BLACKS AND WHITES: THE NOVA SCOTIA RACE RELATIONS EXPERIENCE

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"I don't think they (City officials) give a damn about black people in Halifax. (We) have never been a group to reckon with. We have never been a political power. We never had a pressure group. We never had money. We were just damn nuisances.
You know, what the hell! 'So we inherited these people from slavery, we got to do something about them, so give them some land.'
In the province, they have been given land that was useless . . . in the hope that a combination between inclemency of the weather and the infertility of the soil we would all die. But geez, God must have been on our side. Man we have survived, more than survived; the black population has increased."

(Interview, tape-recorded, 1969)[1]

INTRODUCTION

In Nova Scotia the black and white populations developed side by side. The basic settlement patterns were established before the middle of the nineteenth century and since that time the population composition has not undergone very significant qualitative change. Blacks, along with the

Native Peoples, Acadians, English, Irish, Scottish and Germans, have been part of the Nova Scotian scene since the mid-eighteenth century and can be considered among the founding peoples of the province. However it is important to understand that in Nova Scotia, as elsewhere in Canada, not all founding peoples have been "charter members".[2] The mosaic traditionally has been a vertical one, with considerable pressure in practice for assimilation of others to the institutions and definitions-of-the situation purveyed by the British. Moreover, traditionally non-whites have only with uncertainty and ambiguity been included in the mosaic at all;[3] typically they have been economically marginal and have faced significant social-psychological boundaries. Certainly, as indicated in the prefatory quotation, such has been the case among Nova Scotian blacks. A large number of blacks came to the province as slaves and, for the most part, those who came in freedom were harboured but not really accepted. Blacks have coexisted with whites in a province clearly dominated politically, economically and culturally by the whites.

Given the above, it would be impossible to discuss meaningfully the black presence in Nova Scotia without emphasizing race relations. Surprisingly this has not been well-recognized until quite recently. The literature on Nova Scotian blacks has been largely descriptive, usually focussing

upon their socio-economic disadvantage.[4] Occasionally there have been explanatory thrusts but characteristically these investigations have been limited, seeking within the black community the reasons for black marginality. And given that strategy it is not surprising that a rather negative portrait of the black community has emerged (e.g. divided leadership,[5] lack of community solidarity,[6] apathy and conservatism[7], etc.). This literature may be congruent with a mosaic ideology in its attempt to consider blacks in a separate, exclusive fashion. But, since the mosaic ideology has always been inadequate as a depiction of race and ethnic reality, taking blacks as both the unit of description and the unit of explanation does not do justice either to the theoretical complexity or to the blacks' struggle in Nova Scotia; moreover, the literature could hardly be called celebrationist despite occasional reference to isolated, individual black achievement.[8]

The other side of the coin is that traditionally blacks have been virtually ignored in text-books and other materials dealing with Canada's and even Nova Scotia's development. Every now and then a reference has been made to Nova Scotian blacks as Canada's "unknown"[9], "invisible"[10] or "forgotton"[11] people. Rarely have they been treated in depth in social study courses. For example, most course material in Nova Scotia neglected to note that there were black as well as white

loyalists[12] ; rarely have they been the subject of accomplished literature or film.[13] To the extent that blacks have been mentioned in texts, novels and other materials attempting to portray the Canadian or Nova Scotian mosaic, they have been included incidentally and usually unfavourably and stereotypically.[14] The proportionately small size of the black population in Nova Scotia over the past two hundred years, the fact that historically blacks were dispersed largely in isolated rural and urban-fringe areas throughout the province and the fact that few blacks had obtained positions of influence in centre institutions, may help to explain such neglect. But clearly other factors are important, not the least of which has been the pervasive racialism which has undermined the position of blacks in the mosaic and helped to ensure their small size[15] and political-economic marginality. In sum the "interdependence of fate" of Nova Scotia's founding peoples has usually been portrayed without the meaningful inclusion of Blacks. Even sympathetic, progressive scholars appear to have been incapable of surmounting such a definition of the situation. For example, one such researcher had written an historical piece on a group of Nova Scotian blacks and, borrowing from a general characterization of Nova Scotia during that historical period, he talked of a "golden age" for the blacks; when presented with data showing their considerable deprivation at that time, he

dropped the "golden age" reference and simply described the situation of blacks in isolation from the broader society, leaving intact that idealization of Nova Scotia!

The story of blacks in Nova Scotia then has to be the story of race relations as well. Black aspirations, actions and organizations at any given period have to be seen in the context of cultural and structural factors shaping the Nova Scotian experience. What conceptions of race and standards of inter-racial conduct are officially sanctioned and held by the societal elite? How is the economy organized and what is the nature of its dynamics? How are educational, occupational and sociality opportunities structured? What degree of consistency is there between the cultural and structural factors and between official morality and everyday conduct as regards race relations? Such questions are crucial if we are to appreciate the black experience and link together developments in the black community and the evolution of the broader society. Where there is much reinforcing correspondence among the factors just cited and when the overall pattern is hostile and negative vis-à-vis a small minority group, there is usually little group members can do to alter significantly a condition of initial deprivation; under such circumstances to "survive" (in a physical, institutional and cultural sense) represents a significant achievement. On the other hand when there is room for maneouver because of a propitious cultural or structural or economic context, their struggles collectively and individually, can yield important gains and by their efforts

the minority group members can constitute a vanguard effecting a new kind of society.

It appears useful to think of Nova Scotian development and black-white relations in terms of three phases. The first phase, referred to as Establishing The Patterns, covers the time-period from settlement to the founding of the African Baptist Association in 1854. The second phase, colloquially labelled Hanging In There, deals with the period from 1854 to the establishment of the Nova Scotia Association For The Advancement Of Coloured People (N.S.A.A.C.P.) in 1945; and finally there is the contemporary period which we treat under the rubric Making Changes. Our contention is that in the first phase patterns of race relations, organization and communal boundaries were established which were to define the black-white situation for the next one hundred years. Phase two represented a time of stagnation in Nova Scotia and such stagnation characterized race relations especially; there were few significant changes in the previously established patterns and for blacks, confronting much greater economic and social-psychological obstacles than whites, this period posed a particularly strong challenge to survival and development. Since the end of World War Two there have been significant changes in black-white relations in Nova Scotia. This has been due partly to changes in public norms and attitudes (e.g., more universalistic criteria of evaluation) but more to changes in the institutional structure of society (e.g., governmental programmes and agencies) and to developments within the black community. Sharp disparities have arisen between cultural and structural factors and between the "official" and the "everyday" as regards the status of blacks. And black leaders and organizations have had some success in resolving such inconsistency in a positive fashion. There is little question now as to the black presence in the Nova Scotian mosaic. As we shall contend, however, the change has not been obtained nor will it be maintained and elaborated without tension and conflict between the races. But black Nova Scotians have emerged as an interest group of consequence and the structure of race relations hopefully will never again be the same.

ESTABLISHING THE PATTERNS[16]

The black presence in Nova Scotia extends to the very beginnings of permanent European settlement in the region. While the number of black slaves in L'Acadie was insignificant in comparison with the several thousand in New France,[17] records reveal that a few blacks were involved even in the first French settlements at Port Royal.[18] The number of black slaves in the region increased slightly subsequent to the English take-over of L'Acadie in 1713 as some of the settlers coming from the British colonies in New England brought slaves with them. The tempo of settlement picked up after the establishment of Halifax in 1749 - black slaves were among those involved in the construction of Halifax, the centerpiece at that time of the British defence system in the area and the foundation city of English-speaking Canada and as the British encouraged immigration in order to protect and consolidate their position. It has been estimated that prior to the Loyalist immigration there were at least several hundred and perhaps as many as 500 slaves in Nova Scotia,[19] between three and five per cent of the total population.

While blacks and whites clearly built up pre-loyalist Nova Scotia together, theirs was not a relationship of equality. Nova Scotia during this period was a slave society-that is , a society in which values are such that slavery is at

least tolerated by the dominant group even if that slavery is without specific legal sanction and on a small scale[20] and the groundwork was laid for the dominance-subordinance style of race relations which in one form or another would characterize Nova Scotia until quite recent times. The lack of agricultural potential in the uneven and rocky terrain of Nova Scotia prohibited the development of slavery on a plantation scale; consequently, there were no large slave-holders and the blacks were scattered among many white households, chiefly those of officers and notables. The white New England settlers often preferred to refer to the blacks as "servants" rather than "slaves" and there was considerable variation in the individual race relationships.[21] But there was also a significant market in blacks in Halifax. This fact plus the prominence of those who bought and sold slaves[22] and the numerous blatant newspaper advertisements of the period[23] testify readily to the basic inhumanity of the white definition of the situation. Moreover, since many of the blacks were skilled tradesmen they had value for their masters beyond the household and were exploited, bought and sold on the basis of their labour value. As objects of convenience or profit, blacks were essentially outside even a broadly defined conception of a Nova Scotian mosaic, which can be minimally operationalized as a grouping of diverse people sharing similar legal rights and responsibilities and a social consensus securing their involvement in societal affairs.

As for the blacks themselves during this period they confronted a truly formidable challenge to their quest for freedom and dignity and even to survival. Those who were not household "servants" faced the full rigors of the slave trade and those who were, were dependent on the whims of their masters. They had to adapt to a hostile and at best unpredictable society; a "good master" might turn mean; a "servant" might get freedom on the master's deathbed or might be put on the slave market or transferred to a particularly vicious master.[24] Few in number, scattered and without freedom of movement, there was little opportunity for blacks to lay a basis for community; consequently they could not expect the succor of fellow blacks nor the social and psychological benefits of communalism. The responses of blacks were various - some tried escape, others developed strategies of disassociation and still others were caught up in the social-psychology of identification with the master, with its correlates of negative attitudes towards self and race.[25]

The American Revolution had a profound impact on the Nova Scotian region. Between thirty and thirty-five thousand loyalists came to Nova Scotia, roughly three times the pre-existing population in the area. The flood of immigrants resulted in significant political-economic changes and opened up new areas for settlement.[26] From the perspective of race relations the loyalist settlement was especially significant; it increased roughly tenfold the number of blacks in the

region and, since the majority of the black arrivals were free, it led to the creation of meaningful black communities.

At least one thousand and perhaps as many as fifteen hundred black slaves accompanied the white loyalists to Nova Scotia.[27] The slavery was of the pattern previously noted; the slaves, usually referred to as "servants", were well-distributed among the whites, chiefly officers and notables[28], few of whom possessed as many as nine or ten slaves. As one historian put it, "the names of proprietors owning but one or two 'servants' are too many for repetition."[29] Most significantly however, about three thousand blacks came to Nova Scotia as free persons.[30] Proclamations issued by the British in the course of the American Revolution promised freedom and other benefits such as, land and provisions to slaves who would desert their rebel masters and join the British forces.[31] Many blacks took advantage of this opportunity to shed their oppressive yoke and obtain freedom and security; they were joined by several hundred free-born and previously freed blacks who opted for alliance with the British. At war's end the defeated British kept their word and from New York and Charleston they shipped to Nova Scotia blacks who had come over to their side.

With the loyalist migration the black proportion of the region's population reached an all-time high of roughly ten per cent. Black communities were established at various points in the region - Birchtown, Brindley Town, Preston, Halifax,

St. John, Guysborough and so on.[32] The processes of community formation and institutionalization were quickly set in motion, abetted positively by the fact that disbanded veterans from the same regiment and civilians from the same home territory were usually settled on the same tract of land[33], and negatively by the fact that neighbouring whites often reacted with prejudice and discrimination and occasionally physical violence.[34] A number of effective black leaders emerged, such as David George[35], Boston King[36] and Thomas Peters[37], developing schools, congregations and church structure (with formal ties and support of white organizations but in practice controlled and run by blacks) and intervening on behalf of the free blacks with the political authorities in an attempt to make the promise of freedom and security a reality.

This latter task was by no means a simple one. The heavy loyalist influx created a host of administrative and economic problems. Poor land, high and unreal expectations and poor preparatory planning created widespread hardships.[38] White loyalists were constantly appealing for land, provisions and relief.[39] In such a situation one would expect that the needs and requests of blacks would often receive short shrift. After all the region did have a tradition of slavery - albeit on a much smaller scale and less deeply institutionalized than in the United States. There were over a thousand slaves/ indentured servants at the time in the region. And, despite

the good will exhibited by whites who flocked to David George's preaching, Quakers who would not allow slave masters or slave dealers to belong to their settlement[40] and certain religious and philanthropic societies[41] which reached out with funds and other support, blacks were not accepted into the mosaic of Nova Scotian humanity. If free blacks were not objects of convenience or profit[42], they were still basically set-off from whites where matters of rights and privileges were concerned. Despite British promises, black loyalists did not receive the same treatment as white loyalists. Many did not obtain land; those who did obtained usually inadequate and inferior land[43] and when their land was adequate, it was not secure.[44] Their participation with whites in schools and churches was obstructed. In some cases, their indentured status was manipulated such that they were sold as slaves.[45]

Given the above it is not surprising that blacks were receptive when circa 1790 a proposal was advanced to have them emigrate to Sierra Leone.[46] About twelve hundred left for Africa in 1792 and it appears that more would have gone if they had been approached, if all had been considered eligible (not simply free blacks without resolvable debts) and if certain misinformation, spread by some whites who wanted to retain their cheap labour supply, had not been prevalent. Concerning the latter, David George observed that "the white friends were now very unwilling that we should go though some

had treated us as cruelly as if we were their slaves."[47] Whole communities and congregations migrated. The cream of the free black leadership, who had, in less than ten years, set the basis for a vigorous black Nova Scotian community, led the exodus; George, Peters and King for example went on to significant achievement in Sierra Leona and indeed the black Nova Scotians as a group founded an elite which has remained powerful in Sierra Leone down to the present day.[48] What a profound loss for Nova Scotia! Obviously, the emigration dealt a very serious blow to the emerging black Nova Scotian community; as one historian put it, "left behind were the slaves, indentured servants and share-croppers, by definition excluded from the free labour pool, and the weak, the aged, the indebted and the unskilled."[49] The exodus is testimony to the large gap that occurred between the promises which had lured blacks to the British side just a few years earlier and the harsh reality that they experienced in Nova Scotia. The depth of the gap was evident to Clarkson, the agent of the Sierra Leone Company who wrote of the black emigres "the Nova Scotians are naturally suspicious and easily alarmed . . . they have been decieved and ill-treated through life . . . they begin to think they should be served the same as in Nova Scotia which unsettled their minds and made them suspect everything and everybody."[50]

Blacks remaining in Nova Scotia faced great obstacles to development: slavery, indenture, economic deprivation (which

forced some who were free to indenture themselves in order to survive), lack of legitimacy in the Nova Scotian mosaic and so on. Most critically the reconstructing of community and the struggle for freedom and security had to be accomplished with depleted numbers and without the strong congregations and leadership that had emerged from the difficulties of the loyalist settlement. For example most of the black teachers and preachers were gone, leading to a larger dependence on whites and less adequate community services (e.g., schools[51]). Truly the road ahead was mighty long and mighty hard, as the words of a modern black Nova Scotian musical drama say.[52] But one important necessary step was taken - challenging and relegating to the ashes of history slavery and slave-like indenture in Nova Scotia. Conditions were propitious. There never was any statute recognizing slavery specifically in Nova Scotia[53] and economic and political factors were not conducive to its maintenance. The challenge of the black "servants" was successful; after 1800 virtually any slave could obtain freedom simply by charging in court that his master had no right to hold him in bondage. Counter-attempts to have slavery recognized by the courts failed, the last attempt coming in 1808. Prejudice and discrimination, "Jim Crow" practices generally, remained extensive - their eradication required a redefinition of what essentially constituted the Nova Scotian "family", something which seems to have taken place only in quite recent times.

The next major stimulus[54] in the development of a free black Nova Scotia community came with a fresh outbreak of Anglo-American hostility in 1812. Once again the British offered freedom and security to every American-owned slave who would join their side. As a consequence over two thousand blacks were settled in Nova Scotia between 1813 and 1816. These refugee blacks generally received a more favourable treatment than did their loyalist predecessors. They were settled in groups, mostly in the vicinity of Halifax[55], by authorities who had done more preparatory planning than was the case in 1783. Nevertheless their land grants were small, the land rocky and barren and, despite their skills[56] and hard work[57], their hardship was so great that for the next thirty years there was a considerable dependence on relief from reluctant authorities. The refugee blacks were free but in penury. Moreover for a variety of reasons[58] blacks were not given title to the lands and this caused further problems; as a petition of blacks circa 1840 noted "at present, holding under Tickets of location, we cannot sell to advantage, we are tied to the land without being able to live upon it, or even vote upon it without being at every Election questioned, browbeaten and sworn."[59] Refugee blacks also discovered what the other black Nova Scotians already knew; namely, that stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination were rampant and testimony to their exclusion from the Nova Scotian mosaic. As early as 1815 the Nova Scotia House of Assembly presented a resolution

to the Governor requesting him "to prevent the further introduction of black settlers into this province" on the grounds that "negroes and mulattoes were improper to be mixed in general society with the white inhabitants";[60] the request was not heeded. In 1834 there was another resolution against further movement of blacks into the province; a bill was introduced but disallowed by the imperial government. Yet since that time there has been no large-scale movement of blacks into the province.[61]

Obviously the sentiments expressed by the white legislators indicate the hostile, negative climate within which the largely resourceless blacks had to function. Fortunately some whites both publicly and privately rose above this definition of the situation and provided crucial assistance to their black neighbours during this period when basic physical survival was problematic for many.[61A] The pervasive orientation towards blacks at this time however was evidenced clearly by the governor of Nova Scotia. Initially the governor possessed the usual stereotypes of blacks ("slaves by habit and education . . .incapable of industry"); after actually visiting the black communities he professed astonishment at their industry especially given the obstacles they faced ("difficulties of nature almost insurmountable and opposed, abused and cheated by the old settlers near whom they had been placed"); yet two years later, groping for a solution to black hardships he returned to the solace of simplification and racism, referring to the blacks as possessing "constitutional laziness."

Nevertheless the processes of community formation and institutional elaboration was carried forward by blacks. Attempts to encourage them to emigrate to the West Indies[62] or to settle individually elsewhere in Nova Scotia were not accepted by blacks.[63] Shortly after 1840 virtually all refugee blacks had obtained title to their lands. Schools and churches had been established and a parallel society took shape. New leaders had emerged, most notably Richard Preston ("Father Preston")[64] who achieved the organization of virtually all Nova Scotian blacks into Baptist congregations and on September 1, 1854 formed them into the African Baptist Association. A free black Nova Scotian community was firmly rooted.

HANGING IN THERE

In the last half of the nineteenth century and the first four decades of the twentieth, the Nova Scotian economy experienced considerable stagnation. The region lost out both in economic and population terms to the burgeoning Canadian center and to the United States. Gradually it became an economic satellite of these "metropoles", losing its capacity to offer its citizens economic opportunity equal to that available elsewhere. It became characterized as a backward society regularly producing a per capita income well below the national average and a significant net out-migration. Such a context was not favourable for the evolution of a people facing as many hurdles as the Nova Scotian blacks did. A classic pattern for minority group economic advancement in the face of prejudice and discrimination has been for members of such groups to enter into types of employment that are newly developing or to take advantage of significant expansion in traditional
sectors. Clearly in the period under consideration[65] such opportunities did not materialize for Nova Scotian blacks. The sluggish, depressed economy meant underemployment and fierce competition from other peoples who controlled the extant job paths.[66] For blacks to move from the reserve labour pool, which had been in large part their fate in

Nova Scotia up to this time, into the secure economic mainstream was virtually impossible.

The period we are considering witnessed of course the emergence of Canada as a modern industrial state. Concomitant with this was the development of the characterization of Canada as a mosaic in contrast to the American melting-pot imagery. In Canada there was periodic celebration of its supposedly being a multiplicity of collectivities or sub-groups each with its own cultural and historical identity, co-existing in an atmosphere of mutual toleration within a liberal democratic form of political economy.[67] The characterization was the product of the pursuit of an identity that was neither British nor American and was based partly on the historic French-English duality and the pattern of migration and settlement by large numbers (in relation to the base Canadian population) of continental Europeans.[68] While the mosaic imagery should not be confused with concrete reality, for clearly the Anglo-Saxon dominated, that does not mean that it was unimportant; it may have had great significance for the constituent peoples in matters such as the flexibility of ethnic social boundaries, positive self-esteem and the achievement of occupational mobility. However it is crucial to appreciate that as the mosaic characterization was being formulated, it was applied almost exclusively to whites. Only in a narrow structural sense of specific non-white racial groups living in identifiable communities and

sharing a distinctive culture or life-style did it appear to apply to them. Even though possessing similar basic legal and political rights, their lack of "legitimacy" in the evolving mosaic model caused them to be highly vulnerable and readily challenged (e.g., immigration policicies kept their numbers small and they were convenient scapegoats in hard times).[69] Obviously a Canadian culture celebrating such exclusivity and purveying racial stereotypes posed severe problems for non-whites' developing a rooted identity and positive self-image. National magazine articles during the period both stressed "the importance of gaining an 'Ultimate Canadian' and divided Canadians into whites and others" disparaging the latter and contending that they could not and/or should not be assimilated.[70] Blacks were especially likely to be excluded; as one student of this period has written, "during Canada's first sixty-year search for itself and in its hope for an 'Ultimate Canadian' the blacks were excluded, rejected and denied."[71]

The national culture reinforced the continuing Nova Scotian pattern of not recognizing blacks as an integral part of the region's mosaic of peoples. The combination of such a cultural system and the economic conditions cited earlier created a kind of institutional racism which framed the context of black-white relations during this period. The institutional racism was not complete; for example blacks

were not prevented from exercising the franchise by any restrictions based on colour[72] nor did all organizations have rules or all services have policies that uniformly differentiated between blacks and whites. But the institutional racism went well beyond the workplace. Public places and social gatherings were often structured in such a fashion; the most blatant example may well have been a St. Croix by-law passed in 1907 excluding blacks from being buried in the local cemetery[73] but there were numerous other social settings such as theatres, where whites excluded or segregated or differentially treated blacks. Residential segregation also was pervasive; blacks were predominantly in rather isolated small rural communities but many lived on the fringe of or in identifiable black districts within towns and cities[74] and discrimination, threats and unfriendliness by whites helped to keep them there.

Throughout the period the Nova Scotian school system was largely segregated. Much of this segregation was of a de facto nature based on residential patterns but much of it was explicit policy formulated by the dominant whites. In the 1870's, for example, the Halifax City Council passed a policy excluding blacks from the Common schools;[75] in the 1880's a segregationist argument won almost a complete victory in the Legislative Assembly, the leading spokesman contending that it was "questionable whether any honourable gentleman would like to have his children occupy a position at a school

desk with coloured children."[76] Thus blacks were largely forced to maintain their own school system while at the same time being possessed of marginal resources and being denied significant economic opportunities. Separate facilities quite obviously meant poor unequal education despite the efforts of many dedicated persons; in some instances, because of the unavailability of teachers or the fact that the school-house burned down, no formal education was available for long stretches of years.[77] Thus the way the educational system was structured both underlined blacks' exclusion from the mosaic and limited their capacity to overcome societal obstacles by securing special credentials. Writing in 1949 Oliver noted that over the entire period of black settlement in Nova Scotia only three native-born blacks had graduated from university and all three were products of racially mixed settlements; not one person had entered university from a black community.[78] By Oliver's count the black professional class in 1949 when the Nova Scotian blacks totalled about ten thousand was limited to two doctors, two lawyers, six ordained ministers, two nurses and about thirty teachers, and not all of these were native-born.[79]

Such institutional racism was an important background against which individual black-white relations were carried on. The fact that blacks for the most part were in separate communities, churches and schools clearly meant a limited sociality with whites. On the other hand in the work world

blacks were usually dependent upon and subordinate to whites. There were a few black businesses (e.g., mill operators) and many blacks working the land on farms and wood-lots, but the businesses were small and the land insufficient to avoid dependence; moreover there were no black economic co-operatives.[80] For the most part blacks tended to mesh in with the kinds of work prevalent in their specific area of the province (e.g., stevedoring, mining, fishing, wood cutting) albeit often as reserve labour. In Halifax, for example, black stevedores found it virtually impossible to get into the union. Also the occupations that tended to be defined as black specialties, such as, cooperage, porterage and domestic work, involved blacks in sustained contact with whites.

Not much data unfortunately are available concerning the quality of daily black-white relations during the 1855 - 1945 period. Physical violence appears to have been uncommon but a few instances are recorded where gangs of whites harassed and assaulted blacks; The instances publicized[81] appear to reflect hoolaganism but those occurring immediately after the first world war suggest the motivation of "keeping blacks in their place."[82] Undoubtedly there was considerable variety in individual race relations but the institutional racism set a tone enabling most whites to feel superior, providing them with an "edge" in racial interaction,

facilitating their taking advantage of blacks and allowing them to think it "natural" that blacks lived under deprived conditions. While the whole range of human motivations may have underlined white attitudes and actions it seems both accurate and economical to emphasize how society, culturally and institutionally, ingrained and fostered racialism, and to relate this in turn back to the ideological and economic considerations cited above. Similarly, the institutional racism caused blacks to feel unwanted, sometimes inferior, and led some to place unwarranted value on the physical traits of whites.[83] Thus racialism was both direct and subtle, and profound in its consequences.

Robin Winks in his comprehensive history of blacks in Canada referred to the period we are considering here as "To The Nadir",[84] a characterization he thought particularly apt in the case of Nova Scotian blacks and one which clearly points up the implications for them of the situational factors we have just outlined. The lack of developmental opportunities caused blacks to migrate in large numbers to the United States.[85] As McKerrow writing in 1895 observed:

> "The United States with her faults which are many has done much for the elevation of the Coloured race. She has given to the race Professors in Colleges, Senators, Engineers, Doctors, Lawyers, Mechanics of every description. Sad and sorry are

> we to say that is more than we can boast of here in Nova Scotia. Our young men as soon as they receive a common school education must flee to the United States [to] seek employment . . . Very few ever receive a trade from the large employers, even in the factories on account of race prejudices which is a terrible barrier and a direct insult to almighty God. And still, some of these judicators of equal rights after a fashion, will call the young men worthless, lazy and good for nothing when every avenue of trade is closed against them." [86]

The heavy migration of blacks to the United States subsequent to the Civil War is evidenced by the fact that between 1870 and 1900 the number of blacks in Nova Scotia declined despite what appears to have been a high reproduction rate in the black community.[87] As McKerrow observed blacks were "always on the move"[88] pursuing whatever opportunities for a better life became available. As was the case among the free black loyalists a century earlier it was the better educated and the actual and potential leaders in the black community who were especially likely to migrate. The consequences of such migration were not dissimilar to those attendant upon the Sierra Leone emigration: many Nova Scotian blacks went on to significant achievement elsewhere;[89] the vitality of the Nova Scotian black community was sapped by

the loss of such migrants; and the black institutional structure (churches, schools, social organizations) faced severe challenge to its very survival during a period when institutional racism remained entrenched and the gap between black and white quality of life in some ways such as educational achievement and housing quality[90] was increasing rather than narrowing. McKerrow, secretary of the African Baptist Association noted for instance that church membership was severely depleted by migration and at one point proposed that the Association be dissolved in favour of amalgamation with the white Maritime Baptist Convention.[91]

This pattern of emigration and its consequences continued throughout the period we are examining here though as the twentieth century wore on Nova Scotian blacks increasingly migrated to Montreal, Toronto and other Canadian cities. Nevertheless by the end of the second world war the black Nova Scotian population had surpassed ten thousand and was virtually double the corresponding figure in 1900.[92] The socio-economic conditions in the black community remained desperate and black culture necessarily was characterized by an ethos of survival. There was not in other words much elaboration of distinctive language,[93] ritual[94] and artistry[95] and many problems existed in generating satisfactory role models and identification for youth.[96] These considerations in conjunction with the fact that blacks accepted the same

general values and "legitimate means" as whites led some scholars to claim, mistakenly that there was no identifiable black Nova Scotian culture.[97]

The small black population, dispersed widely among the rural and rural-urban fringe areas of the province, was virtually fated to a "migrate or accommodate" response in the face of a social system which left them little room for manoeuvre to effect change in the direct and indirect implications of discrimination, prejudice and neglect on the part of the majority whites. Certainly throughout this period blacks protested injustices but overall their protests did not yield success[98] and attempts to develop an effective political lobby were both few and inadequate.[99] There clearly was a problem in generating and sustaining under the circumstances a high level of group solidarity and commitment to collective action.[100] Moreover, as others have pointed out, Nova Scotian blacks could draw little succor from black experience elsewhere since they were isolated from black developments in the United States and the Caribbean;[101] while such isolation should not be exaggerated given the continuing trickle of immigrants from the West Indies,[102] the importation of black American pastors[103] and some ties with black migrants to the United States, it appears quite accurate to say that Nova Scotian blacks were largely on their own.

It is commonly held that during this period the key social unit for Nova Scotian blacks was the local community.[104] The fact that blacks throughout the province were not organized into an effective political lobby nor engaged in much concrete collective action lends some credence to this contention. There is a danger though of seriously underestimating the significance of the African Baptist Association. The Association certainly encountered difficulties - a significant schism,[105] loss of members through migration, lack of financial resources - but it also provided important leadership and performed some critical functions[106] such as representing blacks vis-à-vis the white establishment, providing a vehicle for inter-community black contact, maintaining the black institutional structure and being the repository of black tradition.[107] Then, too, it spawned other secular social organizations (e.g., Masonic lodges, Independent Order of Odd Fellows) oriented to the improvement of black life.[108] More generally church leaders were the community leaders; they typically led the black protests (such as the segregated school issue in Halifax) and their children tended to become the teachers and ministers of the next generation.[109]

Overall then during the Hanging In There period there was considerable stagnation in the provincial economy and in race relations. Culturally and structurally, Nova Scotian society presented few opportunities for blacks to overcome their deprivation or even to avoid the widening gap between themselves and the majority whites on most indicators of socio-economic well-being. Some individual blacks and a few black communities made considerable headway[110] but many blacks - and particularly the better educated and potential leaders - found that they had to leave the closed Nova Scotian society in order to advance their interests. A vicious circle became operative in many of the black communities. Perhaps no such community illustrated the process as well as Africville, a black enclave physically segregated from the rest of Halifax. Founded by blacks who were drawn from more outlying areas of settlement where they could not eke out a satisfactory living, Africville in the nineteenth century was a community of promise. But as the years wore on and its residents were denied the usual urban amenities and as protests and petitions were unsuccessful, the community began to deteriorate; the ambitious, the educated, the skilled workers left the community and it became a magnet for many who might be termed the lumpen-proletariat. The community of promise became known as the "slum by the dump." Yet even then there were many Africville residents who never gave up the struggle and retained a justifiable pride in their

own and their ancestors' hard life struggle.

MAKING CHANGES

The interplay between minority group aspirations and resources on the one hand with what the majority group requires of or will permit the minority determines the main types of interaction that will take place between the two groups. In the Canadian context, one can point to four approaches that occur with some frequency: community segregation and control, individual integration/dispersion, a multicultural or mosaic approach, and an autonomous development option. The distinction among the four approaches revolves essentially around the question of the degree of interaction between the minority and the majority group, the extent to which minority action is individual or collective, and their degree of autonomy. At any one time, one type can be said to characterize the race relations of a period, although of course there will be debates about the appropriate direction to be taken and evidence of other approaches being pursued at the same time.

As illustrated in the historical section of this paper, it seems appropriate to characterize black-white relations in the period until W. W. II as largely following the segregation/control model - relatively isolated communities, denial of resources and support, restricted access to white institutions leading to the development of parallel institutions (church, education), restriction of minority group organization and so on. Black communities adapted to the situation

by collectively struggling to survive and improve their situation, usually under the leadership of the church, and at the individual level often by avoiding or migrating away from a hostile white environment.

Although we do not mean to imply a complete transformation in these patterns with the advent of World War II, nevertheless within four years from the end of World War II there were clear indications of change in Nova Scotian race relations and in the black community. In 1945 the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People was organized. In 1946 the N.S.A.A.C.P. and the Adult Education Division of the Department of Education joined forces to launch new programmes of adult education in black communities.[111] In 1947 the Hantsport legion erected a monument in honour of William Hall, a nineteenth century black Nova Scotian who had won a Victoria Cross and whose achievement until that time was not particularly honoured in Nova Scotia.[112] That same year Carrie Best, a black woman in New Glasgow, began publishing The Clarion, a newspaper devoted to black improvement and civil rights. And in 1947 Viola Desmond challenged in court a New Glasgow theatre's policy which relegated blacks to the balcony. In 1949 W. P. Oliver, leading spokesman of the Nova Scotian black community published his <u>The Advancement Of Negroes in Nova Scotia,</u> providing an overview of the black experience, a comparison of black

development programmes in the United States and an appraisal of strategies for change in Nova Scotia.

Such events, and others, reflect two dynamic processes which were occurring simultaneously in the immediate post-war era, which reinforced one another and which marked a distinct shift away from the segregation/control model of Nova Scotian race relations. On the one hand within the black community itself new stimuli were experienced in terms of leadership, organization and orientation to the broader society. On the other hand important changes were occurring in this broader society which facilitated greater minority group leverage and capacity to effect change. Government at all levels began to expand rapidly and as the governmental presence in diverse spheres of social life increased, enactments were promulgated establishing a more progressive official morality or publicly sanctioned "definition of the situation." The federal government, defining itself as a staunch advocate of United Nations' principles and Commonwealth brotherhood, began for example to dismantle its official racist immigration policy.[113] The Nova Scotia government within a decade passed legislation such as the Fair Employment Practices Act and the Equal Pay Act.[114] Such governmental initiatives while not occasioned directly by the protests and pressures of non-whites and while not specifically intended[115] for their protection, did not exclude them and in fact therefore represented a somewhat muted acknowledgement of their legitimacy in the mosaic.

The closed Nova Scotian society with its stagnant economy and tightly reinforcing cultural and structural aspects began to open up as regards race relations. Some economic improvement occurred and positions more accessible to blacks became available to a degree in the public sector.[116] The mutual reinforcement of the cultural and structural aspects of society became less so. The cultural system, at least that part that represented official morality and governmental sanction, acknowledged the equality of the races. But inequality and black deprivation was characteristic with regards to those aspects designated as the structural system - occupational, educational, housing and sociality attainment and possibilities. As noted earlier, in such a situation there is the possibility at least of the oppressed group effectively pressing the society for change and of individual persons becoming integrated into the mainstream.

Improvements in the conditions of Nova Scotian blacks did ensue. Oliver's 1964 summary of achievements in the black communities shows significant progress if compared with his description of educational and occupational achievement in 1949.[117] The N.S.A.A.C.P. in its 1965 bulletin could point to a variety of achievements since war's end, including ending segregation in theatres, "cleaning up" school textbooks and opening up occupations for blacks (e.g., nursing). Actions by the provincial government such as the Human Rights Act and the school consolidation programme (which took momentum

in the early '50's and by the mid-sixties had virtually eliminated segregated schools) further consolidated these gains, as of course did the federal government's Bill of Rights. Under such circumstances one can understand the remarks attributed to one black leader in the late fifties who felt some gains were being made:

> "Our American brothers cannot understand our attitude. They say we should be more aggressive, assert our rights, demand recognition. They do not appreciate our British way of exerting pressure quietly, of making progress slowly but in such a way as not to arouse antagonism . . . When the hand of brotherhood is stretched out to us we want it to be a friendly hand . . . rather than a reluctant gesture made as a result of pressure or a too harsh insistence on our rights. There will never be a Dresden affair or a Little Rock in Nova Scotia."[118]

Yet for the most part the changes referred to above were, in the short-run at least, changes basically in how the Nova Scotia society officially saw itself as a racially mixed society. It is unclear how much in the way of a profound departure they represented at the level of everyday behaviour and attitudes on the part of the majority of whites. Sociologically it could be expected that, as long as race relations

were being modified along the cultural dimension primarily and as long as change was pursued in a patient fashion with moral exhortation, there would be no increase in white animosity and perhaps even some positive development in inter-racial, inter-personal relations. There is some evidence suggesting that this expectation was borne out. Experiments conducted by the N.S.A.A.C.P. in the Halifax area during the mid-sixties revealed virtually no discrimination operative against blacks seeking rental accommodation;[119] the rate of racial intermarriage began to increase significantly in the sixties.[120] The N.S.A.A.C.P. experiments notwithstanding, however, numerous instances of discrimination in housing and employment continued to occur[121] and surveys carried out in the late fifties and early sixties among blacks revealed persistent problems in these respects.[122] Moreover cultural level changes inevitably put pressure on the structural system. As expectations increase and as pressure mounts to translate official morality type gains into tangible social improvements, competiton among the races for space, jobs and other scarce resources become more real and racial antipathy a more likely product.[123] We will return to this argument in a later section.

As is evident from the examples of change efforts cited above, the main thrust of changes advocated in the 1945 to 1965 period was in the direction of reducing the barriers to

individual integration into the majority society while obtaining recognition for blacks within the Nova Scotian mosaic. In contrast with previous decades, racial issues increased in salience, and there was more black interaction with and challenge to the prevailing racial order as well as more response by the majority group. In other parts of Canada as well as in Nova Scotia, anti-discrimination and human rights activities were the focus of attention, with a view to making it possible for minority group individuals to move away from their traditional communities and became dispersed in the larger society in terms of residence, employment, social interaction and so on.[124]

Judging from the policies of organizations and from individual behaviour, the individual integration approach was supported by significant elements in both the black and white populations,[125] although not without ambiguity. At the level of opinions and attitudes, surveys in this period reveal adherence to white middle class norms on the part of black respondents and suggest that integration continued to be desired.[126] Although it was the dominant element, black support for integration can easily be overstated, however, by neglecting the support that exists for other more community oriented approaches within segments of the black population, particularly those with long roots in the rural communities and/or those heavily involved in the black institutional system.[127]

The integration/disperson approach was, however, the main thrust of government policy up to the mid-1960's and reached its clearest expression in the relocation and dispersal at that time of the residents of Africville. Rather than providing the resources to develop and rebuild the community in its traditional location, the decision of city and provincial social welfare agencies was to relocate families to various locations in the city, largely into public housing projects, and to raze the physical remnants of the community. Both the procedure by which the various steps in the destruction and dispersal of the community were carried out, as well as the objectives of the relocation, clearly embody the main tenets of the individual dispersion approach.[128]

The Africville case also demonstrates its weaknesses, however. In the first place, it represented a sharp break with a historical tradition of group identity and struggle for community survival that has been a major feature of black history in Nova Scotia. Secondly, with community and organizational support denied, individual families were in no position to achieve a just exchange in negotiations with government agencies for the property they were being required to give up, nor were most in a position to improve their relative socio-economic position subsequent to relocation.[129]

In the absence of strong organization, promises made to relocatees for future compensation were not kept and only minimal efforts were made to provide training and employment. The individual integration approach also implies the existence of greater openness on the part of the majority society to the integration of racial minorities and to providing equal opportunity than in fact exists. In the Africville case, some areas of the city made it clear that the relocatees would not be received with open arms should they be moved there.

In a sense, then, the Africville experiment represented a test case of the individual assimilation approach and over the short run, at least, it was found wanting - certainly by the minority group community, although in the early stages it found some supporters there, and perhaps in retrospect by some of those in charge of implementing the policy as well. It would seem rather unlikely that a similar relocation would be implemented a decade later.[130]

In the latter part of the 1960's, a number of events occurred that both increased the pressure for change in race relations and also influenced the direction of change away from the individual integration approach. The immediate pressures came largely from outside the province, but they helped to clarify further the contradictions that had been building since W. W. II between the actual conditions of the

black population in the province and what was becoming to be generally regarded as legitimate and acceptable. The American civil rights movement had reached its peak, and early Canadian fascination with events south of the border were in part replaced with attention to the position of Canadian racial minorities. The media in particular began to publicize instances of racial discrimination and conditions in communities such as Africville.[131] In addition, the urban riots in the U. S. and the Black Panther visit to Nova Scotia[132] raised the threat of potentially unpleasant consequences of lack of action on the part of white Nova Scotians. It was also in this period that the federal government proclaimed its multiculturalism policy and began to provide core funding for minority group organizations, leading to the establishment of the Black United Front in 1969 through a sustaining grant from Canada Health and Welfare. Within the province, it was certainly apparent by the mid-sixties that there had been, overall, no pervasive radical transformation of black socio-economic conditions. Unemployment and underemployment were rampant among Nova Scotia blacks.[133] Housing conditions in general were atrocious. In terms of income and education (attainment and opportunity)[134] blacks as a group were far behind whites.[135] It continued to be almost impossible for blacks to obtain a fair share of the Nova Scotia "pie" - despite two decades of concerted effort to implement the integrative approach and despite advances at the level of official morality as previously described. Racial prejudice and

discrimination in conjunction with class-based opportunity restrictions were proving to be too formidable an obstacle given the kind of orientation and strategy of change characteristic among blacks at this time. According to Winks, this was especially apparent to West Indian and American black immigrants who sometimes regarded their Nova Scotian counterparts as too conservative.[126]

It is not surprising, then, that the pace of action and debate on racial issues accelerated in the late 1960's. Given the nature of the external influences, combined with the perceived inadequacies of the integration approach as it had been applied to the province, it is also not surprising that the terms of the debate changed towards a greater emphasis on the importance of community and racial group ties, the revitalization of black culture and the development of black identity. A further result of the mobilization of this period has been the development of province-wide black organizations, leading to the recognition by other political actors of the emergence of a black interest group of consequence in the province. Membership in the mosaic has been expanded, in other words, to the structural as well as the cultural level. We would not go so far as to suggest however that blacks have equal power with other interest groups nor that the traditional racial hierarchy in the province, as reflected in occupations, education, housing and so on, has been turned around. The changes that have taken place represent a different approach, based on black participation as a collectivity in the provincial mosaic, to a long-standing and very stable pattern of inequalities.

THE PUSH FOR EQUALITY IN THE MOSAIC

In political science and sociology, an analogy is often drawn between the political system and the theatre, both being a presentation involving major and minor actors, front and backstage behaviour, rules governing interaction of the members, drama and symbolic communication. The major actors in the political arena are the organized and powerful interest groups in the society, such as labour, church and business, who participate actively in the decisions of the polity and who divide up the valued resources of the system among themselves. Their membership in the polity is sustained by the possession and demonstration of power resources or currencies, of which the most important are usually numerical support, coercive force and economic influence. There will be stability in the political system so long as the member actors play by the rules of the game, such as sharing the resources or not making decisions that would undermine the position of a member actor .[137] However, conflict, collective violence and demonstrations will arise when some actors attempt to remove one or more actors from membership, as in

the case of the replacement of traditional agricultural elites by industrial actors, or when new actors emerge on the scene and demand entry into the political system, as when an organized working class emerges or a long suppressed racial or ethnic minority is mobilized.[138] Both in the case of expulsion and new demands for entry, one can expect the actors to mobilize themselves under charismatic leaders, to demonstrate their power resources whether in the form of demonstrations or violence, to use militant rhetoric and in general to employ available techniques of symbolic and dramatic communication in order to get their message across to the main actors and to those who are impartial on the sidelines.

This line of interpretation fits well with the events of the 1960's in Nova Scotia, if we take the perspective of blacks emerging as a new organized interest group demanding effective political involvement in the provincial mosaic and other changes necessitating structural type reforms. For reasons discussed earlier, the movement gathered momentum in the period between 1965 and 1970, and has subsequently become routinized with some but no means all of its objectives realized. At its peak, it displayed the major characteristics common to all social movements: the mobilization of membership behind the cause, the recognition by the black community of

more charismatic leadership,[139] heightened sensitivity to black culture and identity, a sharper black-white polarization, militant rhetoric[140] and so on. Perhaps the most significant dramatic/symbolic event of the period was the visit of a small Black Panther group to Nova Scotia in the fall of 1968,[141] which is generally credited with precipitating the formation of the Black United Front (although its organizational antecedents go back as far as 1949) and with having a profound awakening influence on the white community. As one black leader noted: "they did what they came to do - shake up the system."

In seeking the roots of the accelerated movement for change, we have outlined how the culture level changes that have taken place since World War II provided a lever for more practical reforms in race relations and we have referred to the frustrations of blacks at the slow pace of change and the costs of individual integration strategies. We have pointed also to the role of external factors as being influential. As with the Black Panther visit, their influence was particularly important on the provincial majority population, leading to a perhaps reluctant admission on their part that more significant changes in Nova Scotian race relations were needed in the immediate future.[142]

Increased minority group pressure involved at least in part, then, taking advantage of an improved climate for change, rather than being the main determinant of it.[143] It is unlikely that a small racial minority, composing no more than three to four per cent of the provincial population, can successfully press for change without a significant and independent shift on the issues at hand among at least some of the majority group actors. Also, minority group pressure for change is not a new feature unique to the 1960's. As has been suggested previously, there have been consistent attempts by the black communities to survive, organize and improve their relative position over a long period of time. Although increased minority group mobilization has taken place since World War Two and particularly in the 1960's, it seems to have been generated more by external influences acting upon both minority and majority groups than by major transformations within the black population of the kind usually associated with the start of social movements; e.g., abrupt demographic changes or a gradual improvement in the socio-economic position of a group followed by a sudden reversal in status.[144] The black population has not, of course, been static. There has been a slow drift to urban areas, some new West Indian immigration has taken place since World War Two, levels of education have increased and a small urban middle class has emerged but

these have been relatively gradual changes.

Another standard causal argument for which we can find little support is that, over the last few decades, the industrialization of the provincial economy has advanced to the point where the traditional racial order is being undermined and replaced by a new, more rational framework. The latter is said to be characterized by greater geographical and social mobility, the primacy of merit, achievement or productivity considerations, contractual relations and so on. As a result, the pre-existing racial stratification system is broken down and replaced by a more egalitarian one.[145]

It is quite clear, however, from occupational data presented below, that industrialization in Nova Scotia has not upset the racial stratification system. To a degree it has meant a change of locale to urban areas, and a transition for blacks from menial occupations based on a primary resource base to menial jobs in industry, government and services, but the structure of the relationship has remained largely the same.[146]

The movement of the late 1960's has resulted in a shift from an individual to a more collective approach based on racial group organization and active participation in the mosaic. Symbolic of the new state of affairs is representation for blacks on royal commissions, a black radio and television programme, receipt of honourary degrees from universities, and government funding of organizations. More specifically, one of the most important results has been the emergence of province-wide organizations such as the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission and the Black United Front which, together with the N.S.A.A.C.P. serve as the organized expression of a black interest group in the province. In a sense they provide the organizational edge for the black community that is required for the protection and advancement of group interests in post-industrial society, a function that is provided for most members of the white community by organizations such as trade unions, major employers, political parties and so on.[147]

The role of the black organizations in this respect covers four main areas: firstly, the protection of black interests from threats and incursions by other organized collectivities, as in the case of racist attacks or further attempts at destroying, via relocation and other policies, black communities; secondly, the development of black identity and power resources, through programmes of cultural revitalization,[148] the development of subsidiary organizations such as a Black businessmens group,[149] and the elevation

of educational levels;[150] thirdly, participation in the mosaic, as exemplified by the presentation of briefs to parliamentary committees (e.g., on immigration), cultural expositions, and human rights days; and finally the most difficult area, which is to put organized pressure on the majority society to make the changes that are required for equality in the mosaic. This would include the opening up of occupations and work settings that have previously been closed to racial minorities; to change educational institutions so that they are more responsive to minority group needs and perspectives; to upgrade minority group housing and so on. Programmes of Affirmative Action in employment,[151] the investigation of discrimination complaints[152] a class action suit on behalf of a black community against the Halifax County School Board,[153] and measures to change school curricula and derogatory textbooks,[154] all fall in this category.

It is evident, then, that the protest movement of the late 1960's yielded some changes in the character of race relations in the province. It produced a reassertion of Black identity, it signalled the emergence of a Black interest group with province-wide organizations as its focus, and it alerted white society to the emergence of a new political actor.

Impressionistic evidence would suggest that other changes have also taken place, for example in the degree of black-white interaction[155] and intermarriage which is said to have increased in recent years. The changes that have been made should not be exaggerated, however, nor should the relative power of the Black organizations vis-a-vis that of other political actors be overestimated. It is safer to say that some of the infrastructure for making changes has been put in place and the other actors have been alerted to the issue. It remains to be seen whether the remaining more difficult changes will be made.

In the area of employment, for example, the following recent statistics provide a clear indication of what remains to be done before blacks in Nova Scotia become an equal and accepted part of the mosaic.[156] Recent surveys of employees in a major university in Nova Scotia and of federal government employees in Halifax-Dartmouth are consistent in finding that Blacks are severely underrepresented in terms of numbers - there should be three times as many as there are in order to be representative of provincial population distributions. Those that are employed in these institutions are concentrated in the most menial categories. In the University, for example, only the building cleaning occupation appears representative. Among federal employees, 159 of the 175 Blacks are found in the lowest two of six occupational categories; e.g., administrative support and operational staff.[157] The same patterns are said to exist among provincial

government employees in the province, although the detailed figures have not yet been released. Comparative data for black and white heads of household collected of Yarmouth County in 1968 reveals substantial underrepresentation of blacks in professional, technical, managerial, clerical, sales, farming, fishing and forestry occupations. They are strongly overrepresented, however, in service occupations, in construction (which is often part-time and seasonal in rural Nova Scotia) and in miscellaneous trades.[158] Studies conducted under the provincial Human Rights Commission in other parts of the province[159] also reveal considerable black underemployment, especially among youth, and a high degree of consensus among blacks that employment conditions are inadequate.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF MEMBERSHIP IN THE MOSAIC

Social movements are difficult to sustain in their most dynamic phase for long periods of time, and since the peak of activity in the late 1960's both majority and minority groups have changed. The majority society seems to have moved on to other issues - the role of women, for example, and preoccupation with inflation and unemployment in a recessive economy - and one has the impression that many people feel enough has been done for the minorities and that no further special action should be taken.

Among the Black minority, the establishment of provincial organizations necessarily requires attention to internal procedures, the maintenance of the organization, staff recruitment and so on. The more militant rhetoric of the movement has been moderated and the organizations have settled upon the realization of a few priority programmes in place of the more diffuse roles they attempted to play in their formative years. After the ferment of the previous decade there is more predictability in the situation, as mutual expectations have been worked out with the other actors.

With the development of provincial black organizations and a more active role in the provincial society, a new black leadership group has emerged - more secular than religious and with substantial professional/managerial skills. Under its direction, the provincial organizations show evidence of greater unity of purpose and co-operation than existed previously as they pursue the task of bringing about the changes that are required for achieving equality in the mosaic. The more charismatic and often church-based leaders of the previous decade are, for the most part, still active and influential but the leadership group has become more diversified with the addition of new members.[160] Black writers have also emerged in greater numbers to interpret their experience from both literary and social science perspectives.[161] To a degree, then, a differentiation or specialization of functions has taken place, both among the leadership and among the now more numerous organizations

that represent the black community in the province, a differentiation generated by the demands of membership in the provincial mosaic.[162]

The rules of the game for participating in the mosaic call for greater interaction and interdependence with white society, in comparison with the separate and isolated community pattern of prior decades. It means active and continuous negotiations with other political actors, it means the greater penetration of government social service and other agencies into black communities, and it also means the dependence of the provincial organizations on government funding. "Responsible" behaviour is expected of the organizations, which means, among other things, dealing with industry and government on their own terms, in an acceptable manner. These patterns can be contrasted, not necessarily unfavourably, with the period when black communities largely had to look after their own needs and problems either out of preference or because their petitions were ignored by the responsible authorities (e.g., Africville) and when small locally supported organizations centered around the minister and the church were the main sources of community services.[163]

As the full implications of membership in the mosaic are developed, we would expect to find continuing and perhaps increased hostility and conflict between blacks and whites in Nova Scotia. One old white, when asked about the race fights among youth which were occurring in his town over the past few years, remarked: "I can remember years ago when they didn't have these problems; the blacks stayed out of town!"

There have been violent incidents in both rural and urban areas of the province in the last few years[164] and these can be expected to continue as a redefinition of the relative position of blacks is pursued both by individuals and by organizations. If the programmes mentioned earlier are successful in allowing blacks to move out of menial positions or those in which they have been traditionally concentrated (e.g., railroads, certain types of construction and domestic service), there will be more black-white competition for scarce jobs. White resistance against special programmes for blacks is particularly evident, implying that the new rules of the game not only prohibit traditionally negative discrimination against blacks but also discrimination that is designed to be positive or remedial in nature. The Black Education Fund is most often singled out as a target.[165] In a survey of employees of a Halifax university, two-thirds of the respondents were opposed to a preferential hiring programme for administrative staff or faculty positions, even though most realized that the racial minorities are strongly under-represented among the employees of the university. The most popular change strategy was an educational one: to reduce the level of prejudice and discrimination on the part of the white majority and to equip the minority with the skills and credentials that are deemed

necessary to obtain jobs in the university. The general sentiment was that some injustices have occurred in the past, these are no longer important, advances are being made, and the time for special effort has passed - all should be treated equally from now on. In this context, reference was frequently made to the large number of disadvantaged whites in the province and to the preference of the respondents for programmes that would come to grips with the problem of low income generally, without respect to racial origin.[166]

Opponents of this income or class-based definition of the situation argue that treating everyone equally after centuries of exploitation and domination is like asking those who have been systematically starved to compete in a race on equal terms with those who have been well fed and well trained; it will not lead to the elimination of racially defined stratification systems. A programme directed at the low income population generally will end up like other such general application programmes in the past, of disproportionate benefit to the majority group to the extent that it is implemented, and too large and too threatening an issue to be undertaken seriously. It is argued that racism is a continuing force in the province, almost all blacks are found in menial or stereotyped occupations, the black middle class is very small, and that black organizations and identity are important and valuable components for survival and advancement at the present time no less so than historically.

From the discussion of the implications of participation in the mosaic, it is evident that there are some costs and constraints involved with this approach as well, and in the changing climate of the 1970's success in making substantial headway in areas such as employment or education is by no means inevitable. It is difficult to predict the direction that race relations will follow if the mosaic approach is rejected. One possibility is that blacks will try to move in the direction of what we have called the autonomous development option; i.e., towards indigenous control over community institutions such as schools and economic enterprises, and away from participation in and dependence upon the mosaic. Although there is recurring evidence of aspirations in this direction among segments of the black population in Nova Scotia, it has not been the dominant tendency so far. At least, in contrast to rural Acadian and Indian patterns, one does not get the same impression of support for a degree of voluntary withdrawal from the majority society, combined with the development of community based alternatives reflective of different cultural priorities. This may reflect a realistic adjustment to external constraints, for considerations of lack of resources to generate a programme of autonomous development loom large in the case of the rural black communities. Small in size, dispersed geographically and with the obvious resource bases for economic development (land, forest and sea) monopolized by whites, the

communities need substantial outside assistance in order to become more self-reliant economically.[167] The majority society would also need to be convinced, it appears, for survey data show little support for the autonomous development option[168] and current government programmes are also not supportive of this policy direction.

Both the mosaic and autonomous development approaches are based on a significant degree of identification with and organization around the racial group by minority group members, rather than around other criteria such as class, work setting or place of residence. From a simply instrumental perspective, such affiliation can be seen as advantageous at the present time in prying benefits from the majority society, but this narrow interpretation would neglect the intrinsic value that affiliation with the racial or ethnic group can have - a value that has been lost by many members of the majority group in modern mass society. For blacks it involves a sense of identity rooted in history and the opportunity to share in the expression and development of black culture - poetry, music, literature, life-style, interaction patterns and so on. The last decade in particular has seen vigorous growth in black cultural expression and in the identification of blacks with their racial group, trends which presumably need to continue if the mosaic approach is to be successful. It is difficult, however, for a small dispersed minority to retain and develop its cultural identity, the more so if some success is achieved in breaking down or surmounting barriers to socio-economic mobility.

In this paper, we have outlined the establishment of race relations patterns in Nova Scotia and the characteristics, constraints and possibilities for change in several phases up to the present. Particularly since the end of the Second World War, the nature of the debate, the actors and the rules of the game have changed but basic patterns of inequality in the socio-economic realm persist. Although Nova Scotia has declared the decade between 1973 - 1983 as "A Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination" and its government is committed to "a cultural mosaic that doesn't leave anyone out" [169] it still looks like a long hard road before equality in the mosaic is achieved.

FOOTNOTES

1. Donald H. Clairmont and Dennis William Magill, Africville: The Life and Death of a Canadian Black Community; Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974, p. 147.

2. For a discussion of charter groups in the Canadian mosaic see John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.

3. Donald H. Clairmont and Fred C. Wien, "Race Relations in Canada," Sociological Focus, Vol. 9, No. 2, April 1976.

4. For detailed references see Donald H. Clairmont and Dennis W. Magill, Nova Scotia Blacks: An Historical and Structural Overview, Halifax: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1970.

5. Robin W. Winks, The Blacks In Canada, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971.

6. Norman Whitten Jr., "Adaptation and Adaptability as Processes of Microevolutionary Change in New World Negro Communities," a paper presented at the Annual Meeting, 1967, American Anthropological Association.

7. Frances Henry, Forgotten Canadians: The Blacks of Nova Scotia, Toronto: Longman Canada, 1973.

8. Harold H. Potter, "Negroes In Canada," Race, No. 1, November 1961.

9. Robin W. Winks, "The Canadian Negro," Journal of Negro History, 53, No. 4 (October) 1968.

10. C. A. Thompson, "The Ultimate Canadians and the Blacks: 1860 - 1920" paper presented to the Canadian Association of African Studies Conference, Halifax, Nova Scotia, February 27 - March 2, 1974.

11. Frances Henry, Forgotten Canadians . . ., op. cit.

12. Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission, Textbook Analysis, Nova Scotia, Halifax: 1974.

13. ibid.

14. C. A. Thompson, "The Ultimate Canadians . . .," op. cit.

15. For a general causal model of black marginality see Donald H. Clairmont and Dennis W. Magill, Nova Scotia Blacks . . ., op. cit., pp. 96 - 98.

16. Obviously we cannot go into much detail in this article. The reader is referred especially to Robin W. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, op. cit., W. A. Spray, The Blacks In New Brunswick, Fredericton: St. Thomas University, 1972 and J. W. Walker, "The Establishment of a Free Black Community In Nova Scotia" in R. Rotberg and M. Kilson (eds.) African Diaspora: Interpretive Essays, Boston: Harvard University Press, 1974.

17. Robin W. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, op. cit., pg. 26.

18. W. A. Spray, The Blacks In New Brunswick, op. cit., pp. 12 - 15.

19. Donald H. Clairmont and Dennis W. Magill, Nova Scotia Blacks . . ., op. cit., p. 6.

20. It has been noted that by the agreement signed in 1760 when New France surrendered it was stated that Indians and Blacks who were slaves under the French would continue to be slaves under the British; see W. A. Spray, The Blacks In New Brunswick, op. cit., p. 12.

21. T. Watson Smith, "The Slave in Canada," Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. X (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Nova Scotia Printing Company, 1899). It is important to appreciate in this regard the words of one contemporary black leader, "to hold any human being in servitude no matter how kind the owner is or was, is a gross denial of all that is Godly and decent. Slavery and discrimination have no varying degree of severity."

22. Donald Hayden Clairmont and Dennis William Magill, Africville . . ., op. cit., p. 44.

23. T. Watson Smith, "The Slave in Canada," op. cit., p. 9.

24. ibid. pp. 40 - 45.

25. ibid. pp. 70 - 80.

26. Beckles Willson, Nova Scotia: A Province That Has Been Passed By, London: Constable & Co., 1911.

27. T. Watson Smith ("The Slave in Canada" op. cit., p. 32) cites an incomplete survey which counted 1232 servants. Another list (W. A. Spray, Blacks In New Brunswick, op. cit., p. 16) referred to 1578 servants. In both cases it is unclear whether all servants listed were black. It may also be noted that some servants undoubtedly were indentured, that is, bound to serve for a specific period of time. Unfortunately we do not know how many blacks had this status nor how significant in practice the differences were between indentured and non-indentured servants.

28. As one writer put it "to keep slaves was looked upon as a distinct mark of respectability"; see C. W. Vernon, Acadiensis (N. D.), p. 254.

29. T. Watson Smith, "The Slave in Canada" op. cit., p. 24. Smith also observes that the terms "slave" and "property of" appeared almost as frequently as the word "servant."

30. See W. R. R. Riddell, "Slavery in the Maritime Provinces," Journal of Negro History III, 1920, pp. 261 - 377.

31. Since the British did not interfere with the slave holding white loyalists and since slavery remained institutionalized in the British West Indies and elsewhere, the British motives can readily be seen to be military and economic rather than humanitarian. See J. W. Walker, "The Establishment of a Free Black Community In Nova Scotia," op. cit.

32. C. B. Fergusson, A Documentary Study Of The Establishment Of The Negroes In Nova Scotia, Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1948.

33. J. W. Walker (op. cit., p. 6) points out that this was the general procedure adopted by the British for administering Loyalist grants.

34. Ida Greaves, The Negro in Canada No. 16, McGill University Economic Studies in the National Problems of Canada, Montreal, 1930.

35. Anthony Kirk-Greene, "David George: The Nova Scotian Experience," Sierra Leone Studies, No. 14, December 1960, pp. 93 - 120.

36. Phyllis R. Blakeley, "Boston King: A Negro Loyalist in Nova Scotia, " The Dalhousie Review, XLVIII, 1968 - 69.

37. Anthony Kirk-Greene, "David George . . ." op. cit. Peters had been a sergeant in the famous all black corps, the Black Pioneers.

38. Thomas C. Haliburton, An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia, Vol. II, (Halifax: Joseph Howe, 1829).

39. C. B. Fergusson, A Documentary Study . . ., op. cit.

40. W. A. Spray, The Blacks in New Brunswick, op. cit., p. 17.

41. For a discussion of the Bray society see J. W. Walker, op. cit.

42. It is evident that blacks did constitute a reserve labour pool and received poorer wages than whites. The Shelburne riot was occasioned by disbanded white soldiers complaining that blacks were depriving them of work; see Anthony Kirk-Greene, op. cit.

43. For example see Rawlyk's comment "it was virtually impossible for any man to eke out an existence on from ten to forty acres of perhaps the worst land in Nova Scotia" in Donald H. Clairmont, A Socio-Economic Study and Recommendations: Sunnyville, Lincolnville and Upper Big Tracadie, Guysborough County, Halifax: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1965.

44. There were several instances of lands being taken away; see, for instance, Ida Greaves, op. cit., p. 22.

45. W. A. Spray, op. cit., pp. 18 - 19. Some blacks who had escaped slavery and fought with the British during the American revolution found it necessary to indenture themselves to white loyalists migrating to Nova Scotia in order to obtain sustenance and avoid reinstatement by their American masters. They occasionally found that their new masters had no intention of honouring obligations and perhaps even later sold their indentured slaves or servants.

46. Thomas Peters had been deputized by his fellow blacks to go to London to present black grievances and became involved with this proposal for migration.

47. Anthony Kirk-Greene, op. cit., p. 108. Clarkson's experiences in Nova Scotia attest to the cruelty of the "servant" system and the terrible manipulation of blacks by some whites; see T. Watson Smith, op. cit., pp. 78 - 82.

48. See Abner Cohen, Two Dimensional Man, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974.

49. J. W. Walker, "The Establishment . . .", op. cit., p. 17.

50. Robert W. July, The Origins of Modern African Thought, London: Faber and Faber, 1968, p. 56.

51. J. W. Walker, op. cit.

52. Cornwallis St. Baptist Church Annual Report, Halifax: 1973.

53. J. F. Krauter, Civil Liberties and the Canadian Minorities, Ph. D., Urbana: University of Illinois, 1968, pp. 88. Slavery was not formally abolished throughout the British Empire until 1833.

54. Between the departure of the Loyalists to Sierra Leone and the arrival of the refugees in Nova Scotia, an interesting and colourful group of blacks settled temporarily in Nova Scotia. In 1796 some 550 Maroons deported from Jamaica were settled on the lands vacated by the black Loyalists at Preston. In 1800 virtually all the Maroons were shipped off to Sierra Leone and there, ironically enough, they helped to suppress a rebellion by the former black Loyalists. See Haliburton, op. cit., pp. 282 - 92 and also, Robert C. Dallas, The History of the Maroons (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1968), First Edition, 1803.

55. See for details, C. B. Fergusson, A Documentary Study, op. cit.

56. There is some controversy concerning the skills possessed by the refugees. See John de Roches, "Slave Experience and Free Action," paper presented to the Association of Sociologists and Anthropologists, Halifax: March, 1973.

57. See the testimony of the Earl of Dalhousie, P.A.N.S., Vol. 112, pp. 32 - 35.

58. See Donald H. Clairmont and Dennis W. Magill, Nova Scotia Blacks . . ., op. cit., pp. 28 - 30.

59. P.A.N.S. Box: Crown Lands - Peninsula of Halifax, 1840 - 45.

60. P.A.N.S., Vol. 305, Document 3.

61. There was over time a trickle of "individual" migration from the West Indies and an importation of a score of blacks from Alabama to work in Cape Breton coal and steel circa 1900.

61A. C. B. Fergusson, op. cit., pp. 60 - 67.

62. Some blacks (circa 100 persons) did go to Trinidad. It must be remembered that slavery still existed in the West Indies.

63. For the significance of this see J. W. Walker, op. cit.

64. For a discussion of the "black father" tradition see Frank S. Boyd Jr. (ed.), McKerrow, A Brief History of the Coloured Baptists of Nova Scotia, 1783 - 1895, Halifax: Nova Scotia Department of Education, 1976.

65. A few occupational specializations such as cooperage, porterage, stone-masonry did become identified with blacks.

66. One example of this restriction was work on the docks where blacks provided a surplus labour supply but were not accepted into the union.

67. Donald H. Clairmont and Fred C. Wien, "Race Relations in Canada," op. cit.

68. ibid., p. 9.

69. ibid., p. 20.

70. C. A. Thompson, "The Ultimate Canadians . . .", op. cit., p. 4.

71. ibid., p. 14.

72. C. B. Fergusson, op. cit., p. 66.

73. In 1968 a child was refused burrial at St. Croix because of this by-law.

74. See for example, W. P. Oliver, A Brief Summary of Nova Scotia Negro Communities, Halifax: Nova Scotia Department of Education, 1964.

75. For references see Robin W. Winks, "Negro School Segregation in Ontario and Nova Scotia," The Canadian Historical Review, Vol. L, No. 2, June 1969.

76. *ibid.*

77. See Donald H. Clairmont, *A Socio-Economic Study . . ., op. cit.*, Chapter 1.

78. W. P. Oliver, "The Negro in Nova Scotia," *Journal of Education*, Halifax: Nova Scotia Department of Education, 1949.

79. *ibid.*

80. *ibid.*

81. Robin W. Winks, *The Blacks In Canada*, *op. cit.*, and C. A. Thompson, *op. cit.*

82. *ibid.*

83. Donald H. Clairmont and Dennis W. Magill, *Nova Scotia Blacks . . .*, *op. cit.*

84. Robin W. Winks, *The Blacks In Canada*, *op. cit.*

85. During this period there was considerable similar migration among whites throughout the Maritimes.

86. Frank S. Boyd Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 101.

87. Census figures show that in 1871 there were 6212 blacks in Nova Scotia and in 1901 there were only 6000.

88. P. E. MacKerrow, *A Brief History of the Coloured Baptists of Nova Scotia 1832 - 1895*, Halifax: 1899, p. 63.

89. See W. P. Oliver, "The Cultural Progress of the Negro in Nova Scotia," *The Dalhousie Review*, XXIX, 1949 and P. E. MacKerrow, *op. cit.*

90. In many ways blacks were caught up in a vicious circle; see Frances Henry, *op. cit.*

91. The proposal was defeated.

92. The census figure for Nova Scotian blacks in 1961 was 11,000 and it was an obvious underestimate.

93. Donald H. Clairmont and Dennis W. Magill, *Nova Scotia Blacks*, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

94. P. E. MacKerrow, op. cit., p. 37 and p. 53; also Frances Henry, op. cit.

95. Arthur K. Fauset, Folklore from Nova Scotia, New York: American Folklore Society, 1931.

96. See Gus Wedderburn, From Slavery to Ghetto, Halifax: 1968 and, also, Time Magazine, April 6, 1970.

97. See Frances Henry, op. cit., for a discussion of sub-culture.

98. This is readily apparent in the struggles of Africville residents to obtain city services during the first half of the twentieth century. See Donald H. Clairmont and Dennis W. Magill, Afircville . . ., op. cit., Chapter 3.

99. One example of an effort to mobilize into a political force during this period was the formation of the Anglo-African Mutual Improvement and Aid Association of Nova Scotia.

100. Robin W. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, op. cit.

101. Frances Henry, op. cit.; and Norman Whitten Jr., op. cit.

102. Donald H. Clairmont and Dennis W. Magill, Africville . . ., op. cit., Chapter 2.

103. See P. E. MacKerrow, op. cit., p. 36ff.

104. Robin W. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, op. cit.

105. See Frank S. Boyd Jr., op. cit.

106. Pearleen Oliver, A Brief History of the Coloured Baptists of Nova Scotia, 1782 - 1953, Halifax: 1953.

107. See Frank S. Boyd Jr., op. cit.

108. W. P. Oliver, Negroes in Nova Scotia, op. cit.

109. ibid. p. 9. "Eighty per cent of the teachers who have taken advantage of Normal School training were children of ministers of the African Baptist churches.

110. See, for example, Ida Greaves, op. cit.

111. G. V. Shand, "Adult Education Among The Negroes of Nova Scotia," Journal of Education (Nova Scotia), 1961.

112. C. B. Fergusson, "William Hall, V. C.," Journal of Education (Nova Scotia), Vol. 17, 1967.

113. See Donald H. Clairmont and Fred C. Wien, "Race Relations in Canada," Sociological Focus, Vol. 9, No. 2, April 1976.

114. The Fair Employment Practices Act was passed in 1955 and the Equal Pay Act in 1956.

115. See Harold H. Potter, "Negroes In Canada," op. cit., p. 53. It is unclear what role Nova Scotian blacks had in effecting this legislation.

116. As indicated below Nova Scotian blacks are under-represented in the public sector and especially so at the higher occupational levels. Nevertheless public sector employment seems to have offered blacks more opportunities than the non-professional private sector.

117. W. P. Oliver, "A Brief Summary of Nova Scotia Negro Communities," Halifax: Department of Education, 1964.

118. Quoted in M. Van Steen, "Nova Scotia: Model for Race Relations," Saturday Night, June 6, 1959.

119. In the 1965 N.S.A.A.C.P. experiment, sixteen apartments were visited first by a black couple then by a white couple; without exception the apartment was offered to the first enquirers.

120. Evidence for increasing intermarriage was obtained from informants in the black community.

121. See for instance The Mail-Star, "Women Fined for K.K.K.-Type Threat," Halifax, Nova Scotia, February 20, 1966; Brief presented (in Halifax, November 1969) to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty, by the Black United Front; V. P. King, "Report on Trip to Maritimes," October 1957, Human Rights Division, Canadian Labour Congress, Ottawa.

122. See the source papers for the publication by the Institute of Public Affairs, The Condition of the Negro in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Halifax: Dalhousie University 1962; also Donald H. Clairmont, A Socio-Econmic Study . . ., op. cit., and W. P. Oliver, A Brief Summary . . ., op. cit.

123. In a study of racial antipathy in the Halifax area in 1968, Tarlo found that racial antipathy was most likely to occur among whites when they perceived blacks as competing (actually or potentially) with themselves. See J. Tarlo, "Racial Antipathy in an Urban Environment," unpublished M. A. thesis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1969.

124. Robin W. Winks, The Blacks In Canada, op. cit., pp. 427 - 28.

125. See the references to the Joseph Howe Society and the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee in Donald H. Clairmont and Dennis William Magill, Africville, op. cit.

126. See G. Brand, Interdepartmental Committee on Human Rights: Survey Report, Halifax, Nova Scotia: Social Development Division, Nova Scotia Department of Public Welfare 1963; also Donald H. Clairmont, A Socio-Economic Study . . ., op. cit.

127. For some strategies along this line see W. P. Oliver, The Advancement of Negroes in Nova Scotia, op. cit.

128. Donald H. Clairmont and Dennis William Magill, Africville . . ., op. cit., Chapter 1.

129. A minority of the relocatees, particularly those who were better off economically prior to the relocation and who consequently negotiated more favourable settlements indicated they were ahead in living conditions as a result of the relocation and felt that they belonged in their new neighbourhood.

130. One black leader discussing the implication of the Africville relocation in 1969 remarked: "I feel sorry for the power structure or any white group that would go [into the black communities, attempting to relocate the people] . . . I think you would have a lot of aroused black people, not only [there] but all over Nova Scotia. This [the Africville relocation] could not happen again."

131. See for instance, David Lewis Stein,"The Counter-attack on Diehard Racism," MacLean's Magazine, October 20, 1962; S. Dexter, "The Black Ghetto That Fears Integration," MacLean's Magazine, July 25, 1965; S. Fraser, "The Slow and Welcome Death of Africville," Star Weekly, Toronto, January 1, 1966; R. Daniell, "Nova Scotia Hides a Racial Problem," The New York Times, June 14, 1964, p. 64.

132. For details see Atlantic Advocate, January, 1969.

133. See Poverty in Nova Scotia, Brief prepared by the staff of the Institute of Public Affairs for the Special Senate Committee on Poverty, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1969.

134. The Condition of the Negroes of Halifax City, Nova Scotia, op. cit.; also J. Oliver, "Final Report on the Problem of Unemployment for the Negro," submitted to Negro Employment Interim Committee, Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1969.

135. Poverty in Nova Scotia, op. cit.

136. Winks attributes militancy among Nova Scotian blacks in the past decade partly to such "outsiders"; see Robin W. Winks, "The Canadian Negro; An Historical Appraisal," Journal of Negro History, LIV, No. 1, 1969.

137. See C. W. Anderson, Politics and Economic Change in Latin America, Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand, 1964, Chapter 4.

138. See C. Tilly, "The Changing Place of Collective Violence," in M. Richter (ed.) Social Theory and Social History Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Univ. Press, 1968.

139. See W. Friedland, "For a Sociological Concept of Charisma," Social Forces, October, 1964.

140. For example, see The Black Man in Nova Scotia, Teach-in Report, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, January, 1969.

141. Stokely Carmichael visited Nova Scotia in the fall of 1968 prior to the delegation of the Black Panther Party. The combined visits appeared to be very significant. Carmichael emphasized especially to the back youths, "We're with you; be Black and proud." The Panthers arranged for a closed family meeting of blacks in Halifax which was electrifying in its implications for local black consciousness.

142. The Panther visits and the conference of the Human Rights Day received banner headlines and extensive treatment in the press.

143. There were a few militant demonstrations by blacks in Halifax earlier in the sixties inspired by the Civil Rights Movement in the United States. They were associated with Kwacha House organized in 1966.

144. J. C. Davies, "Toward a Theory of Revolution," American Sociological Review, Vol. 27, # 5, February 1962.

145. H. Blumer, "Industrialization and Race Relations," in G. Hunter (ed.), Industrialization and Race Relations: A Symposium, London Oxford Univ. Press: 1965, Pages 220 - 253.

146. Changes in race relations may accompany industrialization as a result of pressures that are largely external to it such as government legislation, labour union and minority group pressure.

147. See A. Cohen, Two-Dimensional Man . . ., op. cit.

148. See for example, "Black Cultural Conference," The Mail Star, Halifax, Nova Scotia, May 26, 1976.

149. See "Blacks seek better deal through new association," The Mail Star, Halifax, Nova Scotia, August 1975.

150. Largely as a result of efforts of the Human Rights Commission, a black was appointed director of ethnic services for the Department of Education in the mid-seventies. At a May 1976 workshop of the Black Educators Association of Nova Scotia it was noted that Nova Scotia has not yet produced a single black guidance counsellor. See Newsletter, Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission, Halifax, Nova Scotia, July 27, 1976.

151. The Affirmative Action Programmes claims to have placed directly and indirectly about 300 blacks in the past three years.

152. The bulk of complaints handled by the Human Rights Commission have to do with grievances by blacks. See Summary Of Activities, Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1974.

153. See "Preston group calling for public apology," The Mail Star, Halifax, Nova Scotia, September, 1975.

154. See Textbook Analysis . . ., op. cit.

155. American black militants visiting Halifax in the past decade have commented to the authors on the high degree of informal interaction between blacks and whites in the city of Halifax.

156. Census figures are impossible to use since the 1971 census did not provide a separate category for blacks; thus only those who wrote in their racial background on the "other" category were identified. The present black population in Nova Scotia is believed to number at least 20,000 persons.

157. R. H. Dawson, "Black Employment in the Public Service," Halifax, Nova Scotia: Public Service Canada, 1973.

158. Nova Scotia Newstart, A Human Resources Study of Yarmouth County, Nova Scotia, Yarmouth, Nova Scotia (no date).

159. See Focus: Lucasville, Hammonds Plains and Cobequid Road, Halifax, Nova Scotia: Human Rights Commission, 1974 and The Black Scene: Cape Breton, Halifax, Nova Scotia: Human Rights Commission, 1975.

160. One young black activist, frustrated by the continuing influence of the older church leaders, put it this way: "Some of those church deacons are 95 years old and they're still looking cool."

161. Within the past five years poetry, novels and community profiles have been produced by the Nova Scotian blacks.

162. For theoretical elaboration of the relationship between social or solidarity movements and levels of community differentiation, see F. Young and R. C. Young, Comparative Studies Of Community Growth, Rural Sociological Society Monograph, No. 2, West Virginia University, 1973.

163. A recent survey of the black community in New Glasgow asked respondents where they would go for advice on legal and family problems. Various governmental agencies such as Legal Aid and Welfare Department ranked well ahead of the local minister (Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission, Black Community Profile: A Survey of the Black Population of New Glasgow, Nova Scotia, 1973).

164. See for example, "Judge scores racial incident," The Mail Star, Halifax, Nova Scotia, September 2, 1975.

165. The Black Educational Fund was established to help black students remain in school and to encourage excellence. In 1965 it had a budget of $25,000 whereas in 1975 its budget was $170,000. The number of black students in junior and senior high school has increased nearly-fold during that ten-year period.

166. F. C. Wien et al, Opinions From The Centre: The Position of Minorities in a Canadian University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1976.

167. Acadians on the other hand are concentrated in three or four areas of the province and do possess primary resources. The position of the Nova Scotia Indians is also quite different from that of blacks with regards to the possibility of a separate development strategy.

168. See F. C. Wien et al, Opinions From The Centre . . ., op. cit., 1976.

169. Quoted in Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission, Summary of Activities, 1973, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1974.