of a Rediffusion system in its area, and also grants permission for the erection of the feeder network in the area which is under its control.[55]

This suggests that local governments could in fact, approve or deny the registering of the Broadcast Relay Service in their countries, impacting the type and quality of broadcasting service that it provided for its nation. As in the case of Bermuda and the Caribbean, it was apparent which of them saw the benefits of taking on board the technological and broadcasting 'know how' of the Broadcast Relay Service.

Lent states that in Bermuda (and in Trinidad), the British overseas company, "Broadcast Relay Services (Overseas) Ltd. of London was granted franchises to operate both of those broadcasting systems in 1947."[56] Three years after the official opening of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company radio station, the Broadcast Relay Service had been permitted to operate the local station, owning 45.9% of the company shares.[57] But unlike many of the soon to be independent islands of the Caribbean, Bermuda's broadcasting company maintained its Bermudian-American "feel". It did not change its name, nor did it transform into a new broadcasting system, as seen in Jamaica. By 1949, Thomas and Nain state that Jamaica's "colonial government sold [their] station to the British Rediffusion Group, which renamed it Radio Jamaica and Rediffusion

[55] Broadcast Relay Service Limited website, www.rediffusion.info.
[56] Lent. Pg. 65.
[57] Council Memo No. 224/70, Memorandum by the Member of Finance, Council Memo No. 224/70, Memorandum by the Member of Finance, March 31, 1970, the Bermuda Archives. March 31, 1970 reveals that the Broadcast Relay Service (Overseas) Limited was registered as a UK public company, which owned 45.9% of shares in the Bermuda Broadcasting Company.

Ltd. (RJR),"[58] and according to Lent, used "local subsidiaries, [to take] control of the Jamaican and Barbadian sole outlets."[59]

Like Jamaica, however, the Broadcast Relay Service in Bermuda did also rely upon local subsidiaries to effectively control the Bermuda Broadcasting Company. The Bermuda Archives lists the station's private shareholders as being 45.9% foreign owned, and 54.1% Bermudian.[60] According to Stuart H. Surlin and Walter C. Soderlund:

> Foreign ownership and influence have characterized the national mass media […] for most of this century. Radio and other telecommunications services are prime examples. In fact, 'The very first instance of near dominance of Commonwealth Caribbean media by a foreign enterprise was that of Overseas Rediffusion (also known as Rediffusion International).'[61]

The impact of the various British overseas companies being absorbed into the West Indian broadcast landscape, created, however, a somewhat deeper awareness of Caribbean identity. However, as West Indian unification strengthened, Bermuda was one of the few British colonial territories that became even more connected to American cultural identity, and demonstrated this preference through its broadcasting industry.

As discussed previously in chapters one and two, Bermuda's affinity for America, its cultural proximity to the US allowed for more acceptance of American cultural influence, then by its Caribbean neighbours. According to Thomas B. Ksiazek and James G. Webster, cultural proximity can be "most often used to explain media preferences across national boundaries."[62] They suggest that it is the "appealing notion that people will gravitate toward media from their own

[58] Thomas and Nain, Pg. 76.
[59] Lent, Pg. 65.
[60] Council Memo.
[61] Stuart H. Surlin and Walter C. Soderlund, *Mass Media and the Caribbean*, Gordon and Breach Science Publishers S.A., 1990, Pg. 44.
[62] Thomas B. Ksiazek and James G. Webster, 'Cultural Proximity and Audience Behavior: The Role of Language in Patterns of Polarization and Multicultural Fluency', *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media/September* 2008 pg. 485.

culture."[63] In the case of Bermuda, there were clearly significant deep-rooted connections shared historically with the British West Indies. They both shared the harsh realities of the slave trade and endured the challenges of developing modern nations with limited resources or support from their colonial powers. Yet, the longstanding economic, technological, social and cultural connections that Bermuda had with America, in addition to its geographical proximity to the US east coast, created more meaningful cultural similarities with the US then that felt toward other British colonial territories.

The affinity (although at times ambivalent relationship) that Bermuda had for American culture was also noticed and often highlighted within American media. Although a significant portion of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company was owned by a British based company, the *New York Times* suggested that Bermuda and Bermudian broadcasting was very much Americanized. The newspaper published an article, A Modern Town-Crier, which claimed:

> To the American tourist, vacationing away from soap operas and jazz, *ZBM* will undoubtedly come as a sincere surprise. Far from aping the conservative ways of the British Broadcasting Corporations, the station, which is partly owned by Overseas Rediffusion Ltd. of London, fills the air with a purely American-style of program fare, liberally interspersed with commercials and product plugs.[64]

The article described the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's mild attempt at maintaining its British identity, stating:

> To satisfy the British element in Bermuda, *ZBM* (the first letter gets the British 'zed' pronunciation) carries about four hours of BBC-originated programs a week, including a daily fifteen-minute news broadcast. The station also picks up occasional cricket matches from the BBC and airs two popular BBC comedy programs.[65]

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[63] Ibid.
[64] 'A Modern Town-Crier', *New York Times*, September 3, 1950.
[65] Ibid.

As the *New York Times* highlighted Bermuda's preference of dominant American programming, it made light of the fact that *ZBM* used British pronunciations for their call signs, although the station broadcasted very little British content. Also, the emphasis of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's preference to play jazz and American fare, and the recognition that the station used commercials, indicates that Bermuda's preference toward the US broadcasting style was not only noticed, but applauded by the American newspaper. However, as the Bermuda Broadcasting Company began developing the plans for the arrival of their own television station, Bermuda's colonial government worked to ensure that the island's heavy American broadcasting influence would be curtailed.

The formation of Colonial Television

While the introduction of the Television Aerials (Control) Act in December 1955[66]reinforced the power of Bermuda's British colonial authority, the formation of Britain's *ITV* demonstrated to the Bermuda Broadcasting Company how it could operate as both a commercial and public service broadcasting system at the same time. As the Bermuda Broadcasting Company were in the planning stages for their television service, the *Royal Gazette's* Controversy column printed an article entitled, "British Get Their First Taste of Commercial TV."[67] It was reported that after a "30-year-old wave monopoly of the state-sponsored British Broadcasting Corporation,"[68] British residents were finally able to have commercial television. The article described the opening night of the station, stating that the channel was broadcast within London and "TV officials estimated that about three million people saw the start of the new era in British TV."[69] The article reported that "Nation-wide argument is likely to start immediately- and go on for years,"[70] as there was debate surrounding the value

[66] The Television Aerials (Control) Act, 1955. No.114.
[67] 'Controversy-British Get Their First Taste of Commercial TV', *The Royal Gazette*, Friday, September 23, 1955-(Reuter).
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.

of news programming that had received financing "by advertising," versus news programmes that had been historically produced by the *BBC* without any financing through advertising.[71]

The reporting of the opening of Britain's first commercial broadcasting station was significant for Bermuda for several reasons. It demonstrated that a commercial broadcasting company was achievable without governmental backing, and that in spite of its relative newness, the ITV could exist alongside the seasoned *BBC*. This was reassuring for the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, as it had begun to distance itself more from its colonial conservativeness, and looked to establish more American allegiances, while providing its own financing. The article demonstrated how British politicians were trying to persuade the public not to recognize *ITV*, revealing the more closely connected relationships between the *BBC* and the British government. It reported that Randolph Churchill (son of British Prime Minister, Sir Winston Churchill), had written a letter to the *Times*, raising issues of concern as to the objectivity of the new financially sponsored programming.[72] He was reported to have said that "Most newspapers today welcomed the arrival of competition for the [*BBC*] but there was an emphatic tone of disapproval from some sources."[73] The opinions of government officials surrounding the debate suggests that there had still been a direct connection between the *BBC* and the British Government, and the fears of a commercial broadcasting service were still apparent.

Another significant factor with the article was that it alluded to the fact that ITV would rely on advertising, and suggested that links with local newspaper agencies could prove to be an economically sound marketing partnership in its early years, although the move was not embraced by everyone. Critics were reported to have expressed concerns with the impact that advertising on television would have on the newspaper industry. The *Royal Gazette* reported that, "Mr. McComas from the Express newspaper argued that a 'commercial system

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[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.

of television was doomed to failure and urged the Government to hand over the second channel to the [*BBC*].'"[74] He argued that commercial television would not be an economically sound move for advertisers, as he believed that "'the standards are bound to deteriorate rapidly by comparison with the [*BBC*].'"[75] However, writers from another newspaper, the *Daily Sketch* stated, "It is a liberation because it gives the customer a right of choice for the first time in the whole history of British broadcasting,"[76] a view shared also by the Bermuda Broadcasting Company.

The *Royal Gazette's* publishing of the key debates surrounding the emergence of *ITV* provided an opportunity for the Bermuda public to see a commercial system being negotiated from various standpoints. While it clearly had its pros and cons expressed by the British public and government, the article allowed Bermudians to envision an element of separation from British colonial authority through a more liberal and democratic commercialized broadcasting system. It also allowed for the financial implications of opening such a station to be openly discussed. Like the financial constraints that plagued the colonial governments in the West Indies as they sought to establish their radio broadcasting industries throughout the 1930s and 1940s, the birth of Britain's Independent Television in 1955 also had similar concerns.

While Bernard Sendall addresses the "problems of structure, finance and organisation" [77] within the establishing of *ITV*, he identifies the importance of the Broadcast Relay Service in the formation of the new television station. He states:

> Of the two contractors, Broadcast Relay Service/Associated Newspapers soon to be christened Associated-Rediffusion and Granada (TV Network) Ltd, […] both groups seemed to the [Independent Television] Authority well qualified

[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Bernard Sendall, 'Origin and Foundations 1946-62', *Independent Television in Britain*, Volume 1. Pg. xiii.

> in their different ways to be contractors and also to have the necessary resources for the task.[78]

He states that the "Broadcast Relay Service already operated broadcasting stations in Canada and various colonies," such as Bermuda Broadcasting Company radio, and was deemed to be quite capable and "relied upon to bring enterprising television companies into existence."[79]

The successful formation of *ITV* and the influence of the Broadcast Relay Service were symbolic for Bermuda. It meant that the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, who had already established a financial relationship with the Broadcast Relay Service with their radio initiative, had the possibility of also obtaining the required financial security needed to establish its own television station. And perhaps the final confirmation needed to solidify its choice of a commercial broadcasting structure was the fact that the Broadcast Relay Service had merged with Associated Newspapers.[80] This illustrated for the Bermuda Broadcasting Company the undeniable benefits of partnering with a newspaper agency, and evoked a greater sense of independence from the colonial government.

By 1956, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company had joined forces with the owners of the *Royal Gazette* newspaper and a number of other investors to create the Bermuda Radio and Television Company Limited[81] with the aim of opening the island's first national television station in 1957.[82] While Matthew Murray argues that "Television's hesitant growth in the late 1940s and early 1950s was partly due to economic reasons and partly due to regulatory decisions," [83] the economic and political benefits of the union between broadcaster and newspaper in Bermuda was advantageous. The Bermuda Radio and Television Company would not only have its impact on local radio and television broad-

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[78] Sendall. Pg. 73.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Executive Council. Memo No. 224/70. March 31, 1970.
[82] Although they planned for 1957, they did not actually officially open until 1958.
[83] Matthew Murray, 'Establishment of the US Television Networks', Pg. 36 From Origins to Stability, Michele Hilmes, Pg. 22.

casting, it would also have direct connections with Bermuda's daily newspaper, *The Royal Gazette*. Furthermore, as Price argues, "A monopoly was the best way to sustain an entity."[84] As the island prepared for the arrival of *ZBM-TV*, Tim O'Sullivan's use of Gorham's words sum up the benefits of the new partnership, stating, "Whilst sound broadcasting settled down to consolidate its war-time gains, television began again from nowhere and suddenly revealed itself as a power to be reckoned with."[85]

The formation of the Bermuda Radio and Television Company Limited was strategically created to effectively execute the formation of the island's television station. "Incorporated under the newly formed Bermuda Radio and Television Company Act, 1956 (No. 5),"[86] the broadcasting company was granted the island's first local television license, and permitted to operate radio and television business in Bermuda. While it was led by the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, other shareholders included a wide range of local and overseas investors. Although registered in Bermuda, the actual legal status of the Bermuda Radio and Television Company Limited was, however, not clearly identified as being Bermudian.

According to an Executive Council Memo, the main shareholders of the company, the Bermuda Broadcasting, although "incorporated in Bermuda by Act No. 35" in 1943, was unable to be classified as a Bermudian company due to its extensive shareholdings by the Broadcast Relay Service (Overseas). The memo stated that the Broadcast Relay Service, based in London, owned 45.9% of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's shares, and according to Act 35, could not be considered entirely a Bermudian company. This would mean that as the primary shareholders of the newly formed radio and television company, it could not actually be listed as a Bermudian owned company, although operating in a local capacity.

[84] Price Pg. 32
[85] O'Sullivan, Pg. 30 (cited Gorham, 1952, p. 234).
[86] Executive Council. Memo No. 224/70. March 31, 1970.

Figure 1 below provides a clearer picture of shareholder ownership of the newly formed Bermuda Radio and Television Company. Total capital was 103,585 shares, with the most shares being owned by the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, a non-Bermudian company at 55,700 shares. The lowest number of shares initially owned was that of H. Cooper, a Bermudian who held 10 shares.[87] This breakdown identifies that a non-Bermudian entity owned more than half (54.16%) of the station's shares, although it does not list every shareholder. The memo attributed the lack of data on all initial shareholders to the fact that some shareholders "did not reply to questions concerning the status sent out by the Company, but they are believed by the Company to be Bermudian."[88] While the Bermuda Radio and Television Company was permitted to carry out "the business of Television Broadcasting [and] associated business," the company was also granted use of their license for five years, but it would be renewed "subject to review"[89] by the local authority.

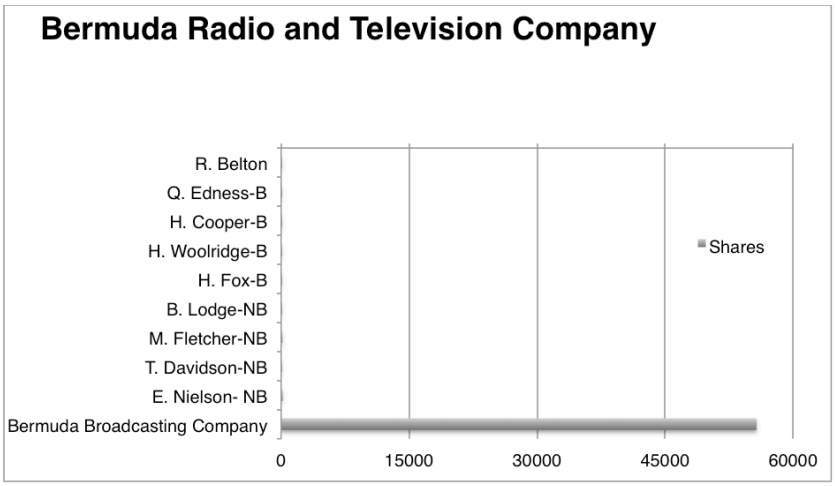


Figure 3.1- A breakdown of ownership of the Bermuda Radio and Television Shares. B next to the name represents shareholders that are Bermudian; NB represents shareholders that are non-Bermudian. The Bermuda Broadcasting Company is not considered Bermudian because 49.5% of the shares were controlled by non-Bermudians.

One of the key features of the incorporation of the Bermuda Radio and Television Company under the Bermuda Radio and Television Company Act, 1956

[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Executive Council, Memo No. 224/70, March 31, 1970.

(No. 5), was the legislative connection to the Bermuda Broadcasting Company Act of 1943. This is significant because although the newly established company was allowed to operate television and radio broadcasting services, it still was subjected to adhere to the legislative policies laid out within the Act of 1943. Some of these key features included the fact that the Governor would appoint a Commissioner to oversee the business operations of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, and at any point was able to request information about its business practices and procedures. This also included the power of the Commissioner to be able to, on behalf of the Governor, "change or [modify] any programme or other matter intended to be broadcast by the Company […] on the ground that to broadcast the same would be prejudicial to the public interest."[90] As a result of its *concern* for the public's wellbeing, the Commissioner was also granted the power to request from the station, "any programmes or other matter prior to the broadcast thereof."[91] This would allow the Commissioner the opportunity to preview all material going out to locals with the ability to block or censor anything deemed to be in violation of colonial legislature.

The involvement of the local authority throughout the development of the new television station, as had been seen in the development of radio, was now overstated. Although *ZBM-TV* was to be a commercial television station, the Bermuda government began requesting various evaluations on the station's progress, indicating its desire to maintain an element of control. In looking at the control of government in forming broadcasting services, Price indicates that, "Given that the public-service broadcasters are organized [or in this case, sanctioned] by government, it is hard to escape the state's heavy hand."[92] Yet, the government's involvement was not entirely unwarranted at other stages of *ZBM-TV's* development. As the Bermuda Broadcasting Company began to organize its initial television programming and scheduling, it was the Bermuda Government that would, through its colonial status, offer support. Initial pro-

[90] The Bermuda Broadcasting Act, 1943, Pg. 193.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Price. Pg. 32.

gramming for the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's *ZBM-TV* would be essential for establishing its national image.

As in many budding television station, Murray states, "Compared to radio broadcasting, television programming was very expensive to produce. There was the initial capital investment required to construct studios and install transmitting equipment […] generating content hour after hours was costly."[93] With the financial inability of creating an extensive array of local programming before the scheduled first broadcast, appeals had been made to the British Film Library for a number of films to be used for television in Bermuda. But the Bermuda Broadcasting Company was informed that Bermuda would only be able to receive content from the *BBC* overseas office if there was a direct request made by the Bermuda colonial government.[94] While the Bermuda Broadcasting Company had established itself as a private/commercial broadcasting entity, Bermuda was still viewed by Britain as one of its colonies, and the island's colonial status was reiterated with the British Film Library's refusal to deal with the Bermuda Broadcasting Company directly. Yet, with its request approved by the Bermudian Government, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company was able to solidify various programmes geared toward public entertainment and education.

Bermuda's initial approved selection of programming from the *BBC* clearly depicted a British national construction, with some of the films being specifically created for educating Britain's colonial territories. While Jason Jacobs states that "British television was characterised by the transmission of live programming, most of which was not recorded," and "the few programmes that survive[d] demonstrate[d] that the technical limitation of the small *BBC* studios did not dampen the creative ambitions of the programme-makers,"[95] the British government, through the *BBC* also had spent a great deal of time creating programmes of British propaganda for its overseas territories. Through the Bermuda Colonial Secretary, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company was able to ac-

[93] Murray, Pg. 36.
[94] Letter from the Overseas Film Library to the Bermuda Broadcasting Company.
[95] Jason Jacobs, 'Early Television in Great Britain' in *The Television History Book*, Pg. 69.

cess a significant array of short documentaries, starting with the Overseas Film Library's commitment of providing the Bermuda Government with 36 films within the first year.[96]

In a letter sent from the Overseas Film Library to the Bermuda Colonial Office,[97]there were a number of 20-minute films that fit into two main genres that the Bermuda Government could access free of charge for the Bermuda Broadcasting Company. Noting first off that these films were free would suggest that the affordability of programming for a newly established television station would be attractive, with the accessibility of such programmes being in line with the historical efforts of the colonial government to ensure its British colonial identity was extensively portrayed across the nation's newest instrument of propaganda.

With a soon to be increased colonial viewership, two main categories of films for television were identified for the Colonial Office, "general prestige for Britain" and "films specially made for colonial territories to put over the "democratic way of life" theme."[98] The extent of British colonial propaganda being pushed within the free programming can be further highlighted by reviewing some of the initial titles being sent to Bermuda to air on the private-national television station, *ZBM-TV*. Some of the titles in the first category were, *Farnborough Air Show, Oxford University* and *London- A Centre of World Finance*. In the second category, there were films for television such as *An English Village*, *Sport in Britain* and *Youth in Britain*.[99] These films, as advised by the Overseas Film Library, would be sent to Bermuda via "normal information channels and presumably be available to Bermuda Broadcasting Company at your discretion."[100]

[96] 'Films For Television', Bermuda Broadcasting Company Limited, September 18, 1957. Bermuda Archives
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid.

While the library noted that it had up to 500 various titles that could be accessed by the Bermuda Government, it also advised that these films would only be "available for loan to colonial government for periods up to four months at a time."[101] The Overseas Library also informed the Colonial Office that the various films that were being sent to Bermuda to be used for television would not be the best quality. They said that many had already been used, and the films would "not be new prints" with some being used "more than others."[102] While the level of quality of local television had been expressed as a concern in earlier years, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company were at the mercy of the colonial government and the British Overseas Library with the quality of programmes they would be able to air on their station. Yet, with approximately eighty-four films to begin with,[103] and an extended lease period, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company readjusted their intended start date to January 11, 1958.

The maiden broadcast was scheduled to air the official opening ceremonies by the Colonial Governor, followed by a special programme produced by the Associated Rediffusion Company called, *This is Bermuda.*[104] This was to be followed by a series of short programmes sent to Bermuda by the British Central Office of Information, comprising a selection of weekly newsreels and news programmes produced on the island.[105] Additionally, while the scheduled programmes intended for the first week of *ZBM-TV* had an abundance of free British colonial programming, they also included a more liberating variety of American-style programmes, combined with a number of local productions. As Michele Hilmes states, "In Great Britain, even as 'Americanisation' was deplored on one hand, British commercial broadcasting made much use of US television series in the 1950s and 60s to win its early victory over the still-stuffy *BBC*," and the British colony was no exception. Bermuda's *ZBM-TV* had a list of American programmes including news shows "flown in daily from

[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Colonial Office Films, Letter from the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, October 29, 1957, Bermuda Archives.
[104] *The Royal Gazette*, Saturday, January 18, 1958, Pg. 7.
[105] Ibid.

New York,"[106] and the *Amos 'n' Andy* show.[107] Other popular programmes included *Alfred Hitchcock Presents* and *Stryker of Scotland Yard*, and a host of local children's programmes, such as the *Junior Club*.[108]

As *ZBM-TV* prepared to enter into the global world of broadcasting, Bermuda proved that in spite of its geographical size, it had established strong financial and broadcasting partnerships with America, maximized its colonial connections with the *BBC* and the British Colonial Office, and recognized the strengths and weaknesses of its Caribbean neighbours in the development of its radio broadcasting industry. For television, the local colonial government's economic and political decisions to work with both the private Bermuda Broadcasting Company and the American military secured Bermuda's position as the first colonial television broadcasting station in Britain's overseas territories in 1958. As Bermuda welcomed the arrival of television to the island, the island's national television broadcasting service continued to navigate contestations of national identity as Bermudian television articulated a hybrid Bermudian-British-American colonial identity.

[106] Ibid.
[107] Hilmes, 'Introduction, TV Nations'. Pg. 2.
[108] *The Royal Gazette*, Saturday, January 18, 1958 Pg. 7.

CHAPTER 4

Contesting Colonial Identity with the Arrival of *ZBM-TV*

The opening of Bermuda's first local television station, *ZBM-TV*, through the Bermuda Broadcasting Company and the Bermuda Radio and Television Company in 1958, saw the island acknowledging its British colonial status, navigating its Bermudian-British identity, while at the same time still trying to manage its dependence on American broadcasting culture. This chapter will examine the circumstances surrounding the development and construction of *ZBM-TV* in the months prior to its launch, bringing to light the economic and geographic factors that strengthened Bermuda's ties with America. It will discuss how these factors contributed to Bermuda's reliance on American broadcasting companies in the establishing of its own television station, while creating a larger wedge between Bermuda's natural connection with Britain and British influence.

Chapter four will then provide a detailed examination of *ZBM-TV's* opening ceremony, identifying how Britain's first colonial television station negotiated Bermudian, British and American identity in its maiden broadcast, drawing on key reports of the ceremony as documented by the island's daily newspaper, the *Royal Gazette*. Paying close attention to the official speeches presented at the ceremony, the chapter will demonstrate how the British Governor's contribution to the ceremony was to promote British national identity and reiterate Bermuda's British colonial status, while other speakers emphasized the island's local contributions and American partnerships in facilitating the arrival of *ZBM-TV*. Thus, as this chapter will illustrate, the dominant *external* influences of America and Britain on the development of *ZBM-TV* saw Bermuda navigating articulations of a culturally hybrid Bermudian-British-American identity in its first national television station.

The early broadcasting relationships that Bermuda had established with America during the 1930s through to the 1950s had proven beneficial to Bermuda's introduction of local television in 1958. Bermuda's colonial government had

celebrated being a part of the historic multi-national radio broadcast of the opening of the *NBC* studio in New York in 1933 with the World Radio Programme,[1] and held its first public demonstration of television technology with the broadcast of US President Franklin Roosevelt's speech at the 1940 World's Fair[2] establishing early ties with some of America's top broadcasters. By 1943, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company had been formed as Bermuda's national radio service with vital assistance from the Kindley US military base, with Kindley introducing a Bermuda-sanctioned US military-controlled television service to the island in 1955 with the opening of *ZBK-TV*. And, although it had been proclaimed Britain's first colonial television service in its overseas territories,[3] Bermuda's *ZBM-TV* benefitted the most from key financial, technological and geographical connections with the United States.

The manifestation of the partnerships that the Bermuda Broadcasting Company and the Bermuda Radio and Television Company had made with various US broadcast organizations cemented America's broadcasting influence on the British territory, and became more apparent as large amounts of television station equipment and a number of North American broadcasting engineers arrived by airplane to support the opening of the island's first television station. In the months leading up to the launch, the *Royal Gazette* reported that the Bermuda Radio and Television Company had paid approximately £25,000 pounds for a pre-constructed television station to be imported from a US based company[4] as a completely packaged television system.[5] With the absence of any television manufacturers on the island, the need to import equipment and supplies for the construction of the new station was essential. According to the *Royal Gazette's* interview with *ZBM-TV's* Station Manager, Walt Staskow, the television unit "was purchased in the United States where there [had been] a demand for many such small, compact and all-inclusive set-ups."[6] He also sat-

[1] Bermuda Participates in World Radio Programme'. *The Royal Gazette*, Nov 18, 1933.
[2] 'Bermuda to See Television', *New York Times*, May 7, 1940.
[3] 'Governor Formally Opens TV Station', *The Royal Gazette*, Monday, January 20, 1958 pg. 1.
[4] Bermuda had received equipment from a company in New York and a company in Chicago New TV Station Opens Tonight, *The Royal Gazette*, Saturday, January 18, 1958 pg. 1, 7.
[5] 'Men Work Night And Day As Deadline for New Television Station's Opening Draws Near: Equipment Costs in Region of £25,000', *The Royal Gazette*, January 5, 1958. Pg. 10.
[6] Ibid.

ed that if they were to have purchased the unit in sections from England, "it would have proved far more expensive."[7] With the construction and development of *ZBM-TV* heavily reliant on its American partners, the dependence for on-going supplies, maintenance and expertise was just as valuable. Drawing parallels with other colonial territories, it can be useful to look at Dietrich Berwanger's analysis of colonial television in developing African nations where he argues:

> Newscasts, documentaries, and TV games were produced on film which then had to be developed and printed in laboratories. These not only required extremely complex equipment and highly qualified staff, but also a regular supply of chemicals and other expendables-which is not a problem unless the supplier is separated from the lab by 3,000 miles, two custom offices, and the currency controls of at least one central bank.[8]

Similar to many colonial African nations that relied heavily on foreign technological importation and expertise in the development of their film and broadcasting industries, Bermuda also was challenged with both its isolated location in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean, and its dependency for the importation of most goods and products consumed in the island. With the cost of importing goods from England being too high, and with the Bermuda's vast distance from Britain compared to the United States, the necessity for Bermuda to solidify a television-broadcasting unit from America was justified. Consequently, with American resources being more readily available and affordable, it was a more viable option for the Bermuda Broadcasting Company to partner with its American neighbours in the building of the colonial station.

Additionally, to have a unit that would not only come packaged with full broadcast capabilities, but also with all of the required personnel needed to get it up and running (who would also provide training for local staff) further validated Bermuda's decision to partner with American companies. While some of

[7] Ibid.
[8] Dietrich Berwanger, 'The Third World', in *Television, An International History*, Edited by Anthony Smith, Pg. 188.

the programmers and engineers, such as radio engineer Aubrey Harris (a member of the British Institute of Radio Engineers) worked on the construction of the station,[9] most of the foreign specialists came from the United States and Canada. The strong North American influence in technical support received by the Bermuda Broadcasting Company was likewise evident in the initial proposed schedule of television programmes that saw *ZBM-TV's* early schedule full of popular American television shows.

For Bermuda, having access to top American programming would also be essential when considering the demands and preference of the local Bermudian audience. Although early Bermudian radio audiences had identified an interest in radio programmes celebrating British achievements during the war, and the Bermuda government supported colonial programming, more than ten years later, however, American radio programming had become the preference amongst the local community. Additionally, it had already been proven years earlier through the significant time-constraints in acquiring radio programming from Britain, that Bermuda's geographical proximity to England was a challenge for the Bermuda Broadcasting Company. Thus, the island's national radio service had already established an early reliance on Kindley for readily accessible American radio programming. Subsequently, although the Bermuda Radio and Television Company had obtained a significant number of British-centred television programming scheduled for their initial months of broadcast[10] which served to promote its British cultural and imperial connection, the company was aware that it would be contending with the Americanized pallet of the local Bermudian audience.

Local viewers who had already been exposed to an array of popular American television programmes through *ZBK-TV* in the years prior to *ZBM-TV* had become accustomed to the US network programmes provided by Kindley. While there had been much national anticipation with the arrival of *ZBM-TV,* there was still a level of apprehension and ambivalence toward the new local televi-

[9] 'Men Work Night and Day As Deadline For New Television Station's Opening Draws Near'.
[10] Bermuda Broadcasting acquires 84 British films for television. Refer to Chapter 3.

sion station. Concerns had been expressed from various members of the community prior to the opening over *ZBM-TV's* ability to provide quality content and variety that would satisfy local viewers. Michael Tracey argues, "it is simply untrue to say that imported television programmes, from the US or other metropolitan countries, always have a dominant presence within an indigenous television culture."[11] While this argument may apply to other territories, imported US television did have a dominant presence in Bermuda. Evidence demonstrated in the local newspaper reveals that, in fact, Bermudians did prefer imported television over local productions. Yet Tracey states, "Certainly they do not always attract larger audiences than home-made programmes, nor do they always threaten national production…As far as we can tell, audiences discriminate and tend to prefer home-produced television, rather than slavishly pursuing imported programmes."[12] Although Tracey was referring to a number of developing colonial countries, Bermuda's cultural affinity with America, heavily based upon its geographic location and economic connections, demonstrates that colonial Bermuda did not attract as much local production interest as Tracey's argument suggests. In fact, by the time Bermuda's local television station emerged, Kindley had already developed a local fan base with clear preferences toward American programming.[13]

Through an examination of various "Letters to the Editor" printed in the *Royal Gazette* leading up to the opening of *ZBM-TV*, for example, it was apparent that many Bermudians who had been watching the now island-wide accessible *ZBK-TV* were concerned that the new local television station would not offer the same quality of programming that they had grown accustomed to with the Kindley station. This sentiment was further reinforced after audiences witnessed various reception issues during the broadcasting of *ZBM-TV's* test pattern the night before the grand opening. On the morning of *ZBM-TV's* official opening, a front-page article in the *Royal Gazette*[14] highlighted the telephone responses from a vast number of Bermudian and non-Bermudian television

[11] Berwanger cites Michael Tracey The Third World, Chapter 15, Pg. 192.
[12] Ibid.
[13] 'Praise and Criticism For New Company', *The Royal Gazette*. January 21, 1958 Pg.1.
[14] 'Flood of Telephone Calls After New Television Station's Test Pattern', *The Royal Gazette*, January 19, 1958 Pg. 1.

owners whose television reception of the test broadcast had "ranged from excellent down to practically nil."[15]

The Bermuda Broadcasting Company received numerous complaints about television reception problems from viewers island-wide. Viewers near Kindley and in the far western parishes reported to have received the worst of the broadcast signal. To add to the viewers' frustration, some complained that they would now have to get an aerial for their television sets, as the rabbit ears that they had used previously to get a clear signal from *ZBK-TV* did not work. While some viewers with rabbit ears reported success, other viewers noted that they had to completely move their television set from its original place in order to get good reception from *ZBM-TV's* broadcast signal. While the direct area near Kindley appeared to have the most difficulty in obtaining a clear broadcast signal, other areas around the island reported receiving a clear feed from the new television station.

However, another major problem had emerged. As the new *ZBM-TV* would be sharing the island's television broadcast signal with *ZBK-TV* on channel 10 (with *ZBK-TV* operating in the morning and *ZBM-TV* operating in the evening), some viewers would be required to adjust their sets throughout the day in order to access both stations. This meant if an off-base television set owner was in the area with bad reception and wanted to watch Kindley in the morning, they could use their rabbit ears and get a signal from *ZBK-TV*, but would have to either move their television set to a new location or obtain an aerial in order to watch *ZBM-TV* in the evening. Although the Bermuda Broadcasting Company had promised a quality television broadcasting service, the reaction from the large number of disgruntled viewers suggests that the apprehension that they had toward the local company was justified. However, as many television owners who had previously good reception with Kindley were forced to make adjustments to the location of their television sets, or required to purchase additional equipment for their set for a clear picture, new television set owners had

[15] Ibid.

the option of purchasing from a wide variety of television sets being sold locally which would offer a more enjoyable television-viewing experience.

While this chapter does not go into a detailed analysis of the types of television sets used or an overview of the island's broadcast technology, it is useful at this stage to provide some context about the selection of television sets being sold as *ZBM-TV* was about to launch. This includes how shop owners may have considered Bermuda's local preference for American technology when advertising the various sets. With the importation ban of televisions from America into Bermuda no longer applicable, many television sets now available to locals for purchase had unique features that allowed viewers the ability to easily access both the *ZBM-TV* and *ZBK-TV* broadcasting signal within their homes. Many television sets were small and affordable with new buyers able to arrange a payment plan as they were advertised to "suit every budget."[16] Specially promoted television sets named after various American states were marketed as being portable and came with a carrying handle attached to the top of the set. The advertising of the portability of the new sets by shop owners signals that they were aware of the potential for problems with reception within the early stages of *ZBM-TV's* broadcasts, and saw an opportunity to take advantage of the opportunity to cater to viewers that would be subject to the constant moving of their television sets from one location to the next in order to access both stations.

Also, having the more user-friendly sets named after American states indicates that the businesses were also aware of the local preference for American culture. But, while the portable American-themed television sets would assist in ease of movement, they would also still require an aerial to be attached for a clearer picture in certain areas. One particular set, however, "The Bermudan," while being sold as a portable unit with a handle, came also with an on-set antenna. This dual functioning television set provided viewers with the ability to access both *ZBM-TV* and *ZBK-TV* with a clear picture, without having to move their televisions to a new location. The creation and sale of the hybrid "Bermu-

[16] *The Royal Gazette,* Jan 18, 1958.

dan" television set not only provided convenience for television viewers to watch both the American base television station and the local Bermudian station, but was also an identifiable technological product that demonstrated Bermuda's cultural and technological merger with America, representing Bermuda's hybrid identity at the start of the island's first television station.



Figure 4.1 A sample of television sets being sold in Bermuda the week that ZBM-TV was opening. Taken from an advertisement in the Royal Gazette, January 18, 1958.

Yet, in spite of the huge advertising push by local companies to sell the wide range of television sets on the island, the *Royal Gazette* reported that up to the day before the opening, there had been a large number of Bermudian residents still without sets. Of the various businesses in the capital city, Hamilton, the *Royal Gazette* reported that, "most people are waiting to see how the local station shapes up before they commit themselves to the purchase of a set."[17] And, although the *Royal Gazette* had a vast array of television set ads printed in its newspaper, it concluded that prior to the grand opening of *ZBM-TV*, "only one store reported selling more sets within the past few days."[18] The large importation of television sets by local businesses indicates that there was a huge level of interest in television within the colony. However, the small number of actual

[17] *The Royal Gazette*, January 18, 1958 Pg. 7.
[18] Ibid.

television sales by new owners prior to *ZBM-TV's* opening indicates that potential television set owners had not been as convinced of *ZBM-TV's* appeal to provide something new for Bermuda, nor were they willing to invest money in a local company that had not yet proven itself in this new arena.

However, after trying to illegally import American television sets, stealing the TV signal from Kindley with makeshift aerials on their homes, to eventually having full access to *ZBK-TV* without government interference, Bermudian residents were finally getting their own television station. As the final pieces of television equipment arrived the night before the opening, with "last-minute parts for the antenna connections [being] flown in from Chicago…and immediately put into place,"[19] the partly Bermudian owned and American constructed television station was ready to broadcast to the "whole [British] colony."[20] Fifteen years after the Bermuda Broadcasting Company had introduced the island's first national radio broadcasting station, the diverse community, including native Bermudians, American military base personnel and British government officials, celebrated Bermuda's entry into international television history, and marked a watershed in Bermuda's broadcasting history. Yet, like the melting pot of local Bermudian labourers, American, British and Canadian specialists working to complete the station, and the technologically hybrid television sets being sold, the opening ceremonies of *ZBM-TV* also reflected the culturally and nationally ambiguous nature of the island.

Broadcasting to the Colony

> For some time they had seen product via *ZBK-TV* from Kindley Field, but they knew it was transitional. *ZBM-TV*, however, was the permanent thing.[21]

Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz argue, "There is a pre-natal link between television and political ceremony," insisting that for many generations, nations have

[19] *The Royal Gazette*. January 5, 1958- Pg. 10.
[20] 'Gerry Wilmont to M.C. Opening of New TV Station', *The Royal Gazette*, January 17th, 1958 Pg. 1.
[21] *The Royal Gazette*. January 20, 1958.

"inaugurated its television system of broadcasting events meant to celebrate continuity, community, and centre."[22] Like the opening ceremonies of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's national radio service years before, the arrival of The Bermuda Radio and Television Company's *ZBM-TV* on Saturday, January 18, 1958, signalled to the country a new era of technological progress, and more significantly, a new era of national collaboration with both its British administration and its American economic partners. It was an opportunity for the country to see first hand that Bermuda was intimately connected to both Britain and America, and that moving forward, the island's broadcast industry and cultural identity would also reflect such amalgamations. As Dayan and Katz state, "nations link the launching of television broadcasting to a major presentation of national identity,"[23] and the opening ceremony of Bermuda's *ZBM-TV* was no different.

In fact, while the privately owned company attempted to project a television station that reflected its diverse Bermudian heritage through a host of locally-produced programmes designed to educate and entertain the public, with a blend of British colonial films and a large number of popular American television programmes, the official ceremony itself, became an ambiguous platform of re-asserting the country's British colonial status while at the same time solidifying its North American cultural affinity. As witnessed in the opening of the national radio service in 1943, the opening ceremonies of Bermuda's *ZBM-TV* also saw the British government lead the event, marginalize its native community, and capitalize on the opportunity to articulate and reinforce Britain's dominance over the colonial territory. Yet, the colony's strong North American broadcasting and US military ties also allowed for a prominent American presence to be articulated. Consequently, Bermuda's historic opening of its first television station had minimal reflection of Bermuda's own native island culture, but further accentuated its ambiguous hybrid Bermudian-British-American national identity.

[22] Dayan and Katz, Pg. 98.
[23] Ibid.

First, the opening of Bermuda's premier television service was not hosted by a local Bermudian master of ceremony, but by Gerry Wilmot, former General Manager of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company radio who had flown in from London for the event. [24] Wilmot, who had been working in both radio and television with companies such as Radio Luxembourg and Britain's ATV,[25] had spent a great deal of time in Bermuda becoming a regular voice in local radio, with prior extensive experience in Montreal radio. Having the reputation of being "familiar throughout Canada for his war broadcasts from overseas,"[26] Wilmot was considered for the role as General Manager of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company[27] in the 1940s when the British West Indies were looking to "organize a CBC-like Crown radio corporation for that part of the British Empire."[28] However, while he had been hired based upon his well-established reputation in Canada, Wilmot became instrumental in bringing live American acts to Bermuda to expose the small "British controlled"[29] country to a variety of American-styled entertainment and nightlife, and promoted American music and artists on the local Bermudian radio station.

During a time when Bermuda was "plagued with a dollar shortage,"[30] with the country having to create innovative ways to attract revenue from its American neighbours, Wilmot launched "a Yank act-importation idea" offering American entertainers free travel and board to Bermuda,[31] amongst other successful initiatives to bring more Americans to the island. In the early 1950s, Wilmot was involved in a number of theatrical projects where he partnered with "the islands' most prominent citizens," including some of the country's top bankers and knighted members of the community, forming the Bermuda stock enterprise.[32] Credited with contracting the island's first professional troupe from Massachusetts who performed for five weeks, and a Canadian troupe that per-

[24] Walt Staskow was taking over from Gerry Wilmot as Bermuda's first television Station Manager, and was also a non-Bermudian.
[25] *The Royal Gazette*, January 20, 1958.
[26] The Billboard 1946.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.
[30] The Billboard, 1949.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid. 1951.

formed in Bermuda for sixteen weeks, Wilmot and his partners also transformed a large ballroom in a popular local hotel into a 450-seat theatre, and sold tickets for their events "in American money."[33] What Wilmot brought to Bermuda was a North American cultural flair with his on-air Canadian sound, as well as a progressive and liberal American cultural appeal,[34] embraced by many in the small and somewhat conservative British colony.[35]

Hence, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's decision to not select a Bermudian to host the historic event, but to bring in the foreigner Gerry Wilmot, signifies several key points. First, it indicates that there may have been a lack of confidence in the ability of a Bermudian to represent the new station on the local and world broadcasting stage. With the new television station already under heavy public scrutiny with their ability to provide top quality service, and with the Bermuda Broadcasting Company ensuring that they did not seem to be too "local," it was essential that the first broadcast ran smoothly, and the national broadcasters could not afford to risk using a less experienced local personality with such a historic task. Further, there had been no Bermudian identified with such levels of international broadcasting experience or demonstrated as much innovation as Wilmot did at that time. Wilmot provided a more professional biography and his international recognition helped to validate the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's new endeavour.

Wilmot was locally connected, British affiliated and North American trained, reflecting the culturally and nationally hybrid nature of Bermuda. Already intimately familiar with the Bermudian public serving as the former head of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, he had an extensive multi-national background proving that he was the most suitable candidate to host the opening of the culturally hybrid television station. Furthermore, his local appeal and com-

[33] Ibid.
[34] Many other North American radio personalities such as Bruce Morrow came to Bermuda after completing their training in America to begin their radio career and introduce the island to more popular American-styled music. Morrow had "apparently set the dreamy isle of Bermuda on its ear," introducing new radio shows. The Billboard, October 14, 1957, Pg. 57.
[35] It had been reported years later that North American staff such as Bruce Morrow brought rock and roll to the island, with him stating that it had been "a very quiet island until I got there." The Billboard June 29, 1968 page 18.

petence had been acknowledged in the local newspaper, with the *Royal Gazette* reporting that the opening ceremonies would "be in the capable hands of Mr. Gerry Wilmot…as master of ceremonies."[36] Yet, while the non-Bermudian Wilmot may have been regarded as a familiar and acceptable presence amongst locals, thus representing the local diversity of the colony as master of ceremonies, there was no question that the British appointed governor would be the one to officially open the colonial television station.

With the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's island-wide broadcast reaching "thousands of viewers [sitting] by their sets,"[37] and many others watching through "crowded store-fronts where sets had been switched on,"[38] the British governor "formally opened the station."[39] As Dayan and Katz argue, the broadcasting of a national event "will reconnect society to its centre [and] demands that we stop all other activity to celebrate an event that embodies a shared value."[40] The people of Bermuda within their homes and in various public venues were joined together and watched as Lieut. General, Sir John Woodall not only inaugurated the opening of *ZBM-TV,* but celebrated the technological advancement that Britain's overseas territory had made. Dayan and Katz state, in these situations, "The broadcasters transmit these events reverentially, and hail them as 'historic' […] when successful, they electrify very large audiences- an entire nation, sometimes the whole world."[41]

Bermuda and the rest of the world witnessed the broadcast of the governor's speech, serving to evoke a sense of British national pride as was reflected with the opening of Bermuda Broadcasting Company radio years before. Dayan and Katz state that historic radio events in Britain, "took advantage of this formula in its earliest days."[42] They argue that the BBC provided England with live radio coverage of "the King to deliver his Christmas message to a nation of ex-

[36] *The Royal Gazette*, January 20, 1958.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Dayan and Katz Pg. 97.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.

pectant households, seated around the loudspeaker."[43] Likewise, as Dayan and Katz state, in America, the practice of using radio to connect with its people was seen through "Franklin Roosevelt's immensely consequential talks to the American people [that] were introduced as 'fireside chats."[44] Just as British and American leaders utilised the opening of their broadcasting stations to connect with their public, so did the British governor at *ZBM-TV's* official ceremony.

In his opening proclamation, Governor Woodall complimented the owners of *ZBM-TV*, expressing that he was "impressed [with] the youth and virility of your private enterprise in this Island Colony," noting that the technological advancement signified a "red-letter day" for the country, and that Bermuda was "the first British colony to have its own television station."[45] Using the broadcasting of the event to establish a mark of historical significance for Britain (as much as for Bermuda) supports Dayan and Katz's argument that "radio and television events no longer needed to be inscribed in a tradition; they could even be events in progress,"[46] creating history as it went along. Yet, while Governor Woodall contributed to the making of history for Bermuda, his obscurely natured speech assured Britain's dominance over the island, and the actual control that the colonial government had over the local television station.

At first glance, Governor Woodall's acknowledgements seem to merely celebrate the accomplishment of the local station. But further analysis reveals, however, that the governor utilised the nation's first broadcast to articulate Britain's colonial power over the island. Although he accredited the Bermuda Radio and Television Company's opening of *ZBM-TV,* noting that it was a local private initiative, his patriarchal tone in his reference to the broadcasting company as youthful, suggests that even though *ZBM-TV* was locally owned, it was still essentially under the control and guidance of British authority. Fur-

[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] *The Royal Gazette,* January 20, 1958.
[46] Dayan and Katz, Pg. 101.

ther, with the governor celebrating the event as a British milestone by making reference to the fact that this was the first television station in any of Britain's overseas colonial territories, Bermuda's British colonial status was re-affirmed as the country watched the live broadcast. This re-articulating of British colonial identity during the opening of Bermuda's *ZBM-TV* would be key for several reasons.

The opening of *Britain's* first colonial television station was taking place in January 1958, the year before Britain was to celebrate 350 years of colonial rule over the Atlantic island territory. As the local government had begun preparations for the historical event, the opening of a colonial television station would certainly support the dissemination of British colonial propaganda, and to officially address the nation at the start of such celebrations would help to build a sense of British colonial pride. Additionally, through the Bermuda Broadcasting Company Act of 1958, *ZBM-TV* was required by law to allow the government free access to broadcast any matter of community importance or political significance. This was further evident at the opening ceremonies as the first programmes shown to the Bermudian public on *ZBM-TV* were various British-Bermudian focused productions and colonial propaganda.

The first film, *This is Bermuda,* produced by Associated Rediffusion of London[47] had been produced several months before, and according to the *Royal Gazette*, had also been "shown on London's commercial television station."[48] In addition to the film about Bermuda, the colonial government had arranged for an interview with the local Governor to also be shown in England several weeks before the station opened.[49] Continuing the British-centred propaganda on *ZBM-TV's* first broadcast, the Central Office of Information had also provided *ZBM-TV* with a "weekly newsreel from Great Britain,"[50] which followed after *This is Bermuda*. Lee Grieveson and Colin MacCabe argue:

[47] *The Royal Gazette*, January 18, 1958, Pg. 7.
[48] Ibid. January 17th, 1958 Pg. 12.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid. January18, 1958, Pg. 7.

> The considerable investment in 'colonial film' by the British- the most sustained and extensive use of film for governmental purpose by a liberal state- was predicated on ideas both about film as a symbol of technological modernity that embodied and projected colonial authority and, relatedly, about its persuasive power over 'unsophisticated' populations.[51]

For Bermuda, this meant that while the broadcasts in London targeted British viewers in order to demonstrate the technological and economic development occurring within its empire, celebrating British progress through the deep connection it had with its colony also promoted a strong and unified British Empire. The airing of the various British-centred films targeted at the local viewers within the colony through the initial broadcast of *ZBM-TV* was meant to reinforce Bermuda's British-Bermudian colonial status, further enhancing Britain's dominance over the territory.

Yet, another reason to re-articulate Britain's control over the island through *ZBM-TV* during the opening ceremonies, was the fact that by 1958, the local broadcasting scene had been dominated by America's broadcasting influence. This was problematic for Britain as it was experiencing a vast shift in its colonial presence between the 1950s and 1960s. Grieveson argues, "Under pressure from subaltern populations, nationalist movements and newly established American global hegemony, Britain's empire began to crumble."[52]Therefore, it was essential that Britain maintained a constant presence (visual and otherwise) within its overseas territories, signifying that broadcasting and *ZBM-TV* became a key tool for colonial propaganda.

In examining the colonial influence of a territory's television development, it is useful to refer again to Berwanger's analysis of African broadcasting where he highlights the significance of a nation's colonial contribution in the development of television. Through this comparison with Bermuda there can be seen a

[51] Grieveson and MacCabe, *Film and the End of Empire*, Pg. 2-3.
[52] Ibid. Pg. 2.

number of similarities as well as differences when examining Bermuda's colonial broadcasting industry. Berwanger argues, "In most cases the development of television in Africa had been initiated by the colonial powers and was established just in time for the new countries to celebrate their independence and gratify their founding fathers."[53] Like nations within colonial Africa, Bermuda did initially draw upon its colonial powers in the development of its radio broadcasting station. However, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, as a private venture, also relied upon local investors and the American military with the foundations of the national radio broadcasting system. Consequently, perhaps for the island's colonial powers, and unlike many of the colonial African nations, Bermuda did not express gratitude to its European colonial ties with the development of the island's first television station. Instead, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company generated independent financial backing through key local private investors,[54] and once again relied heavily upon its ties with America and the American military which minimized the influence that Britain had on television's development.

With the saturation of American radio programming provided by Kindley in the 1940s, and the exposure of top American television shows being accessible island wide by the late 1950s, Bermuda had become deeply connected to American culture. While every endeavour had been made by the colonial government to curtail the impact of America's broadcasting influence by initiating various policies limiting Kindley's broadcasting exposure on the colony, and providing the Bermuda Broadcasting Company with radio programming from the BBC and a large number of free colonial films for the new television station, America's influence over the island had become contentious for Britain. With the governor's address focusing on the island's British connection, and many of the other speakers celebrating the local Bermudian contribution and its strong American connections, *ZBM-TV*'s opening ceremonies highlighted external contestations of national identity in effect.

[53] Berwanger, Pg. 189.
[54] The Bermuda Broadcasting Company had partnered with the top newspaper and radio entities along with a number of local and foreign investors. Refer to chapter 3.

Just as the opening ceremony of Kindley's *ZBK-TV* three years before had reflected a strong American and local Bermudian partnership while negating the island's British colonial status, evident in the omission of the British flag during the ceremony (with only the Bermudian and American flags being flown), remarks from the various American representatives did the same. Connecting more with the local community, the *Royal Gazette* reported that US Consul General S. K Lafoon addressed the colony directly after Governor Woodall, where he stated that "Bermudians should be proud,"[55] with the *Royal Gazette* making no reference to the US Consul General's acknowledgement of the island's British affiliation. Local Mayor, E.R Williams' speech followed the US Consul General's and also addressed the local contribution to international broadcasting, stating, "This station is the smallest station taking care of the smallest audience in the world," with the Bermuda Broadcasting Company having "played a very important part in the culture, education and entertainment of Bermuda."[56] His speech, like the US Consul General's, made no reference to the island's British colonial identity.

To add to the negation of British influence, and in celebration of American cultural identity and the Bermuda-America partnership, Captain Ronald Green of the Kindley American military base was reported to have stated that he was glad that the station was opening as "this [was an] occasion of progress in Bermuda."[57] Further, he emphasized that it was America's innovation and US economic and technological support that had brought television to the island, stating, "Kindley Field was proud to have pioneered TV in the Colony."[58] This statement, broadcast throughout the British territory, reinforced what had been taking place on the island since the arrival of the American military base in 1940, and challenged the projections of British influence on the arrival of *ZBM-TV* to Bermuda. Captain Green's statements confirmed that American cultural influence and technological progress in Bermuda had not only been beneficial for the island, but that Bermuda may not have developed as quickly

[55] *The Royal Gazette*, Pg. 1 January 20, 1958.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid. Pg. 10.
[58] Ibid.

as it had without the contribution from its American ties. And, as Captain Green's speech suggested, America's impact on Bermuda superseded the island's British cultural ties.

While Captain Green highlighted America's significant contribution to the island's broadcast development, he also addressed his approval of local broadcasting's development and the benefits that it could have. He stated, it was "only right and proper"[59] for the local community to have their own television station, and believed that the American-Bermudian partnership could be strengthened with both *ZBK-TV* and *ZBM-TV* working together to "bring the best programmes in the world…and reap the rewards of richer TV viewing."[60]Once again, he negated Britain's involvement, making no reference to an American-Bermudian-British partnership. Following Captain Green, two Bermudians, Hon. H. J Tucker, president of the Bermuda Radio and Television Company and Commander Guy Ridgway, president of the Bermuda Press, addressed the nation.

Although the two representatives of the local company spoke last in the official ceremony, their speeches further underscored local appreciation of their American partners, while distancing themselves from colonial influence. According to the *Royal Gazette*, Captain Green began his speech by first addressing the American representatives, "thank[ing] Kindley for its cooperation,"[61] and then highlighting its local contribution, noting that the Bermuda Radio and Television Company came as a result of collaborations between the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, the Bermuda Press (owners of the Royal Gazette), and the Mid-Ocean News (another local newspaper). He then expressed gratitude to the British Governor, who was thanked along with the various suppliers who provided the television equipment, all of the individuals who worked on the project, as well as the American and British television stations that provided support with programming.[62] He stated that the aim of *ZBM-TV* was to "contribute

[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.

to the news, education and entertainment of these islands," and he made a commitment to bring top quality service while "promot[ing] community interest."[63] It would be noted here that while the model of *ZBM-TV* would be similar to that of *ITV*, there were much stronger ties with America's commercial structure, and the support that *ZBM-TV* received from its host of North American contributors was greatly appreciated by the local owners of the station.

The order of acknowledgements by Hon. H. J. Tucker, with the American military base being singled out first, indicates the actual extent of the influence that its foreign contributors had on the station, and indicates that the opening of *ZBM-TV* came primarily as a result of the company's considerable reliance on American support. Also singling out the collaborative efforts of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, the Bermuda Press and the Mid-Ocean News indicates that the local financial contributions by the key stakeholders was also paramount in the establishing of the television station.[64]Although Hon. H. J. Tucker acknowledged and thanked the Governor, his recognition of the television station's British influence was minimal.

If the viewing nation had not by this point recognized the actual influence of the colonial government in the development of *ZBM-TV*, Commander Ridgway's final speech more directly addressed any ambiguity around the issue. Concluding the event,[65]Commander Ridgway began by initially thanking Gerry Wilmot for his valuable contribution to the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, stating, "He alighted here from the air like a stork to present this station, like a new baby, to us for christening tonight,"[66] recognizing the value of the non-Bermudian broadcaster on the island. He then utilized the opportunity to express his contention toward the government for their lack of support in bringing local television to fruition. Informing viewers that this project had been

[63] Ibid.
[64] Additionally, the merger of the three main media entities also saw the introduction of the island's first media monopoly with the Bermuda Radio and Television Company.
[65] Other guests of the opening ceremonies were the Public Information Officer from the Armed Forces television station, US networks representatives from NBC, CBS and ABC and the head of the British Rediffusion Service in the West Indies.
[66] *The Royal Gazette*, January 20, 1958. Pg. 10.

"near to his heart for five years,"[67] he emphasized the importance of the press and how "it was an essential part of any newspaper's job to provide a rapid and reliable communications service."[68]

As the head of Bermuda's daily newspaper, the main form of communication (and, with it, propaganda) on the island since the mid-1800s, Commander Ridgway described how much technology had changed, and how the *Royal Gazette* had "installed its own radio-teletype equipment providing instantaneous receipt of the latest news from London and New York," demonstrating his commitment to the island's technological advancement. In order to keep up with global technological developments, Commander Ridgway told viewers that his company had tried to introduce television to the island five years earlier, and that the country could have had "a TV service here two years ago or more."[69] He emphasized that his company had been met with "a series of frustrations and delays" from the government when trying to introduce television to the island. Yet, he informed viewers, "the US Air Force requested permission from the Bermuda Government to operate a station," and were approved for the opening of *ZBK-TV*, and "Kindley began to telecast."[70]Although Commander Ridgway's comments indicate a subtle ambivalence towards the arrival of Kindley *ZBK-TV* before the introduction of the local television station, his dissatisfaction expressed toward Bermuda's colonial government in hindering the local company's development, was more apparent.

While the British Governor pushed to articulate a strong British colonial identity at the beginning of the opening ceremony, and the local and American speakers emphasized more of the Bermuda-American partnership throughout the ceremony, with Commander Ridgway expressing displeasure toward the colonial government by the end of the national event, the ambivalent and often ambiguous sentiments expressed throughout the opening of *ZBM-TV*, were reflective of the political and cultural dynamics of colonial Bermuda during the

[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.

late 1950s. As the analysis of *ZBM-TV's* official opening ceremony demonstrates, Bermuda recognized its British colonial status, celebrated its local contributors, and embraced its American partners while articulating a culturally hybrid Bermudian-British-American national identity in its maiden broadcast to the country. [71] However, further examination into the first year of *ZBM-TV* reveals how America's cultural influence continued to impact not only Bermuda's broadcasting industry, but how it also deeply penetrated the social and economic fabric of the island, drawing the nation closer to a more dominant American cultural presence.

The First Year of *ZBM-TV*

The opening of the colonial television station was important for Britain in being able to articulate a continuous British identity within the British territory. Yet, the strength of Bermuda's ties with America became even more pronounced throughout 1958 with key economic and cultural events taking place all over the island. Moreover, the island had seen first hand the significant contribution that Kindley Military base had made in not only introducing television to the island in 1955, but also the critical role that the Americans had played in supporting the Bermuda Radio and Television Company in providing the nation's first local television service.

Through a series of complaints recorded in the *Royal Gazette* following the opening of *ZBM-TV,* there was a clear indication that while many Bermudians had prepared for the arrival of local television by purchasing the required sets and aerials, many viewers had been left disappointed with not being able to

[71] Not having the full and detailed version of all the speeches presented at the opening of ZBM-TV presents various limitations in being able to offer a completely unbiased and objective critique of the opening of Bermuda's first television station. However, the fact that the Royal Gazette, as the country's primary archival source, printed only particular aspects of the speeches which primarily celebrated the island's American-Bermudian partnerships and minimalized Britain's actual influence over the colony's official proceedings, indicates that the British colonial island had, in fact, fully embraced the cultural practices of America and respected and valued the partnership. From the Royal Gazette's demonstration of defiance in the printing the British-mandated decree of ending slavery while also printing ways for local owners to sell their slaves to the American south in the 1830s, one hundred years later, the Royal Gazette continued to demonstrate its American preference over its British colonial rulers.

access the historic opening. Other viewers more blatantly criticised the local Bermuda Broadcasting Company in its ability to provide quality service and programming content for the Bermudian public, suggesting that the country should appreciate its American broadcasting ties, and return to an American-television dominated island. The factors surrounding *ZBM's* viewers' response, contested in the early months of the television station, along with a discussion of the introduction of various American-centred initiatives within the first year of *ZBM-TV,* are highlighted here in order to further address how a preferred American cultural identity was promoted while the island's own local identity was negotiated.

Although General Manager, Walt Staskow told the *Royal Gazette,* "We were very pleasantly surprised there were so few hitches,"[72] the live broadcast of the event had been marred by significant reception issues reported across the island. With a fallen transmitter causing the station to be temporarily taken off air the day after the opening, the initial days of *ZBM-TV* were met with severe criticism. According to the *Royal Gazette's* front page headline, "Governor Formally Opens TV Station; Winds Fell Aerial Tower Last Night,"[73] a large number of complaints had come in from viewers that had the required equipment needed to access the new station, but were not able to watch the opening ceremony. The *Royal Gazette* reported, "Residents from a number of areas were complaining bitterly yesterday of poor reception or no reception at all."[74] From the East end of the island where Kindley was located it was reported, "hardly anyone could pick up the station except those living on high ground where the reception was said to be 'fair.'"[75]

Reports coming from the opposite end of the 24-mile long island were that "reception at the West End was 'not quite as good' as that from the Armed Forces Station at Kindley Field."[76] Some viewers reported "they had been receiving a

[72] *The Royal Gazette*, January 20, 1958 Pg. 10.
[73] Ibid. Pg. 1.
[74] Ibid. Pg. 10.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.

buzzing noise on Saturday night"[77] which eventually cleared up, but they had missed the entire official opening. To add to the frustration, the *Royal Gazette* reported that residents who previously had "the best possible reception from Kindley Field now complain[ed] of 'rather poor' *ZBM-TV* reception."[78] Yet, Staskow continued to assure the public that service from the Bermuda Radio and Television Company would get better and that they should be patient. He told viewers, "The main reason people were not receiving the local station is because they have not turned their antennas away from Kindley Field and in line with the new station," confirming that "antennas will have to be turned to get Kindley by day and *ZBM* at night."[79] For viewers that had purchased sets with aerials and antennas but still had no reception, this caused further annoyance.

For television set owners who were able to watch the local *ZBM-TV*, critics expressed that the programmes provided on the local station were not good enough and did not meet the standard set by *ZBK-TV*. The Bermuda Broadcasting Company had indicated that it would provide "the best TV films that were available,"[80] as well as feature a host of locally produced educational and entertainment shows, sports, "local and foreign forecasts," popular religious programmes, in addition to an array of late night movies.[81] However, as many of the key critics had pointed out, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company could "only offer about four good programmes a week,"[82] with the remainder being "juvenile trash that hasn't been seen on an American screen for five or ten years."[83] Bermuda's viewers did not want to see old American films on the new Bermudian television station, and as some critics stated, "we are shown quite enough of them at the movies."[84]

[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid. Pg. 10.
[80] *The Royal Gazette*, January 21, 1958 Pg. 3.
[81] *The Royal Gazette*, January 19, 1958.
[82] *The Royal Gazette*, January 21, 1958 Pg. 3.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.

The ambivalence shown here toward the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's selection of American television films provided on *ZBM-TV* suggests that while the public had enjoyed much of the programmes provided by the American television networks, they would not be subjected to the worst of American content. The referral of the low quality television programming as "juvenile trash"[85] by critics reported in the *Royal Gazette* indicates that the colony had developed a preference of high quality current programming provided by the Kindley base. With local taste having become accustomed to popular American television shows through *ZBK-TV*, critics such as "Bitterly Disappointed" and "Thoroughly Disgusted" argued in the *Royal Gazette's* Letters to the Editor that Bermuda should not become a dumping ground for America's television garbage.[86]While these critics expressed dissatisfaction of *ZBM-TV's* low quality television programmes, these sentiments also indicate that Britain's high moral attitude was still present.

Yet, for *ZBM-TV*, it had been more economical for the Bermuda Radio and Television Company to acquire a connection with American networks where they could actually obtain cheap programming, which included some of the not so popular and much older television films. According to Lisa Parks in her analysis of the exportation of American television, "The international distribution of US television programmes started in the late 1950s just as nation-states around the world began developing national television services."[87] The time period that she indicates was exactly during the time that Bermuda was developing its own national television service *ZBM-TV* in 1958. She states, "Most of these services were influenced by one of three models that had taken shape during the early days of radio broadcasting,"[88] with other nations (like Bermuda), having "combined elements from them."[89] As seen in Bermuda's radio development, *ZBM-TV* had formed a culturally hybrid colonial broadcasting model, incorporating significant attributes of the British public service model, as well as the American commercialized broadcasting style. Therefore, the lo-

[85] Ibid.
[86] Royal Gazette, January 21, 1958 Pg. 3.
[87] Lisa Parks. The Television History Book, Pg. 115.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.

cal company's television programming content also reflected the culturally hybrid nature of the local television station.

However, while the British Colonial Office had provided the Bermuda Radio and Television Company with a wide range of free colonial films for television, the company had also accessed a range of television programmes for *ZBM-TV* from America at a low cost. As Parks indicates, "Production costs for [local] programming were very high"[90] and many new stations were not equipped to deal with the financial burden that having a television station entailed. She argues that "it was often more cost-efficient for television stations to purchase and air already-existing, syndicated US television series rather than make their own shows."[91] While the Bermuda Radio and Television Company had already demonstrated that it was a financially sound venture, and the island's affluence allowed for the privatization of Bermuda's national television service, the ability to consistently produce television programmes that could compete with the standard of its American neighbours exceeded even the pockets of the wealthy colony.

This had been a challenge for many nations and significant deals had been made in order to solidify their television stations' demand for programming. In the same year that the Bermuda Radio and Television Company opened its national television service, establishing ties with ABC's Worldvision,[92] Parks states that "commercial television was in operation in twenty-six countries due in large part to the enterprising expansion of US television networks."[93] The importation of American television programmes into Bermuda and other countries, however, did not only benefit the new television broadcasting industries. The dissemination of American television programmes served a much greater purpose. According to Parks,

[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Parks. Pg.115. Parks refers to Schiller, 1992, pp.126-7.
[93] Parks. The Television History Book, Pg. 115 Parks refers to Barnouw, 1991, p. 230.

> By cultivating the growth of television stations around the world, US networks NBC, ABC and CBS attempted to guarantee future exhibition outlets for US television series and to assert spheres of influence during a time of Cold War politics.[94]

This indicates that by providing countries with low-cost access to American culture via their various television programmes, US television exports effectively would help to strengthen American national identity within the world's broadcasting communities. For Bermuda, things were no different. While the Bermuda Broadcasting Company provided a number of older American television films on *ZBM-TV* contributing to the island's American cultural presence, in addition to the combination of locally produced and colonial programmes, Bermuda still had the fully-American *ZBK*-TV broadcasting daily. With *ZBK-TV* broadcasting non-stop American programming in the morning, and *ZBM-TV* broadcasting a mix of American, British and Bermudian content in the afternoon, Bermuda experienced exposure to a dominant American broadcast culture on a daily basis. While the Bermuda Broadcasting Company attempted to provide American shows for the public, many locals still preferred the more up-to date and popular American *ZBK-TV*. The *Royal Gazette* reported:

> Kindley's TV station seem to have done a major job of telescoping favourite programmes into the hours at their disposal. Some of these, now to be shown in most instances several hours before their former scheduling are Strike it Rich, World News, Oh Susannah [and] Kraft Theatre…[95]

The fact that Kindley had an agreement with a number of US television networks, granted through the AFRTS allowed the US base to have an extensive selection of television programmes to choose from to air on Kindley-TV. Additionally, by 1958, *CBS* and *NBC* had allowed the Armed Forces Radio and Television Service the right to "continuous licenses to record, distribute and broadcast their regularly scheduled network programs."[96] The AFRTS also re-

[94] Parks. Pg. 115.
[95] Royal Gazette, January 20, 1958 Pg. 10.
[96] Armed Forces Network Website-http://afrts.dodmedia.osd.mil/heritage.

ceived from a number of other agencies a "continuous gratis waiver to record, distribute and broadcast commercial-free radio and television programs."[97] This meant that Kindley's *ZBK-TV* was able to provide its US personnel and Bermudian viewers with a concentrated selection of the more desired television programmes during their half-day broadcast allotment. Between the hours of 12pm and 6pm daily, Kindley television was able to offer both the American and Bermudian public a taste of quality American television culture.

While Parks' argument that the exportation of US network programmes assisted in the exposure of American culture worldwide applies to the context of Bermuda, it must also be noted that the intention of Kindley television and the AFRTS was never to compete with local broadcasting. While Kindley's contribution of television to Bermuda was significant, its main audience was military personnel who wanted to be entertained and reminded of the comforts of home. Bermudians, however, as a result of initially stealing the broadcast signal and then eventually having full access to Kindley's television programmes, became an unintentional audience. According to American Forces Network Historical Website, AFN initially was geared mainly toward the various troops in West Germany and in West Berlin, but saw the creation of what they describe as "a 'shadow' audience of significant size." It states, "Even without any conscious effort to attract the foreign audience, AFN probably enjoyed a regular, German and European listening population greater than the size of its primary audience."[98]

While a full audience analysis is beyond the scope of this chapter, it is relevant to add that with Bermuda being one of the earlier American Armed Forces posts to have a television service,[99] the island's local population (Kindley's shadow audience), had exposure to Kindley's broadcasts several years before getting their own television station. Thus, like many other "shadow audiences" of Armed Forces radio and television, Bermudian viewers found that "Ameri-

[97] Armed Forces Network Website-permission was granted from AFTRA, DGA, SAG, WGA-E and WGA-W.
[98] AFRTS Historic Website afrts.dodmedia.osd.mil/heritage/first 50 AFRTS' Impact on Shadow Audience pg. 86 Chp. 19.
[99] Ibid. Pg. 83.

can programming offered a lively alternative to the more conservative programming of the *BBC*,"[100]enhancing cultural ties between America and Britain. While Kindley may not have purposely meant to create competition between *ZBK-TV* and *ZBM-TV* by choosing to broadcast the most popular television network programmes within its time slot, it certainly put more pressure on the local station to give people what they had promised. While Bermuda adjusted to its early days of television, with critics continuing to highlight flaws with the new *ZBM-TV*, other new ventures on the island were emerging that drew the colony into much deeper cultural and economic relations with the United States, beginning with Kindley undergoing plans for expansion on the British territory.

Right at the start of 1958, while the local community had been engaged in celebrations of *ZBM-TV*, Kindley had already made an application to the local government for an increase of six hundred new homes to cater to the arrival of US servicemen's families wishing to relocate to Bermuda. There had been significant economic, political and social concerns raised during the initial arrival of the hundreds of American military personnel in 1940, but by 1958, however, the US base had proved that it was more of a vital asset for Bermuda than a liability. However, the local government did not immediately give in to Kindley's request for expansion. Bermuda had been engaged in its own discussions around local housing as the country was already in "urgent need of securing an outlet for the increasing population."[101]

Home availability for locals had already been impacted by the extensive number of units that Kindley utilized, with concerns of "young Bermudians getting married and being unable to find houses because of [American military] service rentals"[102]being problematic. In the House of Assembly it was debated by some that six hundred homes was too many for the Americans, and that one hundred would be more ideal. Other members of the House suggested that the Americans' extravagant request should be granted, as it was argued, "If it were

[100] Ibid. Pg. 86.
[101] Royal Gazette January 21, 1958 Pg. 3.
[102] Ibid.

not for the Americans, God knows where our economy would be today,"[103] with some "suggesting that we should make certain sacrifices in the interests of the democratic countries of the world."[104] While these debates indicate the main reason for Bermuda's hesitancy in granting Kindley with its request for more houses, it also suggests that while some members of the government were quick to give away Bermudian land to the Americans, others within the government still held local Bermudian interest as a priority over the lure that the Kindley brought.

This was accentuated with the counter offer that Bermuda presented to the US Government, which saw a request being made for all Bermudians traveling to the United States from Bermuda to be exempt from needing a visa. [105]For Bermudians who were still British subjects and needed visa clearance to enter the United States, the ability to travel to the US without visa restrictions would open up a host of additional business ventures, promote US tourism, and, as far as Bermuda could see, would foster stronger ties between the two nations. Likewise, having an approved increase in housing for US servicemen would demonstrate to the US Government that Bermuda was open to continue to have the base on the island, and support US expansion on the British territory.[106] While negotiations between Bermuda and Kindley were underway, many more initiatives materialized in 1958 that strengthened the economic partnerships that tied the colony to its Atlantic neighbours. In a detailed account of many of the notable economic and cultural exchanges taking place in Bermuda during 1958 which further enhanced Bermuda-America relations, the *New York Times* reported that Bermuda started the year off experiencing an increase in visitors from the United States with "well over forty thousand tourists flocking"[107] to the Atlantic island for vacation and business. Additionally, as the Bermuda Government had begun preparations for its 350-year celebration of colonial rule, it was reported, "Promotion for this festival year will begin shortly and is

[103] Ibid
[104] Ibid
[105] Royal Gazette January 21, 1958 pg. 1,3.
[106] The US Government expressed that they would engage in visa-exemption discussions with Bermuda, but that Bermuda should not hold its request over the US Air Force as a condition of the housing agreement, as they were in need of accommodation with one issue not directly impacting the other.
[107] New York Times February 23, 1958 Bermuda Anticipates Record Spring.

expected to help boost 1958 travel."[108] The huge increase in visitor arrivals meant that there was also a need for an increase in transportation links between Bermuda and the United States. The island saw an increase in ship arrivals, and a number of new airlines servicing key US destinations were created, with one being "A Bermudian-incorporated company, composed primarily of English interests"[109] attempting to break into the Bermuda-New York market. Eastern Airlines also committed to a round-trip service between Bermuda and Washington providing 95,000 seats between the months of March and September.[110]

With the influx of US tourists, a number of local hotels sought to cater specifically to American guests. One particular hotel was reported to be "an American syndicate for a new 200-room hotel," while another utilized Bermuda's natural landscapes to make "a beach hotel of the kind made popular in Miami and with all the conveniences and modern devices."[111] For a more colonial Bermudian experience, it was reported that a Bermudian-owned hotel was designed as "an attractively planned cottage colony,"[112] reflective of the island's British influence. In addition to the regular vacationing tourist, the Bermuda Government targeted students on Spring Break, introducing "College Week." Through this initiative, over 4,000 college and university students travelled to Bermuda for a host of activities, including a series of rugby events that saw participants from top universities such as Harvard and Princeton.[113] As the successful rugby event had proven, and as Bermuda had already known, sports-tourism was lucrative and another way in which to articulate and celebrate the island's culturally hybrid national identity.

Through its various initiatives, the Bermuda Government capitalized on its own wealth, location, climate and sporting reputation to attract some of America's top athletes to the island's most popular and affluent sporting events of the year. The *New York Times* reported that Bermuda had injected over $60,000 of

[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Ibid.

the $300,000 needed for a horseracing track, "attracting good runners from the United States during the months when northern racing is either slow or non-existent."[114]It hosted a number of top golf tournaments, including the 28th Bermuda ladies' golf championship, the Bermuda amateur golf championship, and an 18-hole tournament for both men and women. Tennis was another key sport being marketed, with Bermuda hosting Jack Kramer's professional tennis tournament held at the island's Tennis Stadium and the Singles and Mixed Doubles Championships at the Lawn Tennis Club.[115] There had been a number of fishing tournaments, with 1958 being a "record-breaking year in which women anglers carried off top honors and set new world marks."[116]

Rosaleen Smyth argues that sport was "one of the most enduring links between Britain and the former colonies in the postcolonial era, a masterstroke of public diplomacy,"[117] with the sporting event having the ability to evoke "nationwide interest and enthusiasm."[118]With cricket and football being extremely popular in Bermuda due to its strong British connection, and the sports being accessible to all walks of Bermudian life, Britain's influence was very present within the local sporting world. However, if there was one sport that completely aligned Bermuda and America, it was sailing, as it was accessible mainly to the wealthy and more elite athletes who generally had strong American-Bermudian connections.

The expense involved in the sport immediately cancelled out the majority of the local community, and with the Eastern coast of the United States sharing the Atlantic Ocean with Bermuda, the island's small elite group of Bermudian yachtsmen were marketed to the United States as the face of Bermudian sailing. By June 1958, Bermuda had already hosted the International Yacht Race Week, the "International One Design yacht races for the Prince of Wales Cup," attracting hosts of top-level participants. But it was Bermuda's hosting of the

[114] Ibid.
[115] New York Times February 23, 1958 Bermuda Anticipates Record Spring.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Rosaleen Smyth. Images of Empire on Shifting Sands: The Colonial Film Unit in West Africa in the Post-war Period. Film and the End of Empire. Pg. 167.

bi-annual Newport to Bermuda yacht race in 1958 that attracted the most affluent and prestigious sailors from the East coast of America, evoking a strong sense of Bermuda-America national pride.[119] The *New York Times* described it as "a great sporting and social event which is regarded by Bermudians as a fixture of their island life and a symbol of the close ties with the American mainland."[120]

The intimate partnerships seen between Bermuda and America throughout the first year of *ZBM-TV* and within the island's sporting year was sealed up with a collaborative broadcasting initiative celebrating one of America's key national sporting events. Kindley's *ZBK-TV* and Bermuda's *ZBM-TV* in October, 1958 joined together and restructured their television programming schedules to jointly broadcast the 1958 US World Series.[121] Victoria E. Johnson, drawing on the work of Anderson and Curtin, argues that sports and broadcasting have "'give[n] voice to local communities, promoting the values of citizenship and the unique character of local cultures,'" with both being essential to the "'ideologies of the 'national.'"[122] This suggests that just as the opening of *ZBM-TV* had been key in the articulation of Bermudian-American-British national identity in its opening broadcast, merging *ZBM-TV* and *ZBK-TV* to feature one of America's most nationally identifiable sporting events in Bermuda, demonstrates the level of connection that Bermuda and American shared and were willing to celebrate.

For Bermuda's broadcasting industry, although *ZBM-TV* had endured extensive criticism throughout its first year, the local television station proved that it was capable of providing a good service to its local community. It had continued its various collaborations with *ZBK-TV* with various special projects, such as the 1958 Christmas special "with the two stations pooling their resources to pro-

[119] To date, Bermuda has been chosen for the first time in history to host the America's Cup Race in 2017 which has injected millions of dollars into the local economy and opened the island up for stronger sporting ties with America.
[120] New York Times February 23, 1958 Bermuda Anticipates Record Spring.
[121] The Royal Gazette, World Series Games. October 5, 1958.
[122] Victoria E. Johnson. Historicizing TV Networking Broadcasting, Cable, and the Case of ESPN TV and Sport: From Broadcasting to Cable and Back Again in Media Industries by Jennifer Holt and Alisa Perren. Pg. 61. 2009.

vide excellent afternoon and evening entertainment"[123] for Bermuda's television audiences. It had fixed the challenges with its broadcasting signal, and by 1959, was reported to have had a much stronger signal than Kindley-TV.[124]The Bermuda Broadcasting Company and the Bermuda Radio and Television Company had survived a crucial year of broadcasting. Financial investments from their private investors allowed the local television station to continue, although operating only part-time. This, however, was not the same situation for Kindley-TV.

As the AFTV re-assessed its financial circumstances with its overseas television stations, it was decided that based upon the fact that Kindley-TV was being broadcast for only half-days, it was not feasible to continue television broadcasting operations. Kindley representative, Commander Ronald Green, informed the local government of its intention to shut the television station down. An official press statement reported:

> Now that *ZBM*-TV has a strong signal and has improved its programming to a point where it effectively serves Kindley as well as Bermuda, we have decided that our station is no longer needed and, in the interest of Air Force economy, we are ceasing telecasts as the end of this fiscal year.[125]

Captain Green acknowledged his pride with Kindley being the first television station on the island, and how much support they had offered Bermuda as it was developing its own television station. He emphasized that Kindley television was primarily for the US personnel "to give them a feeling of 'at home' atmosphere while stationed overseas,"[126] but felt that the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's *ZBM-TV* was "'doing a good job' of programming in relation to the needs of the US service personnel, and there was every indication that the station will be able to continue its operation indefinitely."[127] Managing Director of the Bermuda Radio and Television Company, Walt Staskow, revealed

[123] The Bermuda Recorder. House Gets Formal Notice On Closure of Kindley TV Station.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid.

that he regretted "that the Armed Forces Station was going off the air," and admitted that "its personnel were a great help when *ZBM-TV* first started a year ago."[128] While Staskow made no clear indication of how *ZBM-TV's* television programming schedule would adjust with Kindley's closure, he did however state that the relationship between *ZBM-TV* and *ZBK-TV* "was yet another example of the goodwill which exists between the people of Bermuda and Kindley Air Force Base," and offered to "make as much time as possible available for special shows of particular interest to American Armed Forces personnel stationed in Bermuda."[129]

The closure of Kindley's *ZBK-TV* in 1959 was the first major event in Bermuda that saw a shift in articulations of a strong American presence being renavigated to address the island's strong British colonial affiliations. With the island celebrating its 350th anniversary of British colonialism, the closure of *ZBK-TV* helped in strengthening the island's national broadcasting service, with
the arrival of the new British Governor helping to bring British colonial identity to the forefront of national articulations. However, as the country acknowledged it colonial heritage, its marginalized black community forced the island's white hegemony to address it racial segregation policies, taking Bermuda into one of its most prolific and racially charged periods in its history.

[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid.

CHAPTER 5

Securing Colonial Hegemony: Race and Segregation in Bermuda's National Broadcasting Service

As chapters one through four have demonstrated, external contestations of national identity negotiated between Bermuda, Britain, America (and at times the colonial Caribbean) within the development of Bermuda's broadcasting industry, allowed for a hybridized broadcasting system to emerge and develop between the 1940s and the mid-1950s. However, as this chapter (and chapter six) indicates, internal contestations of identity and race also contributed to the transient nature of Bermuda's culturally hybrid identity toward the end of the 1950s into the early 1960s, shaping both hegemonic and anti-hegemonic broadcasting and media outlets within the colony. As these chapters address the colony's racial attitudes towards its marginalized black community, it is worth noting here that while Bermuda's racial groupings are presented within this thesis as homogenous (ex. black community/white colonial), there were, and still are various differences in attitudes and beliefs within the specific groups toward race. For example, not every black Bermudian engaged in the protests for integration. Likewise, not every white Bermudian shared the racist attitudes of the white hegemony. However, from an overall national perspective, it was clear that white Bermudians were viewed as a separate group from black Bermudians based upon racial classification with colonial attitudes reinforcing white superiority. Thus, the following chapters highlight the impact of race relations within the colony based upon racial ideology formed throughout Bermuda's historic journey, and its purpose in understanding the racial nuances of Bermuda's developing broadcasting industry.

By the end of 1958, Bermuda had come to embrace the nationally hybrid dynamic of its broadcasting industry. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, the island's national broadcasting company had solidified ties with the American military's Kindley Base, articulated a strong American cultural presence through its radio and television programming, and demonstrated a heavy reliance on North American broadcasting expertise, technology and practices. At the same time, unlike many of Britain's other overseas territories that were

seeking independence from British rule, Bermuda maintained its cultural and political associations with the United Kingdom, adding to the complexity of its hybrid cultural identity. The opening of Britain's first colonial television station in Bermuda not only confirmed the island's British colonial status, but also demonstrated that the new station would be significant in supporting articulations of British identity within the heavily Americanized territory. As a result of the extensive political, technological, social and cultural contributions by both America and Britain to Bermuda's broadcasting industry, the island's radio and television industry prior to the 1960s articulated a hybrid Bermudian-British-American identity.

Yet, as Bermuda continued to manage and navigate the colony's external influences, the island's ruling white minority also faced the task of addressing its internal contestations of race by the local black majority. Heightened as the country embarked upon its 350th year anniversary of colonial rule, Bermuda in the late 1950s had to address its own relationship with what W.E.B Du Bois described as "the color line." Du Bois argued:

> Once upon a time in my younger years and in the dawn of this century I wrote: 'The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line.'…In 1925, as in 1899, I seem to see the problem of the twentieth century as the problem of the color line.[1]

The legacy of discrimination and injustice based upon racial classification, outlined by Du Bois, carried through the social and economic fabric of Bermuda. The island's historic ties to slavery and deep cultural connections to the American South encouraged practices of racial segregation to continue into the late 1950s, with a clear and distinct division being made between black Bermudians and white Bermudians. Institutionalized racism was evident in all areas of Bermudian society with Bermuda's media and broadcasting industries playing a key role in articulating black inferiority.

[1]W.E.B Du Bois. "Worlds of Color." Foreign Affairs, III. April 1925, p. 423 cited from W.E.B Du Bois Speaks, Speeches and Addresses 1890-1919. Edited by Philip S. Foner.

By 1959, as the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's *ZBM-TV* celebrated its one year anniversary, and the island began commemorations of its 350 year milestone, Bermuda's racial climate had reached a critical point. If there was ever a period in Bermuda's history that so clearly demonstrated internal contestations of race, representation and national identity, it was in the year 1959.[2] Through a postcolonial lens, this chapter will focus on three key elements that offer a better understanding as to how Bermuda navigated race and broadcasting leading up to the 1960s, revealing how Bermudian identity was internally constructed and articulated. It will also discuss how Bermuda negotiated its hybrid colonial identity in the development of its broadcasting industry during the most tempestuous era of racial and social reform since the abolition of slavery nearly one hundred years before.

The chapter will illustrate Bermuda's racial climate leading up to the 350th year celebrations, addressing the significant role that segregation played in constructions of colonial identity and how discriminatory practices were enforced in Bermudian life. Looking at the ambivalent attitude by Bermudians toward British authority in its historical hands-off approach to dealing with the colony's race issue, this chapter will also discuss how British representatives aimed to create an appearance of racial inclusion and colonial unity for the arrival of the Royal Family. It will then focus more specifically on how the island's racial practices and segregation policies were translated by Bermuda's broadcasting industry. By examining the national broadcasting station, the chapter will also reveal how the Bermuda Broadcasting Company responded to

[2] While the late 1950s into the 1960s have been recognized as Bermuda's key period of contesting racial identity, at the time of writing this chapter (2016), Bermuda is experiencing another historical shift. Longstanding issues of economic disparity and proposed changes in immigration policies by the local government, OBA (One Bermuda Alliance), that will significantly impact the black Bermudian community and poorer citizens, have caused mass protests around the island. Unions and community groups have shut down government transportation (buses, ferries), schools, docks (import/export of goods) and picketed outside of the House Assembly to prevent the proposed bill from being passed. These boycotts, aimed at the local government, intend to force the British Governor to step in and dissolve parliament, and force an election. These protests have not been met favourably by Bermuda's white residents and the benefitting long-term expatriates (most of whom are white), evoking racial contention. Additionally, openly racist remarks by several white residents, such as 'put the dogs on them,' has sparked outrage and an atmosphere of racial hostility within the small British territory, resembling the riots of the 1960s. The local police force and regiment are working to keep the protests peaceful, while the US Consulate has told its American citizens "To Avoid Areas"- http://bernews.com/2016/03/us-consulate-urge-citizens-to-avoid-areas/

and navigated racial segregation and enforced black inferiority and white hegemony through its hiring processes. Drawing on the civil rights movements taking place within America's black community, the chapter will conclude with a discussion on how the island's marginalized blacks unified through influences by black America, the Afro Caribbean and colonial Africa. Through this examination of Bermuda's racial crisis during its 350 year celebrations, its broadcasting industry's response to racial segregation, and how the island's black community fought for the complete desegregation of the colony, the chapter draws more concrete connections between broadcasting and constructions of national identity, providing context for understanding the significance of the arrival of integrated broadcasting.

A Darker Side of Paradise

The year 1959 was momentous for Bermuda for several reasons. It was not only the year that the island's national television station *ZBM-TV* would come to celebrate its first birthday, or the year that the American base *ZBK-TV* would officially cease operation, but it was Bermuda's 350th anniversary of British colonialism. As celebrations of the island's colonial existence were significant in strengthening British national identity within the overseas territory, all areas of Bermudian life were being re-examined as the country prepared for the arrival of the British Royal Family. The newly appointment British Governor, His Excellency Sir Julian Gascoigne, indicated that Britain's attempts at bringing peace to its wealthy territory was essential during the period of extreme social unrest, especially with the world watching the weakening of the British Empire in many parts of colonial Africa and the British West Indies.

While Britain had been engaged in a series of anti-colonial revolts taking place within many of its overseas territories, Bermuda's own internal racial crisis beckoned British intervention. Known for his liberal and progressive leadership, Gascoigne's arrival in Bermuda came at a crucial period, with Eva Hodgson stating that he "completely recognized the existence and presence on the Island of the Bermudian Negro." At a critical point of racial tension, Hodgson

argues that Gascoigne "was to play a part in the life of the Negro which had, until his appointment, been unknown."[3] Prior to Gascoigne's appearance in the colony, the involvement from British officials assigned to the island had been limited with regards to race relations amongst the island's predominantly white local government and its people. Although British leaders held a primary focus of handling the international affairs of the colony, the effort made to help establish racial equality within the territory was minimal. Further, while Gascoigne's arrival was considered a welcomed attempt at quelling the erupting black community, the deep-rooted racial attitudes by Bermuda's white elite toward its black population had created a society on the brink of rebellion and revolution. Significant historical economic and cultural ties that had been established between white Bermuda and white America had allowed for racial practices, such as segregation, to be fully embraced and enforced by Bermuda's white establishment.

The 1950s saw Bermuda's politics, education, labour force and entertainment industries all inscribed with some form of racial policy, with British officials often turning a blind eye to the island's racial dilemma. One aspect of Bermudian society in particular that greatly impacted race relations, preserved the island's historical racist practices, and contributed significantly to the racial crisis in 1959, was Bermuda's tourism industry. Bermuda had been heavily involved with establishing a number of key initiatives developed with direct support from the United States, with the sole aim of attracting US visitors and fusing economic and cultural ties between the two nations. However, with the arrival of the American tourist and the US dollar, came Bermuda's need to maintain, if not exaggerate, its racial segregation policies to accommodate its white visitors. The island's attachment to the United States and its heavy dependency on American business promoted and accentuated racial attitudes, with segregation policies even justified to support and maintain Bermuda's economic stability and white hegemony.

As discussed in the previous chapter, sports tourism had also become a signifi-

[3] Eva Hodgson. Second Class Citizens; First Class Men. Pg. 142

cant link between Bermuda and America. But within the island's sports industry, however, discriminatory practices were a regular occurrence. Both sports organizers and the local government had policies in place to protect any threat to their dollar interest. The Jockey Club had been introduced to attract American horse racers, and according to Hodgson, received "£5,000 of Government money."[4] Yet, the government sponsored event maintained a strict "segregation policy"[5] which banned blacks from participating. Bermuda's major international sporting events that had attracted hundreds of predominantly white, wealthy, American world-class athletes each year, such as golf, yachting and tennis, were completely segregated.

Although there had been a keen interest in golf by black Bermudians, Ira Philip states that during Bermuda's heavily segregated period, the island saw "the 'good old very bad days' of golf."[6] Social order was clearly defined with blacks acknowledging the role they played in Bermudian society and in sports. According to Philip, "blacks could not darken the front doors of golf clubs anywhere."[7] He argues, "Their role was to function as caddies, and if they stepped out of line they faced serious trouble."[8] For blacks who were determined to play, Philip states, it was a known fact that "if blacks wanted to hit a ball, they had to do it in the parks and at any other open spaces."[9] This suggests that while the segregation policies in Bermuda assisted in keeping black Bermudians away from white tourists, the practice was also significant in reinforcing the subordinate role of blacks within the colony as workers for the white elite.

Grace Elizabeth Hale argues that the idea of segregation "made racial identity visible in a rational and systematic way."[10] The need for "Systemized spatial relations" she argues, "replaced the need to know others personally in order to

[4] Hodgson. Pg. 94
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ira Philip. 'A leader in ending golf segregation' Published Jan 17, 2015 http://www.royalgazette.com/article/20150117/ISLAND/150119741
[7] Philip. Jan 17, 2015
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Grace Elizabeth Hale. Making Whiteness. Pg. 130-131

categorize them."[11] While Hale uses this quote to address the often confusing situation of identifying a Negro or mulatto in the American south, it can also be applied to situations of white Bermudians living and working in close proximity to the often educated and employed black (and mixed race) Bermudian. She argues, "Racialized spaces could counter the confusion of appearances created by the increased visibility of a well-dressed, well-spoken black middle class."[12] Hale's argument also supports the idea that segregation was used to reinforce black inferiority, which for white Bermudians, was also a method of maintaining social order in a small country where the two communities were so deeply connected.[13] Complete integration on the island would challenge Bermuda's white hegemony, as social roles would no longer be based upon racial classification. Additionally, desegregation, according to Quito Swan, "could not completely eradicate racism; segregation was a symptom of racism, not the cause itself."[14]Yet, with various white institutions on the island practicing selective and modified versions of racial segregation which seemed to be an attempt at mildly integrating the black community, at the core of it, racist attitudes still prevailed.

Many white sporting clubs did not completely exclude blacks from their establishments, but had strict guidelines in place which did not completely include them either. Several *exclusively white* golf courses actually allowed black players to enter the property at times when there were no regular members or tourists around. In spite of their openly segregated racial policy, many golf courses permitted black golfers the opportunity to play on their greens during the early hours of the morning before white patrons arrived. As Philip argues, some of the golf clubs "turned a blind eye to any of them who were prepared to get up at four or five o'clock in the morning and play a round from daybreak and be off the course before 9am."[15] Known as "running golf,"[16] this was the under-

[11] Hale Pg. 130-131
[12] Ibid.
[13] It was not uncommon for a black Bermudian to own property, to be educated or to be seen dressed well, especially for those that had spent time overseas in the US or UK.
[14] Quito Swan. Black Power in Bermuda. The Struggle for Decolonization. Pg. 17
[15] Philip. January 17, 2015

stood relationship between black Bermudian golfers and the more accommodating white golf establishments. [17] While Philip states that "golf, tennis and beach clubs were the areas where Bermuda's unwritten lily white rules most fanatically applied,"[18] the island's hotel industry was even more notorious for unapologetic racial discrimination toward blacks.

Compared to many blacks in the neighbouring West Indies, a large number of black Bermudians had demonstrated progressiveness in obtaining financial security. Educated black Bermudians made up a growing middle-class, but they knew that their finances had little impact on the segregation policies of certain Bermudian establishments. While some black Bermudians could afford the unreasonably high prices of a hotel room, Philip states, "Blacks, no matter what their social, professional or financial status, were neither invited nor welcome."[19] Additionally, many of the tourist-attracting initiatives aimed at the white American vacationer throughout the 1950s, not only deliberately excluded Bermuda's black community, but also enforced these practices toward black visitors. Blacks from America, the West Indies and Britain attempting to travel to Bermuda were met by Bermuda's excessive discrimination practices upheld in order to not have its white clientele mix with non-white visitors. Foreign black doctors, journalists, as well as black government officials from other British colonial territories were refused accommodation at Bermuda's hotels, with Hodgson stating that blacks were told, "You know how it is, we don't take coloured people here."[20]

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[16] Philip's quotes an interview with veteran black golfer O'Neil who describes how players that engaged in "running golf" also had to completely avoid hole number 18 on the golf course because it was said to have "put us too close to the front door."

[17] The relationship between black golfers and course owners indicates that while segregation was key in protecting the financial interests that sports-tourism attracted, there were white Bermudians who were more lenient with the implementation of segregation practices toward blacks, just as long as social order was not interrupted. This slight deviance from the island's more strict segregation policy within sports-tourism was also witnessed within the island's national tennis center. While the government-owned facility hosted a number of popular international tennis tournaments, it had also restricted blacks from playing there. However, for a short period, they had allowed for a number of black children to take lessons, although they were only permitted on the tennis courts at specific times and were forced to use only the outside toilets, reinforcing the code of racial separation and inferiority.

[18] Philip. Jan 17, 2015

[19] Ibid.

[20] Hodgson. Pg.76

Yet, as Bermuda marketed itself as an exclusive paradise destination, it continued throughout the 1950s to enforce its racially discriminatory practices. Even at a time when tourism in Bermuda began to decline, Bermuda's white hotels maintained its segregation policy and continued to turn blacks away. Additionally, with Bermuda's racist attitudes towards its black population evident in most areas of colonial society, the island's discriminatory attitude toward other non (white) Bermudian, American or British groups was also very obvious. Hodgson argues, "Racialism was so strong in the fifties that even though tourists were falling off and Legislators were expressing Bermuda's need to attract more tourists, hotels were still consistently refusing Negroes and Jews."[21] She says that it did not matter what the background or purpose for the visit was, "At the time, one could only conclude that white Bermuda would prefer to starve rather than recognize the humanity of Negroes and Jews."[22] However, Bermuda's position on segregation was forced to shift as the island's economic situation started to deteriorate, demanding that the colony address its segregation policies.

Capitalist endeavours forced Bermuda's racists into modifying their discriminatory practices. Organizations that had at one time completely refused blacks and Jews, adjusted their segregation policies in order to financially benefit from blacks and any other unwanted visitor. For black businessmen, Philip argues, "if they had any business to transact at hotels or clubs, entry had to be gained via the back door."[23] Segregated hotels used advertisements in black US magazines promoting alternative hotels for black visitors on the island, important in maintaining a racially divided society while at the same time capitalizing on a financial opportunity. With regards to Jewish visitors, Hodgson argues, even Bermuda's government officials had been recorded as saying, "We all know that the Jews are a despised and objectionable race of people," and that they would only be allowed on the island "in small numbers."[24] She ar-

[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Philip. January 17, 2015
[24] Hodgson. Pg. 89

gues, "They despised the Jews but were prepared 'to tolerate' them for the sake of their dollars. Dollars were the ultimate value."[25]

This shifting of longstanding segregation policies seen in Bermuda during the mid to late 1950s, suggests that maintaining their economic relationships with America through tourism was far more important to colonial Bermuda than giving in to the cries of Bermuda's black community for the complete integration of the colony. Yet, while the appeal for racial equality and desegregation by black Bermuda would follow along the lines of Britain's general policy of racial inclusivity seen with its West Indian immigrants, Bermuda's segregation policies continued to align with America's. Further, with Bermuda's capitalistic endeavours and racial attitudes reflecting its cultural ties with America, many other areas of Bermudian colonial life saw racial discrimination at work.

The extent to which racism existed in Bermuda was deplorable, and unfortunately, not limited to blacks and Jewish visitors. Portuguese immigrants endured their own forms of discrimination from Bermuda's white elite, with Philip arguing, "as far as the Portuguese were concerned, they were definitely a 'no no.' Being gardeners and menial workers around the hotels and clubs, they were regarded as rejects like the blacks."[26]While this chapter seeks to keep its main focus on Bermuda's most oppressed group of people, its marginalized black majority, it will briefly address here how Bermuda's small Portuguese community also navigated articulations of Bermudian colonial national identity, and draw parallels with America's response to its European and non-white ethnic groups.

As numbers of Portuguese immigrants had increased in the colony by the late 1950s, white Bermuda's attitudes toward its Portuguese community was similar to the attitudes shown toward its black community, and sometimes worse. For Europeans in America, Thomas A. Guglielmo and Earl Lewis argue that "…race also meant that certain European groups, while generally accepted as

[25] Ibid.
[26] Phillip. Jan 17, 2015

white and therefore greatly privileged relative to non-white groups or the 'colored races' […], still faced their share of racial discrimination and prejudice."[27] For Portuguese Bermudians, they were white, but also had various cultural and ethnic differences that caused them to stand out from the white colonial Bermudian. In Rosemary Jones' interview with former Portuguese broadcaster Eddie DeMello, he states, "a lot of people didn't want to be Portuguese or didn't want people to know they were Portuguese,"[28] which saw many of them changing their names. DeMello argues, "…they changed several letters in their names to make them sound like something else. It just wasn't the thing to be Portuguese in those days."[29]

With Bermuda's white elite defining what a colonial Bermudian looked and sounded like, Portuguese immigrants and their families were forced to assimilate. DeMello argues, "We always spoke Portuguese at home," and "took extra lessons for the English," and it "really didn't take long to fit in."[30] Within the community, he argues, "If you were Portuguese you couldn't get a job at one of the banks. They wouldn't sell you property in some parts of the Island,"[31] so it was important for the Portuguese population to fit in. This idea of cultural infiltration for social and economic survival can be described by using Guglielmo and Lewis again, who argue, "…for certain groups their racialness as Italians, Poles, or Greeks mattered when it came to rights and resources; but their color status as whites mattered infinitely more."[32] They further add to this point, referring to Matthew Jacobson who argued, "whiteness was the key that opened the Golden Door."[33]

While Bermuda's Portuguese community encountered their own share of discrimination from colonial Bermuda, unlike black Bermudians, however, Portuguese immigrants and their families had various ways of cloaking their true

[27] Thomas A Guglielmo and Earl Lewis. Race and Ethnicity in the United States 1930- 1964 pg. 168
[28] Interview with Eddie DeMello by Rosemary Jones- 1988- Bermuda Recollections pg. 9 'First Memories of Bermuda'
[29] Jones. Interview 1988
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Guglielmo and Lewis. Pg. 174
[33] Ibid.

ethnic heritage to lessen the impact of inequality, exempting them from the direct sting of segregation. Guglielmo and Lewis further stress the racial situation in America with European ethnic groups stating:

> …all Europeans- even the putatively inferior groups- were largely accepted as whites from the moment they arrived in the United States by 'the widest variety of people and institutions- naturalization laws and courts, the U.S. census, race science, newspapers, unions, employers, neighbors, realtors […] politicians and political parties, and so forth.'[34]

While they suggest that within these ethnic communities "discrimination and prejudice still persisted,"[35] they maintain, however, that there was still an "increased feeling among immigrants and their second generation children of belonging to America, which as Arnold Hirsch has aptly noted, 'seemed organically linked' to a sense of whiteness."[36]

For Bermuda, this indicates that although Bermuda's Portuguese community engaged with their own share of discrimination, their European racial identification as white, however, allowed for cultural assimilation within white Bermuda. This ability to "fit in" through the various methods described by DeMello, ultimately provided Bermuda's Portuguese community with access to economic and social benefits that black Bermudians found difficult to acquire and impossible to infiltrate. Yet, whether discriminatory practices were directed toward Bermuda's black population, its West Indian or Jewish visitors, or its immigrant Portuguese community, Bermuda was essentially a racist territory. As it dispelled any challenge to national identity and economic security, the small, but powerful British colony continued the practice of racial segregation as it prepared to celebrate its 350 years of British colonial identity.

[34] Guglielmo and Lewis. Pg.17
[35] Ibid. Pg.182
[36] Ibid.

350 Years of British Colonialism

While it appeared on the surface that the various British Governors over the years had adequately managed the affairs of the colony, their lack of intervention with Bermuda's racial crisis, however, led to the perception by many locals that the island's governors had no real power, but were in Bermuda for a type of extended working vacation. The setting of Bermudian society that had been portrayed by the colonial government, however, was not one of discord and mistrust, but a portrayal of a wealthy island paradise that was willing and prepared at any expense to host the Royal Family in observance of its British colonial status. W.E.B Dubois provides a vivid illustration of the colonial situation in Sierra Leone prior to its independence that can be appropriately utilized here to highlight Bermuda's social situation as it celebrated its 350 year anniversary of colonialism in 1959. He states:

> Everything that America has done crudely and shamelessly to suppress the Negro, England in Sierra Leone has done legally and suavely so that the Negroes themselves sometimes doubt the evidence of their own senses: segregation, disfranchisement, trial without jury, over-taxation, 'Jim Crow' cars, neglect of education, economic serfdom […] Segregation? 'Oh no,' says the colonial official, 'anyone can live where he will- only that beautiful and cool side of the mountain with fine roads, golf and tennis and bungalows is assigned to government officials.' Are there black officials? 'Oh yes, and they can be assigned residences there, too.' But they never have been. The Negroes vote and hold office in Freetown- I met the comely black and cultured mayor- but Freetown has almost no revenues and its powers have been gradually absorbed by the autocratic white colonial government which has five million dollars a year to spend […] I cannot prove it- that more is spent by the government on tennis and golf in the colony than on popular education.[37]

Although the specificities of the colonial territory of Sierra Leone highlighted here vary somewhat to the particularities of colonial Bermuda, this piece by Dubois draws a very clear parallel between the economic and social fabric be-

[37] Dubois. Pg. 398

tween the two British colonial nations and the attitude of the colonial toward the local. This indicates that the constructed segregated policies, economic servitude and political sabotage that Dubois references, also seen in Bermuda, was synonymous with a well-designed formula of colonial dominance, ensuring white hegemony in Britain's overseas territories. This also suggests that Bermuda suffered not only from the internal dynamics of racial segregation propagated by the American south due to its economic and geographical ties, but was also subjected to the polite and legal discriminatory practices associated with being a British colony. As Hodgson argues, "British racialism in Bermuda, was, it is true, more subtle, and less physically brutal, than that of white American bigots as represented by the Klu Klux Klan. But it was more hypocritical, more deceptive, and equally frustrating, and equally destructive to the mind and soul."[38] Further, the fact that Britain's colonial government had received numerous cries for help from the black community, but offered minimal support, strengthens Hodgson's notions of the disingenuous nature of Britain's management of the colony.

Prior to Gascoigne's arrival, British Governor John Woodall, for example, assigned to Bermuda from 1955-1959, was tasked with overseeing the preparations of the Royal Visit for the official commemorations. Government records reveal that the Governor had spent significant amounts of money organizing lavish dinners and royal welcome parties for the arrival of His Royal Highness, the Duke of Edinburgh.[39] Letters sent between the Governor and various delegates assigned to the preparations of the events reveal the extensive detail spent in ensuring all of the symbolisms associated with British identity were on display. The Governor had ordered "A flag of the same size as the Royal Standard to be flown on the day […] to be flown at the bows of the *DUCHESS* on the new flagpole."[40] Another letter indicated that "His Royal Highness will be met by His Excellency the Governor and Lady Woodall," with the Royal Navy providing a "Guard of Honour"[41] followed by a procession of prominent lead-

[38] Hodgson. Pg.76
[39] Preparations for Royal Visit: Ref:Pro/Ber/10- 43 #28 March 21, 1959
[40] Ibid.
[41] Letter from Colonial Secretary. Order of Ceremony. April 1, 1959 Archives letter 1936/c #32

ers on the island. Yet, as Hodgson argues, the Governor's inviting of openly racists leaders like the Governor of Virginia,[42] indicates that Bermuda's associations with the racist south were not only known by Bermuda's British Governor, but also accepted.

Further, the absence of black faces at the royal parties throughout the anniversary year demonstrated the colony's disconnect from its black community, and created further distance between the black local and the colonial.[43] The celebratory events had been deemed discriminatory, and the Governor's own poor attempt at including the island's black officials in the royal celebrations reflected the normal discriminatory, racist attitude that blacks had endured from their own local white government. However, with the island in a state of heightened unrest, a letter by Governor Woodall to Buckingham Palace about invited guests to the royal dinner stated, "I am anxious, indeed it is essential, to include one or two coloured Bermudians..." [44] The gesture here to include at least one black Bermudian indicates that the Governor was well aware of the potential backlash that he would receive from the island's black community if there was no black presence at the royal dinner. But more significantly, having a black Bermudian present at the official event would avoid a repeat of the events surrounding the previous royal visit where there had been no black presence at all, where the Governor, along with Bermuda, received massive international media coverage revealing the colony's racist position.

With Her Majesty's visit to Bermuda years before, Philip argues that "the crusade exposing racism in Bermuda was now in high gear."[45] He argues that her visit was meant "to cement ties between the races and peoples under the Union Jack."[46] Instead, through the complete exclusion of blacks at the Queen's state dinner and with only a few being invited to other events, Philip argues, "Her visit to Bermuda put into display an ogre of racial discrimination, the like of

[42] Hodgson Pg. 145
[43] Ibid.
[44] Archives letter 1936/c #32. April 1, 1959
[45] Philip Pg. 232
[46] Ibid.

which no person who has been properly exposed to British Institutions could contemplate without a feeling of utter revulsion."[47] From the West Indies to Canada, that international media openly condemned Bermuda's racist views, with Philip reporting that it was "inconceivable that such an incident could happen anywhere in the British Empire where a British Governor was the Chief Executive-and especially in this hemisphere."[48] Yet it was clear, as Philip argues, that "The white power structure in Bermuda could hardly care less about warnings sounded by its black leaders and by the mass media in Britain about involving the monarch in their racial prejudice."[49] Bermuda's local white government operated without a real threat from its British authority.

While the colonial government in Bermuda had little response to the accusations made by the international press regarding its racist policies during the previous royal visit, in the UK, however, Bermuda's practices of racial discrimination and segregation were deemed incomprehensible. The shameless practices that Bermuda's black British colonials endured was far beyond the situation in black Britain. News reports in *The Mirror* condemned Bermuda's racist practices, while the *Daily Herald* also openly attacked Bermuda's colonial Government.[50] Philip states that the *Daily Herald* chastised the island's government, reporting that "Bermudians should know how Britain has reacted. It does not wipe out what has happened. But it shows what Britons feel about colour discrimination, social snobbery and ham-handed Governors."[51] Yet, as the Royal visit of 1959 had revealed, not much had changed with regards to Bermuda's racial status as the island commemorated 350 years of colonialism. As the royal events completely ignored the island's black officials, Hodgson states, "if Negroes were not enthusiastic, or even more than dimly aware of the celebrations, it was scarcely surprising."[52] Having been historically omitted from positive colonial identification, blacks, as Hodgson argues, were treated

[47] Ibid. Pg. 233
[48] Ibid. Pg. 234
[49] Ibid. Pg. 232
[50] Ibid.
[51] Phillip. Pg. 235
[52] Hodgson. Pg. 145

as if they "did not exist."[53]

Yet, in preparation for the 1959 Royal Visit, and with the island in a state of crisis, Governor Woodall confirmed the attendance of one of Bermuda's most prominent black leaders, W.L Tucker and his wife, noting that he was the newest member of Bermuda's Executive Council. In his letter confirming the details of the guests, he highlighted the fact that "He is the first coloured Bermudian in history of the colony to be so appointed. He is a local merchant, a member of the Colonial Parliament for the past six or seven years, and a most charming person."[54] The inclusion of *one* of Bermuda's leading black officials at the royal event confirms that while the Governor had aimed to appease the local black community and the scrutinizing international media, his intention had not been to genuinely address the issue of racial inequality on the island.

This move by the Governor, while addressing the absence of black members of parliament at the Royal Visit, disregarded calls by the community for full integration and equality within the colony, proving Hodgson's argument that British racism as demonstrated here, was "deceptive." But, as Bermuda's newly appointed Governor Gascoigne had come to recognize, with the struggles taking place within the black community, although he was moved to offer support, his role was more of a hands-off approach to local affairs. With there being no real sense of justice or intervention from Britain, it had been accepted that unless social events impacted British economics directly, the colonial government operated as more of a symbol of British imperialism, without having any real power against the local white establishment.

Hodgson argues, the British Government stood by and watched as their "loyal subjects were suffering numerous indignities."[55] With no sense of urgency from Britain toward putting an end to the island's discriminatory practices and blatant racial attitudes, Hodgson argues, "…in spite of the apologies of the Co-

[53] Ibid.
[54] Archive: Ref:Pro/Ber/10- 43 #28 March 21, 1959
[55] Hodgson. Pg. 90

lonial Secretary and His Excellency the Governor, there was no real redress."[56] She adds, "even though Great Britain, at that time, was quite prepared to suspend the whole British Guianese Constitution she was not prepared [however] to bring any pressure whatsoever to bear on the 'beautiful oligarchy' of Bermuda."[57] This again supports the idea that the ambiguous relationship that Britain had with Bermuda was only a real concern for the colonial government when its status as a colonial power was in serious danger of being threatened or when its financial and economic colonial investment was at risk. And, for Britain to openly address its colony's racial crisis, would bring to light the historical atrocities that it had in fact been a key orchestrator in.

As Stuart Hall refers to in his recollections of the West Indian colonial experience, he states,

> I find myself, sometimes unexpectedly, looping back to this West Indian moment of the fifties and sixties, seeing too the transformation in the symbolic and cognitive forms of England, a history racked by the full theatre of repressions and traumas, amnesia and displacements. And sometimes, con fronted by these extraordinary developments.[58]

These occurrences, in which Britain is forced to acknowledge the darker side of its colonial history (although is hesitant to), is consistent with Hodgson's argument that the British Government refused "to accept responsibility for these policies."[59] Kobena Mercer states that Hall "pinpointed a political agon between 'formal acceptance and informal segregation' in UK race relations, as the period of *laissez-faire* accommodation in the fifties,"[60] which would explain why the colonial government for decades had turned a blind eye to what was really going on.

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[56] Ibid. Pg. 88
[57] Ibid.
[58] Schwarz Pg. 271
[59] Hodgson. Pg. 89
[60] Kobena Mercer. A Sociography of Diaspora. Without Guarantees. Edited by Paul Gilroy, Lawrence Grossberg, Angela McRobbie Pg. 235

Yet, as Hodgson argues, Bermuda's situation continued to exist largely due to the "complete lack of aggressiveness and lack of ruthlessness" by black Bermuda, which "made it possible for them to be insulted over and over again without the least compunction on the part of the white segregationist, and with too little reaction from them as Negroes."[61] But, as Calvin Smith clarifies, it had been ingrained in black Bermuda to not fight back because "one never knew when disaster would strike if one dared to challenge the ruling white elite."[62] Like other historically black-oppressed nations, argues Smith, "Bermudians of that period, like their South African brothers today, learned to smile while cursing silently at the daily victimization."[63] However, sparks of activism did begin to emerge. But, the island's practice of institutionalized racism and economic fear continued to be ingrained in the black Bermudian experience, slowing down any challenge to Bermuda's hegemony. By 1959, all aspects of Bermudian society reflected white dominance, with white-owned media clearly articulating Bermuda's racist ideology. The island's colonial newspapers, radio, television and cinema outlets constantly reminded the black Bermudian of his place in the colony, reinforcing colonial social order.

Broadcasting Identity to a Segregated Colony

As Bermuda continued to navigate its hybrid colonial identity, its broadcasting industry played a vital part in defining social roles reflected within the British colony. Previous chapters have acknowledged and highlighted the success of the industrial and technological development of Bermuda's national broadcasting service, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, as it navigated external influences in the shaping of Britain's first colonial television broadcasting station in 1958. This section, however, in an attempt to further draw the connection between broadcasting and national identity leading up to the country's 350 years of British colonialism, also brings to light the internal negotiations of colonial identity and race articulated within the island's local media. It addresses

[61] Hodgson. Pg. 88
[62] Calvin Smith. Second-Class Citizens; First Class Men Pg. VI , March 29, 1988
[63] Ibid.

the severity of Bermuda's racial dilemma by illustrating how Bermuda's broadcasting industry responded to it. It examines the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's radio and television station, Bermuda's white-owned newspapers and the colony's segregated cinemas as it draws direct connections between the colony's racist attitudes and the way local media articulated Bermudian colonial identity in 1959.

The disrespect and psychological abuse that black Bermudians experienced within the segregated community was openly reinforced throughout the island's white-owned newspapers. Racist attitudes and degrading comments heard in the streets were also reflected in the daily paper. Through very direct attempts at reiterating Bermuda's social order, Bermuda's newspapers had various methods of letting its black community know they were inferior. With a longstanding historic impact on Bermuda's racial climate, the *Royal Gazette,* in particular, throughout the 1950s continued to be instrumental in articulating colonial identity and racial divide. According to Hodgson, "The daily paper often underscored its contempt for coloured people by refusing to attach a title to them in any reference to them."[64] She argues that the process "was simple: Mary Smith, or Jack Jones,"[65] noting that they were not addressed with any type of respect, regardless of their education or political standing. Although several black Bermudians had gained positions of leadership within their own community, and with even less breaking into local politics, well-educated and well-mannered black Bermudians were still slighted in the local press. For example, Hodgson states that "Coloured people often expressed their annoyance at the calculated insult, but it was Dr. Gordon who, on one occasion, declared that in future he would be known as 'Mazumba' and thus relieve the news media of addressing him as 'Dr.'"[66]

In addition to the disregard of any status tied to an individual, newspapers showed no equality in media coverage of the two races. It did not matter what type of event it was, social, entertainment or political, the acknowledging of

[64] Hodgson. Pg. 70
[65] Ibid.
[66] Hodgson. Pg. 70

black Bermudians in the local white newspapers did not receive the same coverage as white Bermudians. With Bermuda's elections being impacted by local media, Philip states, one particular "victim of the election" was said to have "stressed the need for the workers to have their own newspaper, as the white press, particularly at election time, garbled, falsified and perverted the speeches of black candidates and abused the freedom of the press."[67] The *Royal Gazette* was accused by some members of the black community of being guilty of biased reporting. One victim, according to Philip, charged "the morning paper with being particularly malicious against him."[68]

The frustration indicated here, and the call for more objective newspaper reporting in (black) coverage had been highlighted often during the 1950s. Many black Bermudians felt that they were regularly being insulted within the local media, having no real defense other than the black-owned *Recorder* in addressing racially biased practices in Bermudian media.

The *Recorder*, since its inception in the 1920s, had become a powerful tool in black Bermuda, as it not only provided news and information, but had also aimed to highlight positive aspects of the black community. Yet, while the *Recorder* continued to speak out against the various social injustices practiced in Bermuda, becoming associated as the voice of anti-establishment, the *Royal Gazette* continued to represent the voice of the establishment, maintaining (perhaps at times indirectly) its racial position toward Bermuda's black and non-white community. As this was the "normal" practice within white media, Hodgson argues that the black community just coped with it. She states:

> Negroes were not supposed to recognize the insults that were being extended to them daily. To fight back in similar terms would have brought down the wrath of both the black and white Community. Negroes had not only to accept racial insults, but they had to accept them with contentment and express no form of irritation.[69]

[67] Philip Pg. 227
[68] Ibid.
[69] Hodgson. Pg. 74-75

The acceptance of the negativity and injustice towards blacks seen in the white newspapers that Hodgson refers to was not limited only to the island's print media. The Bermuda Broadcasting Company's radio station was also guilty of racial divide throughout the 1950s, although its policy of racial segregation had its own unique characteristics.

There had been only a few black radio broadcasters that had been allowed through the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's doors prior to 1959, with only a number of black-centered radio shows being aired to cater to the black community. However, as black broadcasters were assigned to the late night shifts, black radio programmes were heavily censored. The Hon. Quinton Edness, J.P., the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's first black Bermudian broadcaster recalls, "Radio in Bermuda at that time was very very segregated. There were no blacks in radio at all."[70] He notes that by the time he had entered the industry there was only an African American man that worked in radio for a short time, but claims, "he left and then I became an announcer on *ZBM*."[71] For a black Bermudian, entry into Bermuda's broadcasting industry had previously been unheard of, and his entry into radio was not easy. He argues, "It took me three years of applying before I actually got a job."[72] Although his success in breaking into the industry leads to the idea that the Bermuda Broadcasting Company was becoming more open to blacks within the industry, this was actually not the case. Edness had several factors working for him, that most Bermudians (black or white) did not possess which gave him an advantage.

Edness had spent many years living in Canada gaining valuable experience in Canada's broadcasting industry, while also developing his broadcasting style. More importantly, he had mastered the Canadian accent and returned to Bermuda sounding not like a black Bermudian, but like a 'white' North American. While still in high school in Canada, Edness had a teacher who worked with him on his pronunciation and diction. Attending her regular sessions, Edness

[70] Interview with Quinton Edness. Bermuda. August 21, 2013
[71] Edness. August 21, 2013
[72] Ibid.

visited her 3 days a week in order to "speak proper English." He states that she taught him "How to pronounce words…speak from my diaphragm…she used to drill proper speaking. I didn't realize at the time that it was going to be any benefit to me in the future."[73] Yet, the benefit of his training and his mastery of the Canadian accent cannot be understated. On reflection of his entry into broadcasting, Edness states:

> Bermudians had too much of an accent. We spoke 'Bermudian' and that was not what they wanted in broadcasting…As a matter of fact, they gave Bermudians a hard time getting into broadcasting because we had such a Bermudian type accent…And in broadcasting, they like a kind of international type accent-presentation.[74]

The non-Bermudian accent that Edness describes, is what journalist Charles Webb explains is the Mid Atlantic Accent. The crisp clear sound that Edness had was desirable in radio broadcasting. Webb states,

> …they always talked about this Mid Atlantic Voice. They wanted a voice that didn't have a heavy British accent, and for heaven's sake they didn't want a Bermudian accent…they didn't want that. They wanted a Mid Atlantic voice so that when you heard that broadcaster you really didn't know where he or she was from.[75]

As radio had been a key tool in articulating Bermudian national identity, having its announcers speak with an accent that didn't seem too local (Bermudian), too colonial (like the BBC), or too American (like the southern states), would have been important to the developing culturally hybrid identity that the Bermuda Broadcasting Company articulated. Additionally, as the station continued to support the island's racial attitudes, it still allowed room for a modified version of segregation, like many other organizations of the time. It took the position, *we will let one or two of you in, but you should not sound like a black Bermudian.* For Edness, radio audiences could not clearly tell his nationality

[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Interview with Charles Webb. Bermuda. August 20, 2014

when he spoke on the radio and his Mid Atlantic accent also masked his racial identity. He argues, "They like[d] the international accent," which was the ticket that would give him access that no other black Bermudian had had up to that point.

With his smooth international sound and cool personality, Edness was an instant radio success. Webb states, everyone listened to "Quinton Edness at night. No one would go to bed without listening to the *Curly Headed Kid in the Third Row* who had the most immaculate programme with a velvety voice."[76] While his lengthy application process indicates that his racial identity initially had an impact on his ability to gain employment with the racially segregated *ZBM* radio station, the fact that he was eventually hired during Bermuda's heavily segregated era, was monumental. His identity assimilation through his voice gave him a position on the inside of the "white only" Bermuda Broadcasting Company, which also gave him access to the wider black Bermudian community through his radio shows.

Yet, in spite of his success in breaking through the racial barrier that had restricted so many other black Bermudians, Edness was reminded of the colony's racial and social order. He had been assigned to the last broadcasting slot of the day where it had been expected that he would receive a small listening audience. As Webb states, "he came on about at 11oclock, you know, it's the graveyard shift."[77] While he had one of the best voices in Bermudian radio, Bermuda Broadcasting Company's management gave him the last shift of the night. However, Edness connected with everyone, with Webb arguing, "all the nurses in the hospital, the policemen… everybody tuned into this *Curly Headed Kid in the Third Row*."[78] While this may have been an attempt by the broadcasting company to manage or monitor his access to the Bermudian public, his massive appeal from the local community demanded a change. Webb argues, "Quinton Edness was so famous that the powers that be were forced to bring

[76] Ibid. Webb
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.

him on to day time radio."[79]The success of his show, from Bermuda Broadcasting Company's perspective, proved to be worth the risk in hiring him, as "advertisers loved it because everybody tuned in to them."[80] In spite of his racial classification, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company not only granted Edness a daytime talk show slot, but they allowed him to keep his night programme.

While it was clear that change was beginning to take place within the island's broadcasting industry, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's decision to hire Edness had more to do with the station's desire for profit than for providing equal opportunity. As Webb argues, "The social change was slowly following along. It didn't move as fast as the audience wanted this change."[81] Yet, while the Bermuda Broadcasting Company had adjusted its racial policy (for economics or otherwise) for its radio announcers, other areas within the broadcasting company remained unchanged and continued to be aligned with other areas of Bermuda's segregated society.

The Bermuda Broadcasting Company company's alignment with the colony's segregated and racial practices also saw *ZBM* radio heavily monitor and censor a number of the black-focused shows airing on the national radio station. Although the company had allowed radio programmes geared toward the black community to be broadcast over its station for a number of years,[82] during the 1950s as the island's racial policies were being challenged, and black Bermudians were more exposed to and inspired by the civil rights movement in black America, black radio programmes were being heavily scrutinized. Any programme containing any type of racial commentary was immediately shut off, regardless of the actual information being broadcast, with the Broadcasting Act of 1943 continuously used as legal justification for the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's policy of censorship.

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[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Chapter 3 addresses black-focused radio programmes promoting black soldiers during the war, provided by the Colonial Office for ZBM in the 1940s.

As Hodgson states, "In a Community which functioned on the kind of racialism sponsored by the Government and implemented by every institution on the island it was stated that the radio would not broadcast any topic that was racial, religious, or otherwise controversial."[83] This became a challenge for the black community as they engaged in broadcasting radio shows that promoted black education, enterprise or identity. Within the hypocritical racist society that black Bermudians existed, Hodgson argues, "Nothing that hinted of a challenge or inspiration to the Negro mind was to be permitted or encouraged."[84] The Leopards Club, for example, was an organization that was well known for hosting innovative and inspirational local and foreign speakers, and was one of the many black organizations that had the broadcast of their events abruptly ended due to its racial content. According to Hodgson:

> …visiting American Negroes, who, inevitably, when they saw the conditions under which the Bermudian Negro lived, frequently offered words of encouragement [on air]. On any, and every, occasion that the words equality, freedom or race were mentioned the Radio Station would cut off the speech."[85]

Hodgson states that in addition to censoring what blacks spoke about over the radio it "was continually proclaimed that any Negro who even mentioned race was himself a racist."[86] This indicates that any challenge to white hegemony, or any potential awakening of a black subconscious being broadcast throughout the community needed to be stopped immediately. Any potential threat to the establishment was labelled as a racist attack. For the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, this, according to Hodgson, "revealed, as much as anything, the determination and fixed policy to keep the mind of the Negro shackled."[87]

It was evident that The Bermuda Broadcasting Company (under the 1943 Broadcasting Act) supported the general position of racial superiority toward its black community. However, the early example of radio censorship by the

[83] Hodgson. Pg. 75
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Hodgson. Pg. 75
[87] Ibid.

Bermuda Broadcasting Company illustrated here indicates that these practices by the national broadcaster were deeply imbedded within their industry's foundations. In 1952, after a radio announcer had broadcast what was deemed to be an offensive religious programme in Portuguese, local authorities quickly adjusted its policy requiring that all broadcasts in the colony be in English.[88] It was argued that radio broadcasts in a language outside of English could in fact be a threat to Bermudian identity, with *ZBM's* General Manger stating that with broadcasts in Portuguese, "Z.B.M operators cannot tell when anything controversial is said."[89]In response to the event, the Colonial Office implemented an order addressed to the Bermuda Broadcasting Company indicating that only English should be spoken on its radio station. The order stated:

> His Excellency considers that [speaking in Portuguese] is unnecessary in this Colony where the percentage of the population who do not understand English is so small and furthermore that the practice is open to abuse […] the Broadcasting Commissioners will take under early consideration the issuing of an order to the Bermuda Broadcasting Company Limited, prohibiting broadcasts in any language other than English.[90]

Although the Portuguese community was most impacted by this aspect of censorship in Bermudian broadcasting, it confirmed that white colonial Bermuda would use any means necessary in protecting challenging articulations of Bermudian identity within its broadcasting industry. The censoring of racial content in Bermudian radio, and the Colonial Government's creation of a new policy banning any other language than English being spoken on Bermuda's airwaves during the 1950s, indicates that clear attempts at preserving Bermuda's colonial national identity within Bermuda's radio industry were being en-

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[88] A Portuguese announcer broadcasting from the Bermuda Broadcasting Company made a call to the Portuguese community that: All Portuguese families should have a bible, but only bibles approved by the Roman Catholic Church. Those not approved by this church should not be read, but brought to the Priest or burned. All Protestant literature should also be burned. Frank Medeiros of the Portuguese Consul was issued a warning and threatened to be taken permanently off the air as this was deemed to be a direct challenge to Bermuda's white conservative and Christian community. Letter from The Acting Commissioner of Police to Colonial Secretary December 10, 1952 Archives #42.

[89] Letter from The Acting Commissioner of Police to Colonial Secretary December 10, 1952 Archives #42.

[90] Letter to The Chairman of Bermuda Broadcasting Company- December 8, 1952- Document 46C Bermuda Archives.

forced. Additionally, this indicates that the Colonial Government, along with the Bermuda Broadcasting Company and Bermuda's Broadcasting Commission were unified in how Bermudian identity should be articulated in radio broadcasting. These same methods of constructing, articulating and securing the island's colonial identity were also evident with the emergence of the nation's colonial television station.

Leading up to the opening of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's *ZBM-TV* in 1958, the colony had significant exposure to American television broadcasting through the network links provided by the American military's *ZBK-TV*. American racial social order, reflected in the television programmes broadcast within the colony, supported and confirmed the status of the black Bermudian in his role within the island's social construct. According to Michele Hilmes, "Television in the 1950s emphasized the white middle-class family to the exclusion of all else […] this was simply a reflection of how American society 'was' in the 1950s…"[91] With these social and cultural indicators being the standard for television, it was no surprise to the black community when the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's *ZBM-TV* began its television broadcast without any black faces on the screen.

As Webb recalls, while there were only a couple of black radio broadcasters at *ZBM*, "they didn't use most of us."[92] He argues:

> Race played a major part in broadcasting. I don't think anybody could deny this. There were people who would rather see a white face on television, and so as a result, the black face was used occasionally, and when the black face really came into vogue, it had to be a particular type of face. The darker hue was not always considered acceptable. You had to have a little bit more of a bronze complexion. And it was never spelled out, it was just the way things were.[93]

[91] Hilmes, Only Connect. Pg. 6
[92] Webb. August 20, 2014
[93] Ibid.

With this being the accepted attitude of black Bermudians on television, amidst Bermuda's social crisis and racial tension, issues of black representation on television never presented itself as a major priority within the campaign for racial equality during *ZBM-TV's* first year of broadcasting. Webb argues, "In my view, the Bermudians didn't really pay a great deal of attention to who delivered their news or their information to them," suggesting that the foreign Canadian, American and British broadcasters that worked at *ZBM* "were considered [the] professionals."[94] With no real resistance to the white face being broadcast throughout the colony, Webb states, "Bermudians sort of felt that they had to gravitate toward that degree of professionalism. I don't recall in my time in early broadcasting any Bermudians saying we would like to see more black people on television. You didn't hear that."[95] It was clear that *ZBM* radio had allowed for black Bermudians to assimilate and broadcast without their racial identity being known. But for television, Webb argues:

> You could have the voice of God, but it was a certain image…the broadcasting image. When people turned on their television, I suspect the architects of television felt that they wanted to see something that was good looking, white, light-skinned and attractive.[96]

In the early days of Bermudian television, Webb and the black community understood that being on television was accessible only to white broadcasters and presenters. Webb, acknowledging his dark complexion and his slight British accent states:

> When I came into broadcasting, I always said I suffered from the two Bs. I was Black and British…and it was nothing I could do about it. My British accent wasn't Oxfordian…I spoke properly. I had this British intonation, which had a lot to do with my upbringing. That is how my parents taught me how to speak…I never did have that Mid Atlantic thing. I was Black. I didn't have,

[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.

> nor do I have now, that typical television look. And this is acceptable to me. I understand that.[97]

With broadcasting's racial norms being well established, the lack of black faces on Bermuda's budding national television station did little to raise voices of opposition. However, other areas of Bermudian society did not allow the discriminatory practices or articulations of black Bermudian identity to be simply ignored. While Bermudian newspapers, radio, and the more recent introduction of television had been significant in articulating black inferiority and promoting white colonial identity during the 1950s, the island's local theatres and cinema played an even more direct role in establishing racial lines drawn in the community in 1959.

The 1920s and 1930s saw many black Bermudians becoming involved in the theatre, with the 1950s witnessing the emergence of "mixed-ethnic"[98] theatrical groups. However, Bermuda's black actors and theatre patrons experienced outright discrimination throughout the 1950s by Bermuda's white-owned theatres. White theatre members had no trouble in purchasing performance tickets, while black group members were refused.[99] Nellie E. Musson argues that the "Bermudiana Theatre Club was a bona fide club reserving the rights of membership, and that membership was limited to persons of unmixed European decent only."[100]Racial practices such as this continued throughout the 1950s, but protests and threats of boycott by both white and black theatre groups helped to decrease the reoccurrence.[101] Additionally, by 1959, Bermuda's cinemas had relaxed their *whites only* policy and blacks became regular customers in their establishments.

However, like many of the other capitalist organizations in the colony, although the local theatres regularly permitted blacks to attend, strict rules of racial separation were still enforced. First, "coloureds" were not allowed to use

[97] Ibid.
[98] Nellie E. Musson, Mind the Onion Seed, Pg. 180.
[99] Musson, Pg. 180
[100] Ibid. Pg.182
[101] Ibid.

the same entrance as white patrons. To access the theatres, they had to enter through side and back entrances, keeping in line with many of the practices seen in the American south. Second, they were not able to sit in the same section of the theatre as white patrons, and were forced to sit in the most undesirable seats within the theatre. According to Swan, "Central to the island's social activities, the theatre was a microcosm of Bermudian society." However, he argues, "Seating was assigned along racial lines." Swan states, "Blacks had to 'sit very close to the screen' or high up in a balcony, which was called 'Niggers' Heaven.'"[102] These two specific methods of racial discrimination enforced the island's social order within a space of entertainment and pleasure. While this had become the normal and accepted practice for black cinema and theatre patrons, many black Bermudians simply refused to attend the white-owned cinemas. Many took a firm stance and refused to patronize an establishment based upon racism.

Yet, the idea of blacks not engaging in white activities or financially supporting racist institutions had started to gain momentum within various black organizations that had begun their own collective businesses. During Bermuda's colonial celebrations, many black Bermudians felt more marginalized, disrespected, devalued, and disconnected from Bermuda's colonial narrative than ever before. As they sought to find ways of ending their oppressive colonial condition, and aimed to redefine black Bermudian identity, it was through their relationship with movements in black America, the Afro Caribbean and ties with colonial Africa that gave Bermuda's own movement the momentum it needed. By the summer of 1959, in the midst of colonial festivities, a number of Bermuda's black activists had begun to organize themselves, setting the wheels in motion for an attack against Bermuda's white hegemony.

[102] Swan. Pg.14

The Ripening of a Colonial Revolution

> Send your propaganda agents around the country and make it appear that we are not fit, culturally and otherwise, for integration, but we'll still love you. But be assured that we'll wear you down by our capacity to suffer, and one day we will win our freedom.
>
> Martin Luther King Jr.[103]

There were several key cultural, political and economic factors that had aligned in order to bring the once seemingly passive black community into a powerful collective resistance. As Bermuda continued to facilitate practices of institutionalized racism, with its local media and broadcasting companies unceasingly articulating racial division, the island's strong ties with Britain and America endured. Yet, as Bermuda engaged in celebrations of its 350 years of colonial identity, allegiances between black Bermudians and blacks in the West Indies and America heightened attitudes of colonial resistance. Although Bermuda had regarded its black residents as well behaved and docile in comparison to blacks in other parts of the British Empire, ties with blacks in the diaspora that had been forged earlier in Bermuda's racial history, had been rejuvenated. With anti-colonial outbreaks and contestations of race and national identity taking place in the British West Indies and throughout Africa,[104] and the civil rights movement gaining momentum in the US, Bermuda was situated in the center of a global triangle of resistance and revolution.

By June 1959, Bermuda's own campaign for island-wide desegregation had reached its climax. The strong bond between black Bermudians and African Americans ushered in major transformations on the island, with converging social, cultural and political factors attributing to the emergence of local resistance groups. The discussion presented here provides further insight into how the external influences from black America helped to shape Bermuda's own internal movement of peaceful revolution against its oppressive racial

[103] The Words of Martin Luther King. Selected by Coretta Scott King. Pg. 73.
[104] Throughout the late 1950s into the 1960s the British Empire was under attack. Harsh living conditions, economic disparity and racist practices seen throughout all of Britain's overseas territories, saw Britain's colonies seeking independence from British rule. By 1959, Ghana had gained their independence from Britain (1957), with Nigeria, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Kenya all receiving their independent status in the early 1960s after years of protests, resistance and revolution.

conditions. It will address how black Bermudians responded to Bermuda's racial climate in June 1959 by attacking the island's white hegemony through the boycotting of Bermuda's white-owned cinemas in a series of non-violent protests. With the ultimate ending of segregation in the colony in the summer of 1959, and the country forced to address new constructions of black Bermudian identity, this section specifically provides context for deeper analysis into the way in which Bermuda's media and broadcasting industry articulated identity during the desegregation of the colony.

The first factor that helped to bring about change in Bermuda's racial crisis was the deep connection that Bermuda's disenfranchised community had with the experience of black America. By 1959, Black Bermudians had begun to truly understand the psychological and emotional damage of segregation, and with their American neighbours, shared the humiliation of being treated as what Eva Hodgson describes as "second class citizens, first class men." Bermudians saw that the hypocrisy evident within the local government and with British officials was similar to the institutionalized racial practices seen within the US. For example, the historical US case Brown v. Board of Education in 1954, had been crucial in the move to end racial segregation within public places. However, the deep seeded racial attitudes that had been in place for hundreds of years had not simply dissolved with the court ruling, and racial segregation continued throughout the United States.[105]

As Bermuda's own judicial system,[106] education system,[107] police force, [108] and

[105] It took nearly a further ten years after Brown v. Board of Education before legal segregation was completely abolished in the United States in 1964.

[106] The colonial government operated on a voting system based upon land ownership. The more land you owned, the more votes you had. The more votes you had, the more opportunity you had to have a voice in government and the island's decision-making process. However, many blacks found themselves unable to vote because they didn't own land and could not afford to purchase land due to menial wages. Many who had earned enough to purchase land, found themselves fighting for their ownership as the local government had devised several policies which allowed land to be taken from its owners. Over the past few years, a number of Bermudians have been attempting to collect compensation for land stolen from their parents and grandparents, and are seeking to press the local government on the issue through a Commission of Inquiry on historical stolen land.

[107] The local educational institutions which were modeled off of the British education system, ran schools for white children, with 'coloured' children being educated in separate facilities. Not only were the local school segregated, but black students were forced to do their school work in far worse conditions, were given access to outdated educational materials, were discouraged from going on to higher education overseas, and more significantly, had black inferiority ingrained into their psyche. Blacks were given books

local churches[109] promoted the idea of a peaceful society, they were also not opposed to the use of discriminatory methods to enforce black separation and subordination within the colony. Consequently, the plight of the African American often paralleled the black Bermudian experience. These similar experiences helped to cultivate an affinity toward black America, and the islanders welcomed support and encouragement from the African American community in tackling issues faced within its shores.

African American ministers, educators and motivational speakers were regularly traveling to Bermuda to speak with the black community on themes of progressiveness. While many of the organizations promoting the events attempted to broadcast the speeches throughout the island on local radio, it was known that they ran the risk of their programmes being shut down or being accused of making racial references forbidden under the Broadcasting Act of 1943. However, the black owned *Bermuda Recorder* was instrumental in printing many of the speeches in its newspaper, as well as providing the black community with coverage of key events taking place locally and overseas in promotion of black progress. And, as Bermuda endured one of the most racially charged years in its history, black and white newspapers, radio and television provided Bermudians with an insight into racial events occurring within the United States. For black Bermudians, this exposure helped to awaken their consciousness, and provided evidence that the fight for equality was real, and even possible within the colony.

In the US, civil rights leader and minister, Martin Luther King Jr., in an effort to bring about a peaceful resolution to the often contemptuous and violent pro-

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and learning material that was outdated and often reflected racist ideology, and omitting any positive historical contribution to Bermudian society. Blacks were being educated in separate schools from white children, and given far less resources or financial support from the government. If it were not for a number of prominent black activist and educators who fought to dispel much of the black-negativity being promoted in Bermuda's schools, the constructions of black identity would be limited to servitude.

[108] Within the Bermuda Police Force, it was common practice to hire white foreigners from the US and the UK, rather than hire a black Bermudian officer.

[109] Calls had been made to religious bodies on the island to speak out against the discriminatory practices, but, churches in Bermuda were also segregated. In order to attend a church service and sit in one of the pews, one would have to pay a pew fee. This fee, which was beyond the budget of most blacks, helped to indirectly separate white members from blacks. The oldest church in the western hemisphere, St. Peters Church, even had a separate graveyard for black members.

tests, had been urging protestors to engage in non-violent methods of revolt. The power of collective revolution through non-violent demonstrations became more popular throughout the 1950s in the American south, and black Bermudians followed as the events unfolded.[110] With a number of key boycotts taking place throughout the American south, King recognized the power that a collective and organized peaceful protest could have. He argued:

> Nonviolent action, the Negro saw, was the way to supplement- not replace- the process of change through legal recourse. It was the way to divest himself of passivity without arraying himself in vindictive force. Acting in concert with fellow Negroes to assert himself as a citizen, he would embark on a militant program to demand the rights which were his: in the streets, on the buses, in the stores, the parks, and other public facilities.[111]

King's speeches resonated with black Bermuda. They knew of the segregated world that King spoke about where they were treated as if they had no rights. They understood the message of strength in numbers. But, it was perhaps Kings' experience in India and his understanding of the colonial experience that further drew black Bermudians to his message.

Years before, King had adopted Mahatma Gandhi's approach of showing the oppressor love through peace and non-violence. Gandhi, who was iconic for his peaceful resistance against British colonialism in India, became symbolic to the civil rights movement in black America. After his visit to India in February 1959, King not only continued to promote non-violence, but he openly addressed the injustices that Indians had endured under British rule. John White argues that King regularly used Gandhi's message of peace within his ministry, [112] while King's own speeches celebrate and detail how Gandhi won independ-

[110] Rosa Parks, for example, after being exhausted from working and too tired to walk to the back of a public bus to sit in the black section, chose to sit in the white-only section. When asked by the driver to get up and move to the back of the bus, Parks refused, demonstrating defiance toward the unjust racial practices of the south, which sparked one of the most symbolic protests of non-violence in America's racial history.
[111] King. Pg. 75.
[112] John White. Black Leadership in America, 1895-1968. Pg. 128-129

ence from Britain through peaceful revolution.[113] As black Bermudians were reaching a boiling point with their own racial crisis, with the island's British leadership offering little resolve to the black Bermudian experience, King's words echoed throughout Bermuda's black community.

Yet, it was a group of black Bermudian university students, through their adopting of King and Gandhi's non-violent approach to resistance that had the most profound impact on Bermuda's own budding social revolution. With Bermuda's close proximity to America, many Bermudian students took advantage of both the economic and geographical benefits of attending university in the United States. For many black Bermudians, education was seen as a means of empowerment, and a way to obtain economic freedom within an economically unbalanced society. While a number of black students sought higher-level courses in the UK and the West Indies, a significant number of black students, as Hodgson states, "found their way to American Universities."[114] Educated Bermudians knew that returning to Bermuda from an advanced degree overseas would give them a small financial edge. They also knew, however, that having an academic certification would not guarantee that they would be treated any differently with regards to the color line.

According to Hodgson, "…Negro opinion was that Bermudian graduates from coloured Universities often were cruelly insulted and discriminated against when they returned to Bermuda."[115] Many of Bermuda's educated black workers returning to the island were unable to obtain entry-level jobs. Black trained nurses, for example, were met with blatant discrimination as Bermuda's hospital was mainly hiring white foreign nurses. And for the handful of blacks that were hired, they were not allowed to live in nurse accommodations with their white colleagues.[116] However, the benefits of leaving Bermuda and obtaining an overseas education outweighed the struggles that students would face upon returning to the island. They knew that the opportunity to acquire an overseas

[113] Martin Luther King Jr., Clayborne Carson. The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr: Vol V. Threshold of a New Decade. January 1959- December 1960. Pg. 148
[114] Hodgson. Pg. 24
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid. Pg. 96-97

education meant that many more doors would be opened. As Hodgson argues, "Negro people, looked eagerly towards education as their salvation. It was with a determination and sacrificial effort that they dedicated themselves to the best that they could attain for future generations."[117]

In the 1930s, Howard University, according to Hodgson, "met the need of Bermudians in search of higher education,"[118] and by the late 1950s, large numbers of black Bermudian students were attending HBCUs (Historically Black Colleges and Universities) all across America. With anti-segregation and discrimination protests springing up throughout the US in 1959, Bermudian students, who were all too familiar with racial injustice, joined in the waves of protest forming on black and white university campuses. They were exposed to King's message of non-violence and saw how peaceful demonstrations could bring about change. They saw black organization and unity. They saw their academic institutions joining forces with religious groups in an attempt to bring an end to inequality in America. Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia, for example, was to be the meeting place for the first Institute on Non-Violence in July 1959. Its participants would include Dr. William Stuart Nelson, Dean of Faculties at Howard University, Dr. Reddick, Professor of History at Alabama State College, with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. addressing the success of non-violent protests the Montgomery bus boycotts.[119]

While the violent clashes with police that had become associated with civil rights movements across black America were uncommon for Bermudian students, the colonial activists were quite accustomed to the psychological superiority and economic fear that had been ingrained in the black Bermudian experience for the past 350 years. As sparks of activism had begun to emerge within Bermuda's own black community, the question was a continuously asked, will justice be served? And, as Hodgson asks, "will they get away with

[117]Ibid. Pg. 24
[118] Ibid.
[119] 1st Institute on Non-Violence to Be Set Up in Atlanta. The Bermuda Recorder. Saturday, June 27, 1959. Pg. 8

this?"[120]Fanon provides a most adequate response, stating, "Why, colonization itself must be brought to trial!"[121] With black Bermuda's strong affinity to black America, its keen awareness of the strengthening civil rights movement in the American south, and with its university students exposed to powerful tools of non-violent resistance, the wheels of Bermuda's own civil rights movement had begun. By 1959, protests and anti-colonial sentiments streamed throughout the West Indies, and African countries such as Ghana had broken away from its British stronghold to embrace its own independence. Bermuda's own racial crisis had come to a head. In the summer of 1959, as Bermuda continued to celebrate 350 years of British colonialism, the island colony endured its most swift and calculated attack against Bermuda's white hegemony, forcing Bermudian identity to be reconstructed as the island became racially integrated.

[120] Hodgson. Pg. 24
[121] Fanon. Black Skin White Mask. Pg. 73

CHAPTER 6

A New Era of Bermudian Colonial Identity: Desegregation and the Arrival of Integrated Broadcasting

> Whether or not the Progressive Group realize it, but this particular incident will make history in Bermuda, greater History for our people than anything else during this 350th anniversary celebrations. This will be something to be handed down to posterity, and generations of the Negro unborn will sing praises to this year 1959.[1]
>
> A Realistic Christian

Frantz Fanon argues, "there is a constellation of postulates, a series of propositions that slowly and subtly- with the help of books, newspapers, schools and their text, advertisements, films, radio- work their way into one's mind and shape one's view of the world of the group to which one belongs."[2] This argument by Fanon can be applied to Bermuda where it was evident leading up to the 350 year anniversary of British colonialism on the island, that Bermuda's racial attitudes had been passed on from generation to generation and ingrained within the social fabric of the nation. The way in which Bermuda's media disseminated, mediated and articulated racial ideology throughout the island's history, was proven to be essential in supporting, reinforcing and maintaining white hegemony, and imperative for defining the island's social structure.

While there had been hints of progress with articulations of black Bermudian identity between the 1920s and the 1950s with the formation of the black-owned newspaper, the *Bermuda Recorder*, and signs of mild integration throughout the 1950s with blacks breaking into Bermudian radio, the fight for complete equality at times seemed inconceivable. With the private local broadcasting company and the major media outlets being tied directly to local politics, it was Bermuda's colonial government that had facilitated and perpetuated the continuation of racial segregation in the colony as it aimed to secure colo-

[1] "A REALISTIC CHRISTIAN" Letter to the Editor. The Bermuda Recorder, June 27, 1959 Pg. 2
[2] Fanon. Pg. 118

nial identity. Yet, as Bermuda's black community continued to witness powerful movements emerging in the US, Africa, England and the West Indies, and its own social revolution gaining momentum, the walls of racial segregation began to fall. As a result of the 1959 Theatre Boycotts, Bermuda was forced – as it was during the emancipation of its slave industry- to re-address issues of race relations on the island, and reshape articulations of colonial identity within its national broadcasting company and colonial newspapers.

This chapter will look specifically at the summer of 1959, and the monumental impact that the 1959 Theatre Boycotts had on negotiations of Bermudian colonial identity. More specifically, in the absence of radio and television evidence, this final chapter examines the role of Bermuda's newspapers as it seeks to demonstrate how the island's media addressed Bermuda's racial crisis, while further proving the direct connection between broadcasting and national identity in Bermuda. It will first look at the role that Bermuda's newspapers played in the weeks prior to the boycotts, as the Progressive Group began to increase the strength of their movement. It will discuss specifically how the *Bermuda Recorder*, Bermuda's only black newspaper, contributed to the success of the boycotts by helping to provide reports of other anti-segregation and anti-colonial movements taking place in Africa and the Diaspora, drawing direct connections with Bermuda's own course of action.

It will then look at how the coverage of the boycotts gave black Bermudians a voice as Bermuda's white hegemony and colonial identity were under attack. It will discuss how the *Bermuda Recorder* used key comments, interviews and official statements during the boycotts to demonstrate its alliance with the Progressive Group, as it served as a vehicle of anti-colonial expression. It concludes by highlighting how theatre officials used stereotypes within colonial media to attack the protestors, and how members of the public engaged in national debates around race and articulations of identity through Letters to the Editor columns.

The analysis of the *Bermuda Recorder* presented here helps to not only contextualize Bermuda's 1959 Theatre Boycotts and its impact on the colony, but

sheds light into how black and white media navigated contestations of race and representation, and how Bermudian media served those for and against the move for racial integration in the theatres. The *Bermuda Recorder's* role in the fight for the desegregation of the colony is an essential part of Bermuda's story, and a vital part of identity formation within the colony. It not only serves as evidence of Bermuda's mediascape, but provides a deeper understanding and illustration as to how media was used as a tool that supported and helped to orchestrate new articulations of black identity on the island. Thus, the rationale for the explicit analysis of the *Bermuda Recorder* is essential here in understanding the significance of the arrival of black owned radio and television in the early 1960s, which further shaped articulations of Bermuda's hybrid identity.

Reporting the Struggles at Home and Abroad

A number of Bermuda's historians and researchers have attributed the success of the 1959 Bermuda Theatre Boycotts to several key factors. Firstly, it was the first time that Bermuda's blacks had unified and collectively made a public stand demanding a change to the island's segregation policies without backing down for an extended period of time. Secondly, the Progressive Group, comprising students, teachers, doctors, lawyers and other community members anonymously organized themselves to orchestrate the series of protests, having no main identifiable leader that could be targeted. Lastly, the protestors followed a peaceful, non-violent approach that had been demonstrated as a successful technique with the civil rights movement in the US, giving local law enforcement no grounds in which to stop them. While these aspects were significant to the strength and success of the movement, one factor that has been somewhat overlooked by historical accounts and critiques of Bermuda's 1959 Theatre Boycotts was the crucial role that the local media played in the coverage of the events, specifically the role of the *Bermuda Recorder*. The *Bermuda Recorder's* contribution here is a vital piece in the analysis of Bermuda's broadcasting industry and national identity. It demonstrates how race within Bermuda's media landscape took a sharp turn toward integration as the boy-

cotts gained momentum, and how Bermuda's black narrative took on a new meaning through the *Bermuda Recorder's* reports and public participation, all setting the foundation for articulations of black identity in radio and television in the years immediately following the desegregation of the colony.

Bermudian newspapers had been vital in articulating Bermuda's position on race, segregation and national identity during Bermuda's most tempestuous era of colonial identity. The island's main newspaper, the white-owned *Royal Gazette*, and the only Bermudian broadcasting station, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, through the formation of the Bermuda Radio and Television Company, articulated parallel constructions of Bermudian colonial identity. But, as Bermuda engaged in celebrations of its 350 years of colonial heritage, and black Bermuda began talks of an impending boycott, it was the *Bermuda Recorder* newspaper that provided a key source of news and information about the local boycotts, and of anti-colonial movements and revolutions taking place around the world. Even before the 1959 Theatre Boycotts were well underway, the *Bermuda Recorder* in the weeks prior had already begun planting the seed of colonial resistance within its own anti-hegemonic discourse, read mainly by Bermuda's black population. It is useful to briefly look at Algeria as an example of how and why newspapers became an integral part of the battle for justice when fighting against colonial powers, as it illustrates the impact that the *Bermuda Recorder* would have in colonial Bermuda.

Algeria, one of Africa's colonial French territories had been involved in a series of revolutionary anti-colonial movements throughout the 1950s, with the Front di Liberation National (FLN) being formed to bring direct assault against French colonialism. Their movement not only attacked the colonial establishment, but targeted broadcasting and communication outlets as part of its strategy.[3] Frantz Fanon argues, "During the first months of the war, it was by means of the press that the Algerian attempted to organize his own news distribution

[3] Algeria and War, 1954-62. Macrohistory and World Timeline. http://www.fsmitha.com/h2/ch23algeria.htm

system."[4] He states, "The newspapers with an anti-colonialist tradition or a policy of objectivity were then avidly read by the native."[5] With a system of communication that could reach the marginalized people and expose what Fanon describes as "the 'truth' of the oppressor," the Africans were able to "oppose the enemy news with his own news."[6] He argues that Algeria was able to find "balance-restoring elements,"[7] through the ownership of their own newspapers. Additionally, Fanon argues, "The power of the colonialist message, the systems used to impose it and present it as the truth were such that most of the time the colonized had only his own increasingly overshadowed inner conviction to oppose to the eminently traumatizing offensives of the French press."[8]Fanon's argument points to the power and direct link between the colonial press and the colonizer in maintaining hegemony, and the need for the colonized to assert his own voice through ownership of his own anti-colonial press in retribution for injustice.

Throughout the 1959 Theatre Boycotts, the *Bermuda Recorder* became a voice of resistance, and demonstrated the power that a black media outlet could have in the struggle for racial equality. By the start of the boycotts on June 15, 1959, the *Bermuda Recorder* had already published numerous articles addressing not only the concerns of desegregation in the colony, but provided insight into significant events and movements occurring throughout the Diaspora which helped to connect Bermuda's blacks to the global movement of colonial resistance. Only days before the start of the boycotts, the June 10th issue of the *Bermuda Recorder* printed the article, "De Gaulle Cites Rights For Algeria," reporting that French President Charles de Gaulle had stressed "that equality of rights would be the basis of future relations between Frenchmen and Algerian."[9] De Gaulle's acknowledgement of the racial crisis occurring in Algeria, and his commitment to seeing better race relations came after the Africans were forced to take a critical stand against French colonialism. For the awaiting

[4] Frantz Fanon. A Dying Colonialism. Pg. 76
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] De Gaulle Cites Rights For Algeria. The Bermuda Recorder June 10, 1959.Pg. 4

protestors in Bermuda, the article printed in the *Bermuda Recorder* demonstrated that change, or at least an acknowledgment of finding a resolution to the problem, could be achieved through collective and organized acts of colonial resistance.

Solidarity was also a theme that consistently appeared in the *Bermuda Recorder's* articles about Africa's fight for equality that helped to strengthen the movement within Bermuda. In the *Bermuda Recorder*'s report, "The Situation in Ghana,"[10] an article printed by West Indian writer, William Dixon, addressed the fact that West Indians were aware of the struggles in Africa and were demonstrating support in their fight for independence. Dixon wrote, "We in the West Indies have been far more fortunate in our history of political emancipation than our brothers and sisters in Africa…We read about deportations, detentions and of threats of other things. What is behind it all?"[11] As he addressed the West Indian (and Bermudian) communities in his article, he celebrated the "fearless, gallant and courageous" attempt to secure their destiny and independence "during the fight for FREEDOM in the Gold Coast."[12] Again, the publishing of these types of articles within the *Bermuda Recorder* provided the isolated black Bermuda islander in the middle of the Atlantic, with a clear picture of what was taking place within revolutionary movements in other racially divided territories around the world.

Yet, it was perhaps reports about South Africa's racially divided nation that most closely resembled the racial crisis that Bermuda's black colonials endured. The arrogance and blatant racism seen in Bermuda was even more apparent in the *Bermuda Recorder's* reports of the white-controlled African nation. Just as Bermuda had initiated a number of programmes that gave its black leaders a sense of authority, although not having any real power, South Africa was also reported by the *Bermuda Recorder* to have "installed the first of a number of all-black territorial authorities under its proposal to separate the nation's African population from South Africa itself and permit them a measure

[10] William Dixon. The Situation in Ghana. The Bermuda Recorder. June 12, 1959 Pg. 5
[11] Ibid.
[12] The Bermuda Recorder. June 12, 1959 Pg. 5

of internal self-government."[13] While the Nationalist government created the initiative for what they described to be "the logical outcome of its long-standing policy of racial separation," and said to be the "only alternative to a mixed-race South Africa,"[14] it was met with huge resistance. The Nationalist government had argued that in a country "in which the whites, out-numbered some four to one by the Africans, would be swamped by their super numbers and ruled by them,"[15] this was the best option for race relations in South Africa.

However, just as black Bermuda had witnessed with many key policies implemented that impacted their rights, the decision in South Africa had been made without discussions from the United Party, who argued, "it will mean the dismembering of the nation."[16] As in black South Africa, national separation was not uncommon for black Bermuda either. In fact, during the 350 year celebrations, it was clear that there was a very distinct alienation between white Bermuda and black Bermuda. As South Africa's black community experienced the feeling of national isolation, this sentiment also resonated throughout Bermuda's own black community. They knew that although many of them had overcome economic turmoil and had beaten the racial odds to become politicians, doctors, teachers and lawyers and had experienced a relatively comfortable lifestyle, the status quo remained.

Bermuda's black community was treated as "second class citizens" and Bermuda's segregation policy reminded them of it daily. Yet, as the Progressive Group began making its call to the black community to join and stand in solidarity against Bermuda's racial policies by boycotting all of the island's segregated theatres, Bermuda General Theatre officials[17] told the *Bermuda Recorder* that there had been plans to desegregate the theatres since the year before. They claimed that the desegregation of the theatres had been on their agenda,

[13] South African Government Installs All-Black Authority. The Bermuda Recorder Pg. 6 June 12, 1959
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] The Bermuda General Theatre was the company that owned all of Bermuda's theatres and upheld a strict segregation policy.

but they had been waiting upon the completion of their new cinema which would provide more seating. Additionally, the fact that the president of the company had told the *Bermuda Recorder* that the new theatre was initially due to be opened in the summer of 1959, but said that he was doubtful "if we will be able to get into it before the end of the year," confirmed the lack of urgency on the part of the theatre company to recognize racial equality on the island or the Progressive Group's demand for desegregation.

Consequently, the Bermuda General Theatre's appeal for patience from the awaiting protestors had little impact. In fact, the lack of faith and belief in Bermuda's local and British government officials in the fight for racial desegregation had been dissolved throughout the 1950s, as authorities had not been aggressive in the support of racial equality on the island. The mistrust in Britain had also been demonstrated in the *Bermuda Recorder's* reporting of the racial crisis in England following the murder of Kelso Conchrane, a black man in Notting Hill. The racially charged event which sparked protest and riots had not gone unnoticed by Bermuda's black community. The *Bermuda Recorder's* June 6, 1959 article, "Protection Plan For Negroes Criticised in British Papers," indicated numbers of "coloured citizens of the United Kingdom and possibly throughout the Commonwealth [had] lost confidence in the ability of the law-enforcing agencies to protect them."[18] While the outcry for protection had been the plea from Britain's black community following Conchrane's murder, a general lack of trust prevailed toward England in the UK, and within her colonies.

Yet, as Britain celebrated its 350th year anniversary of colonialism in Bermuda, and with many of its other colonies already under duress, British officials, including the Royal Family, engaged in a series of public engagements to help quell the feeling of mistrust being expressed toward British authority. According to the *Bermuda Recorder*, the Duke of Edinburgh had visited the Notting Hill area, "London's racial trouble spot," and made efforts to interact on a social level with members of the black community. Visiting the site of

[18] Protection Plan For Negroes Criticised in British Papers. The Bermuda Recorder. June 6, 1959

Conchrane's murder, it was reported that the royal official was met with "white and coloured residents alike," giving the Duke "a boisterous, friendly reception."[19] The orchestrated interactions and displays of racial tolerance exhibited by the Duke had been an attempt to regain the faith that members of the black community had lost toward British authority. Additionally, to re-establish a sense of national unification, orchestrated public appearances by British officials were, according to Dayan and Katz, necessary to "ensure the continuity of the social system," and to "insure the stability of the prevailing order."[20]

While Britain had publically made efforts to appease its racial crisis in England, many in Bermuda's black community, however, were not as convinced. They had already experienced the public pomp and circumstance that its British colonial government had often displayed in nationally unifying community events involving both white and black Bermudians. Yet, it was also noticed that while engaging in the public act of collective unification between the races, that Bermuda's British representatives allowed segregation and institutionalized racism to continue to deeply permeate within the colony. Consequently, the general mistrust toward the British Government and Bermuda's local government had heightened as the protests were due to begin.

Still, Bermuda's cultural ties with the United States also served as a stark reminder of the true reality of race relations in Bermuda. With the *Bermuda Recorder* printing numerous examples of government hypocrisy evident in the US, the desire to stand up collectively against government deception became more evident as the boycotts were about to start. As the US navigated its own policies of racial integration, the *Bermuda Recorder* exposed how desegregation laws that had been passed to end the legal policy of racial segregation in the United States, had been negated or ignored by many of the southern state governments. While on the surface it had appeared as though the southern states were actively involved in implementing mandatory policies of integration in public spaces and in schools, the *Bermuda Recorder* revealed, however,

[19] Duke of Edinburgh Finds Only Gaiety In Racial Hot Spot. The Bermuda Recorder. June 10, 1959. Pg. 4

[20] Dayan and Katz. Pgs. 98-99

that this was not the case and that the new policies were, in fact, not being enforced at all.

On June 10, 1959, five days before the start of Bermuda's protests, the *Bermuda Recorder* printed the article, "South Studies New Tack On Fifth Anniversary of High Court School Ruling."[21] The article highlighted cases taking place in Dallas, Texas and Nashville Tennessee where segregation had been legally abolished, but "Negro children" had still been experiencing cases of discrimination within the public school system. It was reported, "While the Supreme Court outlawed compulsory segregation, it did not order compulsory integration,"[22] demonstrating the school system's lack of commitment to integrated education. Another article featured in the *Bermuda Recorder*, "Court Says Atlanta Must Integrate; Sets No Date," [23] illustrated again the lack of necessity on the part of the white governments in implementing the new race policies. According to the article, it had been deemed by a Federal court that the city's public schools should be desegregated, but gave no specific time as to when it would happen.

Officials stated that the discriminatory practices of segregation should cease, but with no particular enforcement date, they encouraged the implementation to occur "within a reasonable time."[24] Featured only days before the protests, another article revealed that new racial policies in Virginia had recognized a specific implementation date but integration was not a real priority. It was reported that the Virginia school board "could not operate the schools without regard to race or colour as had been required by a court order, [but would be] effective next fall."[25] It stated that there were thirty other counties within the region "with large Negro populations" that were being monitored "in case they receive a similar court order to integrate."[26]

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[21] South Studies New Tack On Fifth Anniversary of High Court School Ruling June 10, 1959 The Bermuda Recorder
[22] Ibid.
[23] Court Says Atlanta Must Integrate; Sets No Date June 10, 1959,The Bermuda Recorder Pg. 4
[24] Ibid.
[25] New School Fight Looms in Virginia Recorder. The Bermuda Recorder. Friday, June 12, 1959 Pg. 4
[26] Ibid.

All of the articles relating to race in America featured in the *Bermuda Recorder* the week that the theatre boycotts were due to start indicated that the attitudes of the American south toward its forced integration policies had not been wholly welcomed or enforced by the various state governments. These same attitudes stretched to the shores of Bermuda, where the island's historical slavery and race connections with the United States were apparent. As demonstrated in earlier chapters, Bermuda's local government ultimately shared the same cultural attitudes toward race as the American south, and demonstrated this in its resistance to total integration of the colony. However, the *Bermuda Recorder's* reporting of the hypocrisy, lack of urgency and defiance in Britain, the United States and Bermuda in recognizing black citizens as equal, only served to fuel the Progressive Group's desire to challenge the establishment, with the black newspaper now playing a more vital role in the attack on colonial hegemony.

Voice of the People

Since the 1800s, the *Royal Gazette* newspaper had been the main source of articulations of Bermudian colonial identity for Bermuda. As the island's daily newspaper, and having connections with the Bermuda Radio and Television Company, it was the main source of maintaining articulations of white superiority within the racially segregated British colony. While an in-depth analysis of the differences and similarities between the *Royal Gazette* and the *Bermuda Recorder*'s coverage of the 1959 Bermuda Theatre Boycotts is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is worth noting that, like the *Bermuda Recorder*, the *Royal Gazette* also played a critical role in the theatre boycotts. However, the *Bermuda Recorder*, as a representative of the marginalized black voices within colonial Bermuda, contributed more significantly to positive articulations of black Bermudian life that was often overlooked or omitted in Bermuda's colonial newspapers. The contributions of the *Bermuda Recorder* presented here offer a deeper insight into how black media addressed race during the theatre boycotts, while at the same time forcing significant shifts in the *Royal Gazette's* own coverage of the theatre boycotts, and integration in the colony in general. This analysis further addresses the relationship between race, national

identity and the media, and how Bermuda navigated these contestations of identity in its 350th year of British colonialism through the 1959 Bermuda Theatre Boycotts.

Prior to the start of the boycotts, the *Bermuda Recorder* had been instrumental in providing Bermuda's black community with a clear picture of injustices taking place in other colonial territories around the world, helping to cultivate a stronger bond with other blacks in the Diaspora. Through articles, special features and news reports, it had also helped to foster a strong sense of solidarity toward movements of racial equality, and reinforced a deeper scepticism toward the local government's commitment to the desegregation of the island. With resistance groups emerging throughout Britain's overseas territories and the fight for civil rights in the US gaining momentum, Bermuda's own Progressive Group felt validated and even justified in its move to force the establishment to address its segregation policies within Bermuda's theatres. While the build up to the boycotts had greatly benefitted from the contribution of the *Bermuda Recorder*, the use of the black owned newspaper by the Progressive Group *during* the 1959 Theatre Boycotts, however, proved to be an even more powerful tool in the fight for racial integration and articulations of black Bermudian identity.

Michele Hilmes argues, while America was addressing its own fight for civil rights in the 1950s, attacking "centuries of hypocrisy and denial,"[27] and with "the revolutionary decade of the 1960s depend[ing] heavily on the media," an era of "flourishing underground press" emerged.[28] Newspapers had become a key part of the movement. She argues, "Hundreds of shoestring papers, newsletters, and magazines sprang up to allow the various political and social groups to communicate with themselves and the outside world."[29]In Bermuda, just as in Algeria and the US, newspapers had become coexistent with contestations of identity. But more importantly to the campaign for racial equality, The *Bermuda Recorder* exposed Bermuda's own colonial truths and hypocri-

[27] Michele Hilmes. Only Connect. Pg178
[28] Ibid. Pg. 213
[29] Ibid.

sies. As it regularly published stories of revolution against oppressive white governments overseas, it also revealed the deep seated racist attitudes of white Bermuda towards blacks within its own shores as the fight for the desegregation of the theatres had begun.

There had been several significant factors that saw the unofficial union between the *Bermuda Recorder* and the Progressive Group help to solidify the success of the theatre boycotts. Firstly, the *Bermuda Recorder* provided its readers with first-hand accounts and constant access to details surrounding the development of the movement. Additionally, it published key statements by both the Progressive Group and the Bermuda Theatre Group that had the ability to evoke and stimulate a strong spirit of resistance and revolution. The *Bermuda Recorder* operated under the policy, "All communication intended for publication should be addressed to: The Manager, The Recorder, Court Street, City,"[30] which gave the general public direct access to contribute to the newspaper. However, within the *Bermuda Recorder's* "Letters to the Editor" column, it was noted, "The Editor reserves the right of accepting or rejecting any communication that may be forwarded to him for publication."[31] This indicates that anything presented to the *Bermuda Recorder* for publishing would be met with scrutiny, and if the contents were not in accordance with what the Editor thought was appropriate for the paper, the *Bermuda Recorder* would not print it.

Additionally, the *Bermuda Recorder* printed, "The publication of any correspondence does not imply that the Editor agrees with the contents,"[32] indicating that while contributions to their newspaper from members of the public may have passed the initial criteria for publishing, their content did not reflect the views of the *Bermuda Recorder* itself. The publishing of their policies, especially during the theatre boycotts, allowed the *Bermuda Recorder* to print what may have been deemed as contentious material in their newspaper, while at the same time being able to distance themselves directly from the message,

[30] Subscription Rates. The Bermuda Recorder. June 27, 1959. Pg. 2
[31] Letters To The Editor. The Bermuda Recorder. June 27, 1959. Pg. 2
[32] Ibid.

and potential repercussion from the establishment. As Fanon describes of Algeria, "the arrival or non-arrival of the said press was sufficient to label them."[33] He argues, even "the newspaper kiosk dealer, like the official clerk, is sure to be a veteran with strong backing in ultra-colonialist circles,"[34] and depending on which newspaper one read, they were connected to a particular position within the colonial crisis. He states:

> For the Algerian to ask for *L'Express, L'Humanite*, or *Le Monde* was tantamount to publicly confessing-as likely as not to a police informer- his allegiance to the Revolution; it was in any case an unguarded indication that he had reservations as to the official, or 'colonialist' news; it meant manifesting his willingness to make himself conspicuous; for the kiosk dealer it was the unqualified affirmation by that Algerian solidarity with the Revolution. The purchase of such a newspaper was thus considered to be a nationalist act. Hence it quickly became a dangerous act.[35]

Although the *Bermuda Recorder* had officially distanced itself from its newspaper's specific content, during Bermuda's most heightened period of identity contestation, however, the newspaper printed numerous articles and statements that alluded to its support of Bermuda's social revolution. Only days before the boycotts were due to begin, the *Bermuda Recorder* printed its own potentially inciting news stories which promoted the Progressive Group's call to action. On June 12, 1959, the signal to boycott had been sounded, and the *Bermuda Recorder* had two front-page stories reflecting the views of both the Progressive Group and the Bermuda General Theatre. According to the *Bermuda Recorder's* report of the start of the protests, "Down With Segregation in Theatres" had been placed on a large noticeboard on a popular road in the west end of the island, "for all passers-by to see."[36] The Progressive Group had also secretly distributed flyers and pamphlets throughout the night to black homes in various parts of the island[37] urging them to boycott Bermuda's segregated thea-

[33] Fanon. Pg. 81
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Campaign to Boycott Segregating Theatres Gains Momentum. June 12, 1959. Bermuda Recorder. Pg1
[37] Bermuda's two most influential black sports clubs, the Somerset Cricket Club (in the west end of the island) and the St. Georges Cricket Club (in the east end of the island), also played a key role in commu-

tres. But the *Bermuda Recorder's* report emphasized that the notice to boycott may not have reached the entire community, and its coverage of the story provided those that had not received the notice with particular details about the boycott. The *Bermuda Recorder* stated, "Apparently an attempt is being made to reach the majority of the local populace through the mails, informing them of the planned boycott," with one notice being directed toward "teachers, while the other is general."[38] The report also informed its readers that theatre president, Hon. James Pearman, had told the *Royal Gazette* the day before that "as soon as the new £300,000 theatre under construction in Hamilton is completed, and is open to the public, segregation will end."[39]

In another article printed on the front page of the *Bermuda Recorder*, Pearman, in an attempt to dispel talks of a boycott, assured the black community that desegregation of the theatres was an eventuality. He spoke directly to the *Bermuda Recorder* on the same morning, confirming that as soon as the new theatre is built, "segregation in the theatres will cease."[40] But, just as the title of the *Bermuda Recorder's* article indicated, "Theatre Co. Head Says: Boycott Unlikely To Change Policy," the Progressive Group knew that Pearman's assurance had little validity, as there was no intention of appeasing their appeal for

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nications between the Progressive Group and the black community. Both clubs had provided a list of names and addresses of their members to the Progressive Group which allowed for more direct access in being able to hand out notices and flyers about the impending boycotts. As sports had been a heavily segregated aspect of the island's social construct, the role that these two clubs played in supporting the ending of segregation is noteworthy. Further, it would be worth highlighting that it is also between these two historically black cricket clubs that Bermuda's only two-day holiday, Cup Match, is held every year. From 1902, a group of black Bermudians called the Friendly Societies, met to celebrate the Emancipation of Slavery in Bermuda with a game of cricket. By 1947, the occasion had evolved into a two-day public holiday in which both the emancipation from slavery and Bermuda's colonization were celebrated. Today, Cup Match (also called Emancipation Day and Somers Day after the colonial founder Admiral Sir George Somers) is still Bermuda's biggest celebration and demonstration of its culturally hybrid identity, attracting thousands of locals and tourists each year. It is still celebrated with a two-day game of cricket in which the western team plays against the eastern team, and is the only event of its kind in any of Britain's colonial territories. Held on the last Thursday and Friday of July or the first Thursday and Friday in August each year, the massive cultural and historic event rotates each year between the Somerset Cricket Club and the St. Georges Cricket Club. While the event fosters a strong sense of national pride, within both black and white families there is friendly rivalry between which team one supports. As a point of context, I was born in the western end of the island (like my father), so my siblings and I, along with my children, are strong supporters of Somerset. However, my mother (and her parents) was born in the eastern end of the island so is a St. Georges supporter. My grandfather played on the Somerset Cup Match team against my great uncle who played for the St. Georges team. This type of situation creates interesting and lively banter for many Bermudian families during the Cup Match Holiday as families fly flags with their team colours (Somerset- red and blue; St. Georges- dark blue and light blue), and make fun of the opposing team.

[38] Bermuda Recorder. June 12, 1959. Pg. 1

[39] Ibid.

[40] Theatre Co. Head Says: Boycott Unlikely To Change Policy. Bermuda Recorder. June 12, 1959. Pg1

immediate integration. In response to Pearman's statement made the day before in the *Royal Gazette*, the *Bermuda Recorder* printed what was described as "the general topic of discussion today,"[41] which was the notice that the anonymous Progressive Group had sent out to the black community. The *Bermuda Recorder* printed the Progressive Group's entire response to the Bermuda General Theatre, which sanctioned the complete boycotting of all of Bermuda's theatres until their goal of full integration within Bermuda's cinemas was achieved. The notice stated:

> In this the 350th year of Bermuda's history, we the under-mentioned group wish you to make an effort to bring about the end of second class citizenship. There is no reason why any person should not be allowed to sit any place in any theatre. You are well behaved, well dressed and you know only too well that you have to pay your own admission. You have a sense of personal dignity, courage and leadership. Therefore assert yourself and Boycott All Theatres as of June 15th; encourage your friends to do likewise. The fact that some theatres are not segregated proves that the management segregates just as a matter of principle. Therefore, you are earnestly urged not to attend any theatre until the management changes its policy. Remember success depends on you.
> 'A PROGRESSIVE GROUP'[42]

The *Bermuda Recorder's* detailed publishing of the Progressive Group's notice to boycott in its newspaper, suggests that the newspaper was aware of the potential outcome that could be achieved if its readers had access to both the notice and the Bermuda General Theatre's resistance to immediate action of the desegregation of the theatres. By printing both statements, it demonstrated to its readers the position of the white establishment, which was eventual integration of the theatres, while the Progressive Group's position was the immediate desegregation of the theatres. These opposing views, and other statements of resistance to integration presented in the *Bermuda Recorder* throughout the boycotts, would serve to validate the Progressive Group's claim that Bermu-

[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.

da's white establishment did not view its black community as equal or integration as a priority.

The second significant factor that saw the unofficial union between the *Bermuda Recorder* and the Progressive Group help to solidify the success of the theatre boycotts was the *Bermuda Recorder's* ability to maintain the Progressive Group and other contributors' identity as they submitted statements of resistance within its newspaper. Along with the policy of selectivity and non-association with submissions to the Letters to the Editor column, it was a requirement by anyone contributing to the newspaper that, "The writer's name and address must accompany all correspondence."[43] This indicates that as the Progressive Group began regularly submitting messages of protest to the black community via the *Bermuda Recorder*, the newspaper was aware of who the contributors of the Progressive Group were, although this was never revealed. Within each of the messages printed in the *Bermuda Recorder's* Letters to the Editor column, the statements were simply signed, "A PROGRESSIVE GROUP," with the *Bermuda Recorder* making no indication as to who they were. The fact that the Progressive Group were able to speak to the people through the *Bermuda Recorder* without their identity being exposed, indicates that the *Bermuda Recorder* was instrumental in maintaining the strength of the movement, and that it even agreed with the movement itself. Yet, the relevance of the Progressive Group's anonymity within the *Bermuda Recorder* in the success of the 1959 Theatre Boycotts should not be understated.

Anonymity was, perhaps, the most important aspect of the entire movement, and the ability for the Progressive Group to speak to the black community through the *Bermuda Recorder* became part of their ammunition. As Eva Hodgson argues, "If a single member of the Progressive Group had been named, the name alone would have aroused jealousies and hostilities among Negroes."[44] As many global movements in the past had demonstrated, inflated egos and rogue revolutionaries created dissension and disjointedness in the

[43] Letters To The Editor. The Bermuda Recorder. June 27, 1959. Pg. 2
[44] Hodgson. Second-Class Citizens; First Class Men. Pg. 149

fight for equality. The *Bermuda Recorder* had already reported a case in the US where the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)[45] had banned one of its officials for going against the non-violent policy of the organization by urging blacks in the American south "to meet violence with violence."[46] With this being a potential distraction and threat to the overall goal of racial equality, Hodgson argues, "The namelessness of the Progressive Group was their greatest strength."[47] With no clear leader, protestors were able to participate in the collective movement as equals. As black Bermudians from all walks of life gathered to show their solidarity, Hodgson states, "having no idea who actually did represent the Progressive Group, every individual in that crowd, and every Negro in Bermuda who wished, could identify himself with the group."[48] Therefore, the lack of an identifiable leader gave the Progressive Group more leverage in arousing the minds and hearts of the marginalized Bermudian Negro.

But more importantly to the Progressive Group's anonymity, was the severe political, economic and possible physical attack that could be launched against the leaders of the group by Bermuda's segregationists, had a specific orchestrator been determined. In the United States, for example, well known freedom fighter and leader of the US civil rights movement, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., had been targeted in a number of unjustified legal offenses. Reports of specific attacks against King had reached Bermuda, with the island's black community witnessing the strategic and calculated assaults on the civil rights leader. According to his wife, Coretta Scott King, "The white city leadership decided to find excuses to arrest blacks when they saw that boycotting was really work-

[45] National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was an American organization formed by a group of African Americans with the support of a number of white liberals in 1909. As blacks in the US endured some of the most hateful and racially charged attacks, lynchings and outright stripping of their rights and liberties, the NAACP became the voice of the people, and made the call for racial equality, just as W.E. B Du Bois had years earlier. According to the NAACP's official website, their main goal had been "to secure for all people the rights guaranteed in the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the United States Constitution, which promised an end to slavery, the equal protection of the law, and universal adult male suffrage, respectively," and is the oldest civil rights organization to date. www.naacp.org

[46] N.A.A.C.P.'s Board Upholds Ban on Official. The Bermuda Recorder. June 12, 1959. Pg. 7

[47] Hodgson. Pg. 149

[48] Ibid.

ing."[49] She states, "We began getting death threats and abusive phone calls."[50]But, while the Kings continued their fight for the rights of black America, Dr. King became an even more visible target, and the world witnessed as their home was bombed by segregationists following the Montgomery bus boycotts. This violent attack on the Kings' home would be one of many examples of how an identifiable leadership could be problematic for the success of the Progressive Group.

For Bermuda's own social movement to prevail, Hodgson argues, anonymity was essential because "the white community could have promptly tagged him, or her, as either an illiterate worker, a communist, or a professional pretending to be a worker-or [worse,] a West Indian."[51] Any previous threat to Bermuda's white hegemony had, in many ways, been connected to influences beyond the colony's shores. Hodgson argues, "Bermudians generally believed that black Bermudians were incapable of having the intelligence, the dignity, the self-respect, or the courage to challenge the racial insults as an evil in their society," therefore, it was not uncommon for blacks to believe that "it was very wrong to challenge anything that wealthy and powerful Whites determined."[52] This attitude, she argues, ingrained the idea that "Wealthy and powerful Whites had always been in control, and many black Bermudians actually did believe that they always should be."[53]

Consequently, with passivity being the characteristic that white Bermuda associated black Bermudians, Hodgson argues, it was thought that "any black person who tried to initiate change must have 'come from outside.'"[54]According to Chris Barker, "…black people are represented as the object rather than subject of history. They are designated as unable to effectively think or act for themselves. In this view, people of colour do not initiate activity or seek to control their own destiny, but are represented by others or act in response to

[49] King. Pg. 9
[50] Ibid.
[51] Hodgson. Pg. 149
[52] Hodgson. A Storm in a Teacup. Pg. 36
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.

others."[55] For Bermuda, with the first signs of resistance emerging within the colony, it had been assumed to be the works of foreigners. But, as Hodgson states, "in this case it was not true."[56]

With Britain already under anti-colonial attack in the West Indies, Bermudian authorities were aware that some of the West Indian agitators might attempt to enter the island and evoke anti-colonial resistance within its own shores. This would be particularly damaging to Bermuda and British national identity as the country celebrated the island's 350 years of British colonialism. Officials knew that black Bermudians had in the past responded to calls of action in solidarity of the crisis in the West Indies. Marcus Garvey, leader of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in the 1920s and 1930s, for example, had inspired many blacks in the Diaspora with his messages of black independence and control of black business through various Pan African movements. The power of his message had also resonated within black Bermuda. More black social groups began to emerge and a number of black Bermudian businesses were ignited, including the formation of the *Bermuda Recorder* in the mid1920s by a group of local Garveyites. With many of Bermuda's black revolutionaries and progressive thinkers drawn to his movement, Garvey was invited to come to Bermuda and speak to the black community, but upon arriving on the island, his entry was denied by the Bermudian government in fear of him sparking an uprising.[57]

In the 1940s and 1950s, other West Indian born activists, such as Dr. E. F Gordon, made their mark in Bermuda, inspiring black Bermudians to push for racial equality, along with land and voting rights. As a result of his intelligence, leadership and general likeability within the black community, Gordon had become a threat to Bermuda's white hegemony as he exposed their fixed election process, making him a target. According to Ira Philip, during the elections, "Dr. Gordon was to totally upset the equilibrium and equanimity of Bermuda," as he had "figured out exactly how the past elections had been rigged against

[55] Chris Barker. The Construction and Representation of Race and Nation. Television, Globalization and Cultural Identities. Pg. 75
[56] Hodgson. A Storm in a Teacup. Pg. 36
[57] Musson. Mind the Onion Seed.

him."[58] Although he had already been labelled as an activist and a well-known political agitator, Dr. Gordon understood, however, the power that a level of anonymity and secrecy could have in staging an attack against the establishment. As he prepared to challenge Bermuda's disingenuous electoral process, Philip states, "Up to within three weeks of that time, he had not even told anyone he would be a candidate," and "as much as he liked to talk, he kept quiet about it and set a trap into which Front Street fell squarely."[59] After Dr. Gordon's futile appeal to the Governor on the "irregularities" within the election process, Philip argues, "hundreds were turning out nightly to hear him assail the status quo."[60] According to Philip, Dr. Gordon informed his followers that "he was fighting a battle of wits against political trickery, chicanery and money and was prepared to go all the way."[61]

Throughout his time in Bermuda, Gordon had become one of the most powerful voices of racial equality and voting rights for black Bermudians, and a continuous threat to Bermuda's white hegemony. Although Dr. Gordon died in April 1955, four years before the formation of the Progressive Group and the ending of racial segregation in Bermuda, he had been hailed by both black and whites as being one of Bermuda's most influential citizens. While Philip states that the *Royal Gazette* acknowledged him as "one of the most colourful, dynamic and controversial characters in contemporary Bermuda,"[62] Dr. Gordon's influence had more deeply penetrated the black community. They had seen the impact of his battles, and had become very aware of the strengths and weakness in his plight. They had seen what strides he had been able to make for black Bermuda, but also recognized the limitations of his cause as a clear target of the establishment. Therefore, secrecy, anonymity and collectivity were deemed to be essential for the success of the Progressive Group, and the *Bermuda Recorder* operated as a direct line of contact between the organizers and the protestors as Bermuda's social revolution began.

[58] Ira Philip. Gordon's Last Days. Freedom Fighters, From Monk to Mazumbo. Pg. 220
[59] Philip. Pg. 220
[60] Ibid. Pg. 221
[61] Ibid. Pg. 222
[62] Ibid. Pg. 238

Alliance, Ownership and Visibility

As discussed in the previous sections, the *Bermuda Recorder* newspaper's ability to provide its readers with first-hand accounts and constant access to details surrounding the developing movement, and its ability to provide the Progressive Group with anonymity proved to be key factors that saw Bermuda's mediascape transitioning during the theatre boycotts. But a third factor, which is the most significant to Bermuda's media landscape as it relates to the success of the 1959 Bermuda Theatre Boycotts, is the role that the *Bermuda Recorder* played in forcing other media entities to engage with Bermuda's racial crisis. From the start of the movement, the *Bermuda Recorder* was a highly visible and reliable source of information for black Bermuda. It had not only printed the Progressive Group's entire call to action, but it also informed readers that some members of the community may not have received the notice to boycott. This demonstrates that there was an unspoken allegiance between the *Bermuda Recorder* and the Progressive Group, which was the opposite of the openly deceptive relationship between the island's white media and the country's governmental bodies. And, if there had been any doubt up to that point of the *Bermuda Recorder's* commitment to the island's growing social resistance, the Progressive Group's open acknowledgment of the *Bermuda Recorder's* support made the alliance more transparent.

Two days after the official start of the boycotts, the first part of a letter from the Progressive Group printed in the *Bermuda Recorder* stated:

> We, The Progressive Group, wish to thank The *Bermuda Recorder* for its very fine coverage of our very successful BOYCOTT OF THE BERMUDA GENERAL THEATRES. We would also like to apologize to the people to whom we did not send letters and at the same time thank them for their co-operation. We wish to thank everyone for their co-operation and to beg them to continue to keep up the good work."[63]

[63] Letters To The Editor. Bermuda Recorder June 17, 1959. Pg. 2

This statement by the Progressive Group in the *Bermuda Recorder* in the early stages of the boycotts was significant for several reasons. For one, it acknowledged through the printing of the statement, that the *Bermuda Recorder* endorsed the actions of the Progressive Group, and that the Progressive Group was appreciative of the reinforcement. The *Bermuda Recorder* could have refused the Progressive Group's notices to avoid being tagged as an associate of the anti-colonial movement, but instead, it demonstrated that it was an ally and a vehicle of anti-colonial sentiment. The fact that the *Bermuda Recorder* was not owned by any of the white media agencies also gave it the ability to print what it chose to, and this was vital to the Progressive Group in expressions of colonial resistance. It demonstrated to the black community that having ownership over its own media created a platform in which they could speak out against injustices. It gave them the capability of rewriting the black colonial narrative, which, up to that point, had been left largely to the hands of the white colonial.

Further, to add to the sense of ownership, the *Bermuda Recorder's* black journalists had been celebrated by the Progressive Group. Throughout the course of the movement, the *Bermuda Recorder* had its reporters covering all of the Progressive Group's events taking place around the island. The extensive coverage kept the *Bermuda Recorder's* readers connected to those that were out in the field protesting, and informed them of the success that the movement was having in shutting down the theatres. Moreover, as the Progressive Group used the *Bermuda Recorder* to highlight the good job that was being done in covering their campaign for equality, the Progressive Group also used the *Bermuda Recorder* to openly reprimanded Bermuda's white media agencies for inadequate coverage of the boycotts. They addressed the colonial press' lack of reporting on their challenge to the island's stats quo.

One particular letter in the *Bermuda Recorder* by the Progressive Group that addressed the lack of coverage by Bermuda's white media stated:

> Another newspaper in the city must have a very poor reporting staff for, on Tuesday they forgot to tell their readers that the Colonial Opera House and the

> Island Theatres were forced to close their doors because no one attended the show, and that business was not normal at St. George's and Somerset Theatres.[64]

The criticizing of Bermuda's white media by the Progressive Group further highlighted to the *Bermuda Recorder's* readers that Bermuda's white establishment and its media, did not take the theatre boycotts or the call for integration seriously. As the movement accelerated and the black owned newspaper grew more connected to the Progressive Group with reports and substantial coverage, another shift occurred.

With the *Bermuda Recorder* having extensive coverage of the theatre boycotts within its newspaper, the island's other media agencies were subsequently forced into addressing and highlighting the country's national debate on race. The unified force of the *Bermuda Recorder* and the Progressive Group inadvertently thrust the *Royal Gazette* and other media entities into island wide coverage of the theatre boycotts, with the establishment and its media agencies taking the cause more seriously. Charles Webb argues, "The Theatre Boycotts [became] extensively covered by both the electronic and the print media."[65] The *Royal Gazette* and other media, he states, "could not avoid not covering them. Pictures [and] stories…they didn't leave everything to the Recorder…"[66] The Bermuda Broadcasting Company had also joined in the coverage of the protests, and had reports on their radio station informing the public about the motorcade of protestors holding placards in support of the desegregation of the theatres as they drove throughout the island.[67]

Yet, what is of more significance to the shift in the coverage of the boycotts and subsequently, Bermuda's mediascape, was the fact that Bermuda's white news agencies were forced to alter their segregation policies and implement immediate integration through the hiring of more black journalists in order to

[64] Letter To The Editor. The Bermuda Recorder. June 17, 1959. Pg. 2
[65] Webb Interview.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Sydney Clements. Letters to the Editor. Royal Gazette. June 25, 1959. Pg. 6

cover the key stories. Webb argues, "You have to remember in those days, the print media was predominantly white, and the electronic media were predominantly white."[68] He states, although the island's white newspapers "had their few black reporters,"[69] it was as a result of the *Bermuda Recorder's* access and coverage and the need to capture everything that was taking place, that Bermuda's white media was forced to use more black journalists. Webb argues, the theatre boycotts "were covered extensively," and it had to be covered "because it was such an unusual occasion."[70]

Being black and a journalist opened the door for more opportunities for Bermuda's black population. It allowed Bermuda's white media, via its black reporters, access into the black community in order to obtain the inaccessible reports on the theatre boycotts that were now top news stories in the *Bermuda Recorder*. Black reporters during Bermuda's boycotts and riots created a black visibility that had not been seen to that extent before in Bermuda. Webb argues, the white media "started to use black people…and I don't mean use in a pejorative manner, but they started to use more black reporters for stories that white people were not able to get."[71] Many white reporters would simply not go into heated areas of protest, because, as Webb states, "they were surrounded by a sea of black faces."[72] Therefore, much of the contentious reporting had been left up to the black reporters.

However, as the fight for integration continued, and the Progressive Group sat under constant scrutiny by the colonial government, an unspoken understanding between the protestors and black reporters from the colonial press developed. There was a level of trust that formed between them, and it was the hope of the protestor that the black reporter would accurately reflect what was taking place. The protestors believed that the black reporter understood how the white media agencies had historically portrayed them in a negative light, and trusted that, on this occasion, the truth would be told. According to Webb, "when you

[68] Webb Interview.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.

take for example the man on the picket lines, their attitudes changed when they saw black reporters because they felt they were going to get a fair shake. And they were not wrong because we were there just to report the facts."[73]While the *Royal Gazette* and other news agencies, for the most part, accurately covered the events surrounding the boycotts, there had still been evidence of misrepresentations of the truth in reports of the boycotts.[74] However, as Webb argues:

> … it was hard to be one sided about the theatre boycotts because they were in your face. I mean television wasn't as mobile as it is now, but you couldn't sort of fake anything, it was all in your face, you had to report it accurately. Where the difficulty may have come would be in the editorial, the editors view point, but you couldn't mistake what was going on. Even as a young reporter going over to the theatre boycotts, it was right there! All I had to do was make notes. It was all happening right before my eyes.[75]

News reports by all of Bermuda's media outlets demonstrated that the boycotters were inflicting a huge blow to the establishment. One of the protestors, "an unidentified coloured man," was, according to the *Royal Gazette,* "speaking to an enthusiastic crowd of about 250 gathered on the old Hamilton Hotel steps," encouraging the group to "continue to boycott."[76] He reminded protestors that "coloured people pay £3,500 a week in cinema admissions, [and] 'Over a period of six months we could build a new theatre of our own with that money.'"[77] The *Bermuda Recorder* reported that the same "clean-cut, respectable, and responsible dark-skinned man," said that he "has long been fed up with social conditions in Bermuda [...and] this movement was spearheaded by you for you."[78] He told the *Bermuda Recorder* that, "millions of Negroes around the world 'are wishing us the best of luck in our protest,'"[79] reiterating that they

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[73] Ibid.
[74] The Royal Gazette had been accused by the Progressive Group of incorrectly reporting specific aspects of the boycott that made the protestors appear to be violent and threatening, which had, according to the Bermuda Recorder, not been the case.
[75] Webb Interview
[76] Cinema Segregation; Speaker Tells Crowd To Go On With Boycott. The Royal Gazette. June 18, 1959. Pg.1
[77] Ibid.
[78] Movie Boycotter Hailed As he States Issues Behind Protest. The Bermuda Recorder. June 20, 1959. Pg. 1
[79] Ibid.

were being acknowledge by blacks overseas for their fight, and this encouraged them to not back down.

And if there had been any doubt of the impact that the boycotts could eventually achieve, the *Bermuda Recorder's* reports of boycotts taking place in South Africa helped to continue the momentum. It was reported that, "The African National Congress, leading black political faction in South Africa, has announced a blacklist of South African products to be boycotted in a nation wide movement starting June 26."[80] Significant financial products such as cigarettes and coffee were amongst the items to be boycotted in a calculated attack on South Africa's white hegemony. According to the *Bermuda Recorder*, "The boycott is being publicised by the Congress party as a protest against discriminatory legislation, low wages, unemployment and pass laws-all of which are long-standing sources of discontent among the black majority in the white-controlled country."[81]With stories of protest saturating every aspect of colonial media, it was clear that Bermudian colonial identity and white hegemony was under attack. The once marginalized black population had suddenly emerged from the peripheral, and now had a voice. Through black media, Black Bermudians had become visible.

A Keg of Gunpowder, Hoodlums and Letters to the Editor

In the midst of celebrating the island's British heritage, reports of protests, picketing and boycotts began to overshadow stories of the 350th year anniversary. As contestations of race played out throughout the island's mediascape, both the local and colonial governments watched as the 1959 Theatre Boycotts began to reshape articulations of Bermudian colonial identity. The examples presented in this section demonstrate the role that Bermuda's media played in reinforcing racist practices in securing its status quo, while at the same time, attempting to provide an alternative lens with which to view the plight of the

[80] South African Negroes Invoke Boycott-Order Ban on Buying Products of Nationalists' Supporters. Bermuda Recorder. June 17, 1959. Pg. 6
[81] Ibid.

black Bermudian in gaining racial equality during the peak of the theatre boycotts. Highlighting the way in which Britain and Bermuda's local government were featured in local newspapers as they attempted to manage threats to white hegemony, exposes the conflicted and ambiguous attitude that colonial powers had toward racial integration and their fear of derailing Bermuda's economic and social stability. This analysis also provides a deeper understanding as to how Bermuda's media and its colonial powers collaboratively articulated national identity as they attempted to find a resolution to the island's racial crisis, and how black and white Bermudians responded to the crisis through the Letters to the Editor column.

With growing concern from the island's colonial authorities, Bermuda's Colonial Secretary was called forward to explain the "disturbances" taking place in the small overseas territory. According to the *Royal Gazette,* Bermuda's plight had been raised in England's House of Commons, where it was reported that there had been a series of problems in the island's cinemas "which bar citizens of African blood from certain parts of the auditorium."[82] With British colonialism already under attack, the assurance that Britain's wealthy island paradise was secure had been essential. Fenner Brockway of the British Labour party had probed Bermuda's Colonial Secretary, Alan Lennox-Boyd, who assured him that there had only been "a few minor incidents" throughout the "month's boycott against two privately owned cinemas which bar coloured persons from balcony seats."[83] Lennox-Boyd stated that the crowds had "been very orderly and there [had] been no violence."[84] However, Bermuda's colonial representative downplayed the extent of the island's policy of racial segregation, telling Brockway that, "the reservation of a small balcony for white people had existed for many years," and that even before the boycotts had started, the theatre owners "had of their own accord decided many months ago to terminate all balcony reservations as soon as they were able."[85]The minimalizing of the situation in Bermuda to the House of Commons suggests, not only did the Colonial

[82] Questions Asked In Commons About Boycott. Royal Gazette. June 24, 1959. Pg. 1
[83] Royal Gazette. June 24, 1959.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.

Office want to make the boycotts seem superficial in comparison to other tempestuous colonial territories, but it also indicates that Bermuda's Colonial office was trying to maintain the image that their island colony was free from any challenge to British authority. Further, during Her Majesty's visit to Bermuda years earlier the island and its Colonial office had been chastised by international media for their historical racist practices. To have the same practices exposed to the world during the 350th anniversary, would demonstrate that there had been little progress toward integration within the British Empire, and the protests would indicate disconnect in British national unification.

While the Colonial Secretary had brushed off the theatre boycotts as a mild dispute around seating arrangements, and had tried to appease the British House of Commons by simplifying the impact of the protests, members of Bermuda's House of Assembly, however, acknowledged the severe implications of not meeting the demands of the Progressive Group and the hundreds of black Bermudians that were now involved in the movement. One week into the protests, Bermuda's local government disclosed the potential impact that the boycotts had in damaging Bermuda's international image. While the protests had begun initially as a contestation of race and equality within the island segregated cinemas, the movement had developed so quickly that it also threatened to completely shake up the colony's entire social and economic structure.

With the *Bermuda Recorder* and other media agencies now capturing every aspect of the island's racial debate, Bermuda's government officials knew that the entire island was watching how they were going to handle the crisis, and the House of Assembly was forced to address the dilemma. Members of the House understood the necessity to bring about a swift resolution to the non-violent acts of protests, for, as one speaker warned, "If allowed to simmer this is going to boil over some day."[86] According to the *Royal Gazette,* this was the first time that the House of Assembly debated "the boycott by coloured persons of the Colony's cinemas."[87] Members of the House argued that the boycotts

[86] Theatre Company Chairman Says He Won't Be Coerced. Royal Gazette. June 23, 1959. Pg. 1
[87] Royal Gazette. June 23, 1959.

were a "potentially explosive situation," and threatened the Bermuda General Theatre President that, "Some small incident could touch off riotous consequences that would do this country a great deal of harm."[88] Although Pearman argued that the Bermuda General Theatre was going to desegregate the island's cinemas once the larger theatre was ready, House members suggested that integration within the theatres should be moved forward, as "The boycott is a means that has been invoked to accelerate the pace."[89] They argued that the theatre boycotts could be damaging to Bermuda's economy, as tourists would be affected by the social disruption, thus impacting the island's income.

Additionally, with the numbers of supporters that the boycotts had gained, the peaceful protests had the potential to evolve very quickly. The island's only black parliamentarian, Wesley Tucker, told the House of Assembly, "In my opinion in this country we are sitting on what might be called a keg of gunpowder," dismissing Pearman's earlier description of the boycotts as "a storm in a tea cup."[90] He advised that the situation was not as simple as Pearman had made it out to be. He argued that although the policy of segregation in the cinemas had been historically enforced, it had not been, as Pearman alluded to, been accepted by all members of the black community.

According to the *Royal Gazette*, Tucker told the House of Assembly that he, along with his family "had been conducting a personal boycott for 20 years against cinema segregation."[91] He also noted that although the Progressive Group were engaging in acts of peaceful protest at that moment, he was "terribly afraid that unless something is done by the theatre company or the authorities we might find ourselves in a position to be deplored."[92] These statements by Tucker printed in the newspaper may have offered some reassurance to the Progressive Group of an impending victory, and with what may have been perceived as an alliance within the House. However, another member, Jack Tucker, was reported as saying that "cinema directors should not allow such a

[88] Cinema Boycott. Royal Gazette. June 24, 1959. Pg. 6
[89] Royal Gazette. June 24, 1959
[90] Ibid. June 23, 1959
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.

crowd to impose their will upon them,"[93] demonstrating that there was division within the House of Assembly on the move to immediately integrate the theatres.

As local media reports highlighted the political disconnect towards the desegregating of the island's cinemas, Bermuda's black community were also continuously reminded of the deception that they had historically encountered with the white establishment, as it was apparent that racial equality and integration was not at the forefront of the establishment's agenda. The House of Assembly was reported to have encouraged the Bermuda General Theatre to "either bring forward the date ending segregation or close their cinemas entirely."[94]Pearman, in total objection to dropping the policy of segregated seating within the island's theatres, told the House of Assembly that he would rather shut down all the cinemas, then to give in to the demands of the Progressive Group.[95] With the *Bermuda Recorder's* headlines confirming his rejection of immediate integration, Pearman's refusal to back down solidified the black community's mistrust for him and further justified their boycotts.

But, the extent of Pearman's racially charged remarks sparked further protest from the black community. As a direct attack against the protestors, he told the House of Assembly, "I do not propose to be coerced by a crowd of what is largely hoodlums into doing something which I believe is sensible and right,"[96]confirming that he will not be "bringing an earlier end to the seating segregation in Hamilton cinemas."[97] Pearman told the House that "the crowds outside the cinemas had behaved very badly," and that "There would have been real trouble had it not been for the tolerance of the police."[98]The impact of Pearman's words were even more damaging, as the *Royal Gazette* printed that protestors were intimidating and becoming violent, and reiterated Pearman's comments of "hoodlum" behaviour throughout their headlines.

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[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Theatre Head Labels Boycotters of Segregating Cinemas as "Hoodlums". Bermuda Recorder. June 24, 1959. Pg. 2
[97] Royal Gazette. June 23, 1959.
[98] Ibid.

Name-calling, negativity and descriptions of violence had always been stereotypes linked to Bermuda's black youth by Bermuda's white media, but the use of the term "hoodlum" on this occasion was taken as a direct attack. The suggestion in the *Royal Gazette* by Pearman that the Progressive Group were violent and menacing supports the idea of negative stereotypes being used in the media as a method of securing hegemonic power. While this thesis only begins to address the way in which colonial media supported hegemonic power by perpetuating negative images and attitudes towards blacks, more recent critique on the representation of blacks within current media forms exposes significant similarities. Chris Barker, for example, argues that media "continue[s] to associate black people, specifically young men, with crime and social problems," [99] which perpetuates racial attitudes of black inferiority. Further, as Barker states:

> …the idea that there was something intrinsically criminal about black culture began to take hold and the imagery, circulated through the press and television, of black youth as dope smoking muggers and/or urban rioters came to the fore. Thus, the alleged hedonism, evasion of work and criminality of black culture, and its implied difference from white culture, became the closely entwined motifs of British racism in the media.[100]

Barker's argument indicates that within articulations of the black community within various media forms, it had become normalized to associate the group with anti-social, or for Bermuda, anti-colonial behaviour. Thus, it can also be argued that the practice of reinforcing negative black identity (as seen in television today), continued to be used as methods of sustaining racial ideology. For Bermuda, this meant that the use of negative racial stereotypes by Pearman and the *Royal Gazette* was a means for the establishment to regain control as it was losing the fight for what was going to be the eventuality, racial integration. Additionally, the use of stereotypes, as Barker argues, "involves the attribution of negative traits to persons who are different from ourselves."[101] This

[99] Barker. Pg.79
[100] Ibid. Pg.75-76
[101] Ibid. Pg.75

process, he argues, is "a staple mechanism of racism,"[102] and "points to the operation of *power* in the process of stereotyping and to its exclusionary role within the social, symbolic and moral order."[103] With the theatre boycotts threatening the island's social order, and with division present within the local government, the only other resort that the theatre president had was to use the colonial newspaper, the *Royal Gazette*, to discredit the Progressive Group.

Further, this use of the media in sustaining hegemony was seen frequently in the US. As the desegregation of the United States was slowly being enforced, Bermuda looked to its neighbours in the American south as they provided numerous examples of how the press could be used in fighting battles of integration. As Thomas A. Gugliemo and Earl Lewis argue, "Throughout the region individuals and institutions organized a massive resistance against integration of any kind: the Southern white press vehemently and vocally denounced the Supreme Court decision…"[104] Pearman's attack was what Barker describes as "vivid but simple representations which *reduce* persons to a set of exaggerated, usually negative, character traits."[105]What's more is the fact that black Bermudians had not been known to engage in large demonstrations of protest like this before, and were refusing to wait for equality to be granted. These acts of social dis-order only justified Pearman's accusations of them behaving uncivilized.

As Barker argues, the British and American perspective of blacks was that of "white civilization and black 'naturalness' and 'primitivism.'" The Progressive Group's act of resistance against the establishment and normal social order, confirmed their inability to behave logically. Barker states, "Black people were represented as naturally incapable of refinements of white civilization, they were by nature lazy and best fitted for subordination to whites. Thus, the social and political inferiority of black people was represented as part of the inescap-

[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Gugliemo and Lewis Pg. 189
[105] Barker. Pg.75

able God-given order of the universe."[106]Therefore, based upon this idea, from a white colonial perspective, not only were Bermuda's blacks not good enough to sit with whites in the cinemas, but they were not civilized enough to exert patience in the opening of the new theatre, after which they would have been granted integration.

However, while using negative representations of black Bermudians in the media had been effective in supporting black inferiority historically, in the summer of 1959, things changed. As Barker argues, there is a "need to recognize the existence and emergence of different historically specific forms of racism across the globe and of the subtle typologies within given cultural contexts."[107] Within Bermuda, it had been clear that the colony's method of using the media to articulate its racist position was much like Bermuda's own hybrid colonial identity, an effective blend of blatant American bigotry mixed with just enough polite British prejudice. Yet, as Pearman and Bermuda's colonial media had attempted to discredit and dissolve the Progressive Group, it had actually done the opposite.

What the Bermuda General Theatre Company had not factored in with their dismissal of the Progressive Group's appeal, was that the protestors were *not* violent undesirables. They were in fact, well educated, well connected, financially able, and most importantly, they owned their own press. Because the theatre president's comments had been printed in both the *Royal Gazette* and the *Bermuda Recorder*, black newspaper readers, (many of whom were protestors themselves), saw first hand the direct inaccuracies and lies being told through the colonial press. The *Bermuda Recorder* engaged in an immediate counter-attack against Pearman's statements and toward the *Royal Gazette's* reporting. What would have seemed to have broken down the impact of the movement, instead, through discourse of the newspaper, gave Bermuda's social revolution even more ammunition.

[106] Barker. Pg. 77
[107] Ibid.

Although members of the House of Assembly who had been aware of the protests refuted Pearman's claims in the *Royal Gazette*, stating that the boycotts were being "led by 'substantial people, not rock 'n' rollers,"[108] the damage had already been done. As the House of Assembly decided that, "The danger of immediate violence has been removed" following Pearman's decision to close down the theatres, they felt that that the situation could now be "open to negotiation and discussion."[109] But the media's negative representation of the protestors, and the disregard for their demands by the theatre president had further fuelled the group. The June 24, 1959 edition of the *Bermuda Recorder* had numerous articles criticizing the theatre president, and the colony's position of racial segregation. The main headlines read:

> *Directors Shut Theatres Rather Than Yield to Desegregation Demand*
> *Theatre Head Labels Boycotters of Segregating Cinemas as "Hoodlums"*
> *Placards Tell Simple But Profound Message*
> *"Hoodlum" Charge Answered Last Night From City Soapbox*[110]

In one of the articles, a protestor said that this was a "vicious attack made upon us in the House."[111]He stated that "some of our younger boys misbehaved in a 'teeny-weeny way," but argued, "it was not true that the crowds have been rude or unruly."[112] Another article printed in the *Bermuda Recorder* highlighted the debate within the House of Assembly, and raised concerns by some of the members who felt that denying the protestors immediate integration of the theatres would create more racial tension.

With the island on edge, Bermuda's Governor stepped in with a team of mediators to support the Progressive Group and the Bermuda General Theatre with their negotiations. According to the *Royal Gazette*, the Governor's team were going to be "available on the one hand, to any group of people who may be organizing the boycott and on the other to those responsible for running the cin-

[108] Royal Gazette. June 23, 1959. Pg. 1
[109] Ibid. June 24, 1959. Pg. 6
[110] The Bermuda Recorder. June 24, 1959. Pgs. 1-6
[111] "Hoodlum" Charge Answered Last Night. Bermuda Recorder. June 24, 1959. Pg. 6
[112] Bermuda Recorder. June 24, 1959. Pg. 6

emas in the hope that a channel may be established to all may be reached."[113]Although the Governor had attempted to help quell the contention, the reporting of the 1959 Theatre Boycotts by the island's media agencies and broadcasting company had triggered harsh reaction from the general public and they became deeply involved in the island's racial identity narrative.[114] Provoked by the media coverage of the boycotts, both black and white Bermudians had become participants in the national debate on race and segregation, and the Letters to the Editor columns in both the *Royal Gazette* and the *Bermuda Recorder* became a battlefield of words for and against Bermuda's social revolution.

Inciting racist statements in the *Royal Gazette's* Letters to the Editor column were met head on with harsh rebuttal from contributors to the *Bermuda Recorder's* Letters to the Editor, demonstrating how contestations of race played out in Bermudian media during the theatre boycotts. The examples presented here further illustrate the extent of the heightened racial exchanges taking place between members of the public through the local newspapers, and how the media forms reinforced, and at the same time, challenged articulations of black identity. One particular example that clearly demonstrates an attitude that was exhibited by white Bermuda toward the black community, was a letter printed in the *Royal Gazette*, signed *Good Luck*. The letter stated:

> I am writing to try to encourage the white folk of Bermuda to counteract the boycott of the Bermuda cinemas by going to as many moving pictures as are necessary to keep the cinema on its feet. By this not only will you resume law and order in Bermuda, but also prove to the coloured people of these isles that they are not as important in the movies by the money they pay as they think. The movies are a lot of fun and a change from the normal routine of TV every

[113] Mediation is Offered in Cinema Boycott. Royal Gazette. June 25, 1959. Pg. 1
[114] The Royal Gazette not only printed comments from white Bermudians, but strategically placed comments by black Bermudians who were against the boycotts in their own Letter to the Editor column. One particular letter from a contributor known as "Coloured," spoke of how the theatres should be segregated because Bermuda's black youth do not know how to behave properly in the theatre's, referring to their presence as "jungle". While comments such as these were extremely rare in the Royal Gazette, they were there to inflict impact on the movement and to justify their racial attitudes toward black Bermudians. And, it would also be noted, that the Royal Gazette printed letters in support by white members of the community, who spoke out and supported the boycotts, although those were also few in numbers.

> night. You will be surprised to find how comforting coloured movies are from the old dusty looking pictures of the TV, besides, the movie screen is a lot larger than any TV and those larger articles in comparison are also a relief to your eyes. Please try to make this extra effort.
> Good Luck[115]

Good Luck's letter openly supported the maintaining of the island's segregated theatres, while at the same time highlighting the fact that their entertainment and social life was being impacted by the black community's demand for equality. The call for integration within the theatres was less important than their desire to continue enjoying the benefits that white privilege afforded them. Further, this attitude toward black Bermuda was consistent with the colonial narrative of black identity that had been ingrained in the history of Bermuda for centuries- blacks were not important. However, this was only one of the many openly racist perspectives toward the theatre boycotts, the Progressive Group, and black Bermudians in general expressed in the *Royal Gazette*. Sydney Clements, in another *Royal Gazette* letter, addressed the fact that blacks in Bermuda were far better off than blacks in other parts of the world, and suggested that Bermuda's blacks should be content with their status. Clements wrote:

> I have just listened to the 12:45 p.m. broadcast of news over Radio *ZBM*. The first item of local news was that a "motorcade" or "motor procession, I understand, was being organized to proceed this evening from Hamilton to St. George's as a further protest against segregation in the motion picture theatres. My immediate reaction was, where in the British Empire or, for that matter, in the world, would one find coloured people in possession of motor cars, motor bicycles in sufficient quantities to enable such a procession to be formed? I have stated in the past, state now and firmly believe that nowhere in the British Empire are coloured people living in more prosperous conditions than here in Bermuda.[116]

[115] Good Luck. Letters to the Editor. The Royal Gazette. June 24, 1959. Pg. 6
[116] Sydney Clements. Letters to the Editor. Royal Gazette. June 25, 1959. Pg. 6

Clements also argued that the island's "coloured persons" should not be influenced by "agitators" who were "preparing to move into Bermuda, intent on stirring up trouble between the white and coloured inhabitants." [117]In a response to Clements, a writer in the *Bermuda Recorder* called "Darkie," said he felt "compelled to write" his letter after he had read Clements' comments on the "Boycott against the segregated seating in the Theatres."[118] Darkie's letter addressed the comments that Clements had made about the motorcade, and Clements' comments on "coloured people being tools of such agitators."[119] Darkie argued, Clements "seem[s] to think that Prosperity is what we need to satisfy our 'Human Dignity.'"[120] He warned Clements that there were enough "agitators to stir up trouble between white and coloured,"[121] stating that, "For [Clements], writing as one who has no sense of colour, is because he is colour blind."[122]

Another writer to the *Bermuda Recorder*, "A Disgusted Citizen,"[123] attacked not only the theatre officials, but also those in support of maintaining the island's segregation policy. A Disgusted Citizen wrote:

> Never before in my life have I heard such untruth expressed by the opposition of The Progressive Movement. It appears that we have quite a few die-hards in our little island of Bermuda, who are prepared to protect their selfish and undemocratic policy of segregation at any price.[124]

The writer highlighted the contradictions in the officials' statements regarding the protestors. They also noted further on in their letter that the boycotters were initially described by the theatre officials as peaceful and "some of the world's most friendly and cultured Negroes," but then were relegated to being called "'Hoodlums' because the coloured people have chosen a non-violent method to

[117] Royal Gazette. June 25, 1959. Pg. 6
[118] Darkie. Letters To The Editor. The Bermuda Recorder. June 27, 1959. Pg. 2
[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid.
[123] A Disgusted Citizen. Letters To The Editor. The Bermuda Recorder. June 27, 1959. Pg. 2
[124] Ibid.

fight for what they are justly entitled to."[125] The letter ended by stating, "Even a dog, if not treated fair would turn on its master. So all we are asking for is fair treatment."[126]Yet, it was the Progressive Group and the *Bermuda Recorder's* own Editor that used the *Bermuda Recorder* to effectively renounce the claims of the theatre president and clarify the inaccuracies of his statements. After the Governor and theatre officials had made attempts to meet with the Progressive Group to discuss possible solutions, their response in the *Bermuda Recorder* solidified their position. The Progressive Group stated:

> Now that the Theatres are closed, the cry goes out, There Must Be Negotiations- but there is nothing to negotiate. The solution to the problem is immediate Desegregation of all Theatres. If the theatres are opened under the same segregated basis, the same Boycott will continue.[127]

And the *Bermuda Recorder*, once again, became the voice of not only the Progressive Group, but of the black community. It not only printed the Progressive Group's response to the theatre officials, but also published their own position of the boycotts, signalling that the movement should in fact continue if the goal of integration was to be met. In an editorial piece called "Human Dignity," the *Bermuda Recorder* told the black community that the theatres have been shut down and "The Boycotters have won the first round, but the game is young."[128] The article warned of the dangers that could possibly come to those that continued with the movement, but celebrated the fact that it was "encouraging to see coloured Bermudians putting words into cool, calculating- and yes, dignified action."[129] It addressed the fact that the boycotters had been called "hoodlums" by the theatre president, and countered the claim by stating, "Anyone who says that this Boycott is the work of irresponsible hoodlums, is either blind or stupid."[130]The comments by the Editor of the *Bermuda Recorder*, provided its readers with an alternative lens with which to view their cause, and reinforced that they were in fact entitled to fight for racial equality. The article

[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid.
[127] The Progressive Group. Letters To The Editor. The Bermuda Recorder. June 27, 1959. Pg. 2
[128] Human Dignity. The Bermuda Recorder. June 27, 1959. Pg2
[129] The Bermuda Recorder. June 27, 1959. Pg2
[130] Ibid.

further enforced the value of the black Bermudian to the community and assured the readers, the Progressive Group and Bermuda that blacks were justified in their withholding of their patronage from the white establishments, if those same establishments looked at them as being less than equal. The Editor argued:

> The fact that we do not attend segregated theatres gives us a brand new feeling, a feeling that enables us to raise our heads and say to all the world, 'We are a People.' […] We do not consider ourselves as conquering heroes, but rather as a people who have matured sufficiently, thus enabling us to deny ourselves of pleasure, when during the pursuit of that pleasure, we are compelled to be less than men.[131]

Through articles such as this, reports, and Letters to the Editor, numerous members of the black community had become actively engaged in positive articulations of black Bermudian identity. Additionally, as the Progressive Group and the *Bermuda Recorder* collaboratively countered statements made by the establishment, it was clear that owning their own newspaper was an essential weapon in anti-hegemonic expressions. After nearly a month of resistance, the Bermuda General Theatre finally conceded and reopened all of the island's theatres desegregated. The headlines read: "Theatres Yield to Desegregation Demand; Opening Tomorrow.

> The Request of the Negro population of Bermuda for an immediate end to segregated seating in theatres has finally been adopted, and all the colony's cinemas, slammed shut eight days ago in the face of mass demonstrations protesting their Jim Crow policy, are to be opened tomorrow- DESEGREGATED.[132]

The Progressive Group, with the significant support of the *Bermuda Recorder*, had won their fight for equality. But, that was just one of many victories that came out of the 1959 Theatre Boycotts. Along with Bermuda's theatres, Bermuda's hotels and restaurants were also immediately desegregated, and the rest

[131] Ibid.
[132] Theatres Yield to Desegregation Demand; Opening Tomorrow. The Bermuda Recorder. July 1, 1959. Pg. 1

of the island followed right after. Webb argues, "The theatre boycotts were like the trigger. Because once the mask fell, once the theatres were integrated, hotels followed suit, restaurants followed suit, everybody said that this has to change."[133]Bermuda's entire racial landscape changed, as did articulations of Bermudian colonial identity.

The Calm After the Storm: Integrated Broadcasting and A New Era of Colonial Identity

As Eva Hodgson writes:

> Negroes in the 350th year of the History of Bermuda had won a victory. That one incident did for the morale of the people what no victory by legislators could have done. It did not, of course, create a new mind in the people of Bermuda, nor did it solve all of the problems. But Negroes were no longer invisible.[134]

While Hodgson acknowledges the accomplishment of the 1959 Bermuda Theatre Boycotts, she identifies that the theoretical integration of Bermuda's black and white population did not mean an accepted or practical one. Following the boycotts, the shock and impact of the movement continued to spread throughout the island. As the concept of black Bermudian took on a whole new meaning, so did articulations of colonial identity seen within Bermuda's mediascape. This section will examine how Bermuda navigated its transitioning colonial identity within the newly racially integrated society. It will discuss how the 1959 Theatre Boycotts sparked an entrepreneurial spirit within the black community which saw a surge in black business, and more relevant to this thesis, the emergence of black owned broadcasting which further shaped articulations of Bermuda's newly formed integrated colonial identity.

With the island being thrown into overnight integration, shifts began to take place almost immediately within the colony. On the surface, it appeared as if

[133] Charles Webb interview.
[134] Hodgson. Second-Class Citizens; First Class Men. Pg. 153

Bermuda's colonial powers had simply conceded to the demands of the Progressive Group and the 1959 Theatre Boycotts by proclaiming that one of Britain's oldest territories would now be completely desegregated. But upon deeper analysis, it was evident in the days following the announcement to end segregation in Bermuda that the term *integration* situated itself ambiguously within the colony, further convoluting articulations of Bermudian identity during the island's 350th year of British colonialism. However, what was clear moving forward was that Bermuda and its people would need to re-examine not only race relations in the colony, but how its people and its society would navigate and articulate Bermudian identity going into the 1960s.

As Chris Barker argues, "identity is not fixed but created and built on, always in process, a moving towards rather than an arrival,"[135] with the "formation of new hybrid identities" creating a "blurring of boundaries between the categories of race, nation and ethnicity."[136] For colonial Bermuda, and its national broadcasting service, finding ways to manoeuvre around its newly integrated status became a key focus in restructuring articulations of colonial identity and rebuilding colonial hegemony. Just as Britain in the 1950s had to figure out how to incorporate its West Indian and East Indian immigrants into discussions of British identity, Barker argues, "the relatively homogenous white character of the *in situ* population was disturbed in the 1950s by arrivals from the Caribbean and Indian sub-continent, making questions of national identity a crucial category through which racialization operated."[137]

For Bermuda, however, the island was not addressing an issue of inclusion as a result of immigration, it was addressing an issue of integration of the marginalized community that had always existed alongside the white colonial. But with no specific indicators guiding local white businesses on how they would suddenly conform socially and economically to the newly implemented integration policy, there were varied and mixed responses from white Bermuda toward how integration would be facilitated. This became more apparent as things had

[135] Barker. Pg. 3
[136] Ibid. Pg. 60
[137] Ibid. Pg. 62

begun to settle, revealing that integration and Bermudian national identity meant different things to black Bermuda than to white Bermuda.

On the one hand, a number of establishments out right eliminated their discriminatory practices to immediately address the complete inclusion of black Bermuda. While on the other hand, entities that had previously engaged in modified practices of integration, struggled to manage their full commitment to racial equality on the island. Bermuda's nationally hybrid broadcasting company, for example, had been for over ten years been concerned with balancing its external American and British cultural influences. Now, with introduction of full integration, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company was having to navigate black colonial identity into unified and integrated articulations of Bermudian identity, while at the same time maintaining hegemony. Yet, with no clear direction on how to negotiate the process, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company reverted almost instinctively back to the discriminatory practices imbedded deeply within the island's social structure as black Bermudians celebrated their victory for racial equality.

As discussed in previous sections, throughout the 1950s, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company had modified its policy on integration, having hired a handful of black staff members such as the popular radio announcer, Quinton Edness. Yet, it was clear that as the island adjusted to its integration status, the national broadcasting service- the voice of the colony- did not completely reflect official discourse on racial equality on the island. In fact, only weeks after the complete desegregation of the colony had been announced, the national broadcasting service demonstrated that it had not only resisted the idea of complete integration, but that it would continue to block any further threat to white hegemony or colonial identity being articulated on its airwaves. These sentiments were reiterated as the Bermuda Broadcasting Company cut the live radio broadcast of the Leopard Club's visiting African American speaker Leroy Jordan in his congratulatory address to the black community, less than one month after segregation had been deemed to be over.

Jordan, a librarian at the Wilberforce University in the United States, had begun his opening remarks to the audience of both locals and American visitors, acknowledging the university's "close tie with the oldest colony in the British Empire."[138] After sharing his admiration for the beauty of the island, he directed his speech toward the recent events surrounding the fight for desegregation in the colony. He stated:

> We are aware of great changes throughout the world and the death toll of tyranny and reaction is being heard daily. There is turmoil in America, Europe, Asia, the Americas and in Bermuda. The century of the common man is readily coming to pass.[139]

As he acknowledged "the progressives in Bermuda" who were "witnessing the death throes of tyranny," he praised Bermuda's "mild revolution," a statement which caused the broadcast to be immediately shut down.[140] According to the *Bermuda Recorder*, "…a *ZBM* Station announcer interrupted to say: 'We regret that it has been necessary to take this programme [off] the air."[141] The Bermuda Broadcasting Company shut down the live radio broadcast only minutes after the African American guest had begun addressing the audience, reinforcing Bermuda's historical censorship practices that had been assumed to be disbanded with the country's new integration status.

Yet, this move by the Bermuda Broadcasting Company to cut Jordan's speech and stop the radio broadcast from airing throughout the colony indicates that the island's national broadcasting service felt that Jordan's remarks were threatening and consistent with the anti-colonial rhetoric circulating following the boycotts. It suggests that while the island was (in theory) being hailed as desegregated, the national broadcast service demonstrated its resistance to the colony's "official" new policy of racial equality and integration, and had the power to decide what was good or bad for the country. The Bermuda Broadcasting Company's censoring of the Leopard Club's event also proved that re-

[138] A Requiem For Tyranny. The Bermuda Recorder. August 8, 1959. Pg. 1-2
[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Ibid.

gardless of the island's public political stand for racial equality, as the voice of the nation, it still had the power to omit anything that it felt challenged colonial hegemony on its airwaves, including celebrations of the black community's victory over the establishment.

With Bermuda's status quo already being drastically impacted by the island's new integration status, the Bermuda Broadcasting Company took the necessary steps to eliminate any further articulations of black progressiveness being disseminated throughout the island. But acts of intervention and control through broadcasting had also been witnessed in other colonial nations engaged with threats to colonial hegemony in the late 1950s. Looking at Algeria again for example, with French colonial hegemony under attack, Frantz Fanon argues, "The European became aware of the fact that the life he had built on the agony of the colonized people was losing its assurance,"[142] and specific measures had to be taken to ensure control. As Algeria's national radio service had been seen as "the voice of the oppressor, the voice of the enemy,"[143] Fanon argues, anti-colonial radio programmes emerging from the margins proved that radio "was no longer [just] a part of the occupier's arsenal of cultural oppression."[144] He states, French colonial powers "began to realize the importance of this progress of the people in the technique of news dissemination."[145] In attempts of dispelling anti-colonial sentiment, revolutionary radio programmes became "systematically jammed, and the Voice of Fighting Algeria soon became inaudible."[146]

However, where newspapers had once been a key strength within the anti-colonial movement, Fanon indicates, radio's role in the Algerian revolution grew into a new form of anti-colonial attack. Fanon argues, "A new form of struggle had come into being,"[147] and radio "became part of the coherent order of the nation in battle."[148] For Bermuda, the practice of cutting off black radio programmes that hinted to any aspect of anti-colonial sentiment or celebration

[142] Fanon. A Dying Colonialism. Pg. 78
[143] Ibid. Pg. 89
[144] Ibid. Pg. 84
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid. Pg. 85
[147] Ibid. Pg. 85
[148] Ibid. Pg. 89

of black identity had been a well-known strategy that the national broadcaster used throughout the 1950s. Unlike Algeria, however, where revolutionary radio programmes were being broadcast by underground radio stations, Bermuda's black programmes were monitored, censored and refined through their use of the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's *ZBM* radio signal. This meant that black radio programmes had to conform to colonial broadcasting standards and reflect articulations of colonial identity (black inferiority) if they were to have their programmes broadcast throughout the colony. Unlike Algeria, black Bermuda did not have its own broadcasting station or the means of circumventing the Bermuda Broadcasting Company's monopoly over the airwaves. Further, while the ending of segregation on the island indicated that these types of control methods would cease to exist, many knew this was not the case. As the censoring of Jordan's speech indicated, integration did not mean equality.[149]

With the *Bermuda Recorder* demonstrating the power that ownership over a newspaper could have in the success of movements such as the 1959 Bermuda Theatre Boycotts, and the fact that the Bermuda Broadcasting Company was able to continue to control articulations of black identity within local broadcasting through censorship and access, the need for the black community to have ownership over its own broadcasting company became more apparent. Within three years of the theatre boycotts, black Bermudian businessman and US trained television technician, Montague Sheppard, applied for a radio broadcast license. He argues that the formation of the Capital Broadcasting Company was necessary to provide those (blacks) that were not being hired by the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, an opportunity to pursue their own broadcasting endeavours. And while the Capital Broadcasting Company, Bermuda's first black own radio broadcasting station opened successfully in 1963, Bermuda's local government had created new legislation to curtail further threats to Bermudian colonial identity before Capital television had arrived.

[149] In another case, under the Broadcasting Act of 1943, the Leopards Club was accused of using language of incitement when Howard University President, Dr. M. Johnson, made a "brilliant address". According to the Bermuda Recorder, the Leopards Club was being accused of using "expressions of so called 'black supremacy,' and as a result officials of the club were called before the Broadcasting Commissioners. Leopards Club's Broadcasting Troubles, The Bermuda Recorder, Pg. 1, August 3, 1959

There were 3 key policies introduced in the years following the 1959 Theatre Boycotts that helped to reaffirm colonial hegemony. They were the 1963 Emergency Powers Act, Prohibited Publications Act, and the Public Order Act. The Emergency Powers Act gave the Governor "the power to declare the Colony to be an 'emergency area' at his discretion for the purpose of securing the public safety and maintaining public order."[150] The second, the Prohibited Publications Act, granted the Governor the ability to "declare that certain foreign publications are not in the best interests of the public."[151] The last act, the Public Order Act, "require[ed] a permit from the Commissioner of Police to conduct certain public processions."[152] The third act also came with a list of specific situations for which it could be used to discourage "disorderly conduct or the use of threatening or abusive language, or language likely to incite persons to commit disorderly conduct at any meeting," which would also result in "penalties provided in the case of each Act."[153] While an analysis of the three acts in their relationship to the 1959 Theatre Boycotts and its impact on the colony is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is the Prohibited Publications Act that will be highlighted here briefly as being the most directed toward the black community's new broadcasting entities being formed, such as the Capital Broadcasting's proposed, *ZFB*.

In response to the three acts, the Committee For Universal Adult Suffrage openly chastised the Bermuda Government for implementing what was deemed to be "an unjustifiable interference with an individual's freedom," adding that the Acts also aligned with Bermuda to being a "Police State."[154] They argued that Bermudian hegemony could not "possibly survive unless they deny people the right to read what they please and, what is commonly called, the right of free speech."[155] Through the Prohibited Publications Act, the committee stated:

[150] The Royal Gazette. December 12, 1962 Pg.6
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Ibid. Pg.6
[154] Ibid.
[155] Ibid.

> …there can be no programme on radio or television which is of a 'controversial' nature. Each of these instances concerns the infringement of individual liberty which the Government provides no remedy for, there fore, condones. Now, they wish, by legislation, to decide what a person should not read, and heaven knows what he may or may not say at a meeting.[156]

But the formation of these acts by Bermuda's government was necessary in order to minimize any further contestations to colonial hegemony through its media and broadcasting industries.

As Bernadette Casey et al. argue, "…conflict is liable to break out all the time so hegemony must be carefully preserved and monitored by those with vested interests."[157] As had been seen all throughout the development of Bermuda's broadcasting industry, nation and national identity had been protected by hegemonic forces, and were constantly at work to sustain its power. According to Bernadette Casey et al., "Hegemony is never fully fixed- and what is more, if it breaks down (this is a 'crisis of hegemony' or a 'rupture' in the hegemonic order), then it is quite likely that control and coercion will be brought in to maintain the status quo."[158]

This suggests that as Bermuda transitioned and developed as a nation, the hegemonic structures maintaining and facilitating social order within the colony would need to also constantly transition and adjusts its practices of sustaining this power. For the arrival of the Capital Broadcasting Company (a vehicle of articulating black identity), and for the later introduction of Capital's *ZFB-TV*, creative methods of control would be essential to lessen the threat to the establishment's *ZBM-TV* and to colonial identity. As Casey et al., reaffirm, "…the state can and will bring in measures (ranging from censorship of television and the press to actual force, such as using the armed forces to control strikes), in

[156] Ibid. Pg.7
[157] Casey et al. Pg. 118
[158] Ibid.

situations where capitalism [and hegemony] is under threat."[159] However, as the Capital Broadcasting Company demonstrated through the opening of their radio and television station, hegemony is never fixed. With the Progressive Group and the *Bermuda Recorder* demonstrating that they were able to redefine Bermuda's status quo, the Capital Broadcasting Company was engaged in what Bernadette et al. say is "a process whereby the ideas of dominant and subordinate groups via for ascendancy" which "incorporates ideas of struggle and negotiation. Whoever is involved in cultural life is involved in a struggle to get their voice heard."[160]

Ten years after the arrival of the first television station with Kindley's *ZBK-TV*, Bermuda had witnessed the introduction of the island's first racially integrated television broadcasting service on August 9, 1965, owned and operated by black Bermudians. Although the Capital Broadcasting Company had endured a series of delays, obstacles and legislative challenges throughout its formation (and would continue to during its existence), integrated television had arrived in the colony. Ira Philip, the station's news director states that Capital was in direct competition with the Bermuda Broadcasting Company whose "major shareholders were the crème de la crème of the oligarchy including the publishers of The Royal Gazette and the Mid-Ocean News."[161]

However, in the first years of its broadcasting service, the Capital Broadcasting Company introduced a number of innovative practices and used a "roving reporter" for the first time in Bermuda, bringing television to the people in the community.[162]It had made strategic partnership and allies with Thomson Television International who were "helping Capital find its feet."[163]And, with a highly trained multi-skilled staff and plans to introduce colour television to the island, the Capital Broadcasting Company had become a worthy opponent for the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, supporting the argument by Casey et al. that "hegemony can sometimes be won by those who are not the economically

[159] Ibid.
[160] Ibid. Pg. 119
[161] Philip. Monk. Pg. 245
[162] Bermuda's Second TV Channel Opens; Queen Sends Congratulations Pg. 1
[163] Opening Tomorrow-ZFB-TV is Ready. The Royal Gazette. August 8, 1965

dominant force."[164]Yet, as the 1960s would illustrate, Bermuda's political and economic landscape and its mediascape had once again shifted with the presence of black and white owned broadcasting services as they articulated a hybrid Bermudian colonial national identity.

[164] Ibid.

CONCLUSION

> Too often the image of Bermuda is cultivated by those who know us least. Communicative media skill must be strengthened in Bermuda… we must grow trained, exposed, Bermudian journalists.[1]
>
> Dr. Ewart Brown, Former Premier of Bermuda

In the fall of 2009, the island watched as the highest symbol of British colonialism emerged and Her Royal Highness Queen Elizabeth disembarked to begin her official duties in Britain's oldest colonial nation. Yet, amidst the bows and curtseys, the polite smiles and pump and circumstance, the visit by Her Royal Highness, was, below the surface, filled with contention and turbulence. The arrival of the British monarch in Bermuda on November 25, 2009 for the island's 400th year celebration of its British heritage, had been marred by earlier events which exposed Bermuda's historic ambivalence towards it British colonial authority, and thus, its British colonial identity. As this thesis had attempted to demonstrate throughout the previous chapters, Bermuda's colonial status has been in constant transformation, and evidence of colonial contestations have remained present within Britain's oldest colony. These contestations of colonial identity have not only manifested themselves within the island's historical political arena, but, more recently, have emerged prominently within Bermuda's media landscape, both internationally and locally in present day Bermuda.

In 2009, Bermuda's Premier, Dr. Ewart Brown, had made a political move that severely strained Bermuda's relationship with Britain. Brown, who had built strong political and economic ties with the American government during his short time in office, was approached by the US to receive four detainees who were former terror suspects at Guantanamo Bay. President Barak Obama had been in the process of identifying various nations that would partner with the United States in accepting several of the displaced detainees who were no longer able to return to their own nations. In a secret deal made between Prem-

[1] Dr. Ewart Brown, Former Premier of Bermuda. The Bermuda Government Throne Speech, 2008

ier Brown and President Obama's administration, Bermuda agreed to accept the four ethnic Uighurs[2] in the British territory, while completely omitting Britain from the decision.[3] The contentious move by the Premier not only enraged Britain, but in Bermuda's 400th year of colonialism, revealed that Bermuda's resistance toward British authority was still present, and served as a direct challenge to British colonial identity.

As widespread international media coverage highlighted the disconnect between Britain and Bermuda, the unified façade that had prevailed between Britain and her colony had been damaged. According to one *BBC* report, "The Foreign Office in London expressed its concern at Bermuda's decision to accept the men," indicating that "Britain has told Bermuda, a UK overseas territory, it should have consulted London before accepting them."[4] The *Independent's* headline read, "America's 'Bermuda solution' angers Britain,"[5] with the report emphasizing that Bermuda and America's negotiations had not followed British colonial policy. It was reported that in the wake of the events, US and British officials had an "uneasy conversation" about Bermuda, but behind closed doors, "Whitehall officials accused America of treating Britain, with whom it is supposed to have a 'special relationship', with barely disgusted contempt."[6] The report stressed the severity of Bermuda and America's disregard for British colonial protocol, stating, Bermuda and America knew the correct procedure, but "'chose to ignore it.'"[7]

[2] Uighurs or Uyghurs (pronounced wi-gar) are a part of the Turkic ethnic group in China. These particular detainees were being held at Guantanamo Bay and were fearful of execution if sent back to China. Bermuda was one of a number of countries that granted the former terror suspects the right to live in their countries, which included gaining employment. Local protests ensued amongst some members of the Bermudian community against the Premier's decision, but the Uighurs remained living in the community.
[3] As a British colony, Bermuda was allowed to have a locally elected governing body to deal with all domestic affairs, headed by a Premier. The British-appointed Governor that resided full time in Bermuda was responsible for administering all immigration, foreign relations and military affairs.
[4] "Bermuda takes Guantanamo Uighurs." *BBC* News online. June 11, 2009 http://www.news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/8095582.stm
[5] "America's 'Bermuda solution' angers Britain". The Independent. June 12, 2008 www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/americas-bermuda-solution-angers-britain-1704147.html
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.

While Brown maintained that the agreement with the US was "a matter regarding their day-to-day responsibility for immigration,"[8] other media reports suggested that Her Royal Highness was threatening to not attend the 400th year events in Bermuda as a reprimand for the colony's actions. The *Telegraph's* headline read, "Queen snubs Bermuda's 400th anniversary," and reported, "A Palace source told the paper that the Queen had no immediate plans to visit Bermuda."[9] Yet, in spite of what was described as "an argument with the island's pro-independence leader"[10]taking place over the summer, Her Royal Highness arrived in Bermuda in November 2009 with a strong British national presence. As the Queen and Prince Phillip walked through the honour guard to the awaiting British Governor and Premier Brown, the external power struggle with America over Bermuda and the colony's contempt toward British authority had been temporarily tucked away under a celebratory band of British nationalism.

However, Bermuda's external contestation of identity was not the only situation that plagued Bermuda during the historic 400-year celebrations. For Premier Brown, internal contestations of control within Bermuda's politically arena threatened the two-year-old government television station, *CITV* (Community Information Television. In 2007, Brown, leader of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP)[11] had initiated the formation of *CITV* to provide educational, historical and information-based programming for the community. With Bermuda's government being controlled for the first time by what is described as the island's black political party, new initiatives, such as *CITV* had been created to chal-

[8] Ibid.
[9] Queen Snubs Bermuda's 400th Anniversary. The Telegraph. July 28, 2009. www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/theroyalfamily/5921925/Queen-snubs-Bermudas-400th-anniversary.html
[10] Ibid. The Telegraph
[11] November 9, 1998 marked the first shift in political power in Bermuda's governmental history, when the predominantly black Progressive Labour Party (PLP), defeated the United Bermuda Party (UBP)- the ruling party in Bermuda for over 30 years. This historic event was significant for PLP, as it would be their first opportunity to alter the hegemonic structure of the country, and the occasion was coined, 'A Date with Destiny'. The PLP remained in power until the recent 2012 elections, which saw them overthrown by the one year old, One Bermuda Alliance (OBA), which consisted mainly of former UBP members, and led by Craig Cannonier, a relatively new member to the political scene.

lenge "traditional media"[12] by presenting new ways of representing all Bermudians through a government funded television station.

Brown argued that the arrival of *CITV* was historic for Bermuda, and that he hoped it would not be seen just as a "television station controlled by the Government," but rather "a vehicle fuelled by the people, for the people."[13] He further argued that within the programming of *CITV* and its community focus, "you will see yourselves on this screen-Bermudians who all have different views on what Bermuda means to them," adding, "On this platform, culture takes centre stage, not politics."[14] While *CITV* may have been promoted by Brown as a tool for positively celebrating Bermudian identity, many of its critics, however, viewed *CITV* as a vehicle of propaganda designed to upset Bermuda's colonial status.

Some members of the public argued that the government should have invested the money spent on *CITV* in assisting the two existing commercial stations[15] that were in need of financial support. It was argued that *CITV* would be taking money and talent that could have been used to build up the other television stations to build its own government television station that was not a necessity in a small island like Bermuda. But the most vocal and stirring criticism came from the opposition party and former ruling government, the United Bermuda Party (UBP), who had for generations relied upon the privately owned Bermuda Broadcasting Company for government affairs.

The UBP confirmed its plans to boycott *CITV*'s official opening, and with *CITV* being deemed a tool of government propaganda, the opposition leader vowed to close the new television station if they regained power over the colony. In a public address to the people of Bermuda, Michael Dunkley stated, "I want to make it perfectly clear here today, that if the United Bermuda Party is

[12] Channel Opens Amid Great Fanfare. Royalgazette.com. October 1, 2007
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] The main television stations were the Bermuda Broadcasting Company, Bermuda's longest broadcasting service and Defontes Television, which emerged in the 1980s.

elected at the next election we will shut down Government TV."[16] However, the opposition leader's comments were met with harsh criticism from pro-*CITV* supporters. Premier Brown's press secretary, Glenn Jones, argued:

> …I can only assume that [Michael Dunkley] is afraid of something. Maybe he is afraid that Bermudians are about to have the opportunity to get closer, more connected, to their Government. If I take his fear into account, only then can I understand why a Government television station would make an Opposition Leader nervous.[17]

Although the UBP lost in the following election and *CITV* remained open, by the time the island was preparing for its 400th anniversary, the government television station had undergone extensive probing and was constantly monitored by the opposition party. [18] The power struggle over broadcasting presented here through the example of *CITV*, and the illustration of contestations of colonial identity witnessed through Bermuda's negation of its British authority provides a modern context with which to examine broadcasting in Bermuda. Although beyond the scope of this thesis, the examples presented here signify that the early colonial hegemonic practices of power over the media that have been extensively illustrated within this thesis are still impacting articulations of Bermudian identity today. Further, these two examples alone provide validation and justification for a study of Bermuda's broadcasting industry and its national identity to be undertaken as the colony continues to negotiate contestations of identity.

The first example indicates that even within Bermuda's contemporary associations with Britain as an Overseas Territory, the island's political and economic ties with America that have transitioned and grown over the past fifty years still create contention for Britain and its control over Bermuda. This is significant in understanding how Bermuda's earlier affinities toward American culture progressed to examples of blatant disregard of Britain's political authority

[16] Michael Dunkley: I Was Wrong. www.plp.bm. March 19, 2008
[17] We Will Pull the Plug on Govt. TV Station Promises Dunkley. Royalgazette.com. September 8, 2007
[18] Michael Dunkley eventually acknowledges the positive aspects of CITV, and in a press statement declares that "maybe I got it wrong." Dunkley Praises CITV. Royalgazette.com. March 19, 2009

over the island seen within the first example. However, the shifting of attitudes toward government and authority in constructions and contestation of national identity are seen more visibly within Bermuda's internal political and racial climate today.

Although Bermuda in 2016 has a completely new government, and *CITV* is still in operation, the island still is impacted by historical attitudes toward race, with economic disparity being a key indicator. With Bermuda's prisons comprising a majority of young black males, many argue that black Bermuda is still experiencing the colony's imbedded practices of racism, with black Bermudians still navigating colonial identity. Paul Gilroy argues, "STRIVING TO BE both European and black requires some specific forms of double consciousness."[19] He states:

> …where racist, nationalist, or ethnically absolutist discourses orchestrate political relationships so that these identities appear to be mutually exclusive, occupying the space between them or trying to demonstrate their continuity has been viewed as a provocative and even oppositional act of political insubordination.[20]

But, as the thesis has illustrated, the need to examine these relationships is crucial for understanding the formations of colonial broadcasting industries and its connection with national identity. For the black Bermudian, like Gilroy describes of the "contemporary black English" and "all blacks in the West," they are situated "between (at least) two great cultural assemblages, both of which have mutated through the course of the modern world that formed them and assumed new configurations."[21]The contentious ties that they have shared with historical hegemonic forces continue to persist, although operating within a new space of contestation. As Gilroy argues, today, "they remain locked symbiotically in an antagonistic relationship marked out by the symbolism of col-

[19] Paul Gilroy. The Black Atlantic. Harvard University Press. Cambridge. 1993. Pg. 1
[20] Ibid. Gilroy.
[21] Ibid.

ours which adds to the conspicuous cultural power of their central Manichean dynamic- black and white."[22]

For Bermuda, the issue of race and evidence of the island's colonial foundations continues to, as Gilroy argues, "support a special rhetoric that has grown to be associated with a language of nationality and national belonging as well as the languages of 'race' and ethnic identity."[23]Further, when examining Bermuda's broadcasting industry today, clear implications of its colonial past provides rational for some of the inherent hegemonic practices still at work. However, as this thesis had indicated throughout, hegemony is not cemented within the fabric of the nation. Therefore, as this thesis had demonstrated, change will occur, as will Bermuda's transitioning hybrid identity.

With Bermuda witnessing two new governments in power within the same period of time that this research has been undertaken, it is evident that there is much more room for further investigation into the relationship between colonial broadcasting and national identity, past and present. With the island's government television station having to fulfil the mandate of the ruling (and culturally opposing) governments over the past ten years, the relevance of this study is essential in better understanding the dynamics of not only Bermuda's broadcasting industry, but, Bermuda's media industry (newspaper, radio) as it navigates issues of race and identity with more global influences than ever before. Further, while the initial focus of this thesis was on television, it is evident that this investigation into colonial broadcasting in Bermuda has opened a number of doors for future critique of colonial newspapers, colonial radio and colonial cinema, where there are significant gaps within international television studies.

As has been discussed and threaded throughout this thesis, Bermuda's media forms have shaped, constructed and articulated Bermudian national identity, influenced and impacted by political, economic and cultural factors as a result

[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.

of its ties to Britain, American and the Afro-West Indies. It has been the aim of this thesis, therefore, through the series of examples, illustrations, discussions, analysis and examinations, to not only address how both the external and internal contestations of national identity seen within the development of Bermuda's broadcasting industry have played out in Bermudian society, but to also reveal how Bermuda's mediascape has solidified its status as a cultural hybridity. It is through the sustained critique presented here that this thesis concludes that there is a direct relationship between broadcasting and national identity, and that Bermuda and its media industries, newspapers, radio and television, collaboratively articulate a transitioning hybrid colonial identity.

APPENDIX

Key Dates

1926 -Bermuda Issues Broadcast Licenses

1930- February 10th- Colony's first experimental radio station began

1932- British Empire Service formed

1939- Colonial Film Unit created

1939- F.D Roosevelt televised address-World's Fair

1940- Bermuda sees TV for the first time

1940- Defenders for Base Agreement (99 years)

1941- Military engineers arrive in Bermuda

1941- Bermuda Workers Association was formed

1942- Armed Forces Radio Service (AFRS)

1942- Colonial Secretary approves broadcasting

1942- Application to form the Bermuda Broadcasting Company

1943- Government sponsors Cable and Wireless

1943- Bermuda Broadcasting Company Act of 1943

1943- Bermuda Broadcasting Radio

1943- Radio programmes to arrive from *BBC*

1943- *BBC* sends Bermuda programmes

1943- Letter to *BBC* about type of audience

1943- AFRS grants license to record and distribute radio programmes

1943-July 4th- The American Forces Network Europe (AFN-E)

1943-December- AFRS expands to 140 stations around the world

1945- Special Service Department at Kindley established WXLQ

1945- Kindley Air Theatre launches

1945- ABC grants AFRTS permission to record and distribute

1946- WXLQ closes down

1948- Desegregation of the American armed forces begins

1950- AFRS stopped producing its own programmes

1950s-New Theatre Guild- Black Players

1951- Black Bermudians refused tickets to the Bermudian Theatre Club

1952-ZBM-2 Radio opened in February 1952

1953- Bermuda Press filed an application for a wavelength

1953- First British ‘TV Event’, the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II

1953-The Secretary of Defense first experimental broadcast

1953- AFN Television was first used

1954- The AFRS-television to its military broadcast mission (AFRTS)

1954-Kindley Air Force Base requests television broadcasting station

1955- TV Personnel and Equipment Arrives/ Final Installation

1955- Equipment at Kindley Base Machinery Worth $50,000

1955-July 4th- Kindley TV Station goes live

1955- September- Kindley Leakage

1955- September 17th Leakage Spreading

1955- December- Television Aerials (Control) Act, 1955

1956- Governor grants permits for TV aerials

1956-ZBM begins planning for TV

1957- Films for television sent to the Bermuda Broadcasting Company

1957- Local station /US base TV terms of engagement

1957- Colonial Office Films- Overseas Film Library Catalog/ request

1958 - Equipment from US costs £25,000

1958-Jan 17 Non-Bermudian MC at opening of New TV Station

1958-The CBS/NBC Television Networks grant AFRTS licenses

1959- The Building Control Officer- removal of aerials

1959- June 28th- Theatre boycotts

1959-Proposal for Kindley to close down

1959- September 14th- Kindley resumes broadcasting

1962- Proposal of Capital Broadcasting radio

1963- Publications Act of 1963 introduced

1963- Opening of Capital Broadcasting Radio- ZFB

1965- Opening of Capital Broadcasting-ZFB- TV

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