

**THE CARIBBEAN: THE COMMONWEALTH SCHOLARSHIP
AND FELLOWSHIP PLAN IN BARBADOS AND ST LUCIA**

Pat Stafford

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Preface

This paper is one of a number of regional reports commissioned as background for a history of the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan. The history has now been published as:

Learning abroad: A history of the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan by Hilary Perraton
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Material has been drawn from the country reports, and is quoted and referred to in *Learning abroad* but it was thought that it would be useful for the reports themselves to be made available in web format. This report was drafted in 2008.

I am personally indebted to the scholars who wrote the country reports and we are together indebted to the four agencies that funded the research: the Commonwealth Secretariat, the Nuffield Foundation, the British Academy with the Association of Commonwealth Universities, and the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade of the government of Canada. Funds from the British Academy with the Association of Commonwealth Universities were used to pay for this report.

Dr Pat Stafford is a freelance consultant in Barbados and did her doctorate in history at the University of the West Indies

Hilary Perraton
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Introduction

This work deals with the effectiveness of the award of Commonwealth Scholarships on two very dissimilar islands in the Eastern Caribbean. Barbados was settled in 1627 by the British and remained a British colony until independence in 1966, while St Lucia, a little over one hundred miles to the east, after changing hands several times, finally became a British colony in 1804 and gained independence in 1979. The language of St Lucia also differs, as many St Lucians consider a French based patois as their first language. When the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan (CSFP) was established in 1959, these two islands were at very different stages of development, both in terms of infrastructure and educational provision. Every Caribbean island could claim to be at a different developmental point at that time, but as one of the most and one of the least developed, these two should indicate a wide range of educational needs relating to the Eastern Caribbean.

Help has been sought from a number of sources to complete the work, including the education departments of both countries being studied, staff at the University of the West Indies, Cave Hill Campus, including the Tertiary Levels Institutions Unit that deals with the Sir Arthur Lewis Community College in St Lucia and in St Lucia, staff of the Sir Arthur Lewis Community College. There, students can study for the initial years of UWI undergraduate degrees. Most importantly fifteen holders of Commonwealth Scholarships from Barbados and thirteen from St Lucia have contributed information and opinions about their backgrounds, experiences during the tenure of the scholarship, and how the scholarship affected their lives and careers.

History

To understand the passion for education in these small islands of the Anglophone Eastern Caribbean, it is important to understand the area's history. When Columbus made his famous voyage across the Atlantic and landed in what he hoped was Japan, a hunter-gatherer Amerindian people variously described as Kalingo, Carib and Arawak inhabited the islands. In the case of Barbados it is unclear whether any of the original inhabitants were left by the time of English settlement in 1627; the early settlers claimed only to have found a herd of pigs left by a Portuguese explorer to feed those on his ship if he should return. In contrast, when the English first settled St Lucia in 1638 they survived for only three years before being killed by the Caribs.

By the end of the seventeenth century Barbados could be described as a classic plantation economy and was also described as the "jewel in the English crown" as it produced very valuable crops of sugar for the English market. This was the height of its value as a colony to the English government; in the next century colonies such as Jamaica took over as their sugar industry expanded. By the nineteenth century slave-grown sugar was no longer the focus of the British who, in that century, extended their Empire in the East and into Africa where sugar was also produced, and found more economical ways of acquiring sugar grown from beet.

St Lucia, slightly larger than Barbados, with 617 square kilometres to Barbados' 432 square kilometres has very different terrain, being a volcanic mountainous territory, while Barbados is a much flatter territory mostly covered by a cap of coral limestone. Nevertheless, the French colonists introduced a sugar growing plantation economy before the end of the seventeenth century. The economies of both islands, therefore, depended on exporting a staple crop to the metropolis, grown by large group of black slave labourers imported from Africa. A small white planter class, closely identifying with their European roots were in control, firmly in the case of Barbados, less so in the case of St Lucia where some of the native Caribs joined the enslaved people in resistance and maronage.

Emancipation from slavery came to the islands in 1834, although an "apprenticeship" system was introduced that tied labourers to the plantations until 1838. Again the history of the two islands differed. Many St Lucians, used to escaping to and living in the mountains when the French and British fought over the island, left the plantations and squatted on small plots of unused land, setting themselves up as small farmers. Others bought plots of un-cultivated or abandoned land. This option was not available to Barbadians who lived in one of the most densely populated territories on earth and where virtually every spot of land was in use. Added to this, to keep wages down, Barbadian planters discouraged emigration and instituted a draconian Masters and Servants Act, which located labourers on the plantations. By the early twentieth century, St Lucia had diversified from sugar to bananas as its main crop with some cocoa and coconuts, but the economic situation in both islands during the nine-

teenth century was poor and continued to be poor for most of the period until World War II. Poverty and unemployment was so widespread in the 1930s that there was an outbreak of riots in several Caribbean islands and in 1938 the British government appointed Lord Moyne at the head of a commission to enquire into all aspects of West Indian life.¹

World War II interrupted the work of the Moyne Commission but some initiatives were taken in the fields of social development and welfare. At that time the West Indies were also caught up in the post war independence discourse and, encouraged by the British government, became part of a West Indies Federation in 1958. This broke up in 1962 when Jamaica unilaterally achieved independence. From this time until the 1980s, the other West Indian islands (with the exception of one or two territories that remain part of the British Empire) gradually became independent nations. Although diversified economic development along the lines suggested by Sir Arthur Lewis, the St Lucian Nobel Laureate, was attempted in the post war period, these two nations both entered independence with an economy still based on a staple agricultural product, with few natural resources other than the human resource and a social system with roots in the old plantation societies, that is, with a clear class divide based on gradients of pigmentation.

Politically, the black community in both territories had made great strides, but in slightly different ways, as, despite some “white flight” in the 1950s, the white community in Barbados remained a higher percentage of the community than that in St Lucia and represented the most powerful section of the business community. In 1969 Coleman Romalis wrote a thesis comparing the social and economic development in St Lucia and Barbados. Unlike St Lucia where the black people with considerable affluence were able to enter the top tiers of society, he found in Barbados a distinct “glass ceiling” beyond which even the most affluent and well educated blacks were considered *persona non grata* by the affluent and influential elements of the white community. Consequently, he wrote; “Some middle or upper class brown individuals have reacted to their blocked mobility by identifying with the non-white majority, and very early entered labour unions and political parties seeking to represent the broad masses and redress major socio-economic inequities.”² This helps to account for the fact that black politicians had from first gaining power in 1944 in Barbados, given a high priority to educational provision.

Educational development

Indeed, unlike St Lucia, Barbados has a long history of educational provision for the majority. Because the Barbadian peasantry had found no spare land to buy or to squat, it had been the only means of social mobility and the white political oligarchy of the pre- 1940s were aware that this avenue was necessary to give hope to the poor. In 1874, a commission headed by Bishop Mitchinson had implemented island wide elementary education provision. The Commission had also re-organised the grammar schools, originally founded for poor white children, so that access was possible for the brightest black children through a system of scholarships.

In 1953, Erdiston Teacher Training College, which had roots in the nineteenth century, expanded to become a regional resource encompassing the Leeward and Windward Islands, while for local Barbadian students the Higher Education (Loan Fund) Act 1953 was passed, the beginning of a loan scheme that continues to this day. In September 1962, secondary education became free in all government schools but the demand for secondary education exceeded supply, and there were also thirteen private secondary schools.

Table 1: Pupils in secondary school, 1963³

Type of School	Males	Females	Total
Grant-Aided	2609	1825	4434
Secondary Comprehensive	2549	2545	5094
Private	1825	3800	5625

At independence In 1966, the government was able to report, “Every child, who is physically able, goes to school at one of the one hundred and thirty six primary and secondary Government Schools, where education is free or at any of the fifty private schools.”⁴

By 1965 the government was also providing financial aid to approved private secondary schools. In 1968 the Barbados Community College opened, offering a variety of courses, eventually including associate degree and

undergraduate degree courses and in 1969 the Samuel Jackman Prescod Polytechnic was founded. As well as providing for the type of training required by artisans, it also taught skills to Higher National Certificate (H.N.C.) level in subjects such as architectural drawing and drafting, business studies, computer maintenance and cosmetology.⁵ By 1988, therefore, the government of Barbados was providing a wide range of educational and training opportunities.

St Lucia entered independence with only a 58% literacy rate and one of the first priorities of its new government was to increase literacy throughout the population. The next priority was to provide programmes targeted at middle level training in areas such as para-professional, managerial and technical fields.⁶ By the 1990s, the literacy rate had increased to 85%. Although the island is larger than Barbados, it has only just over half the population; in 1995 St Lucia had 143,000 people while Barbados had 265,000. Access to schools was hampered for many years in St Lucia by the terrain and the lack of tarred road access in many areas. Although primary education is now free and compulsory, and secondary education free, even in 1991 only 79% of children were attending primary education and 19.2% secondary school. By the mid 1990s, however, St Lucia had fifteen secondary schools but while both countries were spending over 20% of GDP on education, St Lucia with a per capita GDP of US\$3,018 compared to Barbados' US\$5,700⁷ was still unable to fund full economic costs for their students at the University of the West Indies.

A small number of elite pupils had been able to purchase university education at British, (especially Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Oxford, Cambridge and Bristol) Canadian (especially McGill) and by the early twentieth century, United States universities, especially Howard. From the late 19th century a Barbados Scholarship had been awarded to the most highly placed individual in the Higher Cambridge examinations (invariably a boy until the late 1940s). Since 1949 the number of scholarships has been increased with, initially one being reserved for a woman; these scholarships are still available, now based on examination results, but since the 1970s, free tuition has been available for Barbadian citizens who enrol at the University of the West Indies and a student loan funds instituted. St Lucia also has a national scholarship and although it does not have the resources to fund other students at the University of the West Indies, many of those who eventually became Commonwealth scholarship awardees benefited from Canadian development scholarship funding.

The University of the West Indies (UWI)

UWI was established as a University College of London in 1948 with 33 students; the numbers rose to 622 in 1958 and by 1968 with expansion to campuses in Trinidad and Barbados there were 4216 students. Teaching had started in 1963 at the Harbour Road site of the University of the West Indies, and later moved to the present Cave Hill Campus. By 2004, still the smallest campus, Cave Hill, had a total of 4319 undergraduate and 588 students registered for higher degrees. No campus was established in St Lucia and Roberts noted the disproportionate enrolment between campus and non-campus countries.⁸ Peters notes that data for 1988/89 showed only 7% enrolment from OEC States.⁹ To address this problem, UWI set up a Tertiary Levels Unit to advise, guide and ensure standards in the feeder colleges of non-campus countries. Since 1988 access to UWI degrees has been improved for St Lucians by the provision, on a full-time basis of the first year of the three year degree course in arts and general studies, natural sciences and social sciences at the Sir Arthur Lewis Community College which had been established in 1986 amalgamating the St Lucia Teacher Training College founded in 1968, the Morne Fortune Technical College (1970) and the 'A' Level College (1974). From 1995, the second year of the degree programme has also been offered there.

Other opportunities for degrees

Not all the Commonwealth Scholars from these two territories were graduates of UWI. Barbados has a long tradition of providing scholarships for the highest achievers at 'A' Level (now largely replaced by CAPE, Caribbean Advanced Proficiency Examination) or at Associate Degree level, to study outside the Caribbean and various other countries, including Cuba and China, now offer scholarships for Caribbean students to obtain undergraduate degrees in their universities. The Canadian government has given a number of scholarships to St Lucians as part of its overseas development programme. In recent years with expanding affluence, many young people who

have not been lucky enough to obtain scholarships, have attended universities in the United States. Two of the people interviewed for this work were, by nature of dual citizenship, able to undertake undergraduate degrees in Canada. However, there are few other scholarships available at post-graduate level, certainly non that give such favourable terms as the Commonwealth Scholarship to study for higher degrees at internationally know universities.

Scholars and subjects studied

Although the available list of students and the courses they took is incomplete, 83 students from St Lucia have been identified and 215 from Barbados.

The range of subjects studied was wide and, certainly in later years, has been guided by prioritisation by both governments. In conducting this piece of research, it has become clear that although the governments of these two countries welcome the benefits the scholarship can bring and both have some kind of committee arrangement to ensure all applicants are considered, it is a minor part of the work of the Education Ministries concerned. Both ministries were visited and information requested and promised. In Barbados the Minister himself responded to a request for interview by telephone but to date none of the requested information has been received. (It must be recorded that the officer concerned in Barbados left his post during the research period and St Lucia was hit by hurricane Dean.) Applicants from both countries expressed dis-satisfaction with the way the Ministries dealt with applicants. Several applicants from St Lucia mentioned the difficult they had in finding when scholarships were available, deadlines for applications etc. It certainly helped to have a contact in the Ministry to bring this information to one's attention. The St Lucia government does advertise scholarships in the media, but until recently the media does not seem to have had a wide circulation. Scholarships have always been clearly advertised in the media in Barbados, which also has the advantage of two daily newspapers. One unsuccessful applicant for

Table 2: Scholarships by decade and gender

Years	1960-1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-1999	2000-2002
Barbados					
Male	46	37	41	26	5
Female	2	5	12	34	7
Total	48	42	53	60	12
St Lucia					
Total	10	12	22	30	6

Note: Early figures available for St Lucia do not specify the sex of the student but at least two women were scholars before 1970. From 1990 to 1999 there were fifteen female scholars and twelve males with one person undetermined.

a scholarship in Barbados in 2004 felt that his ethnic minority status disadvantaged him at the interview. (He is one of the 3% white Barbadians of whom there is still a stereotype that they all are wealthy.) The panel comprised several senior civil servants, but no representative from industry or the British High Commission. He was quizzed about the origin of his name (Spanish), asked which church he attended and it was then pointed out that his ancestors had "come on a different boat" to the island than the questioner..

Having successfully gained a scholarship, early awardees from St Lucia seem to have studied subjects clearly crucial to the developing infrastructure of the island such as Civic Design (Leonard St Hill, the very first scholar from that territory in 1960) and the agricultural sciences. Interest in land use and management is a constant theme for St Lucian scholars. Most subjects studied by scholars had a clear application despite their variety, being as diverse as M.Sc. Geographical Information Systems, (Elizabeth Charles-Soomer, 1993) M.Ed. (O. N. Frederick, 1971) and M.Sc. Tropical Crop Management, (Eden Compton, 1992). Several subjects relating to health had been studied including a Diploma in Tropical Animal Health, (Stephen Fontinelle, 1977) M.Sc. Mother and Child Health (Debra Ann Louisey 1985) and a D.M in Design Radiology, (Lygia Celina St Omer, 1988.) Kenny Anthony, the recent Prime Minister took a Ph.D. in Law, (1985) and Patricia Ann Ismond a Ph.D. in English (1970), but it is noticeable that very few holders of scholarships studied was may be defined as pure sciences. The problem here was explained that science teaching in St Lucia tends not to be at a high level as the few qualified scientists find few stimulating opportunities at home and tend to go abroad. Hence a vicious circle, poor quality teaching, students do not specialise in science and so few science teachers for the future. A similar

situation appears in Barbados. Wendy Hollingsworth, (1997) whose Ph.D. was gained in New Zealand studying the asparagus genome, volunteers with the Barbados National Institute of Science to present sessions in schools to encourage children to see the value of studying the pure scientists, but finds she has limited success.

In Barbados few studied pure science but many of the early awardees undertook higher studies in various aspects of medicine. The reason for this will be seen below. (At least fifteen people in the first twenty years of the scholarship). Like their counterparts in St Lucia, a number of Barbadians studied aspects of educational teaching including mathematics, science and art education, and reading studies. During the 1960s two people who contributed much to the cultural landscape of the island were scholarship awardees, Janice Millington (GRSM, 1967) a teacher and performer, who studied pianoforte at the Royal Academy of Music, and Lawson Edward Brathwaite, (Ph.D. History) now internationally known as the poet, Kamau Brathwaite who brought to a wide audience the concept of “nation language.” Another deceased scholar who contributed to Barbadian poetry was Timothy Callender (M.Sc. Art Education, 1981). Other awardees studied subjects as varied as M.Sc. Concrete Structures. (Philip Theodore Sobers, 1976), M.Sc. Forensic Science, (Debbie Ann Nurse, 2002), M.Phil. Development Economics, (Stephen Errol Emtage, 1967), Library and Information Management, M.Sc. 1997) and M.A. Drama and Theatre Arts, (Betty Elizabeth Clarke, 1977.) Like the students from St Lucia, several took courses relating to tourism and planning, whilst Oliver Headley (Ph.D., Inorganic Chemistry, 1966) now deceased, developed and marketed the solar water heaters that can be spotted today on most Barbadian roofs.

Tracing the scholars

Who were the scholars, what sort of backgrounds did they come from and how did being a scholar affect their lives and careers? It is impossible to conduct a totally representative sociological survey at this point; some have left the Caribbean, some have fallen into obscurity and cannot be traced and, sadly some have died, including Janice Millington, the pianist, Timothy Callender, a poet (M.A. Art Education, 1981). However 15 interviews for Barbados and 13 for St Lucia represent approximately 10% of the total and within the constraints mentioned above, they were chosen to represent a particular subject of study, country of study or a particular era. A small number have also been chosen to show the effect that the scholarship has had on the development of the Cave Hill campus of the UWI. A number of the interviewees from St Lucia, were chosen because of their role in furthering the work of the Sir Arthur Lewis Community College and, therefore, the educational project in St Lucia.

Development of the University of the West Indies

1. Doctors

The Queen Elizabeth Hospital is the only general publicly funded Hospital in the Barbados and part of the teaching hospital provision for the UWI medical school. Professor E. R. Walrond (D.F.I.D. 1967) explained the reason for so many scholars studying various medical specialities in the early years. It was initially UWI policy to train General Practitioners, this being perceived as the priority need in medicine in the Anglophone Caribbean. It was assumed that necessary specialist training would be sought abroad. Consequently a number of medics successfully sought Commonwealth Scholarships. However, young ambitious doctors anxious to advance their careers outnumbered the scholarships available and many started to find funding elsewhere to study in the United States. Some never returned to the Caribbean and those who did often found they missed the greater technological props that were provided by United States Hospitals at that time. Consequently, policy was changed and the UWI medical school pursued an active post-graduate programme, obviating the need for as many to study elsewhere.

2. Expansion of faculties

A problem highlighted is the small percentage of individuals undertaking tertiary education in the Caribbean at the inception of the scholarship programme. Consequently, although the University of the West Indies was founded in 1948, enrolment at universities during this period expanded slowly. University of the West Indies statistics show only 212 males and 90 females on the roll for 1954/55 (up from 23 males and 10 females in

1948/49.) In 1964/65, the total number of students was 1661 males and 826 females. A few students from these territories continued to enrol independently at universities in Britain, Canada and the United States, and in the case of St Lucia in the University of the Virgin Islands.

Table 3: Figures extracted from University of the West Indies Office of Planning Departmental Reports.

Year	Admissions to first degree Barbadian Males	Admissions to first degree Barbadian females	Admissions to first degree St Lucian males	Admissions to first degree St Lucian females	Total number of Students
1974/75	140	93	21	16	6,928
1977/78	201	169	20	11	8,966
1984/85	202	208	16	16	10,572
1988/89	774	978	63	77	12,180
1995/96 ^a	357	461	32	56	18,058
2000/01	344	652	28	60	23,522 ^b

Note: a: Previous year not available; b: including off campus students

Because of the need to provide the university with staff with teaching skills and the ability to teach a post-graduate programme, the Barbadian government was quick to nominate potential university staff to the Commonwealth Scholarship programme. During the 1970s, Gerald Rose from Barbados followed a Masters programme in mathematical education while his compatriots, Workley Errold Brathwaite, (M.Ed., Science education) Carl D. Sardinha, (Fellow, Science Teaching Methods) Desmond C. Clarke (M.A. Reading Studies) and Marguerite Cummins-Williams (M.Ed. Mathematical Education) either, like Rose, returned to teach at the expanding UWI Cave Hill Campus or to one of the feeder secondary schools with a sixth form. Later scholarship awardees include members of the law faculty such as Rosemary Antoine (D.Phil. 1992) and at one point, Jacqueline Cornelius, (1993) and Jane Bryce (1996) who specialises in African literature and film.

Another department that benefited greatly from the scholarship programme was the Department of History. The very first scholarship awardee from Barbados, Woodville Marshall, (1960) who became Professor, returned from a Ph.D. at Cambridge, initially to the Mona Campus, but then to his homeland, Barbados and, with the influence of pioneering scholars of West Indian history such as Elsa Govieia and Sir Roy Augier with whom he had worked at Mona, shaped the history department away from the Eurocentric roots of the founding University College of the West Indies. Subsequent history awardees have included Pedro Welch, presently Dean of the Faculty of Humanities, Aviston Downes (1991, Ph.D.) caretaker of the Barbados Oral History Project, Marcia Burrowes, (1995, Ph.D.) the department's first cultural historian and its most recent Ph.D awardee and a tutor in the department, Tara Inniss, who took advantage of the more recent split sight scholarship.

Professor Emeritus of History, Woodville Marshall had been offered a two-year scholarship from the University of the West Indies where he had taken his first degree and completed an M.A. As he now wished to pursue a doctoral degree he needed funding for an extra year and the Barbados government had agreed a supplement through the Parliamentary process. Knowing that he had basic funding he started the course and then discovered that terms of the new Commonwealth Scholarship were much better and would ensure his financial security during the course. If he had been from St Lucia, however, there would have been no recourse to the then colonial government for him and the opportunity to accept the course would have been lost.

3. Development of the Cave Hill campus in Barbados

Annual Departmental Reports are available at the Cave Hill campus of the University of the West Indies from 1968, when only thirty-five staff were in post, to 2004, with the exception of the years 1997-1998 and 1998-9 and from these Reports the following information was compiled. The only Commonwealth Scholarship awardee on the University staff identified as receiving the award from St Lucia is Dr Kenny Anthony, who served in the

Law faculty for a number of years from 1983/84 to the mid 1990s when, having spent time out as Director of the Caribbean Justice Improvement Project and Counsel General to the CARICOM Secretariat, he finally resigned to enter Elective Politics and become Prime Minister of St Lucia. It is possible that other St Lucian Commonwealth scholars worked at UWI as lists available are not complete. All other of staff identified below received their awards from the Barbados government.

At least 60 members of the University staff working benefited from a Commonwealth Scholarship, about a quarter of the total awardees of the scholarship from Barbados during that period. Unfortunately it would be an enormous task to compare the total list of Caribbean awardees with the names listed in the annual reports as these reports vary in presentation from department to department. Although reporting has improved and become more homogenised over the years, some departments still list staff only when something significant occurs to them, whilst other departments clearly state their staff complement each year, and if they are on study leave, where they are studying. No department has a policy of stating whether staff who recently joined the department have benefited from the award of a Commonwealth Scholarship (or any other scholarship) and whilst some explain why a staff member is away, others do not. Consequently the information reported might not be complete and important individuals overlooked.

It is clear that from when annual reports first become available, despite the scheme having only existed for nine years, Commonwealth Scholars were already important to the University. It was a time when the University of the West Indies was trying to find its identity as a university serving the Caribbean region. Many countries were emerging from the British Empire as independent entities and were anxious to clarify their own national and their regional culture, previously partly submerged by British hegemony. West Indian university staff were seen, quite rightly, as important to this process and the early reports note the numbers of West Indian to extra-regional staff in each department. By enabling West Indians to take higher degrees abroad at a time when UWI tended to concentrate in educating its population to first-degree level, the scholarship helped qualify them to teach others at the tertiary level. The Annual Report of 1973/74 noted that for Cave Hill, the Department of History (five persons) and Institute of Social and Economic Research (four persons) had a complement of totally West Indian staff. The School of Education had six West Indians of its ten staff, the Department of French and Spanish five out of seven West Indian staff and Mathematics, three West Indians out of four. The Commonwealth Scholarship was not the only aid to development of West Indian staff; the Ford Foundation also gave scholarships in the late 1960s for this purpose although no further information about its prevalence is available on these from the annual reports.

During the 1970s and 1980s some departments depended heavily on staff who had been, or were to be, awarded Commonwealth Scholarships. These included the Departments of Languages and Linguistics, History, Education and Mathematics. When the School of Medicine was formed, many associate lecturers appointed were Commonwealth Scholarship awardees and as the Faculty of Social Studies grew, Economics, Management Studies and the Institute for Social and Economic Research relied heavily on these staff. Some departments, for example, English, seem to have had only one awardee on staff until the 1990s, and other departments such as Chemistry and Biology had few or no awardees during the total period researched. Awardees on the staff were keen to undertake research affecting their region. In 1968-69 in the division of chemistry, Oliver Headley and Basil Springer were working on solar power while in the following academic year, newly re-located from the Mona campus, historian Woodville K. Marshall worked on the economic and social development of the Windward Islands. Bruce St John researched Caribbean Spanish literature whilst writing and publishing poetry in Barbadian dialect. He remained a prolific publisher until his retirement in 1988/89. His colleague in the department of French and Spanish, C. Denis Sardinha, also published a great deal and from time to time served in an administrative capacity.

The School of Education played an important role in developing Caribbean related curriculum for Barbados and the Eastern Caribbean and was very involved in the training of teachers at the primary level, whilst advising on both pupil and teacher assessment and improved teaching practice. Desmond C. Clarke lectured in teacher education as well as being actively involved in a UWI/UNESCO project developing language arts teaching skills. Rudolph Goodridge was seconded from his post as Barbados Community Education Officer to develop an In-service Diploma training course which ran until 1994-95 when it was transferred to the Erdiston Teacher Training College. Gerry Rose specialised in Mathematics education and Workeley Brathwaite in science, while Leonard Shorey led the in-service training programme for several years

With the establishment of the Institute of Social and Economic Research in the early 1970s, an opportunity for research opened and many Commonwealth Scholars have been involved over the years. V.R. Codrington was a research fellow in the mid 70s, joining Woodville K. Marshall who had been seconded there; Judy A. Whitehead

also joined ISER in the 1970s and also contributed to the Department of Economics in various capacities. In 1982, Andrew Downes, at the time of writing a Professor, also joined the department as a temporary assistant lecturer and was working on Development Policy in Small Open Economies. He has contributed much more Caribbean research over the years.

The Law Faculty opened at Cave Hill in 1970 and a number of Commonwealth Scholarship awardees have been on the staff, most notably, of course, the St Lucian Kenny Anthony. Two Barbadian full time staff were Jefferson O'Brien Cumberbatch and Andrew Burgess, but other awardees taught on a sessional basis. A similar situation existed in the School of Medicine. Professor E.R. Walrond headed the Department of surgery and Pathology, later Clinical Medicine and Research, for about twenty years, but well over a dozen Barbadians who had honed their advanced medical skills through the Commonwealth Scholarship were involved as associates.

Staff did not restrict their activities to within the University; many served the Barbadian Community in various ways, by sitting on Boards, giving public lectures or artistic performances. In 1973-74, Bruce St John organised a group of performing artists to tour several Caribbean islands as part of the tenth anniversary celebrations of the opening of the Cave Hill campus. Judy Whitehead was involved in a regional project to develop agriculture based industries and Sir Hilary Beckles led a fight to have more black Barbadians elected to company boards. Jefferson O'Brien Cumberbatch was Deputy Chair of the National Anti-money Laundering Authority, as well as writing a regular column relating to law in a national newspaper.

By the 1990s the University had expanded and adapted to current needs. From its small beginnings, by 1999-2000, there were 750 undergraduates in the Faculty of Humanities alone, with 187 registered for higher degrees; the Faculty of Social Science was considerably larger, having expanded considerably in areas such as management studies, where Robertine Chaderton and Emily Dick-Forde were in post. That faculty had twenty-five full time lecturers and twenty-two part-time by 1996. Computer studies accounted for 43% of majors in the Faculty of Science and Technology.

The Cave Hill campus had a settled group of staff and had established a reputation enabling it to attract staff from far afield, especially in those subject areas where local staff were still sparse; notably in the Faculty of Science and Technology. The overall percentage of staff members who received their Commonwealth awards from Barbados had declined, partly because the University was awarding more postgraduate degrees of its own. For example, in 1995, there were five students registered as writing a Ph.D., twelve an M.Phil. and eight taught masters degrees in History. There were fifteen Postgraduate students in the Department of Biology and twenty one in the Department of Government, Sociology and Social Work. However, by this time, a significant number of Barbadian awardees of Commonwealth Scholarships and Fellowships were in the most important positions of influence at Cave Hill. As early as 1980/81, Sir Keith Hunte, (1963) had been appointed Deputy Principal. He was to move to the position of Principal and, when he retired from the post after 2003, Sir Hilary Beckles, another historian, who had benefited from a Fellowship in 1986/87 and who had moved to the Mona campus as Pro-Vice Chancellor for Undergraduate Studies, returned to Cave Hill to take Sir Keith's position. Deans and Heads of Department of course, change frequently but the list of staff from 1995/96 shows the following positions as held by Commonwealth Scholars.

	Pro-Vice Chancellor Principal	Deans	HOD	Profs/Sen Lec/Lec
Fac. of Arts/Gen Studies	1	1	1 of 4	7/22
Fac.of Education	1			3/7
Fac.of Law		1	1 of 2	2/c10
Fac.Medicine & Surgery			1 of 2	about a quarter
Fac.Science/technology			1 of 5	2/40 +1 affiliated academic and 1 technician.
Fac. Social Science		1	1 of 4	7/26+Directors ISER+1RF

In 2002-03, the campus celebrated its fortieth anniversary. Commonwealth scholars were still joining the staff; Marcia Burrowes became the campus' first lecturer in cultural studies and the following year, Corlita Babb became the first Barbadian to be awarded the PhD in law from Cambridge, England and was appointed a temporary lecturer. The Universities' Commonwealth Scholars were still active in the community; Marcia Burrowes was acting in the satirical comedy *Laff it Off*, while Jane Bryce who joined the department of English in 1991-92 co-founded the Barbados African Caribbean Film Festival.

Development in St Lucia

Although initially the St Lucia government seems to have concentrated on skills relevant to building its agricultural economy and built infrastructure by the 1970s, no doubt with independence in mind, it had changed its emphasis to educational skills. Prior to sending students to university in considerable numbers, the country had a major project in expanding its secondary education facilities and students such as O. Nicholas Frederick, Beryl Carasco-Alleyne, (1974) and Dame Calliopa Pearlette Louisey (1972) went to Canada to pursue Masters degrees in the field of educational development.

By the last decade of the twentieth century, however, development of the tertiary provision on the ground in St Lucia became important. Bevis Peters, presently professor in charge of the Tertiary Level Institute at the UWI Cave Hill campus wrote an analysis of the development of national colleges in OECS* countries.¹⁰ He notes that during the 1970s and 80s all OECS countries suffered an acute shortage of trained manpower in several sections of the economy; in the OECS states only a quarter of the number of nationals normally enrolled in tertiary education in developing countries were in fact enrolled and it was seen that tertiary education was a critical vehicle in the development of society. During the initial phases of post –independence development, much effort had been given to middle level and para-professional training. In St Lucia new programmes were required that related directly to the National Plan for Social and Economic Development and there was now a need for effective academic leadership and professional development courses at tertiary level. Developing an indigenous tertiary provision was seen as essential to stem brain- drain and cut the cost of tertiary education abroad.¹¹ In 1986 the Sir Arthur Lewis Community College had been established by merging the teacher training college with other post secondary education provision. Staff with post-graduate qualifications were needed to develop the college, especially as in 1988, UWI agreed that it could introduce on a full time basis the first year teaching of the three-year degree courses in arts and general studies, natural and social sciences. The infrastructure at SALCC was up - graded and in 1989 the first twenty students in this programme were registered. It was Commonwealth Scholarship awardee, O. Nicholas Frederick, who had chaired the committees established to set up the college and another, Dame Calliopa Pearlette Louisey who, already Principal of the 'A' level college, one of the amalgamated elements, became Dean, Vice-principal and then Principal. A number of the random sample of thirteen awardees interviewed in St Lucia for this paper presently teach full or part-time at SALCC or at the UWI distance learning facility in the same complex. These include Guy Mathurin, (M.Sc, Crop Protection, 1992) whose has worked both with the Banana Growers and the Ministry of Agriculture, Robert Lewis, (M.Phil, 1997, Ph.D., 2001) presently a constituency parliamentary representative and Kerwyn Tobias, (M.Sc. Info Systems, 2000) an information systems expert, while Urban Dolor is presently Vice-Principal. The SALCC librarian, Merle St Clare is also an awardee (1998) and it is clear that several other scholars are on the staff.

Scholars' families

Did the scholarship help those from relatively poor backgrounds or provide yet another advantage for the children of the wealthy? There are some, though not major differences between Barbados and St Lucia. The first surprise, noted with Barbadians was that a number of awardees had been brought up in families with only one parent. While it is true that, as a legacy of slavery, many black Barbadians chose not to marry, or do so only in later life (with the girl children as bridesmaids!), most do form long term family relationships.¹² Several of the interviewees were actually the children of widowed parents including Professor E.R. Walrond, Madame Justice Jacqueline Cornelius who lost her father at the age of ten, and Gerald Rose. The single mothers worked variously

* The members of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States comprise Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St Kitts- Nevis, St Lucia and St Vincent and the Grenadines.

as a nurse, a seamstress and as a shopkeeper. In one case, where the scholar could be described as from a middle class family, the mother seems to have lived on an allowance from the father. In more than one case (Tara Inniss,) (Woodville Marshall) (Sir Keith Hunte, MacGill 1961) where the father had a professional occupation, the grand-parents had been agricultural labourers. Other interviewees had parents who were married but father was an artisan, such as a seaman or taxi driver. Some scholars, such as Marguerite Cummins-Williams (1977, M.Sc, Maths Ed.) and Pedro Welch (1983, M.Sc.) came from a well-established middle class, often with teachers or small businessmen as parents; the one white scholar interviewed had a musician (part of a well known band, the *Merrymen*) turned businessman as a father. Some interviewees such as Basil Springer (Ph.D. Birkbeck, 1964) and Marguerite Woodstock-Riley (Cambridge, 1985) were clearly from upper middle class backgrounds. Springer, formerly a lecturer at the St Augustine Campus of UWI in Trinidad is now a successful business consultant and the nephew of The Right Excellent Sir Hugh Springer, politician and trade unionist, member of the committee that set up UWI and Barbadian National Hero. Woodstock Riley, a lawyer of Jamaican parentage (and daughter of the first female Jamaican High Court judge) but married to a Barbadian, is descended on her mother's side from the well-known and wealthy Barbadian Collymore pre-Emancipation free-coloured family. Religion played an important part in some Barbadian families; Pedro Welch had a Moravian Minister as a grandfather and is a devout Seventh Day Adventist, Yolanda Alleyne's family were also Moravians and Basil Springer came from a long line of Methodists.

St Lucia, with its French heritage, has a Roman Catholic culture which meant that most scholars came from families where the parents had married and had several children, in the case of Mary Wilfred, (2003, M.Sc.) nine, and Cyril Thomas Matthew, (1961, B.Sc.) eight. Interestingly, out of a random sample of thirteen interviewees, two came from strongly religious backgrounds of other faiths, Ignatius Evans, (M.Ed. Curriculum Development, (1981) an Evangelical Christian and an awardee of two Commonwealth Scholarships, Robert Lewis a Seventh Day Adventist. A number of the interviewees came from farming backgrounds, most rural St Lucians making a living from a small piece of family land.

One St Lucia scholar interviewed was Dame Pearlette Louisey, the present Governor General of the island. She was brought up in an all female household with her grandmother, mother and aunts, all of whom gained their living by working on a plot of land owned by the family to which they had to walk everyday. Dame Pearlette attended primary school and completed the syllabus by the age of ten, but the only way she could get any further education was by winning one of the few scholarships available to the only girl's secondary school at that time, St Joseph's College. She returned to her primary school for the next three years and won a scholarship at the age of thirteen. Eden Compton's family farmed, as did Cyril Matthews, and both pursued careers in agriculture. Ignatius Evan's stepfather was a fisherman and Urban Dolor's grandmother a fish vendor. Dolor had a most unconventional early education. He was able, but probably bored at school; unlike Dame Pearlette he was not persistent in his quest for education but simply dropped out at the age of eleven. His mother took him to St Croix when she found domestic work there and one day a passer-by questioned as to why he was sitting by the roadside. This person then took him and enrolled him in secondary school. On the strength of a couple of years secondary education and the aid of a woman who heard him questioning a priest in an intelligent way, he was recommended to the Ministry of Education as a teacher, a move which led him to a teaching certificate, then degree and eventually the Commonwealth scholarship.

Kerwyn Tobias an information technology systems expert presently with the Ministry of Finance and the present Attorney General of St Lucia, O. Nicholas Frederick had mothers who were teachers. Guy Mathurin's family can be described as professional with a father who became Comptroller of Inland Revenue before moving to a job with CARICOM while his mother worked at first for the Ministry of Housing and then ran a handicraft centre. A number of interviewees had business people as fathers. This included Nahdjlá Carasco-Bailey and Beryl Carasco-Alleyne (half-sisters, the daughters of a wealthy businessman, although with six children to educate, financing was still an issue. Gilbertha St Rose's father was a jeweller, but again there were eight children in the family; Mary Wilfred's father was also a businessman. It is impossible to say how representative the random sample of thirteen St Lucians may have been, but it seems that as St Lucian's in a sense had to jump through an extra hoop than most of the Barbadians, that of accessing secondary education, the awardees tended to be from relatively more affluent families than the successful Barbadians.

Very few of the interviewees could have considered undertaking their course of study without the help of the scholarship. Even those people who could be considered middle class found that compared to Caribbean salaries, fees in the awarding countries were very high. One or two students such as Donald Austin (MBA, 1984) would have found the resources in the end, but their career progress would have been delayed by several years. A number of students had already incurred debt to fund their Bachelors or Masters degrees. Sir Keith Hunte's father had mortgaged the family land so that he could take a Bachelors degree while Woodville Marshall did his Mas-

ters degree with the help of his father's insurance policy. Tara Inniss had taken a loan to fund an M.Sc in development and Mary Wilfred had taken a loan to fund her first degree. To avoid taking a loan, Professor E.R. Walrond took waiters jobs at places where the tips were good, to complete his preliminary medical training, as well as winning at Bridge while Barney (Christopher) Gibbs (M.Sc, Land Economics) had started a tree-trimming business to raise funds to do his Masters when his mother saw the scholarship advertised!

The scholarship experience

No one who experienced study under the CSF plan regretted the experience. Gilbertha St Rose only completed the first year of a General Practitioner course but still saw the experience as "opening a door". Her education had suffered in a way it might not have in Barbados where the Barbados Family Planning Service has been active since the 1950s and abortion has been legal since the Termination of Pregnancy Act, 1983 was implemented. During her second 'A' level year, she found herself pregnant and eventually was enabled by her brother to join him in Jamaica where she completed her matriculation requirements to study medicine at UWI Mona. Five years later she was awarded a scholarship to study at St George's Hospital, London. As a single parent of two children, she found the accommodation provided by the hospital inadequate; she had her own room and shared a kitchen. For this type of course it was necessary to live near the hospital, expensive in that area and the allowance for her children was only £11 each per month. Relatives in North London cared for the children but after a year she decided to return home. Nevertheless she had been introduced to study of complementary medicine in her free time and later returned to England to follow up this interest while earning her living as a doctor.

A few students did have problems about the limitation in courses available at the universities they attended. Woodville Marshall was clearly at the wrong university for his particular needs, although the terms of the scholarship allowed him to spend a year at the Institute for Historical Research in London where he was able to attend student seminars, an idea he brought to the UWI, Cave Hill campus. His university, Cambridge, was too far from most of the research material he required and no one at the university in those days had the experience or interest in the subject of his Caribbean based thesis to provide useful supervision. He maintains that he was largely supervised at a distance by Elsa Govieia at UWI, Mona. Sir Keith Hunte wished to study some aspect of Caribbean history in Canada but discovered that this was impossible with the supervision available and opted for a study of the role of the Roman Catholic Church in Canadian schooling, a subject he was able to compare to that of the Anglican Church in the Caribbean. Tara Inniss, also studying history, had a similar problem as most of the research material was in London while she was based in Manchester. Although she found the course at Manchester in all other ways suitable for her study of the history of medicine, she did find the time spent in London stretched her budget, as it was not designed for the provinces.

For almost all students, excellent arrangements were made by the welcoming country and typically for those who studied in Britain, the British Council met the student and gave instructions, tickets, etc., having ensured arrangements for accommodation were in order. The first student from Barbados did not comply with instructions, however, insisting that he would make his own way to the West Indian Student Centre, instead! "Get together"s were organised for scholars to meet from time to time and there was always a contact person to whom the student could refer. Mary Wilfred found her contact person in New Zealand, Kiri Emmanuel, so helpful she specifically named her, while Nahdjla Caraso-Bailey was introduced to a host family and escorted to places of interest in Wellington by a gentleman volunteer who happened to be named James Bond! Those who, like her, studied in New Zealand as well as those at Keele in England, were introduced to "Host families" and while Nahdjla, Mary Wilfred and Margueite Cummins-Williams spent holidays with the families of fellow students.

Robert Lewis was impressed that, when a meeting of Commonwealth Heads took place in Edinburgh, he was one of fifty Commonwealth scholars invited to Edinburgh to meet them. Students also commented on the fact that allowances arrived on time without fail. Almost all thought the allowances adequate, some generously so, although this was helped in St Lucia for a few students in the teaching profession who were also paid their (admittedly meagre) salaries whilst away. This certainly helped Urban Dolor who was able to leave his wife in St Lucia during his absence. Apart from Gilbertha St Rose, who clearly had special circumstances not anticipated by the organisers of the scholarship, only Tara Inniss (above) and Guy Mathurin suggested that extra money would have helped, probably in Guy's case because, as he was isolated on an agricultural station in a rural English village he went to London to visit friends and relatives every other weekend. Miss-information was occasionally a problem; Pedro Welch was informed that his son would have to attend a fee-paying school in England, which was not the case, while Gerald Rose arrived at Keele only to discover that they were expecting his wife,

who he would have taken if he had not been previously informed that it was not possible. One or two other students mentioned the problem of taking a spouse who would not have been able to obtain a work permit for the study period.

Isolation was an issue for one or two people, especially where there were few other black people around. Kerwyn Tobias would have preferred to study in London where he had contacts for support but was accepted at Southampton. He found great support from the African-Caribbean organisation at the university but an incident where a Barbadian colleague was racially abused and attacked at a bus stop made him feel uneasy. Pedro Welch's son suffered racist abuse, although his overall experience in Bath was so positive, he himself decided to work in England after qualifying in medicine at UWI. Urban Dolor noted that when Canadian students invited him to parties he was careful to attend but when he tried to entertain them, none of them came. Others such as Beryl Carasco-Alleyne, finding no African-Caribbean organisation on campus, joined one in the local community for support. Those based in long established university cities like Cambridge and London felt less animosity in the community while the more mature and confident scholars such as Yolanda Alleyne and Jacqueline Cornelius too acknowledged that they might experience some racism but felt able to cope with it. Jacqueline Cornelius was particularly amused when she moved to the experiential part of her scholarship experience in a large London Law firm; on the first day a whole series of black women who turned out to be cleaning staff came to observe her as she was the first black woman to work there as a lawyer rather than a cleaner. She also noted that during this part of her stay, she and a Sri Lankan colleague realised that the contact person had not always asked them to join in activities to which white students were invited.

Of the twenty-eight interviewees, five had studied in New Zealand, five in Canada and the rest in Britain. New Zealand had been chosen by three of the four because that was the only country with places left: Nahdjla Carasco-Bailey, had seen an advertisement in the press during her first term at teacher training college in England and had immediately visited New Zealand House, aware that a scholarship would relieve the financial burden on her father. Having been so concerned about his daughter that he had accompanied her to England and personally sought assurances from a contact at the St Lucian High Commission that she would be cared for, he then had to stand by whilst she relocated herself to the opposite side of the globe! When Mary Wilfred was told that the only scholarship available was in New Zealand, she protested that she did not want to live amongst butter and cows, this being her stereotype of the country from television advertisements. However, on arrival she loved the country and found Maori culture fascinating. Yolanda Alleyne too found New Zealand wonderful, as did Robert Lewis. Those who went to Canada had enjoyable experiences, often travelling around the country during college holidays. Some of those who went to Britain enjoined the museums and antiquities whilst a few managed to travel in Europe before returning home.

Many of the students felt that not only had they been privileged to learn a lot about the culture of their host countries but felt able to correct illusions about the Caribbean. The earliest female student to study in New Zealand, Nahdjla Carasco-Bailey, was instructed to take her national costume. Although this seemed slightly ridiculous as by the 1960's only older peasant women in St Lucia would dress like that, the costume attracted a great deal of interest when Nahdjla wore it at a fundraising concert for the college where she and a Jamaican colleague sang a range of Harry Belafonte songs in fashion at the time. Many in the audience had never heard of St Lucia and asked many questions. Similarly Dame Pearlette Louisey found that French Canadians she met in Quebec saw the Caribbean as a pre-literate society and she found herself correcting their allusions. Beryl Carasco-Alleyne undertook her M.Ed in Nova Scotia after studying for a degree in English at Western Ontario, but on arrival was still asked to sit an English exam to prove she was able to manage the course! Since the period of study, however, a number of students have had fellow students from afar, who they met on the programme, to visit their homes.

Confidence was one of the good outcomes mentioned by at least two scholars. As a black woman, Jacqueline Cornelius believes it unlikely that she would have been appointed one of the youngest female judges ever in Barbados by the still fairly pale skinned legal establishment without them respecting that not only did she hold the qualifications she does but also that they were achieved at Cambridge on a Commonwealth scholarship. Similarly, Ignatius Evans in St Lucia felt that the qualifications he achieved enabled his faith based school to be recognised and his career to advance, even though he is very much a part of a religious minority.

How did the scholarships affect the careers of the awardees? The random sample of scholars interviewed includes Governor General Dame Pearlette Louisey who represents the Queen in St Lucia and O. Nicholas Frederick, the country's Attorney-General. Robert Lewis is a St Lucian Parliamentary Representative whose ambition is to become Minister of Education. Another notable St Lucian politician Kenny Anthony was previously Prime Minister of St Lucia and is presently Leader of the Opposition. Those in government do not feature as much in

Barbados, possibly because there was a natural opening for able people to make their careers at the Cave Hill Campus of UWI. As noted above, Sir Keith Hunte, the former Principal, and a number of other staff, ranged across the faculties, have been scholarship awardees. Several awardees have followed a variety of careers, for example, Basil Springer was a university lecturer at UWI St Augustine before returning to his native Barbados to found a consultancy with over thirty employees, while Beryl Carasco Alleyne was first a teacher, then a consultant. This in turn led to her appointment to a project in the department of Gender Studies at UWI, Cave Hill and the Acting Director for the Caribbean Council of Churches. She turned down the post of Director to return home to St Lucia for family reasons, but since then has worked as Human Resources Manager/Company Secretary for the First National Bank of St Lucia. Equally, O. N. Frederick spent a long time in education and then worked for US Aid before becoming a lawyer and Attorney General.

Private industry has claimed a number of scholars in Barbados, both as company owners and as senior managers, such as Donald Austin, President of Cable & Wireless, Barbados. He found the scholarship valuable in his career as he undertook an MBA at the University of Manchester where he worked with a multi-national group of students, often in teams and gained important insights regarding working with people from other cultures. It also helped him move from engineering, the subject of his first degree and the reason for him entering the telecommunications industry, to financial management and a period of troubleshooting in a number of Caribbean islands prior to becoming president. Scholars who founded their own businesses include Yolanda Alleyne and Barney (Christopher) Gibbs. Both deal with planning, Yolanda as a consultant on planning issues, while Barney has provided Barbados with sponsored bus shelters, underground trashcans and palms along the highways. Some became public servants who instituted important reforms, notably Sir Frank Ramsey a medical officer who investigated malnutrition in children and a national nutrition survey and Dr Bertie Graham who took a particular interest in mental health issues. Meanwhile Dr Trevor Hassell was busy helping found the Barbados Heart and Stroke Foundation.

A number of awardees, including Sir Frank Ramsey, Dr Gilbertha St Rose and O. Nicholas Fredericks are/were active Rotarians, while Madame Justice Jacqueline Cornelius and Marguerite Woodstock-Riley both served as President of the Barbados Soroptimists. In fact Marguerite Woodstock-Riley is President elect of one of the international chapters, the first none British based black woman to be elected to this office. Others such as Marguerite Cummins Williams spent their lives teaching within the school system but used their understanding of other cultures to become involved with an international educational organisation. Beryl Carasco-Alleyne has sat on many national boards and committees, as have many of the scholarship awardees.

Criticisms of the scholarship have been few, as everyone involved seems to see it as a valuable experience. The main criticisms are two, one being the lack of transparency in the application procedure and one of the scholarship itself, that being that in this age of constant learning, the cut off age of 35 years is too low. Other scholarships are available in both islands, but apart from the Rhodes Scholarship for which there is one for Jamaica and two for the rest of the Anglo-phone Caribbean each year, none have the same kudos or funding as the Commonwealth Scholarship for work at post-graduate level. All those who were interviewed felt that this is an excellent scheme, which hopefully will be expanded. Sir Keith Hunte also expressed the view that students from developed countries would benefit from experiencing scholarships based at UWI should the scholarship fund be able to cover some of the costs there.

¹ Hilary Beckles, *A History of Barbados*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) is a comprehensive work on Barbados' history.

² Coleman Romalis, *Barbados and St Lucia: A Comparative Analysis of Social and Economic Development in Two British West Indian Islands*, Ph.D Thesis, (St Louis, Missouri: Washington University, 1969).

³ Barbados Report of the Ministry of Education, Sept 1960-Aug 1963. para 27.

⁴ *Barbados: An Independent Nation. The Official Barbados Independence Magazine.* (Bridgetown: Ministry of Education, 1966)

⁵ Leonard Shorey and Gerald St Rose, "Education and Development", *Barbados: Thirty Years of Independence*, ed. Trevor A. Carmichael, (Kingston: Ian Randell, 1996) 118-150.

⁶ Bevis F. Peters, *The Emergence of Community State and National Colleges in the OECs Member Countries: An Institutional Analysis*, (UWI Cave Hill: ISER Monograph Series, 1993) 12.

⁷ These figures are from the Caribbean Basin Commercial Profile, 1996, quoted in Vivienne Roberts, *Access to Tertiary Education in Selected Caribbean Countries: effects*, UWI thesis, 1999, 50

⁸ Roberts, 168

⁹ Peters, 6. The OEC States are Grenada, St Vincent and the Grenadines, St Lucia, Dominica, Antigua and Barbuda, St Kitts-Nevis and Montserrat.

¹⁰ Bevis F. Peters, *The Emergence of Community, State and National Colleges in the OECS Members Countries: An Institutional Analysis*, (Barbados: ISER(EC) Series, UWI Cave Hill, 1993).

¹¹ Peters, 10-13

¹² The law in Barbados caters for this practice treating those who have lived together for more than five years as married couples when it comes to dissolving partnerships and the disposal of property.

The work was completed using information from alumni in Barbados and St Lucia.
(full list omitted from this version)