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WEST INDIAN MIGRATION TO GREAT BRITAIN

A REVIEW ARTICLE

A postwar phenomenon which attracts much attention, especially in recent years, is the large-scale migration from the British West Indies to Great Britain. The last three years have seen the publication of various books on the subject, which together give a fairly comprehensive view of the problems involved. Though of course the publications we have in mind are not the only studies of West Indian emigration that have been published,¹ we feel that they do warrant a combined review, which will give a general impression of diverse aspects of the phenomenon. The three books concerned are:

1. *The West Indian Comes to England*. A Report prepared for the Trustees of the London Parochial Charities by the Family Welfare Association. Edited by S. K. RUCK. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960.
2. RUTH GLASS, *Newcomers: The West Indians in London*. London, Centre for Urban Studies and George Allen & Unwin, 1960.
3. R. B. DAVISON, *West Indian Migrants: Social and Economic Facts of Migration from the West Indies*. Published for the

¹ For earlier studies, see: CLARENCE SENIOR and DOUGLAS MANLEY, *A Report on Jamaican Migration to Great Britain*, Kingston 1955; W. F. MAUNDER, The new Jamaican Emigration, *Social and Economic Studies* IV (1955): 38-63; G. W. ROBERTS and D. O. MILLS, *Study of External Migration affecting Jamaica*, Kingston 1958. A very recent study of West Indian immigrants' adaptation problems in England, which has not yet been in the hands of the present author, is: SHEILA PATTERSON, *Dark Strangers: A Study of West Indian Migrants in a London Borough*, London 1963. A comparable migration stream, the movement of Puerto Ricans to the United States, has been described in: C. WRIGHT MILLS, CLARENCE SENIOR, and ROSE KOHN GOLDSSEN, *The Puerto Rican Journey*, New York 1950.

Institute of Race Relations by Oxford University Press.
London, etc., 1962.

Both the first and the second of these publications deal mainly with the problems of immigration, adaptation and race relations in Great Britain. Ruth Glass' book, in particular, is almost wholly devoted to the problem of race relations, and it mentions the background of the migration process only summarily in the first few pages. *The West Indian Comes to England*, which especially analyses the work of social welfare agencies assisting the migrants' adaptation to British institutions, contains a chapter (written by Douglas Manley) which describes the social and economic situation in the West Indies and its implications for emigration. Davison's study is completely concerned with the West Indian side of the migration process, but though he discusses the causes of emigration his main object appears to be to analyse the consequences of emigration for the West Indian society.

West Indian migration to the United Kingdom got under way just after World War II. It began as several other migration movements throughout history have started. During the war several thousand West Indian men served in the British army, and others were recruited by the British Ministry of Labour to work in war factories in Britain. In this way, Britain and its possibilities for employment and for attaining a higher standard of living became known among British West Indians. As is always the case with migration movements, the personal testimony of the first migrants, in letters and during visits home, was most conducive to further emigration.

It is difficult to get a clear idea of the size of the movement. External migration statistics are always a tricky business, even with the best methods of population accounting, which, as a matter of fact, are not in employ either in the West Indies or in Britain. According to Ivo de Souza in *The West Indian Comes to England* (p. 51) the number of migrants did not exceed 1,000 per year before 1951, averaged 2,000 in 1952 and 1953 and rose to 10,000 in 1954 and 25,000 in 1955. From Davison's statistics, combined with the figures given by Ruth Glass (p. 5), we can gauge that the total number of arrivals from the British Caribbean in the United Kingdom up to and including 1960 was approximately 175,000. The first ten months of 1961 added some 50,000

or 60,000 more. This includes migrants from the then West Indian Federation, British Guiana and British Honduras. The migration decreased after 1955 to 15,000 or 16,000 in 1958, after which it shot upwards to 50,000 or more per year in 1960 and 1961: partly perhaps on account of the improvement in British employment prospects,¹ but mainly – as Davison, in our opinion correctly, surmises – in anticipation of a British policy of immigration restriction.

Davison does not calculate migration rates per island from the figures given by the Migrant Services Division of the West Indies Commission in London, which he appears to consider not sufficiently detailed. Instead, he calculates island migration rates from figures concerning numbers of passports issued which he collected himself. The present author is, however, inclined to consider the latter figures less reliable as an indication of the volume of emigration than the former, for, as Davison himself points out, not all passports are issued to prospective migrants, and besides more than one person may appear on a single passport. It is true, on the other hand, that if a person holds a passport from a certain territory this does establish his being a resident of that territory, whereas the Migrant Services Division may have erroneously attributed some migrants to their ports of embarkation rather than to their islands of residence. However, there does not appear to be any reason to believe that the latter mistake was made often; more likely the Division would, in fact, refer to a migrant's passport when in doubt as to his territory of origin.

Fortunately, Davison has made it possible to calculate rates per island from the Migrant Services Division statistics by presenting the absolute figures concerned. The following table contains these figures and the rates calculated therefrom.

Significantly, the highest emigration rates are found in the least populated island territories: Montserrat, Dominica, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla. Only Antigua-Barbuda forms an exception, but then it is reported that there is a considerable

¹ It has been known for a long time that the volume of a migration stream varies with the ups and downs of the business cycle, especially with those in the country of immigration. The classical study concerning this subject is: HARRY JEROME, *Migration and the Business Cycle*, New York 1926.

EMIGRATION TO THE UNITED KINGDOM
FROM THE BRITISH WEST INDIAN ISLANDS, 1958-1960

Island	Population 1960 ¹	Emigration 1958-1960		
		Absolute figures	%	Per 1,000 of the population (average per year)
Jamaica	1,606,546	54,157	66	11.3
Trinidad & Tobago	825,700	3,804	5	1.5
Barbados	232,085	7,001	8	10.1
Grenada	88,617	3,083	4	11.5
St. Lucia	86,194	2,819	3	10.9
St. Vincent	80,005	1,452	2	6.2
Dominica	59,479	3,639	4	20.6
St. Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla	56,644	3,215	4	18.8
Antigua, Barbuda	54,354	1,516	2	9.3
Montserrat	12,157	1,398	2	38.7
Total	3,115,113 ²	82,084	100	8.8

¹ Preliminary Census count.

² Including Cayman, Turks and Caicos Islands.

Source: Figures obtained by Davison from Migrant Services Division, London.

movement of labour from Antigua to the American Virgin Islands (Davison p. 46). The low rate for Trinidad and Tobago is of course wholly expected, considering the fact that economic opportunities in these islands, especially thanks to the mineral resources available, are comparatively good.

The migration rates should be kept in mind when one inquires into the causes of emigration, that is to say, the socio-economic conditions which are at the root of it. The authors, with the exception of Davison, do not devote much attention to this problem. At first glance, it seems as though the solution is not far to seek. The widespread unemployment in parts of the West Indies, the higher standard of living in the United Kingdom and the advantages of the British welfare state are enough explanation of the West Indians' tendency to move to Britain. One might add that the standard of living in the West Indies is not so low as to have presented financially unsurmountable difficulties to the initiation of the movement, and – as in the heyday of European emigration to America – remittances from the

immigration country have helped to keep the ball arolling. Moreover, Britain is culturally not too dissimilar from the West Indies to make it unduly difficult for West Indians to avail themselves of the advantages of living in Britain. The situation is, indeed, from all points of view most conducive to large-scale migration.

Still, the question arises as to how this situation came about and what is its significance. This is a question which none of the authors has gone into very deeply. A historical review of emigration, for instance, does not by itself throw enough light on the problem. It is true, as Manley (p. 7), Glass (p. 6), and Davison (p. 1) point out, that emigration is an old phenomenon in the West Indies. This may show that already for a long time opportunities in the West Indies have been restricted in the sense that they lacked diversity. It cannot be said, however, that an absolute shortage of employment was always a cause of emigration – as it undoubtedly is now – for in fact emigration from the West Indies to Panama, Cuba, the United States and other countries in the Western hemisphere started at a time when immigration of indentured labourers from India was still going strong. Status considerations, particularly a disinclination for work on the estates with its connotations of slavery, also played a role in bringing about emigration at that time; the more so as an aversion for certain kinds of work at home does not necessarily hold for the same jobs abroad, where loss of status does not need to be feared to the same extent.¹ As a matter of fact, Davison reports that the influence of status considerations can even to-day be observed in Antigua, where men refuse to cut the local cane though they are quite willing to cut cane in the Virgin Islands, with the result that St. Lucians have been brought in to do the job in Antigua (Davison p. 47).

Even when unemployment did become rampant in the West Indies and furthered an increase of emigration, the main cause was at first of a particular and not of a general nature, to wit the growing competition in the sugar market especially with the advent of beet sugar.²

¹ See for a historical review: F. R. AUGIER, S. C. GORDON, D. G. HALL and M. RECKORD, *The Making of the West Indies*, London 1960, chapters 16 and 17. Also, with a more restricted scope: G. W. ROBERTS, *Emigration from the Island of Barbados, Social and Economic Studies IV* (1955).

² AUGIER, GORDON, HALL and RECKORD *op. cit.* chapters 18 and 20.

It is to be feared that at present the causes of emigration from the West Indian islands are not related to circumstances that are particular to these islands. Current West Indian emigration seems to be an instance of a much more general, even a world-wide process: the 'enlargement of scale'¹ which is everywhere concomitant with the development of an industrial society out of an agricultural one. All over the world industrialization is accompanied by urbanization, even though it may be a scattered and decentralized urbanization in many places; all over the world small communities are on the decline. The possibility which is open to declining agricultural communities in continents or large islands to readjust to this development by organizing themselves into a larger, regional structure with perhaps an industrial city for a centre, is denied to relatively small islands situated a long way from the mainland and from each other. As a result, small islands in diverse parts of the world show consistent emigration surpluses.²

Perhaps the only instance of an island which, without important natural resources of its own, still shows considerable economic development is Curaçao; but even there this development is due to the nearby mainland, though 'nearby' in this case means some 50 miles off.

In view of these considerations, the fact that the least populated of the West Indian islands show the largest migration rates is, as has been said before, significant. In the smallest of them all, Montserrat, emigration has already very clearly taken the form of depopulation. Montserrat's case has recently been described by Lowenthal and Comitas, who point out that the island's population has decreased by over 20 per cent since 1939, and that of late emigration has reached the fantastic figure of over 5 per cent yearly. This emigration produces all effects of depopulation: diminution of production and export; the crippling

¹ Dutch: *schaalvergroting*. This has become a standard regional science concept in the Netherlands.

² For examples concerning the Pacific region, see various articles in Vol. LXX no 1 (March, 1961) of *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*. E.g. R. GERARD WARD, A Note on Population Movements in the Cook Islands; ANTHONY HOOPER, The Migration of Cook Islanders to New Zealand; IAN FAIRBAIRN, Samoan Migration to New Zealand. Also R. G. WARD and W. MORAN, Recent Population Trends in the South-West Pacific, *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* L (1959): 235-240.

of public and private business through loss of trained staff; 'temporary' promotions of some officials and multiplication of functions of others; loss of self-respect of those remaining behind and decline of social institutions; and at the same time, perhaps unexpectedly, a rise in the standard of living thanks to government subsidies and emigrant remittances.¹

Montserrat, of course, is an extreme case, especially as regards the consequences of emigration. But even though the other Leewards and Windwards are much larger, and even though their populations may still increase, theirs too is a case of the relative decline in importance of small communities. Davison and A. D. Knox – who wrote a lengthy foreword to Davison's study – did both see this aspect of emigration, but they do not expand on the subject. Knox remarks that the islands will only attract industry by being able to offer labour costs sufficiently low to offset their geographic disadvantages, and he fears that emigration may consequently harm the prospects of development by depleting the labour surplus (p. xii). If this be true it means that, as long as migration is free, industrialization will always be virtually impossible because wages will not long remain much lower than in Britain, while on the other hand any restriction of migration might make possible in the West Indies a measure of economic development only at the expense of a lower standard of living; that is to say, a rather dubious development. Davison correctly states that it would be best to concentrate all efforts for economic development in one or two islands (p. 45). These would then act as development centres in the same way as most European countries direct their regional industrialization policies on certain regional centres.² It is, however, hard to see how the present political situation in the West Indies could be conducive to the implementation of such a policy.

Davison interviewed a sample of migrants from Jamaica, and also obtained information concerning characteristics of

¹ DAVID LOWENTHAL and LAMBROS COMITAS, Emigration and Depopulation, *The Geographical Review* LII (1962): 195–210, pp. 205–209.

² For a description of regional industrialization policies in the European Common Market countries, see: *Het nationale beleid inzake streekontwikkeling en omschakeling* (Europese Gemeenschap voor Kolen en Staal: Hoge Autoriteit), Luxemburg 1961; G. DI NARDI en M. BYÉ, *Wegen en middelen voor de industriële omschakeling* (Europese Gemeenschap voor Kolen en Staal: Hoge Autoriteit), Luxemburg 1961. Both these publications are also available in German, French and Italian.

Dominican migrants from the Labour Department in Dominica. He finds the preponderance of young adults that is usual for migratory movements of this, or indeed of any kind. In the Jamaican sample he finds men and women almost equally represented. From several sources, especially the tables given by Ruth Glass on pages 16 and 18 of her book, it is clear that the percentage of women has gradually increased (from 17% in 1953 to 40% in 1958). Glass concludes that migrants are now more inclined to take their families and that this means that they are becoming more settled in Britain, though in her opinion doubt is cast on this conclusion because the number of migrants returning to the West Indies has steadily increased since 1956 (p. 6). It is rather difficult to assess the precise significance of this increase from the figures which Glass gives. It may be connected with changes in the employment situation in Britain. By and large, however, as far as the figures go, they do not give the impression that the percentage of migrants returning is very large, considering the difficulties that confront West Indians in the United Kingdom. The percentage seems to be only slightly larger than that pertaining to postwar Dutch overseas emigration.

The difficulties which await West Indian immigrants in Britain should not be underestimated. It is true that they have one inestimable advantage over many other immigrants, as Glass repeatedly points out: they do not have to learn a new language. They do come up, however, against problems connected with climate, housing, employment; details of welfare services such as National Health, Family Allowances, National Insurance, and Employment Exchanges; family relations especially where men have preceded their wives and children to Britain, et cetera. The problems are aggravated by the fact that most of the migrants, though having rural backgrounds, move into urban areas – in itself, by the way, a clear indication of how this migration is really an instance of urbanization. (Cf. Davison pp. 23 ff. for the information as regards destination of migrants.) – Lastly, of course, there is the baffling and rather grim question of racial discrimination.

From de Souza's and Hyndman's descriptions, in *The West Indian Comes to England*, of the agencies giving various kinds of assistance to immigrants in Britain, it appears that this assistance is now very well organized. To deal especially with the problems met at arrival of the immigrants a separate organization was established in 1956, the British Caribbean Welfare

Service. This service cooperates with agencies such as the Colonial Office, the West Indies Commission, the British Council, and, especially for matters of temporary accommodation, with the Church Army, Salvation Army, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., and the London County Council. Assistance of a more permanent nature is offered by the Family Welfare Association through the Citizens' Advice Bureaux. One cannot fail to get the impression that, with the exception of Barbados, information and assistance to emigrants in the West Indies is rather less well organized than is assistance to immigrants in the United Kingdom. Apart from Barbados, which has a government sponsored emigration scheme, Trinidad and Jamaica appear to have arranged for dissemination of advice to intending emigrants, but these are rather half-hearted attempts which according to Davison are apt to be bypassed by most emigrants. (Davison pp. 26 ff.)

Of course the best assistance extended to newly arrived immigrants is not given by formal agencies, but by their relatives and friends who preceded them. In Davison's Jamaican sample, the great majority of migrants knew exactly where they were going, and there was no doubt that their way was paved by their relations in the United Kingdom.

Analysing the difficulties facing the West Indians in Britain one does not get very far without coming up against the discrimination question. The baffling aspect of this question is that although in many cases the incidence of race prejudice is clear, there are also many instances which might or might not be connected with prejudice. This inconcrete and illusive character of prejudice makes the study of race relations in the British setting almost impossible for a sociologist. He must analyse the behaviour of groups and individuals to get to know their sentiments, but often it is not possible to decide whether a particular occurrence should be considered a matter of racial discrimination without prior insight into the feelings of the persons concerned. It would appear to be very difficult to solve this dilemma while retaining an unbiased point of view. At once it should be said that Ruth Glass' book (which is of the three books reviewed in this article the only one going deeply into the subject of race prejudice) is as free of bias as could be imagined under the circumstances.¹ In fact, especially considering that race prejudice in a

¹ Which remark of course does not mean to imply that other books concerning race prejudice in Britain, which are not the subject of this

European country is a comparatively new phenomenon and has as yet not been much investigated, *Newcomers* is a most remarkable book.

The main point which results from Glass' study is, in this author's opinion, her conclusion that the British attitude towards coloured people is characterised by ambivalence. A description of this ambivalence is given on pages 109–111. It concludes with the remark that "... coloured foreigners, in particular, evoke emotions both of animosity and friendliness. They are rejected in one place and accepted in another – sometimes by the same person. (Or they might be barred one day and admitted on the next)." Examples of this ambivalence abound all through the book. It is scarcely surprising that West Indians, in reaction, consider the English hypocrites in matters of race relations (p. 109).

The ambivalence shows in the fact that discrimination is on widely differing levels in different spheres of activity. In the field of housing discrimination is overt and stark. "The selection of tenants (other than in municipal housing) is regarded as being subject solely to the personal discretion of the landlord. It is understood that it is his privilege to bar Negroes, Sikhs, Jews, foreigners in general, cockneys, socialists, dogs, or any other species which he wants to keep away." (Glass p. 66.) In schools, discrimination is actively rejected and resisted. Within the sphere of employment the situation is confused and attitudes are more ambivalent than ever. Both employers and trade unions differ among themselves as regards their reactions to coloured employees. The best example of this ambivalence was given in October 1959, when factory workers in Derbyshire went on strike because a coloured

review, are biased. In passing, the following studies may be mentioned as also concerned with race relations: K. L. LITTLE, *Negroes in Britain: A Study of Racial Relations in English Society*, London 1947; ANTHONY H. RICHMOND, *Colour Prejudice in Britain: A Study of West Indian Workers in Liverpool 1941–1951*, London 1954; ANTHONY H. RICHMOND, *Immigration as a Social Process: The Case of Coloured Colonials in the United Kingdom*, *Social and Economic Studies* V (1956); MICHAEL BANTON *White and Coloured: The Behaviour of British People towards Coloured Immigrants*, London 1959; D. WOOD, J. HENDERSON, M. USBORN and J. A. G. GRIFFITH, *Coloured Immigrants in Britain*, London 1960; PATTERSON *op. cit.* A number of novels, several of which have autobiographical aspects, have also been written about West Indians in Britain; e.g.: A. G. BENNETT, *Because They Know Not*, London 1959; E. R. BRAITHWAITE, *To Sir, With Love*, London 1959.

worker had been hired by their firm, while simultaneously the men in a Birmingham factory stopped work because a coloured colleague had been dismissed (Glass p. 82).

Glass points out (e.g., pp. 104 ff.) that the fact that most West Indian immigrants are in labouring jobs, and a lot of them are unskilled labourers, aggravates the situation. It leads, to begin with, to attitudes which may be mistaken for race prejudice. Moreover, it undoubtedly causes prejudice in so far as all coloured people are identified with the 'lower-lower class' in the social-occupational hierarchy. On the other hand, Glass considers that the predomination of unskilled labouring jobs among immigrants is also in part a result of discrimination. She finds that on the average the migrants get jobs with lower status than they had in the West Indies, and though there are of course several explanations for this, discrimination might be one of them (pp. 71 ff.). There appears to be some difference of opinion as to the reliability of the evidence concerning the latter point, that is to say, as to the trustworthiness of the average West Indian's information regarding his occupation in the West Indies. Davison considers it 'virtually hopeless' to get reliable information on this point: "A man would claim to be a 'painter' or a 'mechanic' simply because, in some remote past, he held a brush or spanner in his hand or even watched someone else handling these implements." (Davison p. 21.) Ruth Glass, on the other hand, holds that it is an 'unwarranted generalization' to say that many West Indian immigrants claim more occupational skill than they possess (p. 72 n). In so far as some immigrants do give out untrustworthy statements, and thereby render it even more difficult than it would otherwise be for employers to ascertain the qualifications of immigrant workers, this of course aggravates the problems of all immigrants. Were it possible, as Davison suggests, to organize the issue of diplomas certifying certain standards of qualification by institutions in the West Indies which are also recognized in the United Kingdom, this problem might to some degree be mitigated.

Partly the immigrants were recruited by British employers with the express purpose to relieve the shortage of unskilled and semi-skilled labour. Though Glass does not mention it, this might be cited as yet another example of the ambivalence of race relations. The people who are brought in to perform a function it becomes increasingly difficult to get performed properly in modern Western Europe, namely unskilled labour

especially in public services, are discriminated against partly because they perform this function. This particular ambivalence, however, is not peculiarly British. Turkish labourers in Germany and Italians in the Netherlands have been subjected to difficulties of the same order.

Finally – and this may be called the ultimate explanation for a situation which proved to hold the possibility of happenings like the Nottingham and Notting Dale disturbances of 1958 – the ambivalence and ambiguity of British racial attitudes prevails even in the basic values of the nation as a social entity. A nation wide Gallup poll in September 1958 showed that the majority of Britons were ambivalent, “(thought not incoherently ambivalent); they showed stronger or weaker leanings towards prejudice” (Glass p. 125). And from Glass’ description of the reaction to the 1958 events (chapter V) it is apparent that this majority does not exclude all of the nation’s political and spiritual leaders. (This does not mean, of course, that the great majority both of those leaders and of the population as a whole did not deplore and condemn the disturbances.)

The characteristics and problems of the West Indian migration into Britain which we have discussed up to now did none of them pertain to aspects of the West Indian society which are peculiar to the Caribbean. One of the problems created by migration is, however, closely connected with a particular aspect of the social structure of the Caribbean. The customs among West Indian labouring classes as regards marriage and the family tend to give migration problematical consequences both at home and in the United Kingdom.

In the West Indies, social welfare agencies are baffled by the problem of children who have been left behind, often, though perhaps not in the majority of cases, without being properly provided for, by one or both parents who have emigrated. If the children are the offspring of common law unions or perhaps even unstable associations, the fathers at least cannot be brought to bay if they shirk their responsibilities. Davison has tried to estimate the number of children left behind by emigrants, but the difficulties to be confronted in attempting such a calculation render his estimates rather open to dispute.

In Britain, social welfare agencies have found themselves up against new and unfamiliar problems as a result of the diverging sexual customs of West Indian immigrants. Several instances

of this are described in *The West Indian Comes to England*. Apart from this, it is clear that diverging marriage values and customs are a potent deterrent for British-West Indian intermarriage, even were 'racial' objections not present. Worse, their perhaps legitimate objections to intermarriage on account of these cultural differences are probably viewed by many Britons as 'racial' objections, and so tend to perpetuate racial prejudice. It need hardly be mentioned that West Indians will also be inclined to regard all objections to intermarriage as proof of prejudice. Altogether this is a problem that needs looking into, both in the West Indies and in the United Kingdom.

Two of the books dealt with in this review article are a few years old. Naturally, circumstances described and analysed in these books have not gone unchanged during those years. Of the changes that have taken place two come immediately to mind: the breaking up of the West Indian Federation and the coming into operation of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act in the United Kingdom. Both these occurrences are too recent to assess their effects empirically with any degree of certitude. Theoretically, however, in this author's opinion at least, they cannot but seriously aggravate, in the long run, the condition of the smaller islands – that is all islands except Jamaica and Trinidad-Tobago.

Under the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, which became operative as of July 1st, 1962, all citizens of Commonwealth countries and colonies require a voucher to be permitted to enter the United Kingdom for purposes of obtaining paid employment.¹ Vouchers are issued to people who have definite jobs to come to; to those who have qualifications or skills of particular value in Great Britain; and, subject to a numerical limit which will be reviewed from time to time, to others who want to come and look for work.

As to the purposes and the effects of the Act, a paragraph may be quoted from a letter which the present author, in reply to a request for information, received from the Under Secretary of State for Home Affairs:

"The purpose of the immigrant restrictions is not to halt the migration of Commonwealth citizens into the United Kingdom

¹ Barring certain exceptions of a technical-legal nature, which need not concern us here.

but to control it in accordance with the country's capacity to absorb immigrants, taking into account all the pertinent factors, including the level of employment, the housing situation and other social factors. Since the relevant part of the Act, came into operation on 1st July, 1962 only you will appreciate that no general conclusion can be drawn at this stage ¹ about its effect on Commonwealth immigration as a whole, or on certain countries in particular. It can be said, however, that the immediate effect of the introduction of control was to bring virtually to a halt the movement of migrant workers into the United Kingdom."

One awaits with interest studies which will deal with West Indian-British migration under the new conditions, and especially with the consequences of these conditions for the West Indian islands.

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¹ The letter is dated September 4th, 1962.