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Nova Scotian Blacks: An Historical and Structural Overview

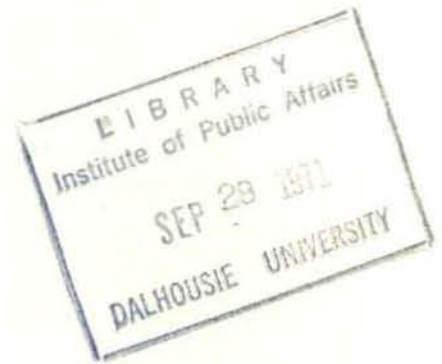
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Nova Scotian Blacks: An Historical and Structural Overview

by
Donald H. Clairmont, Dalhousie University
Dennis W. Magill, University of Toronto



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FOREWORD

Attention and concern about the situation of Black people have mounted in Nova Scotia, as elsewhere, in recent years, both among Blacks themselves and throughout the entire community. There have been some accounts of Black history and socio-economic conditions, but there has not been a statement sufficiently factual and comprehensive to provide an adequate overview of conditions and trends. Facts and valid interpretation are necessary tools for constructive social change. We hope that the present monograph will be useful to Nova Scotian Blacks in their continuing struggle and will provide a stimulus for change in the broader community.

This monograph is the result of a request for information about the oppression of Blacks in Nova Scotia and about prevalent explanations of their conditions. The Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, was requested by the Special Senate Committee on Poverty to prepare a Brief (presented November 1969) on poverty in Nova Scotia; critical concern with subcultural accounts of poverty and marginality among Nova Scotian Blacks was expressed in a paper delivered by Dr. Donald H. Clairmont, Associate Professor and Chairman, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Dalhousie University, at the 1970 annual meeting of the Canadian Association of Anthropologists and Sociologists, held in Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Dr. Clairmont and Dennis Magill, Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Toronto, have co-directed several studies and have now in progress several co-authored works. Dr. Clairmont was responsible for writing the present monograph, and Professor Magill contributed substantially to the collation of materials and the preparation of drafts. John de Roche and Harry Wells, research assistants in a project co-directed by Donald Clairmont and Dennis Magill, have been of considerable help in collecting data and suggesting analyses. Donald F. Maclean, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, has contributed much more than ordinarily an editor would in preparing this monograph for publication.

GUY HENSON

Director
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PART I*

POVERTY AMONG NOVA SCOTIAN BLACKS

*Prepared initially as part of a brief presented (in Halifax, November 1969) to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty, by staff members and associates, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Introduction

An adequate explanation of poverty must be rooted, usually, in an analysis of social structural conditions of the larger society beyond the immediate control of the poor.¹ This applies especially to an analysis of poverty among Nova Scotian Blacks on the threshold of the 1970's, in one of the wealthiest societies that mankind has seen.² Such an analysis presupposes the collation of substantial descriptive material establishing the socio-economic patterns that define and circumscribe poverty relative to a particular level of societal development.³ Historical trends and patterns have to be identified and interpreted, if we are to understand current socio-economic conditions and suggest effective anti-poverty strategies. On both counts, the collating of descriptive materials and the identification and interpretation of historical trends, insufficient work has been done. On less than five fingers, one can count the number of adequate descriptive studies dealing with any part of the Nova Scotian Black population. Only in relatively recent years have scholars interested themselves

¹For an extensive statement of this viewpoint, see Charles A. Valentine, Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter Proposals (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

²Nova Scotia is itself economically disadvantaged, of course, vis-a-vis the broader Canadian society. In 1967, the Nova Scotian per capita personal income was 77 per cent of the national average.

³Poverty has always to be considered within specific socio-economic contexts.

in the historical settlement of Blacks in the Maritime Provinces.¹ It is relatively easy, however, to compile a bibliography of numerous articles and books. Most of these are rather slight and their existence reflects a superficial "on-again, off-again" interest in the plight of the Black man, as well as a dearth of locally nurtured Black intellectuals. (The "plight" and the "dearth" are intimately intertwined, of course, since the Black man has been kept down educationally.)² The tenor of the available literature has a "teeter-totter" rhythm, dealing now with scandalous socio-economic conditions, then with some isolated achievement or concern. This pattern has two important implications: first, very little is actually known about the Black man in Nova Scotia and, secondly, Black people feel that they have been "studied" or researched far too much and with little effective attention being given to their legitimate complaints about oppression and neglect. These implications combine to forestall a solid grounding, in theory and fact, of anti-poverty strategies.

The following analysis is limited by a lack of

¹There are a number of important exceptions, most significantly the work of C. B. Fergusson, A Documentary Study of the Establishment of the Negroes in Nova Scotia, Bulletin No. 8 (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1948).

²The educational deprivation of Black people in Nova Scotia will be documented at several points throughout this paper.

available basic information; however, the general picture, past and present, is clear enough: Black people in Nova Scotia are poorer than the average White Nova Scotian and, over the past hundred years, the White Nova Scotian has been poorer than the average Canadian.¹ Accordingly, it is appropriate in this brief to give particular attention to the Blacks, for throughout their settlement in Nova Scotia they have had to carry a special burden, the burden of the White man's prejudice, discrimination, and oppression; indeed, their poverty is rooted in the structural and historical conditions of Nova Scotian society. Structural conditions existed in Nova Scotia which forced Blacks, from their first settlement, to the bottom level of the social hierarchy.

History of Nova Scotian Blacks: Conditions for the Generation and Perpetuation of Marginality

It is impossible to understand the contemporary socio-economic condition of Black Nova Scotians without realizing that Nova Scotia was at one time a "slave society" and without

¹The socio-economic status of Black people throughout Canada requires complex interpretation. It appears that Blacks are fairly well represented (in comparison with some other ethnic groups) in the professional occupational category. This reflects, not a good opportunity-structure for Blacks in Canada but, rather, an aspect of Canada's immigration policy. West Indian Blacks and American-born Blacks, recruited as professional workers, account for these statistics. Canada has not opened wide its doors much to foreign-born poor Blacks, nor have the native-born Blacks been afforded an equal opportunity with White Canadians.

appreciating the conditions of immigration and settlement of free Blacks in Nova Scotia. One must appreciate, also, the educational deprivation which, until recently, has characterized Black communities. These factors and their socio-psychological implications have combined to keep the Blacks in poverty, and to make it exceptionally difficult for them to acquire an equitable share of society's wealth.

The lack of agricultural potential in the uneven and rocky terrain of Nova Scotia prevented slavery from developing on a plantation scale. As early as 1750, however, a year after the founding of Halifax, slavery was practised in Halifax and, over the next five decades, it was not a rarity in other parts of the province.¹ James Walker estimates that there were about 500 slaves in Nova Scotia at the outbreak of the American Revolution. Slaveholding Loyalist immigrants increased that number by approximately 1,000.² Many observers have pointed out that there can be no slavery without a slave society; i.e., a society in which values are such that slavery is at least tolerated. Although popular opinion and the benevolence of the

¹T. Watson Smith, "The Slave in Canada", Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. X. (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Nova Scotia Printing Company, 1899).

²Interview (August 2, 1969) with James W. Walker, a doctoral candidate, at Dalhousie University, specializing in Black history. Smith, op. cit., p. 32, cites a survey made of the Loyalists, in 1783-84, which counted 1,232 "servants", and was not a complete count.

courts were directly responsible for the weeding out of this practice at a relatively early date in Nova Scotia (after 1800, it became rapidly more and more difficult to retain slaves), the system survived for over half a century. The major undermining factor was not so much a public outcry against slavery; rather, it was the obsolescence of slave labour following the arrival of many hundreds of free Loyalist Blacks and Whites, whose services could be had for little more than it had cost earlier to house and feed slaves.

The groundwork for the subordination of the Blacks as a people in Nova Scotia was laid by the early existence of a slave society. Insidious socio-psychological concomitants of this institutionalized oppression included attitudes of White superiority, which remain deeply rooted,¹ and a form of self-hatred and race-hatred among the Blacks themselves. The latter has been evidenced in, for instance, patterns of hair-straightening and colour distinctions within the Black

¹See, for instance, Jenne M. Tarlo, "Racial Antipathy in an Urban Environment", unpublished M. A. thesis, 1969 (Department of Sociology, Dalhousie University). Regional differences in prejudice (showing the Atlantic Region to be the most prejudiced) are reported in Harold Potter, "Negroes in Canada", *Race*, Vol. 3, November 1961, pp. 42-44. See, also, the 'White superiority' remarks in the works of early historians such as Beckles Willson, Nova Scotia: A Province That Has Been Passed By (London: Constable & Co., 1911); and Mrs. William Lawson, History of the Townships of Dartmouth, Preston, and Lawrencetown, Halifax County, Nova Scotia (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Morton and Company, 1893). Willson declares, for instance, of the Afro-Haligonians of his day, that: "On the whole they form a dirty, good-humored, retrograde feature of the population."

community.¹ There are clear indications of change in the attitudes of Blacks in Nova Scotia as witnessed by the recent formation of the Black United Front and the implications of a not uncommon remark made to us by a Black Haligonian: "A few years ago if you called a coloured person 'Black', he would almost kill you. Now they want to be called 'Black'."² Yet one can still find traces of the historical style of the identification with subordination; we found in our study of the Africville relocation that a number of Blacks argued that Africville was not a slum because "Whites lived there too."³

¹See, for example, Donald H. Clairmont, in collaboration with K. Scott Wood, George Rawlyk, and Guy Henson, A Socio-Economic Study and Recommendations: Sunnyville, Lincolnville and Upper Big Tracadie, Guysborough County, Nova Scotia (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1965). It should be noted that in metropolitan Halifax, within the past two years, 'natural' hair-styling and 'Afro' dress have become quite popular in the Black community.

²Donald H. Clairmont and Dennis W. Magill, Africville Relocation Report (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, forthcoming).

³Ibid. It is interesting to note that the Garvey Movement, the between-World-Wars predecessor of both the Black Muslim and the Black Power movements, did not have any impact in the Maritimes. The Garvey Movement was international in scope and had organized chapters in Quebec and Ontario, as well as in the United States and the West Indies. It is probable that two factors account for the absence of chapters in the Maritimes; namely, that Blacks lived for the most part in small isolated rural settlements and that there was a dearth of educated Black leaders. See Harold Potter and Daniel Hill, Negro Settlement in Canada, a survey presented to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Ottawa, 1966.

Loyalist Blacks

The first major migration of Blacks into Nova Scotia took place during and immediately after the American Revolution.¹ About ten per cent of the Loyalists who fled north were Black.² Of these, a large minority remained as slaves of their White Loyalist masters. It has been estimated that some 3,000 Blacks were "free", most of them being freed explicitly by the British as an inducement to leave their revolutionary masters. Many of these former slaves "had escaped during the War of Independence, joined the British forces fighting in America and served out the period of the war as soldiers and sailors."³ 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. Free Blacks were promised equal treatment with their White peers, but the hundred-acre land grants which this promise should have yielded

¹A smaller migration took place after the Expulsion of the Acadians, when New Englanders and their slaves came to Nova Scotia in the late 1750's.

²Phyllis R. Blakeley, "Boston King: A Negro Loyalist in Nova Scotia," The Dalhousie Review, XLVIII, 1968-69.

³Robert William July, The Origins of Modern African Thought (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), p. 55.

were never received by Black Loyalists.¹ It appears that a majority of Black Loyalists received no land whatever. Those who did obtain land grants found themselves settled on small and usually barren lots on the periphery of White Loyalist townships (for example, Birchtown, the Black community near Shelburne), or in the remoter sections of the province (the Lincolntonville area of Guysborough County is an example of a remote Black settlement which still exists).² Moreover, very few Blacks received the provisions promised to the Loyalists by the British government.³ Loyalist immigrants outnumbered the resident population of Nova Scotia and the problems of settling and supplying so many people were so great that many White settlers, too, experienced wretched deprivation. Predictably, though, deprivation among the Blacks was more intensive

¹The Black Loyalists were often promised both land and farming equipment. See Gordon Haliburton, "The Nova Scotia Settlers of 1792," Sierra Leone Studies, No. 9, December 1957.

²There has been some movement of population in the Lincolntonville area and the name Lincolntonville is of relatively recent vintage. With respect to the Guysborough County settlement, Professor Rawlyk has observed, op. cit., "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." Many contemporary observers (circa 1800) thought that the Guysborough Blacks were among the most well-off Blacks in Nova Scotia.

³Walker, interview cited. We are indebted to Walker, who is preparing currently a publication about Black Loyalists, for many of the historical facts reported here.

and more extensive. The government apparently had hoped that the Loyalists would become self-supporting after three years of aid (provided on a diminishing scale). But fifteen years later there were still petitions and delegations going over to England, requesting governmental assistance. The depressing socio-economic conditions were further accentuated by crop failures. The Blacks' needs were not given any priority and the freedom that these Loyalists obtained was, in some respects, merely a 'theoretical' freedom.¹ A number of Blacks were forced, in order to survive, to sell themselves or their children into slavery or long-term indenture. In contrast with Whites of the same class level, Blacks at the time were disproportionately represented among the sharecropping, domestic service, and indentured occupations.²

In addition to petitioning the Imperial government to fulfill its promises concerning land and provisions, and indenturing themselves to local Whites, the Blacks reacted to their

¹Ibid. Soon despair and disillusionment replaced the initial bright hopes. Clarkson, agent of the Sierra Leone Company, and later governor of the colony, wrote of the Nova Scotian Blacks who emigrated to Sierra Leone: "The Nova Scotians are naturally suspicious and easily alarmed. . . . they have been deceived 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." July, op. cit., p. 56.

²Thomas C. Haliburton, An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia, Vol. II (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Joseph Howe, 1829) p. 280; and C. B. Wadstrom, An Essay on Colonization, Vol. II, pp. 220-24 (London: Darton and Harvey, 1794).

wretched deprivation by migrating from Nova Scotia when the opportunity arose. In 1792, when the agent of the Sierra Leone Company¹ came recruiting among the Blacks of the province, 1,200 accepted his Company's offer and sailed to Africa. It has been contended that many more Blacks would have emigrated had the agent visited every Black community (Blacks in Guysborough County, for instance, do not appear to have been aware of the Company's offer) and if the emigration offer had been adequately communicated.

Refugee Blacks

When the War of 1812 broke out, the British followed the strategy that they had used in the American Revolutionary War and offered freedom to every American-owned slave who would run away from his master and join the British.³ Thus, in 1815, another 2,000 free Blacks arrived in Nova Scotia in anticipation

¹For a discussion of the Sierra Leone Company, which grew out of an experiment of high idealism and great expectations, a sanctuary for freed slaves, see July, op. cit.

²See Fergusson, op. cit., p. 3. Walker, interview cited, points out that the agent of the Sierra Leone Company was authorized to pay the debts of any Black man who wanted to go to Sierra Leone but, because the agent wanted only the 'best' people, he did not disclose this fact until the emigrés were ready to board ship. There is some indication that the British government, which was underwriting the cost of the emigration plan, began to discourage active recruitment once it became aware of the great receptivity of Blacks. There was, also, private interference; people employing Blacks as labourers tried sometimes to prevent their leaving, both by physical means and by spreading false rumours about the plan (e.g., that the Blacks would be sold into slavery).

³See the proclamation by Cochrane, quoted by Fergusson, op. cit., p. 10.

of freedom, land, and wages. These refugees appear to have received a better official reception and more food, clothing, and medicine than had their Loyalist predecessors, although the land received was similarly rocky and barren.¹ Nearly all the refugee Blacks were settled within a short distance of Halifax, principally at Preston (which was depopulated due to the emigration of Black Loyalists to Sierra Leone),² and at Hammonds Plains. They were settled on small lots of rocky soil and scrubby forest, ranging from eight to ten acres in size.

Willson aptly characterized the subsequent situation of the refugee Blacks as privileged "to enjoy the comforts of political freedom and physical starvation under the British flag in Nova Scotia . . ."³ In the first year after settlement, province-wide crop failures made 1816 the 'year without summer.'

¹Pearleen Oliver, A Brief History of the Colored Baptists of Nova Scotia 1782-1953 (In commemoration of the Centennial Celebrations of the African Baptist Association of Nova Scotia Inc.) (Halifax, Nova Scotia: 1953)

²Between 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 the Preston area. In 1796 some 550 Maroons deported from Jamaica were settled on the lands vacated by the Black Loyalists at Preston. The Maroons, with their different customs, were rather well-treated officially, but they did encounter some local prejudice and discrimination. 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. See, also, Robert Charles Dallas, The History of the Maroons (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1968), First Edition, 1803.

³Willson, op. cit., p. 53.

Crops failed repeatedly, woodlots were exhausted quickly, and during most years, wage labour in Halifax was scarce in summer and non-existent in winter. Although the government experimented with phasing out its assistance to the refugees (it had been planned officially to give aid, on a diminishing scale, for a period of three years), it was forced by their starvation to issue numerous welfare grants for well over thirty years.¹ The government's initial hope that the refugee settlers would supply the Halifax market with vegetables appears absurd in retrospect.² Lacking a resource base, it required the most vigorous efforts of the Black settlers merely to survive. To build for the future was impossible, for there was no surplus to accumulate.³

Refugee Blacks had an additional problem concerning their grants of land. Presumably to protect the refugees against unscrupulous White landgrabbers,⁴ the government had given them

¹For documentation of hardships that the Blacks faced, see P.A.N.S., Vol. 422, Documents 42, 43, 44, 49; Vol. 112, pp. 32-35 and 78-79. See, also, Fergusson, op. cit., pp. 40-45.

²See Beamish Murdoch, A History of Nova Scotia, or Acadie, Vol. III (Halifax, Nova Scotia: James Barnes, 1867), p. 380.

³The present authors acknowledge the contribution of John deRoche to this section. Mr. de Roche, who assisted in the study of Africville, dealt specifically with the historical development of the community.

⁴Black Loyalist settlers at Birchtown had had problems of this kind with Whites. See Ida Greaves, The Negro in Canada (Montreal: No. 16, McGill University Economic Studies in the National Problems of Canada, 1930), p. 22.

only 'licences of occupation', rather than full grants. It was promised that full grants would be issued, after three years, to those who had developed their holdings. Most Black settlers fulfilled this stipulation, but for twenty-five years the grants were not forthcoming.¹ The licences allowed all the rights of property save those of sale or conveyance. This delay rendered the Blacks immobile, for they could not move elsewhere without abandoning their investment. This situation contributed to the perception of Blacks as second-class citizens. Both these implications were pointed out to Lieutenant-Governor Falkland in a petition sent to him by the refugee Blacks at Preston:

" . . . 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."²

It is interesting to note the response of government officials to the plight of the refugees. As early as March 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"; among the grounds on which they justified the resolution was the argument that the "negroes

¹See the testimony of the Earl of Dalhousie (Governor of Nova Scotia, 1816-20) to the Colonial Secretary, P.A.N.S., Vol. 112, pp. 32 ff.

²P.A.N.S., Box: Crown Lands—Peninsula of Halifax, 1840-45, published in Fergusson, op. cit., Appendix XXI.

and mulattoes" were "improper to be mixed in general society with the White inhabitants".¹ The Earl of Dalhousie, upon becoming Governor, initially suggested that a solution to the deprivation of Blacks would be to ship them off to their former owners in the United States (if pardons could be obtained) or, possibly, to Sierra Leone.² Several attempts were made to encourage the refugee Blacks to leave the province, notably for Trinidad. In 1820 the Governor of Trinidad invited Blacks to emigrate there, but only ninety-five persons accepted.³ In this and subsequent cases, the government found among the Blacks, "fears for their civil and religious liberties which it seems impossible to overcome."⁴

As the situation of the refugee Blacks continued to

¹These quotations are from a resolution of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly in 1815, P.A.N.S., Vol. 305, Document 3. The British government did not heed this early request, perhaps because it did not anticipate either the large number of Black refugees migrating to Nova Scotia or the economic depression which occurred in Halifax after the War of 1812.

²See P.A.N.S., Vol. 112, pp. 1-5. Neither of these 'solutions' was seriously attempted.

³Walker, interview cited. Slavery still existed in the West Indies at this time (it was not abolished throughout the British Empire until 1833-34) and, given the discrepancy between their experiences and government pronouncements with respect to their Nova Scotian migration, it seems reasonable that Blacks would be uncertain about their fate in Trinidad.

⁴P.A.N.S., Vol. 422, Document 43, Letter of Desbrisay and Lowe to Sir Rupert George, March 9, 1837.

be grim and as no agreeable migration plan was developed, they (and some Whites acting on their behalf) continued to petition the government for full grants, more land, better land, and welfare assistance. Unfortunately, by 1827 the British government had terminated the system of free-land grants and refused to make an exception for the Black refugees. The local government, concerned about the heavy relief costs created by the Blacks' great poverty, finally convinced a reluctant British government in 1839 to empower it to give Blacks portions of unoccupied Crown lands in the province. The refugees disliked, however, the government's plan of dispersing them by giving land to a few families in each of the several counties in the province. The Blacks preferred to resettle in large community groups.¹ Moreover, the proposal provided for licences of occupation rather than full grants. The plan was never implemented. In 1842 the government issued finally an order of true grants to the refugee Blacks at Preston² and so, while they remained on essentially the same barren land obtained twenty-five years earlier, they could at least know that the land was unquestionably

¹P.A.N.S., Vol. 115, pp. 56-57, August 25, 1837; and Vol. 77, pp. 21-28, January 8, 1839. Local government officials appeared to believe that Blacks, if scattered, might be found useful as 'Labourers'; moreover, it was believed that they might be more industrious if they were settled farther from the town of Halifax.

²Fergusson, op. cit., Appendix XXIV.

theirs.

With the permanent establishment of the refugee Blacks, the basic settlement pattern of Blacks in Nova Scotia was drawn. Aside from the immigration of West Indian Blacks, in groups, around the turn of the twentieth century and during the 1920's, to work in the coal-steel complex of Cape Breton, emigration and immigration was henceforth on an individual or family basis. The establishment of churches and schools in the segregated Black communities laid the basis for possible growth of a genuine Black Nova Scotian subculture. The basis was laid, also, for years of deprivation and hardship, after release from a slave subculture, as the refugee Blacks joined the remnants of the Loyalist Blacks and former slaves in a continuing state of subsistence poverty.¹

Added to the above-noted circumstances of the immigration and settlement of the Blacks in Nova Scotia were prejudice and discrimination which kept the bulk of the Black population at a marginal subsistence level. Periods of economic depression in Nova Scotia, whether after the War of 1812 or in 1929, wreaked

¹See for example the numerous petitions for assistance and the many small grant allocations recorded in the Minutes of His Majesty's Council, Books I to VI, incl., 1820-51, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

particular havoc among these vulnerable Black communities.¹

Captain W. Moorsom, a British traveller, observed in 1830:

"Scarcely does a winter pass without the distressed situation of the negroes coming under the consideration and relief of the Legislature. Their potatoe crop fails; their soil is said to be incapable of supporting them; and disease makes fearful ravages. . . . the negro settlements continue with numbers gradually diminishing, in summer miserable, and in winter starving. Their origin, their story and their condition, thus contribute to shed an almost romantic halo around them; and the first question put to anyone who has returned from their neighborhood is sure to be - 'How are the poor Blacks?'"²

A present-day traveller (granted understood changes in the connotation of basic poverty; e.g., starvation presumably no longer exists) could make statements similar to Moorsom's, especially with respect to the rural non-farm Black communities.³

¹Pearleen Oliver, op. cit., p. 45. The periods of depression were many. We have referred above to the crisis of 1816. In 1822, the economy was paralyzed by a depression which brought the flow of goods to a standstill. The following decade of economic improvement culminated, in 1833, in a business crash and depression that drove thousands of Nova Scotians to the United States. (See J. S. Martell, "Halifax During and After the War of 1812", The Dalhousie Review, XXIII, 1943-44). Following the First World War, there was no Boom of the Twenties in Nova Scotia, and the Great Depression only worsened a bad situation.

²Captain W. Moorsom, Letters from Nova Scotia (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830).

³See A. Westell's account ("Shocking Poverty in Nova Scotia," Detroit Free Press, June 1969) of a visit by the Minister of National Health and Welfare to one of the Black communities in Nova Scotia, June 1969. See also Edna Staebler "Would You Change the Lives of These People?" Maclean's Magazine, May 12, 1956, p. 30.

Education

During the early years of their settlement in Nova Scotia, Blacks were worse off educationally than other Nova Scotians, but there was not a qualitative difference between Blacks and poor-White communities. People could not afford schools, and those who did try to establish schools were able, usually, to maintain only poorly trained and underpaid teachers. The government provided but partially effective measures to assist communities in this respect, holding back from a system of free public schools until the Tupper educational reforms of 1864 and 1865. Special grants were made frequently upon petition, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.) established numerous schools for both Whites and Blacks.¹

Many "African Schools" were established at an early date, throughout the province, under the auspices of the S.P.G. For instance, it was reported in 1790 that "the Negro school at Tracadie goes on well, the master [Black] teaches 23 black children."² Other schools were operating at Shelburne and Digby.

¹D. C. Harvey, "A Documentary Study of Early Educational Policy," Bulletin No. 1, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1937. Also, see C. B. Fergusson, "The Inauguration of the Free School System in Nova Scotia," Bulletin No. 21, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1964. For petitions by residents of Hammonds Plains and Preston for aid in founding schools, see P.A.N.S., Vol. 422, Documents 22 and 33.

²Proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts for 1790 (London: F. Brooke, 1790), p. 44.

Despite the efforts of the S.P.G. and community members themselves (especially the preachers), schooling was segregated, sporadic and irregular; its substantive content indicated a greater concern with the "souls" of the Blacks than with the provision of skills which might have led to socio-economic betterment.¹ The de facto segregation maintained by this system was obviously, in these early times, a consequence of the prior fact of geographical segregation. Prejudice and discrimination, operating in a complex causal fashion were additional factors that encouraged geographical segregation. Winks presents several examples of discrimination and prejudice in support of his conclusion that, historically, in Nova Scotia (as contrasted with other regions in Canada) attitudes have been consistently more hostile to Negro school children.² In 1822, Robert Willis of the S.P.G. appealed to the Anglican Bishop of Nova Scotia to help support an African school, noting that "Colored children were excluded from other schools because Whites would not allow their children to mix with them."³

¹See Rawlyk, op. cit.

²Robin W. Winks, "Negro School Segregation in Ontario and Nova Scotia", The Canadian Historical Review (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, June 1969) Vol. 50, pp. 164-91.

³Ibid., p. 168. A Halifax African school was in operation from 1822 to 1824, was reopened in 1836 and continued for at least six successful years (Fergusson, op. cit., p. 32, and Appendices XIX and XXII).

The appeal was unsuccessful and the school was abandoned in 1824.

Black schools in the 1830's existed in Halifax, Preston, Hammonds Plains, Digby, and Shelburne, all supported by an English philanthropic society. This support continued into the twentieth century, a fortunate circumstance since the paucity of governmental assistance meant that the schooling of Black children was left, for the most part, to voluntary organizations. Few Blacks were being educated in the common schools.¹

In the nineteenth century, Nova Scotian law empowered the school commissioners of each municipality to establish separate schools if they, rather than solely a body of petitioners, thought the schools were necessary and if the government approved. The law was rarely utilized, of course, since the separateness of Black communities made segregated schools a fait accompli. It did become a major issue in Halifax, where residential segregation was much less categorical. The following quotation from the Debates of the Legislative Assembly, 1881, points to the existence of legally sanctioned discrimination:

"A petition of George Davis and others, was presented by Mr. Harrington, and read, setting forth that they are colored citizens and rate-payers of the City of Halifax, that by a minute of the Council of Public Instruction passed in December, 1876, all colored children were from thenceforth excluded

¹Ibid., p. 169.

from the Common Schools, and separate schools were established for their use, which are of an inferior grade, and in which they do not receive equal advantages with children attending the Common Schools; for which and other reasons, as detailed in the petition, they pray that such minutes of Council be repealed."¹

In 1884, two petitions like the above evoked a round of fierce debate in the Legislative Assembly, which reached the plane of political partisanship. William S. Fielding, who championed the cause of segregation, "recited virtually every argument known to man then and since against mixing the races."² Fielding's argument won the vote (narrowly), but an amendment was passed declaring that

" . . . colored pupils could not be excluded from instruction in the section or ward in which they lived. The government could continue to establish separate schools for both sexes and for colors, although if no Negro school existed admission to the public school was to be guaranteed."³

Through this amendment, segregated schooling was struck a blow only in those areas where Black Schools did not exist or where the number of Black school children was considered insufficient

¹Quoted by Winks, op. cit.

²Ibid. Fielding had help; for instance, a member for Halifax argued it was "questionable whether any honorable gentleman would like to have his children occupy a position at a school desk with colored children."

³Quoted in Ibid.

to justify the expense of having a separate school. The Education Act, revised in 1918, still allowed school inspectors to recommend separate facilities for different races, but emphasized that coloured students could not be excluded from the common schools. Not until 1954 was the reference to race finally deleted from the statute.¹

During the latter half of the nineteenth century and continuing to the post-Second-World-War era, the Black man's educational opportunities remained inadequate and inferior. During those decades, the really qualitative differences developed with respect to education of the Whites and Blacks. Winks points out, "only the most blind of school inspectors could have pretended that separate education was also equal education."² Black teachers in the usually dilapidated, segregated schools remained underpaid and poorly qualified (i.e., in some areas, the permissive licence was the rule, not the exception, until the 1960's).³ Attendance was irregular, and often the schools

¹Ibid., p. 170

²Ibid. p. 176. Winks' remarks point to the racist nature of Nova Scotian society during this era. A racist society may be defined as a society where racial groups are socially differentiated and where members of the different racial groups are considered to possess differential potential with respect to occupying various statuses. For a similar definition of racism, see P.L.van den Berghe, Race and Racism (New York: Wiley & Sons, 1967). It appears that some officials thought that Blacks did not need or could not profit from the same quality of schooling as Whites.

³Clairmont et al., op. cit., Chapter 4.

themselves were open only on an intermittent basis. In the Lincolntonville area of Guysborough County, for instance, the schoolhouse burned down in the last decade of the nineteenth century and was not replaced until about 1930.¹ Needless to say, the quality of education received by Black children was usually poor.²

In recent years, however, there have been substantial improvements, segregated schooling has been eliminated almost entirely, teaching standards have improved, governmental agencies have become more sympathetic, and a new and progressive militancy has developed among Blacks in Nova Scotia. The educational background of most Blacks who are out of school and in the labour market is such, however, that they find themselves deprived of economic opportunities. Discrimination and prejudice add further to their disadvantages.³ Moreover, although the Black

¹Ibid., Chapter 4.

²We are concerned here with a general statement about Black education. There have been Black schools where competent teachers sacrificed much in order to provide quality education.

³See, for example, Jules R. Oliver, "Final Report on the Problem of Unemployment for the Negro", submitted to Negro Employment Interim Committee, Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission, 1969. Prejudice and discrimination appear to be the most operative in unskilled and semiskilled occupations, precisely the area in which Blacks' poor education forces them to seek employment. See the Black United Front's Brief to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty, November 1969.

community recognizes the value and importance of education, the socio-psychological consequences of their historical oppression obstruct current educational progress. These consequences include low levels of aspiration, and having aspirations for the education of their children which are below what the parents consider necessary for 'success' in life.¹ Factors other than disadvantage in access to educational facilities account usually for low educational attainment within a population. Such additional factors are rooted in current poverty. In this instance the vicious circle of poverty and low education can be seen as a function of historical oppression.² Recent developments in educational opportunities for Nova Scotian Blacks may alter the situation. Unless, however, there are dramatic changes in educational policy, as well as broader social change, even the next generation of Nova Scotian Blacks may not obtain the kind of liberation which Winks mentions in the following passage:

". . . the present Negro generation in Nova Scotia

¹In the entire 200 years of Black settlement in Nova Scotia, by 1949 only three native-born Blacks had graduated from college and all three were the products of racially mixed settlements. See W. P. Oliver, "The Negro in Nova Scotia", Journal of Education (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Nova Scotia Department of Education, December 1949).

²The experience of Canadian Blacks is similar to that of American Blacks. Duncan and Blau show that in the United States there has been a definite cycle of poverty among Blacks, whereas the pattern is less clear among Whites. See Peter M. Blau and Otis D. Duncan, The American Occupational Structure (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967).

could not be liberated in any case. The cycle of poverty, ignorance, and unemployment had lasted far too long for anyone but the most idealistic to expect the Nova Scotia Negro to assimilate to Nova Scotian society quickly or easily, or for the Nova Scotian white, however much he might be prepared to concede the Negroes' inherent equality, to think of them as equal in fact as well as in potential. For Negroes were not yet equal in fact and were unlikely to be until the slow curative powers of equal education had made their impact. It was not this generation that had been liberated but the next."¹

Prejudice and Discrimination

We have referred to the fact that early Nova Scotian society was a slave society. The consequence of this fact has been that, on an institutional and behavioural level, prejudice and discrimination have been directed continuously against Blacks. The perpetuation of this pattern, even after the abolition of slavery in the first half of the nineteenth century, provides grounds for the accusation that Nova Scotian society is racist. It is clear that the free Black Loyalists were victims of much prejudice and discrimination. Not only were the official promises reneged upon (as we have shown) but, also, in some instances, Blacks' land was stolen; riots were instigated against them; and, in general, they faced a hostile, White population, dominant in numbers and in power. Black Loyalists given good land in the Birchtown area had to face "greedy white

¹Winks, op. cit., p. 191.

settlers trying to get possession of the Birchtown properties."¹ White Loyalists in the Shelburne area, themselves suffering economic hardships, perceived the Blacks as competitors responsible for their deprivation and proceeded to beat them, tear down their houses, and otherwise intimidate them.² In Guysborough County the Blacks were rebuffed by both the Roman Catholic Acadians and the English-speaking Protestants.³ The parish priest at Tracadie wrote as follows about the presence of Blacks in church:

" . . . There is a sort of antipathy between the whites and the Blacks, and it is one of the greatest obstacles I have to overcome. There is a complaint that these newcomers bring in a bad odour, and that there is no way to put up with them. . . . A sure way to bring about peace would be to construct a gallery where the blacks alone would be admitted."⁴

It cannot be argued that Blacks faced a uniformly hostile White population, or that all institutions were totally racist. Nova Scotian courts were clearly predisposed against slavery, even prior to the law abolishing slavery throughout the British Empire. Walker notes that, after 1800, virtually

¹Potter and Hill, op. cit., p. 30.

²Walker, interview cited; and Pearleen Oliver, op. cit., pp. 20ff.

³Rawlyk, op. cit.

⁴Rev. Angus Anthony Johnston, A History of the Roman Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia (Antigonish, Nova Scotia: Saint Francis Xavier University Press, 1960), Vol. I, p. 336.

any slave could have obtained freedom merely by charging in court that his master had no right to hold him. In every such case that Walker encountered in his study of pre-1845 Black settlement in Nova Scotia, the slave's argument was upheld by the courts.¹ Moreover, in these early years of Black settlement there were several White preachers and religious organizations (such as the S.P.G.) giving assistance to, and cooperating with, Blacks. From letters and diaries written in this period and from petitions presented to government, it can be inferred, also, that many individual Whites were concerned about the injustices faced by Blacks. Then, too, many of the difficulties faced by Blacks were shared by poor Whites as well and can be related, among other things, to the resource potential of Nova Scotian land. With the qualifications noted above, the general picture drawn earlier remains essentially valid. The tendency was to label Blacks as inferior, rather than to sympathize with their plight. In requesting the Imperial Government not to send refugee Blacks to Nova Scotia, the House of Assembly passed a resolution which stated, in part:

"That the very large proportion of Africans already in this Province is productive of many inconveniences and the introduction of a larger body will have an obvious tendency to discourage the coming of useful and decent white labourers and servants. . ."2

¹Walker, interview cited. There never was any statute recognizing slavery in Nova Scotia. See J. F. Krauter, "Civil Liberties and the Canadian Minorities", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois, 1968).

²P.A.N.S., Vol. 305, Document 3. The resolution was later moderated for presentation to the Lieutenant-Governor.

With respect to the 'definition-of-the-situation' of poor socio-economic conditions among the Blacks, the social pressure was such that negative stereotypes were framed in the absence of corroborating evidence, and that dissonance entailed by the confrontation of such stereotypes with concrete observations, was resolved in favour of the negative image. A good example of this pattern of institutionalized racist ideology can be found in the remarks of the Earl of Dalhousie. Upon assuming his post as Governor of Nova Scotia, the Earl had a negative image of most Black settlers:

"Little hope can be entertained of settling these people so as to provide for their families and wants—they must be supported for many years—Slaves by habit and education, no longer working under the dread of the lash, their idea of freedom is idleness and they are therefore quite incapable of industry."¹

After the Earl had visited the Black settlements the following summer, he reported that:

"almost every man had one or more acres cleared and ready for seed and working with an industry that astonished me—against difficulties of nature almost insurmountable and opposed, abused and cheated by the old settlers near whom they had been placed."²

But two years later, when the Earl agreed reluctantly to distribute rations to the Blacks because they were starving, he

¹P.A.N.S., Vol. 112, pp. 1-5.

²Ibid., pp. 32-35.

clearly chose the stereotypical explanation based on a negative image:

"tho' they use their best exertions, and have severly experienced the effect of idleness to prompt them to further industry and frugality—the habits of their life and constitutional laziness will continue and these miserable creatures will for years be a burden upon the Government."¹

We have noted the racist character of traditional educational institutions in Nova Scotia. The poverty of the Blacks and the parsimonious nature of governmental assistance ensured that separate facilities would be inferior facilities. A chief consequence of educational deprivation, given the nature of Nova Scotia's economy, was that Blacks had to compete with the many poor Whites for relatively scarce wage-labour employment. Not only did this competition generate considerable antipathy between these disadvantaged groups but, also, the Blacks found employment almost impossible to obtain. In 1838 the government received a petition from five White neighbours of the Black people at Preston, describing the impossible conditions aggravated by the scarcity of employment in Halifax. The petitioners observed:

". . . persons generally prefer White labouring people to the Blacks, by which these unfortunate people have not an equal chance of obtaining their share of even the little labour that is wanted."²

¹Ibid., pp. 78-79, June 10, 1819.

²P.A.N.S., Vol. 422, Document 49.

Loyalist Blacks found employment primarily in share-cropping, domestic service, and indentured occupations. Such employment did little to counter the prevalent negative characterizations of Blacks. The refugee Blacks found employment so scarce that they could supplement their marginal farming only through governmental assistance. Within the limits imposed by prejudice and discrimination, Black Nova Scotians entered gradually into the occupations characteristic of the respective regions of the province; thus, we find Black fishermen, sailors, farmers and lumbermen.¹ A classic occupational pattern for minority groups is economic advancement, despite negative images, when members of the group are enabled to enter into new forms of employment that are expanding at the time of their settlement or soon thereafter. To some extent this was the experience of Nova Scotian Blacks. Blacks on the fringe of metropolitan Halifax developed skills in cooperage, in order to meet the economic demand peculiar to their region in the latter half of the nineteenth century, for barrels to contain salt, fish, apples, and potatoes.² West Indian Blacks, who enjoyed better socio-economic conditions than the native-born Blacks, came to Nova Scotia to

¹See Rawlyk, op. cit., and, also, W. P. Oliver, "The Cultural Progress of the Negro in Nova Scotia," The Dalhousie Review, XXIX, 1949, pp. 293-300.

²C. R. Brookbank, "Afro-Canadian Communities in Halifax County, Nova Scotia," M. A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1949.

work in the developing coal and steel complex of Cape Breton. When numerous porters were required upon the development of the Canadian National Railways, Blacks flocked to this new form of employment. Nevertheless, given the sluggish Nova Scotian economy, few new industries and disciplines developed which could absorb a large supply of relatively uneducated workers.

The combination of a sluggish economy and prejudice-discrimination meant that, occupationally, most Blacks were unable to rise above their lowly status. They encountered what were, in effect, closed-shop unions, prejudiced workers, and owner-managers reluctant to jeopardize their business or their organizational harmony by hiring Blacks. To some extent, these barriers persist, especially in certain service occupations and in unskilled and semiskilled employment.¹ The employment picture since the Second World War has left Nova Scotian Blacks ambivalent about whether there has been economic progress. On the one hand, better training and the extension of governmental activity have made available improved opportunities for employment; on the other hand, "traditional" sources of employment have diminished. Cooperage has become a lost skill; the coal and steel complex of Cape Breton is struggling to remain viable; and portering is no longer either plentiful or attractive.

Prejudice and discrimination permeated the daily social

¹Jules Oliver, op. cit.

life of traditional Nova Scotian society.¹ The overwhelming majority of Blacks lived in isolated communities or were clustered together in the towns and cities. Segregated housing appeared to be part of the everyday expectations.² Movie houses, cafes and dancehalls were often "out of bounds" for Blacks or were places where reception was uncertain.³ There has been some progress in recent years towards the elimination of prejudice and discrimination in everyday life; in 1965, the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NSAACP) listed the following achievements:

- " - Won the right for Negroes to sit where they choose in theatres.
- Through resolution and press, insurance companies changed their attitude and began to sell Negroes other than industrial insurance policies.
- Did the housing survey and brief that saved the Negro belt of Halifax from bulldozers, until a more intelligent approach was made under Ordinance 50.
- Consulted on all legislative acts such as: Fair Accommodation Act, Fair Employment, and recent

¹Winks observes that White prejudice was especially great during and immediately following the First World War. He relates several examples of prejudice and discrimination in "Negroes in the Maritimes: An Introductory Survey", The Dalhousie Review, XLVIII, 1968-69, pp. 453-71.

²This was the result of both "push" (discrimination and hostility from Whites) and "pull" (availability of friends and relatives' residences) factors.

³See, for example, The Black Man in Nova Scotia, Teach-In Report, Saint Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, January 1969; and V. P. King, "Report on Trip to Maritimes", October 1957, Human Rights Division, Canadian Labour Congress, Ottawa.

Civil Rights Committee.

- Integrated Middle-Sackville schools in 1950. This opened up the whole matter of gerrymandering school districts.
- Opened up nurses' training and placement in hospitals in 1946.
- Fought for and were able to get "Black Sambo" and other materials of derogatory nature out of Canadian School text books."¹

In discussing prejudice and discrimination against Blacks in Nova Scotia, greater attention should be given to the influence of social 'climate' than to individual or psychological factors. Surveying the history of Blacks in Nova Scotia, one can find empirical support for most of the usual psychological theories of prejudice and discrimination. Examples have been presented which could illustrate competition, frustration-aggression or dissonance-reduction theories, and it would be easy to develop an argument for such theories as the 'stranger' theory of prejudice and discrimination (the fact that Blacks were of a different colour from the majority of the population and lived in isolated clusters gave rise to many myths and fears). At the individual level, given existing societal pressure and 'definitions-of-the-situation', the "least effort" principle² seems especially relevant for both the generation of prejudice and the maintenance of prejudice-discrimination. Whatever the

¹Nova Scotia Scene, Vol. 2, December 1965, a mimeographed newsletter of the Nova Scotia Project, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

²See, for example, Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (New York: Anchor, Doubleday, 1958), pp. 169-70.

appropriate linkages between social climate and individual response may be, it is clear that prejudice and discrimination have been key factors in the maintenance of poverty among Blacks. That such prejudice and discrimination continue to exist is attested by bias in the area of employment as well as, in the last few years, by prosecutions for housing discrimination in the Halifax area.¹ Vigorous governmental and educational efforts are necessary if such practices are to be eliminated; equally important, if not more important, is the need for militancy, identity, and organization among the Blacks themselves, since only in this way will they have the means to counter discrimination.

Ecological Variations in Black Marginality

Nova Scotia's Black population is dispersed throughout the province, the single point of concentration being the Halifax-Dartmouth area where, within a radius of twenty miles, reside approximately fifty per cent of the total provincial Black population. Our preliminary observations, supported by the few data available,² indicate that differential patterns of socio-economic well-being (and life-styles generally)

¹See, for example, "Women Fined for KKK-Type Threat", The Mail-Star, Halifax, Nova Scotia, February 20, 1966.

²See, for example, G. Brand, Survey of Negro Population of Halifax County: A Report to the Interdepartmental Committee on Human Rights, Province of Nova Scotia (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Social Development Division, Nova Scotia Department of Public Welfare, 1964).

are not coterminous with the Halifax-Dartmouth area/rest-of-the-province division. Some Black communities within the twenty-mile radius of Halifax are much more similar, socio-economically, to the settlements in rural Guysborough County than they are to the urban neighbourhoods. Also, Blacks in Sydney have a life-style much more like that of Halifax-Dartmouth Blacks than have Blacks elsewhere in Halifax County. A useful typology to delineate patterns of poverty and life-style is the Dominion Bureau of Statistics categorization of urban, urban fringe, rural, and rural fringe. We follow broadly such an ecological categorization by presenting relevant data for rural non-farm Blacks (rural), a Black urban-fringe community, and Halifax City Blacks. We do not possess, nor are there available, adequate data for precise comparisons.

According to official census data, the Black population of Nova Scotia increased from 6,212 in 1871 to 11,900 in 1961, an increase of 91 per cent.¹ Table 1 was calculated to see whether the population increase had been accompanied by a

¹Census data must be interpreted cautiously. For one thing, the figures for total Black population in Nova Scotia have always under-represented the Black population. Most knowledgeable authorities put the 1961 census figures as being about 2,000 under the correct count. Moreover, there are often non-random errors in census data on the Blacks, errors which render comparative analysis difficult; for example, the 1921 census makes no reference to Blacks in Guysborough Town, but all other census counts, before and after that date, indicate the presence of at least 200 Blacks. Moreover, the precise wording of the census' ethnicity has varied over the years. Census Division

Table 1
 PERCENTAGE OF BLACK POPULATION IN HALIFAX-DARTMOUTH,
 CAPE BRETON COUNTY, AND "OTHER NOVA SCOTIA"
 AT TEN-YEAR INTERVALS, 1871-1961^a

	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Halifax-Dartmouth	17%	16%	*	15%	15%	17%	**	13%	*	19%
Cape Breton County	0.8	0.3	*	0.3	5	5	11	10	*	8
"Other Nova Scotia"	82	83	*	84	80	78	80	77	*	73
Base	(6,212)	(7,052)	(*)	(5,984)	(6,541)	(6,175)	(7,524)	(8,817)	(*)	(11,900)

*Census data are not available for 1891 and 1951.

**Census data on the number of Blacks residing in Dartmouth are not available for 1931.

^aDue to rounding, the percentages by year may not total 100%.

Source: D.B.S., Census of Canada

change in residency patterns over a ninety year time span (1871-1961). The table shows the percentage of Black population in each of three geographical areas: Halifax-Dartmouth, Cape Breton County, and "Other" Nova Scotia. This particular classification is not the same as the ideal discussed above, but it represents another and alternative categorization differentiating between the commercial-industrial complexes of Halifax-Dartmouth and Sydney, and the rest of Nova Scotia.¹ The Halifax-Dartmouth percentages were calculated because this area has represented historically the major Nova Scotian business, commercial, and industrial complex.² The other similar area is the

officials acknowledge (private correspondence) that 1951 data on Blacks were particularly subject to under-representation because of the wording of instructions to enumerators. See, also, Daniel G. Hill, Junior, "Negroes in Toronto: A Sociological Study of a Minority Group," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Toronto, 1960, pp. 48-52. Hill discusses additional problems with census data, including the classification of West Indians (recorded as English in the 1951 census) and the children of mixed marriages.

¹For the value of this distinction see, also, Pierre-Yves Pepin, Life and Poverty in the Maritimes (Ottawa: ARDA Project No. 15002, March 1968), p. 6.

²In Halifax and Dartmouth the vast majority of Black residents are concentrated in a small number of city blocks. In Halifax, the concentration is on Maynard and Creighton Streets; in Dartmouth, at the extreme end of Crichton Avenue, between the city incinerator and the causeway. See W.P. Oliver, A Brief Summary of Nova Scotia Negro Communities (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Adult Education Division, Nova Scotia Department of Education, March 1964).

mining-steel complex of Sydney, North Sydney, Sydney Mines, New Waterford, and Glace Bay, concentrated in less than a fifty mile radius.¹ The "Other" Nova Scotia is a residual category; it was used because census data for the ninety-year span do not permit more precise classification. Included in this category are Blacks living in three distinct ecological groupings:

- 1) Urban Fringe Communities These seven Black communities are within a twenty mile radius of the Halifax-Dartmouth urban complex: Beechville, 300; Cherrybrook, 700; Preston North, 1,800; Preston East, 1,200; Cobequid Road, 110; Lucasville Road, 200; and Hammonds Plains, 500. Approximately another 130 Blacks live either in Middle Sackville or along the Old Guysborough Road.
- 2) Concentrated Black Population of Over 50 in White Communities.² Following the typical population concentration of Blacks throughout most of Nova Scotia, the 2,576 Black residents in these 11 communities live in close

¹Census data by ethnic group from 1871 to 1961 are not available for these five communities; thus, the percentages in Table 11 are for Cape Breton County. As few Blacks in Cape Breton County live beyond a fifty mile radius of these communities, the percentages for the County are a close approximation of the Black population in the steel-coal complex.

²Most of the following population figures were obtained from W. P. Oliver, A Brief Summary of Nova Scotia Negro Communities (Halifax, Nova Scotia, Adult Education Division, Nova Scotia Department of Education, March 1964). These figures are in essential agreement with those given by G. Brand, op. cit., the only exception being those for Amherst, where Oliver's count seems excessively high. In this instance, we took Brand's count as being the more accurate.

proximity to one another:

- a) Amherst (Population in 1966: 10,558)

Approximately 300 Blacks are concentrated in the "Sand Hill" section of town.

- b) Antigonish (Population in 1966: 4,856)

The 80 Black residents are settled on the fringe of the town.

- c) Bridgetown (Population in 1966: 1,060)

The majority of the 140 Black residents are located outside the town, on the Inglewood Road. Others are located in the areas known as "the pasture" and "the tracks".

- d) Digby (Population in 1966: 2,305)

The 265 Blacks live in a community known as Acadiaville, off the highway at the entrance to the town of Digby.

- e) Liverpool (Population in 1966: 3,807)

This community has 71 Black residents.

- f) Middleton (Population in 1966: 1,765)

The 90 Black residents are located within the community, on what is called the "bog".

- g) New Glasgow (Population in 1966: 10,489)

The 650 Blacks live in areas known as "the Hill", "the Mountain", and "Parkdale".

- h) Shelburne (Population in 1966: 2,654)

The 166 Blacks are concentrated in the southern end of town, in the Bell's Cove area.

i) Springhill (Population in 1966: 5,380) The 124 Blacks live principally on three streets.

j) Truro (Population in 1966: 13,007) The 500 Black inhabitants are concentrated in what is known as "the Island" and "the Marsh".

k) Yarmouth (Population in 1966: 8,316)
The 190 Blacks are a "fringe" community concentrated mostly on back streets.

3) Rural inhabitants The 1961 census¹ reports that 5,316 or 45 per cent of Nova Scotia's Black residents live in a rural environment. Of these rural Blacks, 8 per cent (382) are farm residents and 92 per cent (4,934) are rural non-farm residents. For the entire province of Nova Scotia, the rural non-farm inhabitants have the lowest total family incomes. For the province, in 1961 the percentage distribution of total incomes for rural non-farm families was: 52 per cent under \$2,999; 31 per cent \$3,000 to \$4,999; and 17

¹Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1961; Vol. I, Part 2 (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1962, Table 36. Some of the Blacks identified as rural by the 1961 census have been included in our categories of 'urban fringe' and 'concentrated populations of more than 50 in White communities'. The number of Blacks living in Nova Scotia, but neither in urban fringe areas, metropolitan areas, nor in the communities listed above, approximates 3,000 (1969).

per cent over \$5,000.¹ Given these findings, it is possible to estimate that in 1961 the 42 per cent of the 11,900 Blacks (reported by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics) who were rural non-farm residents lived in 'poverty pockets' hardly above the subsistence level. This generalization is supported by a case study (reported below) of three Black rural non-farm communities in Guysborough County, where virtually 100 per cent of the families had total annual incomes under \$3,000.

Census publications unfortunately do not supply the data enabling percentage calculations according to the above three groupings. Table 1 does indicate that the percentage in "Other" Nova Scotia has declined over the ninety-year span, and probably underestimates the extent of this proportionate decline. Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine precisely whether, within the "Other" Nova Scotia category, the Black population has increased or decreased in relation to the three subgroupings. It appears that the Black population in the urban fringe area of Halifax County has increased over the past twenty-five years;² over the past decade, there has been an absolute population decline among Blacks living in rural areas and in the White communities enumerated above.

¹K. Scott Wood, Profile of Poverty in Nova Scotia (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1965).

²Compare the population figures in Brookbank, op. cit., and the figures reported in surveys by W.P. Oliver, op. cit., and Brand, op. cit.

Table 1 indicates also that, from 1871 to 1961, not more than 20 per cent of Nova Scotia's Black population has lived in Halifax-Dartmouth. Our observations and other sources of data (i.e., interviews, and surveys) indicate that in 1969 the percentage in Halifax-Dartmouth would be greater, the increase being due to migration out of "Other" Nova Scotia¹ and to a more accurate estimate of the number of Blacks in the metropolitan area. In view of expected rural-urban migration, it is useful to note that while there has been, over the past century, a steady movement of Blacks from "Other" Nova Scotia to Halifax-Dartmouth, the percentage of Blacks in the latter area has not altered noticeably, because of: (a) the steady stream of migration of Blacks from Halifax-Dartmouth to the United States and to Central and Western Canada; and (b) the migration of Blacks in "Other" Nova Scotia to the United States and to Central and Western Canada, as well as to Halifax-Dartmouth.² (Not all of the predictable migration from rural to urban areas has been to the Halifax-Dartmouth area.) Since the end of the Second World War, the Halifax-Dartmouth metropolitan area has grown consid-

¹See for example Brand, op. cit., p. 12, and Clairmont, op. cit., Chapter 5.

²In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, there was a particularly heavy migration of Blacks to the United States. Elderly people, interviewed during our study of Africville, recalled the "eight-dollar" boat trip to Boston. From the First World War on, a steady stream of Black Nova Scotians went to Upper Canada. See Clairmont and Magill, op. cit.

erably and the population projections indicate that the population may double again by 1985. It is reasonable to predict that, in the immediate future, a much larger percentage of the provincial Black population will be in Halifax County and, especially, in metropolitan Halifax. Table 1 also indicates that, in Cape Breton County, the population increase started in 1911 and that, from 1921 to 1931, the number of Blacks jumped from 295 to 788. The Black population in this latter area has decreased since the Second World War and will continue to decrease (at least, percentage-wise) if the coal-steel complex should stagnate.

On the whole, Table 1 makes clear that now and in the past most Nova Scotian Blacks have lived outside the major centres of commerce and industry in Nova Scotia. Whitten has observed, "Canadian Maritime Negro communities are characteristically removed from both coastal fishing commercial centers and from inland centers. They are best regarded as grafted on both."¹ Whitten argues that, "with scarcely a store in their communities and with sparse (if any) agricultural or woodlot resources, the Negroes for the most part exist by foraging off the adjacent white communities. Charity trapping and welfare tapping become the dominant subsistence pursuits and networks

¹Norman 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, p. 8.

of individuals exploit what they regard as their resources."¹ Actually Whitten exaggerates the so-called "charity trapping and welfare tapping"; most Black communities are economically marginal, but hard irregular labour, not charity or welfare, is the dominant subsistence pursuit.²

We have observed that it would be desirable to analyze, according to ecological pattern, socio-economic conditions and life-styles among the Blacks. Such an analysis presupposes data collected, at the same point in time, on Blacks in urban, urban fringe, and rural non-farm settings. (The number of Blacks classified as farm is small, as noted above.) These kinds of data are not yet available, but we do have data about Halifax mid-city Blacks, Blacks in an urban fringe community, and Blacks in the rural non-farm setting of Guysborough County. These data,

¹Ibid.

²Whitten does not appear to be aware of studies such as Brand, op. cit. which show that, proportionately, Black welfare recipients are not excessive in number throughout the province. Whitten does not present data to support his view that Blacks are dependent upon "charity trapping and welfare tapping". There are communities, especially near Halifax, where a large percentage of the population draw welfare; in this regard, these are not typical Black communities. In most poor communities, family allowance, pension, and unemployment insurance benefits are a significant part of family income; however, these are the right of all Canadians, and, in a Canadian context it is misleading to refer to these sources as charity or "welfare."

although they were not obtained at the same point in time,¹ are fairly representative of the different ecological types and can, with cautious interpretation, yield pertinent comparisons.

Tables 12 to 17 summarize the comparisons.

Table 2 indicates the age of distribution of Blacks in three different ecological settings. Most noticeable is the very large proportion of children and older persons in the rural non-farm area; only 37 per cent of the population is between the ages of 15 and 64. Among Halifax mid-city Blacks, the comparative figure is 52 per cent and, for Halifax as a whole,² the corresponding figure is about 66 per cent. These comparisons show the larger dependency ratio among Blacks in rural non-farm and urban-fringe areas. From the point of view of anti-poverty strategies, the implication is that different strategies may be appropriate to the different ecological areas. The age distri-

¹The Halifax mid-city data were collected in 1959-60, under the auspices of the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University. Data on the urban fringe community and the rural non-farm area were gathered, respectively, in 1967 and 1964-65. Observations in the field indicate that the patterns discovered in the latter two sets of data accurately depict present conditions. The Halifax mid-city data are ten years old, which gives a conservative bias to our comparative analysis; differences between mid-city and other ecological types are not so pronounced in our data as they are in fact.

²For Halifax figures (1961), see Population, Report No. I, City of Halifax, 1965; also, The Condition of the Negroes of Halifax City, Nova Scotia (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1962), p. 5. For the present purpose, the tables of Halifax mid-city Blacks were calculated from the raw data collected in 1959-60.

bution pattern indicates that young adults are leaving the fringe areas and rural areas. Moreover, the larger dependency ratio in rural non-farm and urban fringe communities means that there is a greater strain on family and community resources. In this context it may be that jobs, education, and an end to racism would be insufficient to overcome poverty in the fringe and rural areas. These areas may be fundamentally over-populated and extensive governmental assistance is probably necessary both to facilitate migration and to provide basic community services for those who remain (or for whom migration cannot be an attractive alternative).

Table 3 indicates that households tend to be much larger among rural non-farm Blacks than among either Halifax mid-city or urban fringe Blacks. The latter two have about the same household-size distribution. Here is an instance where the time differential, with reference to data, probably is obscuring a difference; we surmise that large households among mid-city Blacks would be now fewer, proportionately, than in 1959-60. For Halifax as a whole, in 1961, over 70 per cent of the households had between 2 and 5 members; correspondingly, less than 20 per cent of the households had 6 or more residents.¹

¹The distribution of household size for Nova Scotia as a whole (1961) was very similar to that for Halifax City; see Population, op. cit. The data for Halifax mid-city Blacks are probably representative (apart from the problem of outdated data) of Halifax Blacks as a whole. More middle-class and well-to-do Blacks live outside the mid-city area, but they were counterbalanced by the Africville Blacks, who were poorer than the mid-city Blacks.

Table 2

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MID-CITY BLACKS (1959),
THE URBAN FRINGE COMMUNITY, AND
THREE RURAL NON-FARM COMMUNITIES

Age	Halifax Mid-City	Urban Fringe	Rural Non-Farm
0 - 14	45%	52%	58%
15 - 34	28	22	20
35 - 64	24	22	17
65+	3	4	5
Total	100% (1,227)	100% (328)	100% (618)

Sources: Halifax Mid-City data collected for The Condition of the Negroes of Halifax City, Nova Scotia (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1962); Urban Fringe data collected for a survey completed by the Nova Scotia Department of Public Welfare, 1967; Rural Non-Farm data from D. Clairmont et al. A Socio-Economic Study and Recommendations: Sunnyville, Lincolnville, and Upper Big Tracadie, Guysborough County, Nova Scotia (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1965).

Table 3

HOUSEHOLD SIZE AMONG HALIFAX MID-CITY BLACKS,
THE URBAN FRINGE COMMUNITY, AND
THREE RURAL NON-FARM COMMUNITIES

Size	Halifax Mid-City	Urban Fringe	Rural Non-Farm
1 person	9%	8%	11%
2 or 3	27	26	17
4 or 5	23	23	12
6 to 9	34	34	38
10 or more	7	9	22
Total	100% (226)	100% (62)	100% (90)

Sources: As listed in Table 2.

The larger household size found among Blacks (in each ecological type over 40 per cent of the households have 6 or more residents) reflects both a higher birth rate and a pronounced tendency for Black households to include "other" relatives and boarders. Table 4 shows that these two tendencies are the more likely to be found among rural non-farm Blacks. They reflect a life-style adapted to both poverty and racism, in that people are packed together for economy reasons.

'Welfare cases'¹ also, are incorporated into the household structure, and 'unwanted and unplanned' pregnancies are common. Large family size is particularly characteristic of urban fringe and rural non-farm Black communities, and adds further disadvantage to their poverty. We have to interpret cautiously the data on average family size among mid-city Blacks; our inference is that the average family size is smaller now than it was in 1959-60.

Table 4 presents additional data on family structure. While rural Black families tend to be larger and their households more complicated, they tend, along with urban fringe families, to be more stable and to have fewer females as heads

¹We allude here to the fact that unadopted Black children, and Black adults needing custodial care, are taken into the household usually for the small payment that the family receives from the welfare department. We are uncertain about the extent of this pattern across the province, but having 'welfare children' is common in the Guysborough County area, and caring for unrelated people is not uncommon in the Halifax area.

Table 4

FAMILY DATA FOR HALIFAX MID-CITY BLACKS,
THE URBAN FRINGE COMMUNITY, AND
THREE RURAL NON-FARM COMMUNITIES

	Halifax Mid-City	Urban Fringe	Rural Non-Farm
Total Population Counted	1,227	328	618
Number of Families	248	61	90
Average (mean) Family Size	4.9	5.1	6.6
Number of Families with Female Head	69	7	11
Percentage of Families with Female Head	28%	11%	12%
Percentage in Population with Relation to Family Head of:			
Child	52%	61%	54%
Other Relative	6%	5%	13%
Boarder	6%	5%	12%

Sources: As listed in Table 2.

of household.¹ Almost 30 per cent of the interviewed mid-city families had female heads. For Halifax as a whole, in 1961, some 10 per cent of the families had female heads (in half of these families the female head was widowed).²

The structure and size of Black families indicate the need for specific anti-poverty measures. It has been observed repeatedly that large families tend to be less common among people who enjoy higher socio-economic status and when there are adequate opportunities for socio-economic betterment. To argue for birth control programs carries sometimes the implication that people are themselves responsible for their poverty, and that their poverty is due to a personal failing such as ignorance or imprudence. In view of the historical oppression of the Black people in Nova Scotia and the racist character of traditional Nova Scotian society, such an argument is at best naive. It would be naive to suppose that, by itself, effective family planning can obliterate poverty; however, family planning can be an aid and its absence can vitiate the effectiveness of other, more fundamental measures for eradicating poverty.

¹For a discussion of stable family structure in the urban fringe area, see Brookbank, op. cit.

²Population, op. cit. Blacks in Halifax appear to have a family structure similar to that found in Black ghettos in the United States. See Lee Rainwater, "Crucible of Identity", Daedalus, Vol. 95, No. 1, Winter 1966.

The fundamental need is for societal change; that is, change in the distribution of resources, in the structuring of opportunities and in the type of attitudes and behaviour which is tolerated if not legally sanctioned. Given these changes, we can expect reduction in family size and in overcrowding due to the presence of other relatives and boarders. When discrimination lessens and financial resources improve, housing will be available more readily and family planning much easier.¹ Effective anti-poverty approaches will differ according to ecological type. Generally, some form of income maintenance will enable people to live, at least at their present level, without curtailing their family needs or room space by accepting outsiders. In the city, where families tend to be less stable and where there are more female-head households, there will be need for day-care centres and special tax privileges for the single-parent family.

Table 5 presents data on male and female annual income among Blacks in the three ecological settings. The table

¹For comparative purposes, it can be noted that, in 1961, the average family size in Halifax was 3.6; for Canada, it was 3.9. Our argument regarding family planning is that, as the family financial position improves and as opportunities become available, there is more coordinated husband and wife decision-making. It could be argued that among many poor families, husband and wife relations are such that birth control decisions are left to the wife; and given the wife's realization of the hardships entailed by additional pregnancies, there could be a significant reduction in family size merely through the effective communication of family-planning information to the wives.

Table 5

APPROXIMATE DISTRIBUTION OF ANNUAL INCOME AMONG
 MALE AND FEMALE HALIFAX MID-CITY BLACKS
 THE URBAN FRINGE COMMUNITY, AND
 THREE RURAL NON-FARM COMMUNITIES

Income	Halifax Mix-City			Urban Fringe			Rural Non-Farm		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Under \$1,000	19%	58%	32%	6%	33%	9%	76%	86%	79%
\$1,000 - \$1,999	29	33	31	3	0	3	17	7	15
\$2,000 - \$2,999	37	8	27	40	57	43	4	0	4
\$3,000 - \$3,999	13	1	9	37	0	33	2	7	1
\$4,000+	2	0	1	14	0	12	1	0	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Responding	(226)	(118)		(30)	(3)		(92)	(14)	
No Response	(60)	(213)		(18)	(12)		(0)	(0)	

Sources: As listed in Table 2.

indicates that only some two per cent of the Blacks in the labour force, in the rural non-farm communities, earn more than \$3,000 annually. The extraordinary economic marginality of this population is indicated by the fact that almost 80 per cent earned less than \$1,000 in 1964. Over the past four years there have been some economic improvements in the area, but the situation has not changed radically and it is apparent that radical change is necessary. The urban fringe data, collected in 1967, indicate that some 55 per cent of the respondents earned less than \$3,000 annually. Since we did not conduct the survey of this urban fringe community, we do not know how to interpret the large percentage of no response. We do know, however, that several of the females not responding worked intermittently as domestics and that some of the men not responding were unemployed; consequently, it does not appear that the distribution of reported income exaggerates the extent of poverty in the community. The Halifax mid-city data on income are inadequate on two counts: they are a decade old, and there is a large percentage of non-response. Current data probably would show that mid-city Blacks are better off than Blacks in urban fringe communities but that about 30-40 per cent earn less than \$3,000 annually, and that mid-city Blacks are much poorer than the average Haligonian.¹

¹For purposes of comparison it can be noted that, for heads of families in Halifax in 1961, the income distribution indicated that approximately 25 per cent earned less than

Occupationally, Blacks in all three ecological areas are concentrated heavily in the low-skill and poor-pay categories. In the rural non-farm area most men are employed in loading boats or in marginal woods-work, and most employed women are domestics. In the urban fringe community, the same pattern exists, although on a slightly smaller scale, with more men working in higher-status occupations while the bulk of the male labour force is engaged in unskilled work. In the Halifax mid-city Black population, there was, in 1959-60, a wider range of occupational specialization. Nevertheless, the majority of men worked in semiskilled and unskilled employment, and the majority of women worked as domestics or in comparable low-status jobs.¹ The situation has not changed radically for the mid-city Blacks over the past decade, although there has been a tendency for a larger number of Blacks to obtain clerical and professional work.

We have indicated earlier that Blacks are ambivalent about the changes in their occupational opportunities. Better

\$3,000. We would expect that the percentage earning \$3,000 now would be less than half the 1961 figure. However, one must be cautious in comparing these figures to the income sets discussed in the text, for household heads are a different population than members of the working force; undoubtedly, the former have higher annual incomes.

¹It is an indicator of historical oppression that about the same percentage of mid-city Blacks in 1960 were in unskilled and semiskilled employment as were classified as labourers and unskilled workers in the 1838 census of Halifax Town Blacks. The occupational distribution of Black males in 1838 showed approximately 80 per cent as labourers and unskilled workers. See Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Vol. 448, Census for the County of Halifax, 1838.

Table 6

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF MALE AND FEMALE HALIFAX
MID-CITY BLACKS, THE URBAN FRINGE COMMUNITY,
AND THREE RURAL NON-FARM COMMUNITIES

	Halifax Mid-City			Urban Fringe*			Rural Non-Farm		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Professional	1%	6%	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Clerical	4	10	6	8	13	10	1	6	2
Service	1	52	18	3	87	27	0	94	27
Skilled	10	1	7	10	0	7	0	0	0
Semiskilled	38	4	26	12	0	8	5	0	3
Unskilled	45	26	39	66	0	47	93	0	67
Armed Forces	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total Responding	(255)	(130)		(56)	(14)		(81)	(32)	
Non Response	(31)	(201)		(1)	(3)		(0)	(0)	

*In the urban fringe community, the 16 unemployed are classified as unskilled; there are 4 housewives not employed; and there are 12 pensioners.

Sources: As listed in Table 2.

education and governmental expansion have created new opportunities, but to some extent these are offset by the sluggish Nova Scotian economy, the decline of some traditional employment opportunities, and the presence of discrimination in some of the service and skilled labour occupations.¹ Anti-poverty measures to enhance occupational opportunities for Blacks are required in all ecological categories; for instance, payment of a living wage to people engaged in training that they want and need, and the provision of financial and educational resources conducive to establishing a context favourable to the achievement of occupational aspirations. An anti-poverty approach in the metropolitan areas should include specifically, however, strong efforts to eliminate what appear to be "closed occupations" in some unions as well as in certain service occupations.²

Table 7 indicates the educational level, in the different ecological settings, of Blacks who are out of school. Educational achievement declines as one goes from mid-city to urban fringe to rural non-farm populations. Moreover, the difference between mid-city and the other sets of data is

¹See the brief presented by the Black United Front to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty, November 1969, Halifax, Nova Scotia; also, Clairmont and Magill, op. cit.

²There has been apparently, in Nova Scotia, a relationship between Blacks and trade unions analogous to that in the United States. No real effective political cooperation (political in the widest sense) has been forged between Blacks and trade union members.

Table 7

LAST SCHOOL GRADE ACHIEVED BY MALE AND FEMALE HALIFAX
MID-CITY BLACKS, THE URBAN FRINGE COMMUNITY, AND
THREE RURAL NON-FARM COMMUNITIES

Grade	Halifax Mid-City			Urban Fringe			Rural Non-Farm		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1 - 3	10%	5%	7%	15%	12%	14%	30%	15%	23%
4 - 6	28	26	27	32	27	29	56	44	52
7 - 9	44	50	48	38	51	45	13	34	22
10 -12	16	18	17	15	10	12	1	7	3
Over Grade 12	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Responding	(234)	(294)		(58)	(63)		(117)	(92)	

Sources: As listed in Table 2

undoubtedly underestimated, for the former data were collected at an earlier point in time. Most noticeable from these data is that there are few Blacks who have received any senior high school training. Other sources have indicated that this lack of high school training is characteristic of Black communities throughout the province.¹ Educational achievement tends to be lower in Nova Scotia than in many other provinces; for example, a recent study prepared for the Atlantic Development Board indicated that only 24 per cent of the boys and 27 per cent of the girls reach Grade XII while, for British Columbia, the corresponding figures are 64 per cent and 62 per cent.² Even within the admittedly poor educational context of Nova Scotia, the Blacks have had poorer opportunities. We have shown this to be the case historically and, even now, school consolidation has not been carried far enough to provide Blacks with equal educational resources.

It is apparent that, with regard to education, certain anti-poverty strategies which are applicable to the province as a whole (i.e., more money for education, and further school consolidation) would benefit, also, the Blacks. We would submit

¹See, for example, the summary analyses of Brand, op. cit. and W. P. Oliver, A Brief Summary of Nova Scotia Negro Communities (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Adult Education Division, Nova Scotia Department of Education, March 1964).

²Quoted in The 4th Estate, Halifax, Nova Scotia, September 18, 1969. In 1961, approximately thirteen per cent of the household heads in the city of Halifax had some university education.

further, however, that the Blacks and the poor should receive not merely equal, but special, educational resources, for the obstacles to effective education imposed by their poverty and oppression are the greater; thus, specially trained teachers and special tutors, and more community involvement are imperative. An in-depth study of educational values and problems in the Guysborough communities indicated that the Blacks placed a very high value on education, but that most youngsters withdrew from school because they did not believe that many post-school opportunities would be available to them, because it was difficult to study in overcrowded homes among elders who did not relate to their educational experiences, and because the reward system of the schools left them discouraged and disadvantaged. The structure of society and the school system, and the configuration established by historical deprivation, make it natural for many Black children to drop out of school. An unfortunate by-product of this tendency is that, primarily, such inadequate schooling "teaches the schooled the superiority of the better schooled."¹ Education under such circumstances becomes analogous to religion (i.e., part of the official morality) and the dropout feels like a sinner. Having been

¹Father I. Illich, "Outwitting the Developed Countries", New York Review of Books, November 6, 1969.

taught "that those who stay longer (in school) have earned the right to more power, wealth and prestige,"¹ the dropout feels personally inadequate and guilty. Both he and others fail to perceive, and consequently to act upon, the implications of structural and historical factors; thus, personal inadequacy and a second-class-citizen mentality develop. The anguish that often accompanies a "decision" to drop out is something that merits investigation.² The seriousness of the situation, even in the city of Halifax, is apparent in the following remarks by Oliver:

"There are 412 Negro students in Junior and Senior high school throughout the Metro area. Over 71% of these students are in grades 7-9 with the mean age being 18. I would speculate that many of these students are potential drop-outs."³

¹Ibid. This particular treatment of education and the dropout was developed at length by Clairmont (op. cit., Chapter 5) with reference to education among the Guysborough Blacks. Illich develops the theme on a larger basis, dealing with the question of underdevelopment and social consciousness.

²See, for example, Clairmont, op. cit.

³Jules Oliver, op. cit., 1967-68. It should be noted, also, that about 50 per cent of the Black students in Halifax high schools in 1969-70 were enrolled in a general course and that the remainder were divided between business education and the academic course. The Director of Instruction, Halifax School Board, explained: "The general course is a three-year course designed for those students who lack the ability, interest or aspiration to complete academic courses with profit and satisfaction, but who desire a general high school level of education for direct entrance into occupations." "Survey What Courses Black Students Taking," The Mail-Star, Halifax, Nova Scotia, March 23, 1970, p. 3.

Guysborough Blacks: A Case of Extreme Marginality

It has been noted that, for the entire province, the rural non-farm inhabitants have the lowest family incomes. It was observed, also, that almost all rural Blacks are non-farm. A good example of poverty, and of the problems associated with overcoming poverty, is indicated in the case of the three Guysborough communities of Lincolnville, Sunnyville, and Upper Big Tracadie. It is not known how representative these three communities are of the total rural non-farm Black population. Although we believe that extrapolation is justified for description of income, education, and employment patterns, we are uncertain of extrapolation with regard to anti-poverty strategies.

Reference has been made to the condition of the Guysborough Blacks. It has been pointed out that, in contrast with city and urban-fringe Blacks, who are themselves a poor group, the Guysborough Blacks have a large dependency ratio, larger household size, bigger families, more complicated household structure, considerably smaller incomes, more unskilled workers, and poorer educational achievement. Guysborough County is, itself, the poorest county in Nova Scotia, with a per capita income of approximately \$600 in 1961. (Inverness County, a better-known poverty pocket in Nova Scotia, by comparison, had a per capita income of \$690 in 1961.) The Guysborough Blacks, with a per capita income of \$325,¹ can be

¹The per capita income of \$325 was based on data gathered in 1965; therefore, the poverty of the Blacks is, comparatively, even greater.

considered among the poorest of the poor.

The Guysborough Blacks are the descendants of Loyalists, and their roots in the county go back almost two hundred years. Theirs has always been a difficult battle for survival, a battle in which they received very little assistance from either the government or their White neighbours.¹ In 1871, most Guysborough Blacks were attempting to eke out an existence on rocky marginal farms. A large number of women worked as domestics in various White households. A small but significant number of Black males were fishermen or seamen, working out of Guysborough town which, in 1871, was a shipping centre and fishing port. At the present time, almost one hundred years later, the Black population of Guysborough County is approximately the same in occupational distribution and in size as it was in 1871. A large number of women are still working as domestics in White households, in some instances as far away as Antigonish (30-50 miles). Most of the men work as labourers, finding employment at Mulgrave, which is some thirty miles distant, loading boats in the spring and summer, and supplementing their incomes by selling pulp and Christmas trees from their own small woodlots. (Many of these woodlot-occupants do not have clear title.) Only slightly greater than one-fifth of the labour force worked more than 40 weeks per year. None of the Guysborough Blacks can

¹See Clairmont et al., op.cit.

be considered a farmer, using Dominion Bureau of Statistics criteria, although some do so identify themselves.¹ Of the total labour force population of 149 in the three Black communities, 115 earned less than \$1,000 in 1964.

The Guysborough Blacks are clearly an oppressed people and have been for two hundred years. They are not unaware of their plight. Many have migrated, in search of a better life, to Halifax and to "Upper Canada"; some have narrowed their aspirations and have taken as their reference group the other poor in their communities. Neither of these "solutions" has been adequate (it is, of course, a mark against society that resort to a lowering of basic goals has been made), nor has there been effective collective action towards radical change. People have worked together to support schools and churches, but poverty and other concomitants of a lack of power have limited cooperative efforts. It has been argued that an individual is poor as long as he feels poor, rejected, or alienated from the economic or the cultural mainstream.² Certainly the Guysborough Blacks are poor by this definition. Comparative analysis found that the Guysborough Blacks live their lives with feelings of distrust, pessimism, anxiety, and

¹A "viable" farmer is one who has a gross income (from his farm) of \$5,000 or more.

²J. S. Reiner and T. A. Reiner, "Urban Poverty", Journal of the American Institute of Planners (Washington, D.C.: August 1965).

resentment, all characteristics of alienation.¹

The tendency to look upon poverty as a problem of individual persons has hindered the search for effective anti-poverty strategies. To understand the causes of poverty and to locate sources of change, one must look beyond education and job training to basic structural and cultural factors. These latter would include the historical reality of a racist society, which lingers on, and structural economic factors that maintain and perpetuate poverty. In discussing structural economic factors, it is important to see the plight of the Guysborough Blacks in the wider context of rural non-farm workers in the Maritimes. It has been noted that one-half the rural wage-earners have annual incomes of less than \$2,000.² It has been reported elsewhere that, "one of the most striking features of the regional economy is the disproportionately large number of people working in marginal or submarginal activities in the Atlantic Provinces."³ These rural wage-earners are locked into

¹Clairmont et al., op. cit. The comparative analysis was between the residents in three Guysborough Black communities and Whites residing in a sample of non-metropolitan communities in Halifax County.

²R. A. Jenness, The Dimensions of Poverty in Canada: Some Preliminary Observations (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, February 1965), pp. 52-53. Generally "viable" non-farmers are those whose income level is \$3,000 or more.

³R. D. Howland, "Some Regional Aspects of Economic Development in Canada," in Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1957).

the countryside by land and home ownership and form a residual group caught in the process of economic change taking place generally in the primary industries. They earn enough to maintain themselves, but they have no future and little prospect of improving their socio-economic well-being; moreover, the services and facilities available to them are clearly inferior and inadequate.

We believe that a strong case can be made for the position that rural non-farm workers constitute an exploited class. The term "exploited" is used here with three specific considerations in mind: (a) the poverty of the rural non-farm people is usually highlighted at conferences where federal-provincial equalization grants are requested, but it is questionable how much benefit the rural non-farm people have obtained as a result of large equalization grants; (b) the government has sought hard to attract new industry to the province, but it is questionable how hard they have bargained with such industries on behalf of the workers or how much they have encouraged the development of strong bargaining units; (c) a regional development policy of labour-intensive industries in the manufacturing (secondary) sector depends, if it is to be successful, on a mix of factors, including low wage levels and lack of strong bargaining units. One prominent Maritime economist says of this policy

(which has been encouraged in the past by the provincial government):¹

"I often wonder whether there is a strong element of snobbishness in this particular prescription for development. We seem to want low-wage labor-intensive industries for our neighbours' children but often our own measure of success is based on the extent to which our children get high-paying jobs in Montreal or Toronto."²

The rural non-farm people have, in effect, contributed heavily to the burden of subsidizing industries in the primary level of processing (i.e., the fishing, agricultural and lumbering industries) as well as to the other major economic ventures heavily subsidized by the provincial government. Government subsidizes the large industrial-commercial complexes which gather and process resources, but it has accomplished little through this process for the poor who, for a variety of reasons, constitute a captive labour force without which the changing economic activity in the countryside could not take place and in whose name pressure is applied for federal assistance. Pierre-Yves Pepin has observed that, "through governmental subsidies the fishing industry is doing well, but can the

¹Advertisements have been placed in numerous magazines (international) by the provincial government, in order to attract such industries.

²W. F. Woodfine, "Provincial Responsibilities for Regional Development," a paper presented at the annual meeting, Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, Halifax, Nova Scotia, October 28-29, 1968.

same be said of the men?"¹ With reference to the Guysborough Blacks, it appears that an analogous statement would be, "Through governmental subsidies (including the leasing of Crown lands) the pulp and paper industries at places like Port Hawkesbury are doing well, but can the same be said of the men?" We have shown that the answer to this latter question is "no"; the Guysborough Blacks are not doing well. Yves Pepin, in commenting on the condition of the small woodlot owner in Nova Scotia, noted that "observers interpret the apathy of the government towards the painful efforts of the small producers as support for the private companies."² Given the disadvantage of Nova Scotia, it is understandable (although, we think, mistaken and unfortunate) that, through "the almost desperate stabs at risky investment", the government has created "the greatest place for capitalists without capital in the world."³

Reference has been made several times to a study completed in 1964-65, concerning socio-economic conditions among the Guysborough Blacks. That study set forth a coherent series

¹Pepin, op. cit., p. 203.

²Ibid., p. 206. Woodlot owners producing pulpwood are being organized currently, under the terms of an ARDA contract, by the Extension Department of Saint Francis Xavier University. This is the first time that public funds have been used for such a purpose. Pulpwood cutters are not organized.

³These quotations are from an editorial, "Some Benefits of Union", The Globe and Mail, Toronto, November 17, 1969.

of anti-poverty strategies ranging from desegregated schooling, preschool classes, and job-training, to the creation of new jobs through negotiations between government and private industry. The study suggested that a community worker be appointed in order to coordinate these anti-poverty programs and to assist in the development of effective collective action. Now, five years later, it is possible to report that some significant progress has been made with respect to these matters. But the principal suggestion was not acted upon; namely, to effect change in the structural economic conditions that perpetuate poverty. Negotiations between government and private industry broke down, for the latter demanded too much for the little that it was prepared to do in order to alter employment conditions. On its side, the government did not press the case, as it well might have done, inasmuch as leasing of Crown land, and the conditions of that leasing, give government a wedge with which to press for change. The people themselves exerted little pressure on either government or industry. The people lacked information and organization; for instance, the 1964-65 report has not been made public. The present situation is not much different than it was prior to the study. There is still considerable underemployment and there is still very inadequate housing; in short, there is still a basic poverty, which vitiates other worthwhile reforms.

The poverty of the rural wage-earner in Nova Scotia

is often the other side of the coin of economic policy established by government. The marginality of the rural worker is intrinsic to the kinds of economic development that are taking place. The risky investments, the attraction of labour-intensive manufacturing, and the little local subsidization that does occur, simply are not eliminating the poverty. The net effect has been to "make a poor region poorer."¹ On almost all growth indicators (except, of course, investment) Nova Scotia is not catching up vis-à-vis the other provinces. Rather than an upward spiral, we have the perpetuation of marginality. Moreover the economic growth policy which is being followed is particularly unfair and misleading from the point of view of the rural non-farm worker. The commitment of government to this neo-capitalist model² (it might be called, also, a "trickle-effect"

¹Ibid.

²An assumption of this model is the economic growth policy of so-called 'pragmatic liberal' economists who argue that economic growth produces economic and social welfare and generates a 'growth dividend' which solves social problems without necessitating changes in social and political institutions. This argument makes sense if one adopts a long-run perspective and if one assumes additive social processes. Unfortunately this latter assumption does not work; the growth dividends do not become distributed in the predicted way. Numerous critics of this economic growth policy (see, for example, issues of The New Republic, January to March, 1969, for a penetrating and multifaceted attack on this policy, by many economists) have pointed out that, in the United States, huge increases in gross national product and real disposable personal income per capita in the past decade have not been accompanied by the solution of key social problems. Some critics have argued that the

model) of eliminating poverty makes it vulnerable in the face of arguments from industry. For example, pulp management appears to dislike the idea of unionizing woodcutters or of effective cooperation among small woodlot owners (action which is often necessary to counter exploitation), arguing that the creation of a strong union under present technological conditions might well lead to having no jobs at all and that, surely, this would be worse than the present marginality. More generally, private industry in the province often appears to argue: "If you want us in the province, you must accept the marginality of the little people who, in various ways, are involved in our operation."

There is little doubt that Nova Scotia is disadvantaged vis-à-vis other provinces in Canada, in terms of present economic growth and in terms of its attracting the kind of industry needed to create wage parity. There is no doubt that the federal government and the wealthier provinces have a responsibility to overcome regional disparities. Given the foregoing two premises, we quarrel with the strategy that has been developed. It would appear that the rural non-farm inhabitant would be better

'corporate sector' alone has been strengthened significantly. The criticisms directed against the economic growth model in the United States apply even more in a disadvantaged region like Nova Scotia. Here the necessity of granting special concessions and subsidies to capitalists makes it less likely that 'dividends from growth' will be channelled to the solution of social problems.

off if, rather than federal-provincial equalization grants being made to government, payments were made directly to the poor. The federal government, rather than helping to finance a regional development policy which has dubious potential, either for creating parity with income levels across the country or for creating economic viability without heavy subsidization, should be encouraged to help directly the rural non-farm poor (and the poor generally) through payments to ease the provincial and municipal financial burdens.¹ In this way people who remain in the countryside might be enabled to acquire more adequate facilities, and the next generation be better prepared to utilize opportunities elsewhere.

Rather than perpetuating economic marginality, the government might, for example, create strong collective bargaining units, redistribute woodlands, and negotiate hard with the capital-intensive industries that it thinks useful to subsidize.² The important thing is that the government turn to giving more direct assistance and, secondarily, to being highly discriminating in the granting of compensation and other kinds of

¹See Woodfine, op. cit.

²The government has to protect the workers outside that part of the economy where huge, often international, corporations bargain with strong, often international, unions. The Prime Minister of Canada has acknowledged publicly this governmental responsibility, in current attempts to control inflation.

subsidy to industrial development (presumably emphasizing highly organized and technologically advanced complexes that may or may not process natural resources). Such changes would have to be accompanied, undoubtedly, by outmigration and, on the part of government, considerable planning with respect to optimal population distribution. Not everyone can possess adequate woodlots and not everyone would be able to find employment in the regional economy of the future. A massive system of trade-offs might have to be planned, wherein property is reorganized more efficiently and people are given compensation grants and a stake for the future. Similarly the hard realities of the regional economic prospects must be communicated effectively, and people must be prepared for the developments. The situation is serious enough and existing efforts chaotic enough that a new provincial department might well be established to coordinate the program.¹ The problem of direct assistance² and of programming optimal population distribution

¹There is a Social Development Division within the Nova Scotia Department of Public Welfare, but the task at hand is so vast and complex that the government might well follow the example of the City of Halifax and give independent and ministry status to a social development office.

²The question of direct assistance is related to the larger question of what is meant by regional development. Morris Heath, Economic Council of Canada, in private correspondence has observed: "Shall regional development be construed as the economic development of a geographical region and measured by changes in the average income within the region vis-a-vis other regions or shall it be construed as the

is complex, for existing needs and conditions have to be considered during a concurrent "phasing out" of excess population. Yet we do not believe that there is inconsistency here. Better education would lead probably to more emigration and would be a national gain; as people receive improved services and increased income, they are the more likely to become involved in the social issues and the more likely to be served by an equitable public policy.

Several strategies can be advanced readily, with reference to the social policy suggested above, in order to alleviate poverty among the Guysborough Blacks. These would include income maintenance and tax reform. If the industry perpetuating the economic marginality of the Guysborough Blacks is subsidized in a variety of ways by the government, the workers who are carrying at present much of the burden should be subsidized. Moreover, a trade-off policy could be developed, which, as a supplement to policies associated with optimal population projections, could enhance the viability of some small woodlot owners (such as one finds in the Black communities of Guysborough

economic development of income earning capacities of people in the region as measured by changes in the minimum or low incomes?" Advocates of the former position usually assume that growth yields a dividend to cope with social needs without generating conflict or necessitating structural change. The problem is that there may be a need for structural change; moreover, the growth dividend may be captured by dominant power groups mainly for their own purposes.

County) by making additional land available. As part of the policy, land should be surveyed and legal title granted. The Deputy Minister of Public Welfare, Province of Nova Scotia, has noted that "the problem of unclear deeds is a most difficult and complex question facing Blacks in Nova Scotia".¹ In consequence of the way that land grants were given initially and because of the seemingly haphazard mode of inheritance, there is in the Black communities considerable confusion, conflict, and uncertainty over the question of land ownership. Anticipated legal costs and the possibility of having to pay tax arrears, have discouraged Blacks from undertaking to resolve land questions through the courts. Given the extreme poverty of the Guysborough Blacks, and Blacks in similar rural communities throughout the province, the government should assume responsibility, financial and otherwise, in this matter.

In rural non-farm areas such as Guysborough County, an important problem is the extent to which the creation of strong bargaining units or unionized elites among the economically marginal workers might remove from hundreds of marginal households the only small cash income. It seems preferable, however, to develop an appropriate program of support and migration rather than, by inaction, to allow the present

¹Deputy Minister of Public Welfare, Province of Nova Scotia, Interview, August 1969.

unsatisfactory situation to continue. An important concomitant of such a change would be a more vigorous governmental effort to negotiate with industry in order to ensure that 'growth dividends' are equitably distributed. This would be of immediate benefit to the Guysborough Blacks. The contract by which the Nova Scotia Pulp Company has leased Crown land from the Province of Nova Scotia stipulates the Company's obligations concerning reforestation and maintenance. The 1964-65 study recommended¹ that the Company be required to develop an extensive forest-management program in Guysborough County, giving permanent work to at least some residents of the area. (The study estimated that thirty full-time jobs could be made available to the most disadvantaged group, the Blacks.)

Although socio-economic conditions are more depressed among rural non-farm Blacks than among rural non-farm Whites and, although Blacks face additional problems of prejudice and discrimination (and their secondary effects), it can be seen that there are common social solutions to the marginality of both groups. Nevertheless, the Guysborough Blacks have been living where they are now, for 200 years, without equal opportunities; special programs will have to be developed to ensure their full and equal participation in the future. Throughout

¹Clairmont et al., op. cit.

the Black communities in Nova Scotia, and especially in Guysborough County, housing conditions are deplorable. A housing program, generously financed by government, would be, in addition to providing people with necessary space and modern facilities, an important symbol of good-will towards the Black community, and be justified readily in terms of compensation for the special oppression and exploitation to which the Black man in Guysborough County has been subjected.

We submit that, under present conditions, one of the best anti-poverty strategies would be to foster organization and collective action among the poor themselves, in order that they could gather relevant information, apply appropriate political pressure, and communicate more effectively their own needs, wants, and definitions of the situation. For the Black man in Guysborough County and in Nova Scotia generally, this is especially important in view of the prejudice and discrimination that still persists. If such organization and collective action had existed, and if the 1964-65 report had been made available to the people, conditions in Guysborough County might be substantially better now than they were in 1964. Similarly, such organization among rural non-farm people generally would help considerably in overcoming marginality.

Conclusion: New Directions

It is clear that the problem of Black poverty in Nova Scotia is part of a larger problem of poverty in an economically depressed region. Since Confederation, Nova Scotia has had to struggle in order to remain economically viable. This has meant that, given the racist character of traditional Nova Scotian society, Blacks have been unable to advance significantly beyond their initial disadvantage. The majority of Nova Scotian Blacks are poor, ill-educated, and engaged in irregular and unskilled employment. Variations in socio-economic well-being among Blacks tend to correlate with the particular areas in which they reside. For instance, Blacks in Cape Breton County and metropolitan Halifax, the two principal centres of commerce and industry in Nova Scotia, enjoy better socio-economic conditions than do Blacks in other areas of the province. Similarly, the economic plight of Blacks in Pictou County, and in towns such as Springhill and Five Mile Plains, reflects the consequences of decline in mining and primary industries throughout the province. In these places, a major source of new employment has not been found to offset the considerable unemployment that has developed over the past decade. It is predictable, then, that in Nova Scotia's poorest county, Guysborough County, reside the poorest and the most marginal group of Blacks.

Anti-poverty strategies developed with reference to Blacks are relevant to the general poverty in Nova Scotia.

Crushed economically, studied continuously but inadequately, and neglected socially, both Blacks and Whites have been victimized by economic change and the neo-capitalist development policy¹ which is sanctioned in their name but treats only indirectly and modestly their plight. Policies of income maintenance (such as the negative income tax scheme or the guaranteed annual income) and participation in policy formulation are examples of corrective measures, suggested repeatedly of late, which appear necessary to get at the roots of poverty as it is defined in our society. A major question is whether income redistribution and participatory democracy can be implemented meaningfully without profound structural and cultural change.² There are, also, important anti-poverty strategies, applicable to both Blacks and Whites, which are specific to the different ecological areas. Some of these strategies have been mentioned above and would entail a radical reorganization of resources in rural areas and, in urban areas, more family-service facilities.

Despite important similarities between Blacks and

¹See pp. 60-65 above.

²An example of this problem has occurred recently in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia NewStart Inc., in operation since 1967, has a large staff of experts devising and implementing programs to raise the level and quality of employment in the Yarmouth area. The chief industry in the area, a textile mill, has been on the point of closing down, thus threatening to vitiate much of NewStart's efforts and illustrating, also, the limitations of anti-poverty programs that operate within rather than upon economic structure.

poor Whites in Nova Scotia, it is mistaken to equate their socio-economic status and to assume that general policies directed against poverty would be equally effective for each group. The crucial additional factor is, of course, White racism and its legacy. Historical precedents indicate that Blacks' share of Nova Scotian wealth, and of equal treatment under government policy, are not assured. It is difficult to accept the conclusion drawn by Brand, based on his survey of Blacks through Nova Scotia, that "there does not seem to be any startling difference between the availability of employment for Negroes and Whites in the same social strata, except in white-collar jobs".¹ Not only does Brand underestimate the qualification about white-collar employment but, also, the above statement appears inconsistent with some of Brand's other conclusions; for instance, that "there is a feeling definitely expressed by individuals [Whites] at both ends of the social scale that Negroes are all right in their communities and place."² Although direct, legally sanctioned discrimination against Blacks in Nova Scotia has been virtually eliminated, Blacks continue to suffer from White racism; indeed, since the publication of Brand's survey, instances of racism in housing, employment, and even in

¹Brand, op. cit., p.1.

²Ibid., p. 6.

burial practices have been publicized.¹

When sociologists discuss social control, they use often the analogy of an iceberg and compare the formal institutions of social control (e.g., the police and the law courts) to the tip of the iceberg; the implication of the analogy is that, just as the bulk of an iceberg is below water level, so is most social control informal, a function of everyday expectations and elementary behavioural processes. White racism in Nova Scotia also has been⁴ analogous to an iceberg and can be understood best following the sociological conception of social control. Since the early 1800's, racism has been reflected primarily in everyday attitudes and behaviour, rather than in statutes. The socially sanctioned 'definition-of-the-situation' has been that Blacks are marginal members of society who are "all right in their communities and place." Their marginality, poverty and subordination have been seen as part of the ordinary state of affairs and met with considerable indifference. It is understandable that militant Black youths in the Halifax area, when asked about the response of Nova Scotian Blacks to their plight, retort, "We survived!"² One can postulate that

¹Ibid., footnote, p. 28; and, also, a Black child was refused burial at St. Croix, Nova Scotia: "Government Must Lead", The Chronicle-Herald, Halifax, Nova Scotia, December 6, 1968.

²Harry Wells, a research assistant with the Africville relocation project, is studying currently the development of the Black Power movement in Nova Scotia. He has found the assertion "We survived!" to be a common response among militant

a cultural revolution is necessary to eradicate the kind of racism that has existed in Nova Scotia. Within the past two years, Nova Scotia has enacted a Human Rights Bill and established a Human Rights Commission. The scope of such advances can be significant, but they apply especially to the 'top of the racist iceberg.' They do not apply directly and in the short-run to the racist culture that characterizes the society.

Nova Scotian Blacks have done more than merely survive. They have migrated to Africa, to the West Indies, and to the United States, in order to escape the poverty and marginality that has been their lot in Nova Scotia. They, like many of their fellow White Nova Scotians, in increasing numbers have been migrating to the major urban centres of Toronto, Montreal, and farther west, since before the Second World War.¹

Black youths. It is similar to the response of American Blacks to their exploitation, and clearly reflects the racist context with which Blacks have had to contend in Nova Scotia and the United States.

¹Hill (op. cit., pp. 246-53) discusses the Black Nova Scotian colony in Toronto. Some Black leaders in Nova Scotia, interviewed in the summer of 1969, observed that the large migration to 'Upper Canada' has siphoned off the potential among Nova Scotian Blacks. The bulk of the Black migrants to 'Upper Canada' have been young adults, poorly educated and possessing few marketable skills. Hill reports that migrants to Toronto perceive the employment opportunities to be much better than those in Nova Scotia. An examination of the migration of Blacks from Guysborough County indicated that the migrants were mostly young adults, whose favourite destinations were Montreal and Toronto. It was found, also, that migrants sought not simply more economic opportunities but, rather, a whole new style of life; their mobility aspirations pointed clearly to dissatisfaction with marginality and to their sharing of Canadian success values.

Generally, Blacks have taken advantage of whatever opportunities they have had to improve their socio-economic conditions. In a few small Nova Scotian communities, such as Wolfville, Annapolis Royal, Mulgrave, and Trenton, where there has been considerable integration residentially, socially, and educationally, and where the Black inhabitants have been few, Black economic and educational achievements have been significant.¹ Brand and Oliver, in their respective surveys, have observed that the integration of schools has brought improvement in the educational aspirations and achievements of Blacks.²

Throughout their history in Nova Scotia, the Blacks have attempted to overcome poverty and marginality through the so-called legitimate avenues available to them. They have petitioned and protested. Their traditional manner of calling attention to their oppression and neglect is exemplified well in the following remarks of one Black Nova Scotian leader:

"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. We believe the time is just about ripe for a gesture symbolizing the essential brotherhood of all men. When the hand of brotherhood is stretched out to us we want

¹W. P. Oliver, A Brief Summary of Nova Scotia Negro Communities, op. cit., p. 10.

²Ibid., p. 3; and Brand, op. cit.

it to be a friendly hand, given willingly in recognition of the basic doctrines that underlie our Christian philosophy and our democratic way of life, 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."¹

Unfortunately, this style of adaptation did not yield effective response to the problems that Blacks have faced in Nova Scotia. Africville, a Black settlement in the city of Halifax, provides a classic illustration. Black people had lived there since at least 1850 but, at the time that they were relocated by the City (1964-67) they were still without standard City services.² Numerous Africville delegations had visited City Hall, during that one-hundred-year span, requesting facilities available elsewhere in the city, but met with little success. In time, the morale of the community residents was sapped and, by 1964, the Africville settlement had the reputation of being a deviance service centre, a place to go for fun and booze. One Black

¹Quoted in Marcus Van Steen, "Nova Scotia: Model for Race Relations", Saturday Night, Toronto, June 6, 1959. It would be improper to infer that the Black leader quoted is an 'Uncle Tom.' In fact, he has contributed considerably to the Blacks' struggle for justice and is now a leader of the new Black militancy in Nova Scotia. The quotation does reflect, however, the level of political consciousness common in the Black community prior to the 1960's. For a more recent statement of Black Nova Scotian leadership, see The Black Man in Nova Scotia, Teach-In Report, Saint Frances Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, January 1969.

²Africville was a sprawling community, whose homes, outdoor privies and sheds were haphazardly located and erected. The residents were without paved roads or City-provided water, sewerage, and garbage collection.

minister who, for over thirty years, served Africville and other Black churches in the Halifax area, described the community at the time of relocation, in the following terms:

"There seemed to be in the community the feeling that nothing could happen anyway, sort of a pessimistic, not cynical, but a feeling that nothing is going to happen, and if it does, so what? There is nothing we can do about it. They tried in so many ways to get little improvements. They tried for the ordinary services . . . and they had failed. The threat of relocation had been over their heads for years; there were always rumours that the land was valuable industrial land and they would eventually be allowed to stay there until the powers-that-be wanted to remove them; so, by this time, you see, the community had reached a stage where it became a sort of refuge for people who could not keep their heads above the water in the city, not the stable and solid [Black] families that settled the community initially, and this brought about a change in the community and in the community spirit."¹

In discussing the plight of Africville and the general response of government to the modest demands of Blacks, one Black leader noted:

"I don't think they [City officials] give a damn about Black people in the city of Halifax. We have never been a group to reckon with. We have never been a political power. We were never 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've got to do something about them, so give them some land'. In the province they [Blacks] have been given land that was useless . . . in the hope that a combination between the 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

¹Interview, tape-recorded, December 1969.

survived, more than survived, the Black population has increased. So I would say basically the City just didn't give a damn."¹

Free Blacks migrated to Nova Scotia with many of the same general aspirations as the White migrants. Blacks share the general values and aspirations of their fellow Nova Scotians. Oppression and neglect and failure to obtain redress have had serious influences on a cultural style that has evolved through the years. Many Blacks have been conditioned to 'deny' their Blackness and to accept, stoically, their subordination.² Until recently, there was little consciousness, or evidence, of the existence of a distinct Black subculture. The Black population in Nova Scotia has always been small, scattered and mainly rural. The Black communities have been, typically, adjuncts to White towns and villages. The primary vehicle of Black unity has been the African Baptist Association of Nova Scotia, formed in 1854.³ The churches provided the focal centre for whatever genuine Black subculture has existed in Nova Scotia. Black leaders and spokesmen vis-à-vis the wider society were usually

¹Tape-recorded interview, January 1970.

²For instance, it was found that, among the Blacks in Guysborough County, the focal point of the discrepancy between parental hopes and predictions for their children's educational achievement was high school; whereas, for White parents in similar communities, the focal point of the discrepancy was college. See Clairmont *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Chapter 5.

³For accounts of the development and history of the Association, see Pearleen Oliver, *op. cit.*, and P.E. MacKerrow, A Brief History of the Coloured Baptists of Nova Scotia, 1832-1895 (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Nova Scotia Printing Co., 1895).

the religious leaders,¹ and the Association was the base for unity and contact among the isolated Black settlements. While the church provided essential services in the communities, limitations imposed by deprivation and ideology restricted its effectiveness for social change. Writing in 1949, Oliver observed: "There is no evidence in the history of our people of any effort to organize in the interests of their economic welfare, all efforts in this direction being purely individualistic. Neither do we find indications of any effort to organize on a community basis."²

Only in recent years have there emerged among Nova Scotian Blacks an organization and militant ideology necessary to combat the bulk of the 'racist iceberg' in Nova Scotia. It has been observed that the Garvey movement apparently had no impact in Nova Scotia. Winks has observed that the N.A.A.C.P. early in the century, with its base in Washington, was able to win some followers in Ontario, but that "Negroes in the Maritimes refused to reach out for the added strength that such a union might have given them. They were Canadians first and wanted no

¹W. P. Oliver, The Advancement of Negroes in Nova Scotia (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Adult Education Division, Nova Scotia Department of Education, 1949). Oliver (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."

²Ibid., p. 8.

part of an American movement; they would solve their problems as Canadians or not solve them at all."¹ The N.S.A.A.C.P. was formed in 1945. It has several accomplishments to its credit, but its role as a catalyst for social change and as a vehicle for Black unity has been inadequate.² Many Blacks still share the view expressed by a Guysborough Black who said, "Whenever we need something, we have to go to the White man."³ It is significant, though, that many Blacks have begun to raise the rhetorical question, Why? A new Black consciousness seems to be emerging in Nova Scotia. The dimensions of this new cultural style include racial pride and identity, assertive confrontation-type responses to racism and marginality, the development of Black organizations expressly to effect social change, and the assimilation of the experience and model of American Blacks to the Nova Scotian context.

Evidence of this new cultural style can be seen especially in the Halifax metropolitan area, where, within a twenty-mile radius, reside almost half the Black population of Nova Scotia, and to which there is an increasing migration of

¹Winks, "Negroes . . .," op. cit., p. 469.

²This was the consensus of twenty Black leaders in the Halifax area, interviewed in the summer and fall of 1969.

³Interview, June 1969.

rural Blacks. Natural hair-styling and 'Afro' dress have become popular among the young; the self-identification as Black, rather than Negro or Coloured, has become acceptable (and, in some cases, preferred) within the Black community.^X In the last two years there have been several instances of militant protest against perceived manifestations of racism. (The militant actions have ranged from a march of Black youth protesting alleged discrimination by police officers,¹ to a vigorous campaign for blocking the appointment of an alleged racist to the position of Halifax City Manager.) With the formation of all-Black organizations, such as the Black United Front and the Afro-Canadian Liberation Movement, to supplement the activities of the N.S.A.A.C.P., Nova Scotian Blacks appear better able to mobilize resources for social change, and one can speak more meaningfully of the existence of a Black community in Nova Scotia.² In all these aspects of a new cultural

¹See Murray Barnard, "For Negroes in Halifax, Black Power v. ping-pong", Maclean's Magazine, November 1967, p. 1.

²The Black United Front (B.U.F.) is an all-Black and province-wide organization whose roots lie in the Urban and Rural Life Committee established in 1949 by the African United Baptist Association of Nova Scotia, and whose immediate catalyst was local reaction to a visit to Nova Scotia, in the fall of 1968, by Stokely Carmichael, and a delegation of the Black Panther Party. From interviews with Black leaders in the Halifax area in the summer and fall of 1969, it appears that the B.U.F. has two principal goals: to provide unity and identity for Blacks in Nova Scotia, and to effect social and economic change, primarily, although not exclusively, through organization at the grassroots, community level. The B.U.F. has received a substantial grant from the federal government and has been given (according to some government officials) a 'raise hell' mandate. The organi-

style, Nova Scotian Blacks have been influenced considerably by developments in the Black community in the United States. The Civil Rights movement and the Black Power movement in the United State constitute important preconditions for changes that are taking place in the cultural adaptation of Nova Scotian Blacks.¹ Styles of language, rhetoric, dress, and organization have been modelled along American lines. The extensive communication networks that have developed between Nova Scotian Blacks and the larger, wealthier, more militant American Black community have provided the former with valuable ideas and social support. Nova Scotian Blacks do not equate their social conditions to those experienced by American Blacks, but they do see many similarities and feel much less isolated than formerly.²

Blacks in Nova Scotia are beginning to assert themselves

zational apparatus of B.U.F. is currently being established. The Nova Scotian version of the Afro-Canadian Liberation Movement (A.C.L.M.) was formed in 1968. Its style and militant ideology are implicit in its title. The A.C.L.M. has yet to expand its organization beyond metropolitan Halifax.

¹Additional preconditions include the immigration of Negroes from the United States and the West Indies in the early 1960's. Most of these migrants were well educated and highly skilled. They encouraged a more aggressive stance among Nova Scotian Blacks (see Robin W. Winks, "The Canadian Negro," Part Two, The Journal of Negro History, LIV, 1969). It can also be argued that a new climate of public opinion began to form in Nova Scotia and in Canada as a whole after the Second World War, stimulated by the Atlantic Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Nova Scotia Department of Education, especially the Adult Education Division of the Department, initiated several relevant programs from 1946 on.

²This appears to be the consensus among the Black leaders in the metropolitan Halifax area.

and to adopt an aggressive militant stance that is characteristic of the American Black Power movement. Whites, within and outside of government, who are interested in the eradication of racism should, in whatever ways they can, support such efforts. A viable and effective Black cultural revolution will depend to some extent on developments in, and assistance from, the Black Power movement in the United States. The Nova Scotian movement will be aided by continuing migration from outlying rural communities to the metropolitan Halifax-Dartmouth area. The Black population is, however, small; the considerable migration to the rest of Canada will probably continue, and the demographic structure of the non-metropolitan population (i.e., mostly the aged and young children) will be a further hindrance.

While profound changes appear to be stirring among Nova Scotian Blacks, it is clear that Whites will have to change as well; after all, Whites have created the racist culture that is built into the fabric of Nova Scotian society and Whites wield that society's power. A concrete indication of such change might well take place in the area of housing. Throughout Nova Scotia, the housing conditions of Blacks are deplorable. It tends to be substandard, and water and sewerage services commonly are inadequate. Three factors account for this situation: the original pattern of settlement, whereby Blacks were located in isolated areas or on the fringe of White communities; White racism, which has limited the housing opportunities for

Blacks and often has prevented their obtaining services enjoyed by White neighbours; and poor employment opportunities and low income. Housing is, clearly, one area of Black deprivation where immediate and intensive governmental assistance is necessary. In partial reparation for past neglect and oppression, at least adequate and sanitary housing should be provided, even if government must foot most of the bill.

It can be said in summary that much of the deprivation that Blacks face in Nova Scotia is related to, and is part of, a general condition of regional poverty. Structural and cultural changes are necessary, on a regional level, if this poverty is to be eliminated. Some corrective measures are known and have been known for some time; present public policy appears not to appreciate fully the significance of this essential fact. The developmental policy conducted currently by government smacks as much of exploitation as of genuine concern. Since Nova Scotian racism is deep-rooted, the elimination of Black deprivation and marginality demands more than social policy directed to poverty in a general sense. Current changes in cultural style among Nova Scotian Blacks are of critical importance. These new and constructive changes within the Black community must be encouraged, for they provide a basis not only for development and enrichment of Black culture but, also, for the kind of cultural revolution that appears necessary to extirpate our society's present malaise of marginality, poverty, and alienation.

PART II

NOVA SCOTIAN BLACKS: MARGINALITY
IN A DEPRESSED REGION*

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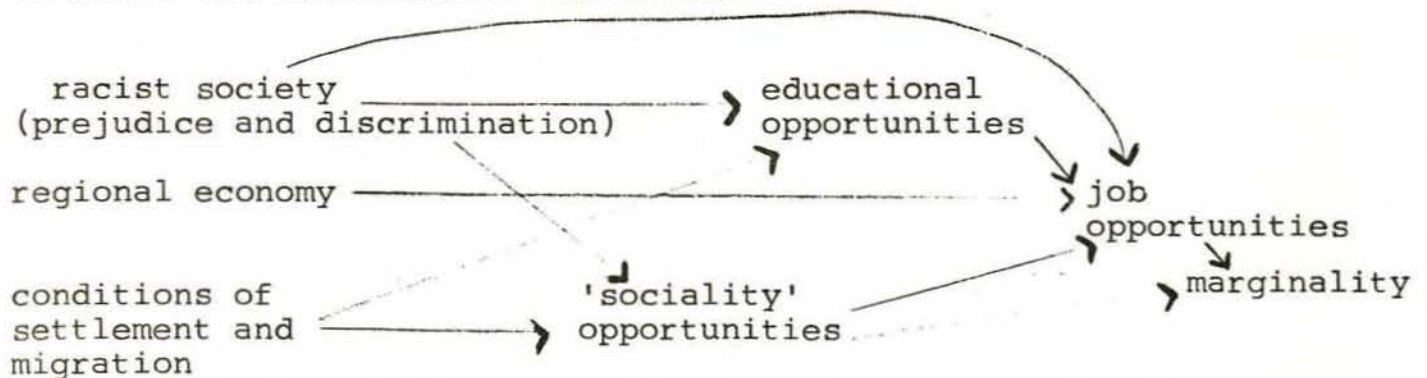
Introduction

Marginality, in a sociological sense, refers to a lack of influence in societal decision-making and a low degree of participation in the mainstream of political or economic life. Usually it turns out that a social group designated as marginal is, also, economically disadvantaged. In modern mass society the economic factor appears to be, indeed, the most important criterion in terms of which marginality is defined. Consequently, marginality in a sociological sense tends to be identified as economic marginality or poverty.¹ In the fullest sense of the word, Nova Scotian Blacks can be classified as marginal.² Many Canadians probably were unaware, until recently, of the historical presence of Blacks in Nova Scotia. Few studies, historical or otherwise, have 'placed' the Blacks in Canadian society and described adequately their ecological distribution and their socio-economic conditions. In a brief presented to the

¹See Whitten, op. cit.

²In discussing the institutionalization of slavery in eighteenth-century Canada, Ryerson observes: "The iniquitous institution of slavery was thus in effect in French and English Canada for at least two centuries. The stain of it is not so much to be measured by the extent of its application in the economy, as by its fostering of the bestial prejudices of 'White chauvinism' and deep-rooted delusions of racist superiority." Stanley Bréhaut Ryerson, The Founding of Canada: Beginnings to 1815, Toronto: Progress Publishing Co., 1963, p. 238.

Special Senate Committee on Poverty,¹ we have documented Blacks' poverty and their valid sense of exclusion from the broader society. The marginality of the Nova Scotian Blacks may be explained by the following set of factors, organized in terms of basic and intermediate variables:



In terms of the model diagrammed above, the basic factors accounting for the marginality of the Blacks are three: Nova Scotia has been historically a racist society; free Black migrants to Nova Scotia were settled, for the most part, on inadequate and barren lands outside the main centres of economic growth; and, the Nova Scotian economy has been sluggish and new economic opportunities which could channel the Black immigrants and their descendants into the economic mainstream have not developed. These three basic factors in turn produced, for Blacks, opportunity structures that appear to have accounted

¹A brief presented (November 1969), to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty, in Halifax, by staff members and associates, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

directly for their marginality in Nova Scotian society. The factors are discussed in detail in the brief. There we have shown particularly how prejudice and discrimination historically have affected, both directly and indirectly, the possibility of Blacks' obtaining their fair share of Nova Scotian wealth and have forced them to the status of marginals. It is this factor, especially, which differentiated Blacks from poor Whites, added considerably to the mobility obstacles which Blacks had to overcome, and generated among them a cycle of poverty.

Rainwater, in discussing the social conditions of Blacks in the United States, has suggested an explanatory scheme of White oppression---Negro adaptation---Negro suffering.¹ In his studies of urban American Blacks, he has focused particularly on questions of identity and subcultural adaptation; his conclusion is that "Whites, by their greater power, create situations in which Negroes do the dirty work of caste victimization for them."² Obviously, Rainwater's remarks can be likened to the

¹Rainwater, op. cit.

²Ibid, p. 175. Rainwater argues that victimization of this kind appears the most poignantly within the confines of the family.

more general conception of a culture of poverty, seen as a feedback mechanism which creates additional suffering and makes more probable a cyclical repetition of poverty. There are several folk and scholarly subcultural interpretations of Black Nova Scotian marginality; we do not believe that such a factor is especially relevant. Before discussing the response of Nova Scotian Blacks to their deprivation, it is useful to examine the status of such a cultural factor in contemporary thinking about poverty or marginality.

The Question of Subcultural Adaptation

Considerable controversy surrounds the place of a factor such as the 'culture of poverty' or 'cultural adaptation' in effecting poverty or marginality in the United States and Canada.¹ Recent theoretical developments in sociology and anthropology seem to have resulted in a decline in emphasis on the traditional concept of culture as social scientists have adopted an interactionist/structural perspective.²

¹See, for example, Valentine, op. cit., and a review of this book by Ben B. Seligman, "Defining Poverty," The Progressive, Marion, Wisconsin, December 1968.

²See Donald H. Clairmont, "An Historical and Experimental Study of Utility", Ph.D. dissertation (St. Louis, Missouri: Washington University, 1969). See, also, Anthony F.C. Wallace, Culture and Personality (New York: Randon House, 1964) and Morris Gluckman and Frederick Eggan (eds), The Relevance of Models for Social Anthropology (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1965).

Rationality, reciprocity, exchange and structural conditions appear to be the key theoretical concerns. Given these new emphases, there has been a tendency to see culture as 'policy' or 'contract' devised by people to further their interests and maximize their utility. This tendency has meant, in the area of poverty and marginality, that there has been a new sensitivity to how the poor and the Blacks cope with the opportunity structures available to them. Less attention is focused on value-aspirational considerations and more attention is devoted to the strategies developed for dealing with structural givens and for effecting structural changes. An important assumption of much contemporary thinking about marginality is that, while the disadvantaged cope as best they can, given their perception of the opportunities structures, their coping behaviour is not, objectively, maximal; the gap is primarily at the level of effecting structural changes. Accordingly, the culture of the poor or the traditional subcultural adaptation of Blacks is seen not as causing or enhancing poverty or marginality but, rather as being not the most effective way to pursue interests or maximize utility.

Until recently there was, among social scientists studying poverty and marginality, a polarization between those advocating an anti-poverty strategy which emphasized dealing with the so-called poverty subculture and those advocating an

anti-poverty strategy dealing with the 'original inputs' or structural factors. Because of the inadequacy of programs such as the 'War on Poverty', because of the new militancy among Blacks and marginal groups, and because of a concomitant ideological shift among professionals studying the problem,¹ even social scientists with a poverty subculture model have begun emphasizing basic structural change. Rainwater, for instance, has adopted this perspective, arguing that "only palliative results can be expected from attempts to treat directly the disorganized family patterns."² Accompanying this emphasis on structural change has been the increasing fashionableness of conflict theory.

The meeting place for the proponents of the new theoretical perspective and those disillusioned social scientists who had hoped to solve the poverty/marginality problem by treating directly a poverty subculture has been in the call for a cultural revolution. Among other things, cultural revolution means the development of new strategies or policies among the disadvantaged geared specifically to

¹Van den Berghe, op. cit., discusses the increasing fashionableness of conflict theory in the area of race relations, a trend he sees as a response to the development of militant ideology among American Blacks.

²Rainwater, op. cit., p. 176.

the seemingly most efficient resource allocation, namely, the effecting of structural changes in society. Entailed in this proposal for Blacks are both the development of more conflict-oriented social movements and the revitalization of traditional life-styles and modes of social identification (as exemplified in the song title, "I'm Black and I'm Proud"). For Blacks, and the poor in general, many propose the development of a militant esprit de corps as a key factor in overcoming poverty and marginality.¹

Underlying this new theoretical arrangement of structural, cultural, and interactional factors is perhaps a greater awareness of the homogenizing character of modern, mass, industrial society and of the extent to which structurally correlated variations in general values and aspirations should be seen as a function of discounting rather than of differentiation.² Moreover, there has been little adequate specification of a culture of poverty or, among Blacks, of a cultural adaptation that maintains or

¹Saul Alinsky, Reveille for Radicals (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946), has been a major influence. Note, also, Oscar Lewis' remarks ("The Culture of Poverty", reprinted in W. E. Mann, Poverty in Canada, Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing Co., 1969) concerning the importance of solidarity-promoting movements.

²For a preliminary statement of how this discounting process operates, see H. Rodman, "The Lower Class Value Stretch", in Louis A. Ferman et al., Poverty in America (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1965).

enhances disadvantage. As Valentine points out, little ethnographic work has been done among the poor and the disadvantaged social groups.¹ Anthropologists have turned only recently their attention to 'placing' the poor, the slum dwellers and the Blacks in relation to the cultural context of North American society. For their part, sociologists have had a bias against ethnographic methods and against what has come to be called a 'grounded theory' orientation.² Under these circumstances it is understandable that there would be confusion about what the culture of poverty concept (or Black subculture, for that matter) has at its expressive core, and doubt about whether its presumed empirical manifestations are highly predictable in any specific instance.

Some survey-type studies have reported that there is little empirical support for the idea of a culture of poverty in which "the poor are distinctively different from

¹Valentine, op. cit.

²See, for example, the criticism of Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, The Discovery of Grounded Theory (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1967). For a statement on the "neglect" by anthropologists, see Norman Whitten, Jr., and J. Szwed, "Negroes in the New World: Anthropologists Look at Afro-Americans", Transaction (New Brunswick, New Jersey: The State University, July-August, 1968).

other layers of society".¹ Some ethnographic studies have noted the great amount of within-group variation among the lower class and, accordingly, the greater problem in predicting the behaviour of lower-class people.² Little work has been done to specify the conditions (e.g., isolation, economic marginality, time, and so forth) which presumably produce a culture of poverty. Thus, while there have been a few interesting and perceptual descriptive studies in recent years,³ the theoretical importance of a subculture adaptation among the poor generally, which is crucial to the maintenance of their poverty and marginality, has not been established.

Much sociological research has been concerned with the disadvantage and marginality of Blacks in North American

¹See the article by Peter H. Rossi and Zahava D. Blum in Daniel P. Moynihan (ed.), On Understanding Poverty (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1969). Jack L. Roach and Orville R. Gursslin ("The Lower Class, Status Frustration, and Social Disorganization", Social Forces, XLIII, Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1965) note that there is little evidence for most of the presumed socio-psychological characteristics of lower-class persons.

²See William Yancey, The Culture of Poverty: Not So Much Parsimony, mimeographed (St. Louis, Missouri: Washington University, 1967).

³Most of these studies have dealt with Blacks and other non-White social groups. See Oscar Lewis, La Vida (New York: Random House, 1966) and Elliott Liebow, Tally's Corner (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown and Co., 1967).

society. Duncan and Blau have indicated that the cycle of poverty pattern applies more clearly to Blacks than to poor Whites in American society.¹ Finestone ("Cats, Kicks and Color") has discussed an exploitative, expressive pattern among urban American Blacks which he claims is widespread and which enhances Black deprivation.² Rainwater has argued that 'Negro adaptation' is an intervening variable which specifies the way 'White oppression' causes 'Negro suffering', especially through the denigration of racial characteristics and the interactional confines of the family.³ Yet any discussion of Black American culture adaptation must note that most studies report generally little difference in values and aspirations between Blacks and Whites. In fact, some sociologists go so far as to say that "negro Americans have virtually nothing more in common than they do with other Americans".⁴ Patterns of denial of Blackness and of matrifocal household formation can be seen as coping strategies that Blacks have adopted in the face of racism and

¹Blau and Duncan, op. cit., p. 204.

²For a different interpretation of these patterns see Boone Hammond, The Contest System: A Survival Technique, mimeographed (St. Louis, Missouri: Washington University, 1965).

³Rainwater, op. cit., p. 175.

⁴Van den Berghe, op. cit., p. 94.

economic marginality.¹ Whatever is meant by Black subcultural adaptation, it is important to see that it has generally facilitated the seizure of the meagre opportunities Blacks have had to achieve full participation in the mainstream of social life and a life-style sanctioned by American success standards. Thus American Blacks have moved north, east and west (and even to Canada), when better social opportunities have presented themselves; they have enlisted and reenlisted in the armed services when it appeared to offer greater mobility potential and greater equality than civilian employment; they have flocked to occupations, such as entertainment and athletics, which were the most likely to give them a fairer chance of achieving higher socio-economic status. In general, their achievement in 'open'

¹Concerning the use of hair-straighteners, skin-bleachers, etc., van den Berghe notes that "consciously, the motivation is seldom that they want to look white, but rather that they have so profoundly internalized the esthetic biases of the dominant group that they identify straight hair and light skin with beauty." (*Ibid.*, p. 83.) van den Berghe does not discuss the social rewards that have accompanied such actions. As Yancey (*op. cit.*) observes, matrifocal families are often seen as social problems in the middle-class eye, but they can also be seen as the lower-class answer to the immediate problems presented to it by environment of poverty. Whitten, in advancing a network model of social organization, has observed that "when we look at the group-based model of society in terms of an emphasis on the family group as the primary socializing agency, then [among those who are economically marginal] our image of disorganization and cyclical disorientation is a theoretical fait accompli." (*op. cit.*, p. 2.)

occupations, their typical American value-system and their contribution to the richness of American culture counterbalance the kinds of things to which sociologists usually refer when they discuss the Black American. Small wonder, then, that when Blacks read or hear of a subculture explanation of their disadvantage, the more sophisticated among them think the explanation is part of 'Whitey's' basic racism or unconscious put-down of the Black man.¹

Given the difficulties associated with the culture of poverty concept and the at least debatable problem of identifying a Black cultural adaptation which directly produces marginality, it seems appropriate to consider cultural adaptation among the poor and the marginal as a set of strategies developed to cope with structurally imposed constraints. The apparent shift among experts, from treating subculture to developing strategies for structural change, suggests that these strategies, given existing structural conditions, may even be optimal. Nevertheless, they may not be optimal from the perspective of effecting change in the basic structures of society which significantly would alter their social position.

¹Blacks as a group have often been used to illustrate all that is presumed to be socially evil in American society. Black students in one junior college in St. Louis recently confronted the lecturer in Race Relations and told him they did not mind his teaching the course, but they would not tolerate any litany of the so-called faults of the Black subculture.

The current Black cultural revolution in the United States can be seen as an attempt to develop a new and more effective cultural facilitation of 'success',¹ by operating at the level of group consciousness and interests, by reorganizing community power relations, and by developing a new political consciousness among Blacks. Similarly, although less well-developed, among the poor generally, there have been proposals for participating in local decision-making, militant confrontation, and the reorganization of community power. The concerted collective action and its political ramifications will provide a more stringent test of the limits of structural accommodation. Considerable debate surrounds the social conditions which seem necessary to yield such a new cultural style,² its political ramifications, and the degree of structural change necessary to eliminate poverty and marginality.³

¹The editors of Time conclude from a nation-wide survey that, "[the Black militants] are indeed faithful dreamers of the American dream". (Time, April 6, 1970.)

²The Garvey movement (David E. Cronon, Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association, Madison, Wisconsin; University of Wisconsin, 1962), the between-Wars predecessor of the contemporary Black cultural revolution, had a meteoric spread but structural changes were not forthcoming and its effect was dissipated.

³See the critique of Alinsky's approach by S. Aronovitz, "Poverty, Politics and Community Organization", Studies on the Left, IV, New York, 1964.

Cultural Adaptation Among Nova Scotian Blacks

Blacks have lived in Nova Scotia for well over two hundred years. Prior to the early 1800's, a significant number of Nova Scotian Blacks were slaves. Slavery was institutionalized in Nova Scotia and the number of slaves had reached a significant proportion of the total Black population because of the migration to Nova Scotia of slave-owning Whites from the Thirteen Colonies, first in the middle of the eighteenth century and, later, during the American Revolution. Slaveholding in Nova Scotia began to disappear during the last years of the eighteenth century, and the process was accelerated in the early years of the nineteenth century. The majority of Black settlers came to Nova Scotia as free men, first as part of the Loyalist immigration and later as refugees during the War of 1812, enticed by the British Government's promises of freedom, land and wages. By the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, slavery was eliminated, Black settlement was essentially completed, and the basic patterns for the involvement of Blacks in Nova Scotian society were set for the next one hundred and fifty years.

The basic theme of the Black presence in Nova Scotia for the past one hundred and fifty years has been marginality. Blacks have had their freedom, but little else. They were scattered throughout the province in small clusters, usually on barren and rocky lands "removed from both coastal fishing commercial centres and from inland centres."¹ For Blacks in Nova Scotia, life has been a constant struggle for subsistence, a struggle which was observed with some indifference by their White neighbours. Although most Black settlements were, in effect, appendages of White towns and villages, the pattern of relationships and everyday expectations was such that Blacks were acknowledged marginals,² people who were "all right" in their own communities and place.³ Blacks were excluded informally

¹Whitten, op. cit., p. 8.

²Concerning race relations in the United States, Winks observes: "other ethnic groups, of whatever definition, passed through the traditional stages of assimilation in the United States, from first to second and ultimately third generation immigrants. The Negro remained always of the first generation, for however his cultural traits might in fact alter, his skin did not change and he remained instantly identifiable as a person apart." (Robin W. Winks, "The Canadian Negro," Part One, Journal of Negro History, LIII, 1968, p. 286). Winks argues that this pattern was even more pronounced in Canada where there has been a greater pluralistic orientation.

³G. Brand (Interdepartmental Committee on Human Rights: Survey Reports, Halifax, Nova Scotia: Social Development Division, Nova Scotia Department of Public Welfare, 1963) observed that the view that Blacks are "all right" in their own communities and place was still prevalent, in several counties of Nova Scotia, among Whites at each end of the social scale.

but systematically from White schools, churches, and social organizations. Their relationships with Whites were typically of the dominant-subordinate type. Blacks depended on Whites for employment as domestics and casual labourers, and on government (identified by them as White) for minimal assistance that sometimes was necessary in order to avoid starvation.

Many of the conditions necessary for the development of a distinctive subculture existed among the Nova Scotian Blacks.¹ Free Blacks were settled in groups;² their settlements have had a long history; Blacks were compelled to develop their own institutions and parallel structures; and Blacks were removed, for the most part, from the centres of growth and commerce. But the Blacks were not economically and socially independent of the larger society. Their lands were neither sufficiently fertile nor plentiful enough to enable them to avoid having to cast themselves in roles subordinate to the Whites. Indeed, even in the more isolated rural areas, there was often greater regular contact among neighbouring Blacks and

¹Yancey, op. cit., p. 13.

²Black slaves were brought to Nova Scotia by numerous Whites. Smith (op. cit., p. 24) observed that "the names of proprietors owning but one or two 'servants' are too many for repetition".

Whites than among Blacks in different settlements. Economically marginal, Blacks tended to assume, nevertheless, the occupational specializations characteristic of the respective regions of the province in which they resided.

Free Blacks who migrated to Nova Scotia during the American Revolution and during the War of 1812 appear to have had many of the same aspirations as White migrants to Nova Scotia. They came for the freedom, land and wages that the British Government promised runaway slaves and free Blacks. When the promises were reneged upon (or at least fell short of expectations), Blacks protested and petitioned. Initially, many sought integration with Whites in the churches and schools. When integration did not take place and when they could not afford their own churches and schools, they responded readily to the assistance offered by White church organizations and philanthropic societies and built their own, less viable, parallel structures. Many Blacks became disgusted with the nominal freedom and the racism that they found in Nova Scotia and migrated whenever the opportunity presented itself. Thus more than one-third of the Nova Scotian Black population migrated to Sierra Leone in 1792¹;

¹"When the 1792 migration of free Negroes to Sierra Leone took place, this left more Negro slaves than free Negroes in Nova Scotia", Robin W. Winks, The Negro in Canada (Yale University Press, forthcoming).

additional migrations took place in 1800 (to Sierra Leone), in 1821 (to Trinidad), and in the last half of the nineteenth century, even back to the United States.¹ Blacks who remained in Nova Scotia (they tended to remain not only because they were locked into the countryside by land and home ownership but, also, because often they had inadequate information about conditions in the receiving societies²) continued to protest quietly against the prejudice and discrimination directed against them. They took advantage generally of whatever opportunities they had to advance their socio-economic status and to overcome their marginality. Opportunities were not numerous, given the racist culture and the sluggish regional economy. Some Blacks did become mill operators and skilled coopers in Halifax County, in the days when there was substantial demand for barrels to contain fish and fresh produce; others responded

¹One Black Nova Scotian religious leader noted this heavy migration to the United States "where whole families are continually moving every year, induced by higher wages for labor" (MacKerrow, op. cit., p. 87). Especially since the First World War, there has been considerable migration by Blacks to Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg.

²Much misinformation was fed Blacks, prior to the Sierra Leone migration in 1792. One Baptist leader at the time observed, "The White friends now were very unwilling that we should go, though some had treated us as cruelly as if we were their slaves. Many persuaded us if we went they would make us slaves again" (MacKerrow, op. cit., p. 13.)

quickly to the demand for porters, which came with the growth of railway passenger service; still others migrated, in the early part of the twentieth century, to burgeoning centres of industry and mining within the province, at places like Cape Breton, New Glasgow and Springhill.

Since there have been no in-depth studies of the Nova Scotian Blacks (of the sort called for by Valentine)¹, it is difficult to ascertain the extent and depth of any Black Nova Scotian subculture. To the extent that a subculture existed, it would have been organized and transmitted through the church. A large majority of Blacks in Nova Scotia have been Baptist. The Loyalist Black settlers apparently had not been church affiliated prior to their immigration.² Their mass conversion to the Baptist denomination was partly the work of an escaped Virginian slave, David George, who reached the province during the Loyalist exodus from the rebellious American colonies. George's evangelism was part of the 'Great Awakening', centered largely in the Baptist and Methodist churches, that swept the North American colonies during the latter part of the eighteenth

¹Valentine, op. cit.

²Walker, interview cited.

century. The ranks of Black Baptists, depleted by the subsequent migration of George and numerous Black Baptist congregations to Sierra Leone, were replenished twenty years later through the conversion of many of the Refugee Blacks by the English evangelist, John Burton. Burton and his successor, Richard Preston, a former Virginian slave, were responsible for the organization of the African Baptist movement. In 1854, representatives of all the Black Baptist churches, meeting in convention, formed the African Baptist Association of Nova Scotia. One hundred years later, the Association encompassed twenty-two congregations and its 'preaching stations', some ten thousand members and adherents.

Throughout the history of Black settlement in Nova Scotia, the churches provided the indigenous leadership in the Black community. Black leaders and spokesmen, vis-à-vis the wider society, usually were the religious leaders¹ and the Association was the base for unity and contact among the isolated Black communities. Within the Black communities, the church provided a variety of services and organizations, and social status was associated intimately with participation in church activities.² The Association was active on a number of fronts,

¹Preston, a major Black Nova Scotian leader in the middle of the nineteenth century, was also prominent in the Abolitionist movement.

²Whitten, op. cit.

struggling to keep schools open, founding the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children, and funding the travelling pastors or circuit preachers. Its leaders engendered reform organizations such as the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NSAACP) and the Urban and Rural Life Committee. The African Baptist Association and the local church leaders were looked upon, by the official societal power structure and by voluntary organizations representative of the official morality, as the representatives of the Black population. Official communiques were transmitted usually through the church leaders and it was through these leaders that White do-gooders entered the communities.

Church leaders were in a position to conserve and enrich any distinctive Black subculture in Nova Scotia. Most of the Black schoolteachers were children of ministers in the Association.¹ The well-educated Black in Nova Scotia usually had strong links with the church. But both church leaders and schoolteachers were trained by Whites in White institutions. Deprivation in the Black communities was such that full attention had to be addressed to maintaining the Association's religious functions and its modest program of social welfare. Structural

¹W. P. Oliver, The Advancement of Negroes in Nova Scotia. (Adult Education Division, Department of Education, Nova Scotia, 1949).

limitations imposed by the size of the Black population, its scattered distribution and the isolation of the region, contributed to the difficulties which the Association faced in unifying and giving direction to the Black community.¹ Moreover, with a few notable exceptions, Black Nova Scotian churches have not been known as repositories for 'soul' in the fashion of American Black Baptist congregations.² Indeed, it may very well be that the salience of the church in the Black communities and the community leadership of the church leaders, at least in recent years, have been over-emphasized. In the four Black communities that we have studied rather intensively, we found

¹MacKerrow, op. cit., p. 63.

²Africville was one of the exceptions; see Brookbank, op. cit. The comments about 'soul' are supported also by the participant-observation of our staff and by the interviews conducted with several local Black religious leaders in the summer of 1969. Historical evidence is naturally hard to come by, but there are some indications that 'soul' was not characteristic of Black churches in Nova Scotia, and that the style of service was much like that of White Baptists. For example, Boone came from the United States to assume the pastorage of the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church, but left after one year (1881), for he found the customs so different from those in the United States (MacKerrow, op. cit., p. 37); MacKerrow (p. 53) also notes how the spirituals and songs composed in slavery sounded so quaint to Black Nova Scotian Baptists in the 1890's. It is relevant to note the observation of Arthur H. Fauset, who found in a 1925 study, that "the native Nova Scotian Negro knows little or nothing about the original folk-tales which are common property among Negroes of the South. Animal stories, so prevalent in the lore of Africa, are almost entirely lacking among these people". Fauset concluded that Nova Scotian Blacks shared with Whites the typical Nova Scotian folk-tales. See Arthur H. Fauset, Folklore from Nova Scotia, American Folklore Society, New York, XXIV, 1931.

that the church leaders formed a small clique and had only limited general influence; most of the community residents did not attend church service and were quite cynical about the role of the church and the church leaders in effecting significant social change or in translating their high formal status into real power. It would be easy to exaggerate the salience of the church in the Black communities, for usually the church has been the only formal organization and church leaders have been representatives acknowledged by the White power structure.

Probably because of the isolated, rural, character of the Nova Scotian Black population, the 'cool cat' or 'sport' social type, which Finestone found to be common in American cities with large Black populations, has not been prevalent. Until the last few years, there were few, if any, Black social clubs which featured Black styles of music. In areas such as Guysborough, Annapolis, and Halifax Counties, "country and western" music, characteristic of the region as a whole, has been the popular style among Nova Scotian Blacks. Neither have there been among Nova Scotian Blacks the separatist organizations with millennialist ideologies which have been a significant characteristic of Black response to racism and exploitation in the United States.¹ Although Garvey clubs (the Universal Negro Improvement

¹See J. Howard, "The Revolutionary", in William Maxwell McCord *et al.*, Life Styles in the Black Ghetto (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1969).

League) were established in Ontario and Quebec in the period between the two World Wars,¹ chapters were not organized in Nova Scotia. Similarly, the N.A.A.C.P., organized around the turn of the century and based in Washington, won some followers among Blacks in Ontario,² but a Nova Scotian parallel did not come into existence until 1945.

It appears then that Black cultural adaptation in Nova Scotia has been preoccupied, necessarily, with the problem of survival. Always marginal, Blacks have been ready to migrate and to take advantage of whatever local opportunities arose to improve their socio-economic status. They have gently prodded the White power structure in an attempt to negate the prejudice and discrimination directed against them. For clear structural reasons, apparently there did not develop among Blacks the kind of identity and militant collective consciousness which, given the racism and the generally depressed socio-economic conditions in the province, some see now as necessary for significant change. Blacks do not appear to have developed a distinctive Black Nova

¹See Potter and Hill, op. cit.

²Winks, "Negroes . . . ," op. cit., p. 453.

Scotian culture which contributed to their poverty and marginality. They have had the same values and aspirations as their White counterparts throughout the province, discounting of course for their marginality and poverty. Being Black in a White-dominated society, they obviously had some special coping strategies. It is both an indication of racial oppression and an indicator of dissatisfaction with marginality that many Nova Scotian Blacks came to deny their Blackness, often identifying the beautiful and socially rewarding with light skin and fair hair.¹ These observations are not meant to deny the existence of any "consciousness of kind",² but the latter cannot be identified with a

¹We found many instances of such remarks in our studies of the Guysborough Blacks and of Africville. Hair-straightening has been common in Nova Scotia. In Nova Scotia the term "four hundred" has commonly been used in the Black community to mark those who have higher status and enjoy better socio-economic conditions than other community residents. The "four-hundreds" are the Nova Scotian equivalent of the Black bourgeoisie discussed by E. Franklin Frazier (Black Bourgeoisie, Collier-MacMillan, 1962); like the latter, they tend to be more light-skinned than other Blacks and to dissociate themselves from the rest of the Black population.

²In view of the lack of good contextualist studies of the Blacks in Nova Scotia, it would be foolish to discount certain indicators of Black consciousness over the years. For instance, little is known about the several Black newspapers that existed sporadically. Two events would be especially interesting to examine; namely, the reluctance of refugee Black settlers to accept a governmental plan in the 1830's which would have given them better lands but which, also, would have dispersed them throughout the province, and the successful opposition to the proposal in the 1880's which entailed the merging of the African Baptist Association with its predominantly White counterpart, the Maritime Baptist Convention.

significant, distinctive, subculture.

Some Subcultural Explanations of Black Marginality

Given the racist nature of traditional Nova Scotian society, it is predictable that a prevalent socially sanctioned "definition of the situation" would interpret the marginality of the Blacks as a function of innate racial characteristics or as a function of their "exotic" life-style. Such interpretations were stated openly at one time in the Legislature and in letters and books; nowadays, they are still widespread but implicit.¹ Our concern here is with the few scholarly sub-cultural explanations of marginality among Nova Scotian Blacks made by social scientists.

1 - The Potter-Hill Religious Hypothesis

Potter and Hill point out in their survey of Blacks in Canada, the importance of the sluggish regional economy and of prejudice and discrimination in the failure of "Negro settlements in the Maritime provinces . . . [to show] marked economic and social advancement."²

¹See pp. 7-9 and pp. 27-36 above.

²Potter and Hill, op. cit., p. 34.

They observe:

"Remembering the persuasive arguments adduced by Max Weber and R. H. Tawney in support of their thesis that there is an association of religious beliefs and practices of Protestants with their leading role in the development of modern capitalist enterprises, we make bold to suggest that some similar association of religious belief and behaviour with economic behaviour might be revealed by careful research among the Negroes of Nova Scotia."¹

While it is difficult to reject such a general hypothesis, it does not appear fruitful to follow the Potter-Hill suggestion and attempt to locate, in the religious affiliation of Nova Scotian Blacks, a factor contributory to their marginality.² Part of the reason for this is the fact that, historically, they were rejected by other churches. It has been observed that Loyalist and refugee Blacks were converted by the evangelists George, Burton, and Preston, and that this evangelism was part of the 'Great Awakening' that swept the North American colonies during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Equally important in Blacks' conversion to the Baptist denomination, was the discrimination and unfriendliness shown locally by the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church.³

¹Ibid., p. 35.

²Except, of course, in a Marxist sense, for the church channelled into socially acceptable paths, the frustration, disgust and hostility produced by White oppression.

³See George Rawlyk, "The Guysborough Negroes: A Study in Isolation," in A Socio-Economic Study and Recommendations, pp. 25-36. See also p. 27, above.

When these churches (and other churches as well) did try over the years to convert Blacks, their efforts were not totally unrewarded. It seems that more significant than the Baptist affiliation has been the fact that the Black churches were segregated churches. The establishment of separate Black congregations was due largely to the prejudice and discrimination of Whites. For instance, George's church in Shelburne was racially mixed, initially, but some Whites reacted against this situation and forced George to leave the settlement.¹ Initially, Burton's church, too, was racially mixed, but as his evangelism met with enthusiasm among Halifax-area Blacks, "in time his church was made up mostly of Negroes and was much despised"²; as soon as another minister had arrived from the United States, the Whites established their own Baptist congregation.

Independent of the historical origin of the Baptist affiliation among Blacks in Nova Scotia, it does not seem fruitful to argue that being Baptist affected Blacks' economic enterprise. The land that Blacks received was inadequate and difficult to market; this difficulty was aggravated by inheritance patterns and by the fact that many Blacks did not

¹MacKerrow, op. cit., pp. 8-11.

²Pearleen Oliver, op. cit., p. 21. It may be noted that Burton won converts among dissenters from St. Paul's Anglican congregation in Halifax.

receive true grants which would have permitted them to sell or trade their property.¹ Blacks were, investment-wise, locked into the countryside by land and home ownership; their options were either to migrate or to hope for local economic growth in which they might participate. Economic opportunities for Blacks were minimal, but when they did emerge some Blacks became successful entrepreneurs.²

Variations in socio-economic status among Nova Scotian Blacks appear to be a function of ecological differences and of variations in integration. Blacks in urban areas such as Halifax and Sydney enjoy higher socio-economic status than most rural Blacks. Blacks who have lived in predominantly White communities where they have been few in number and integrated in most areas of social life,³ have typically been high 'achievers'.⁴

¹Refugee Blacks soon after their settlement petitioned for true grants, since this would have enabled them to market their properties and prevent any questioning of their political rights. They waited over twenty years for their request to be granted.

²See Brookbank, op. cit., pp. 30-50, and W. P. Oliver, A Brief Summary of Nova Scotia Negro Communities (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Nova Scotia Department of Education, 1964).

³For a recent statement of how integration facilitates achievement, see Robert L. Crain, "School Integration and Occupational Achievement of Negroes," American Journal of Sociology, LXXV, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.

⁴W. P. Oliver, A Brief Summary . . . , op. cit., p. 9.

Nova Scotian West Indians, who tend to be of Anglican background, on the whole enjoy superior socio-economic status in relation to the bulk of the Black population. The crucial factors here, though, appear to be the migration of West Indians to the developing industrial Cape Breton complex, in the early years of twentieth century, and the fact that West Indians who, in a trickle, have come to Nova Scotia in recent years, have been skilled and well-educated.

Finally, it should be pointed out that although most Nova Scotian Blacks are Baptist in affiliation, only a small minority are formal members in the sense that they have been baptized (conditions for which are that a candidate be at least twelve years old and have experienced a vision or other indication of having been 'saved'). In most Black communities there is, also, a pattern of small attendance at regular church services.¹ There is some evidence indicating that the above patterns have always characterized Black Baptist churches in Nova Scotia.² Such facts would question the salience of the Baptist church in the communities. An hypothesis that appears consonant with the

¹Brookbank, op.cit.; the statement is supported by observations in several communities and by interviews with several religious leaders in summer 1969.

²MacKerrow (op. cit.) writing in the 1890's, notes that the Black churches had a pattern of small membership (p.84) and that many Blacks were 'unconverted' (p. 85).

data would be that those Blacks who are involved intensively in church activities would be the more likely to be influenced by Baptist beliefs and practices and, also, would tend to enjoy better socio-economic conditions than others in their community. Without considering causal direction, this hypothesis suggests a different relationship from that posited by Potter and Hill.¹ In conclusion, there seems little reason to think that the Potter-Hill suggestion has particular merit.

2 - The Winks Apathy-and-Differentiation Hypothesis

Winks has written several perceptive articles dealing with Nova Scotian Blacks.² In addition to his well-documented discussion of racism in Nova Scotia, Winks indicated that a factor in the marginality of Blacks has been their division, lack of organization, and quiescence in the face of overt discrimination.³ Rather than expressing concerted action and militant collective consciousness, Blacks have withdrawn into their

¹MacKerrow (op. cit., p. 87) suggested that the leading members of the church were the Blacks who especially migrated to the United States in search of better opportunities.

²See Bibliography, below.

communities or have failed "to understand that the problem had little to do with a Negro but rather with all Negroes".¹ Winks suggested two reasons for this cultural style: the fact that there was not in Nova Scotia, unlike the United States, an institutionalized and law-empowered discriminatory South to stand against, and the fact that, rather than having a collective historical identity, Nova Scotian Blacks were divided into small subcultures (i. e., the Loyalist Blacks, the refugee Blacks, and the West Indians).

While Winks' generalizations concerning Black cultural adaptation seem essentially valid, there can be some question of adequacy concerning the reasons he set forth. Nova Scotian race relations may not have been as legally structured as in the southern United States, but they were historically and until recent years, highly structured, with Blacks being considered subordinates or marginals. Winks himself observed that, in Nova Scotia, the 'slavery question' was contested more sharply and the lines drawn more clearly than in other regions of Canada.² Clarkson, the agent of the Sierra Leone Company who organized in 1792 the migration of free Nova Scotian Blacks, observed that

¹Winks, The Negro..., op.cit., p. 55.

²Winks, "Negroes...", op. cit., p.459.

"the Black people [are] considered in this province in no better light than beasts".¹ Smith, in discussing slavery in Nova Scotia, notes:

"In the Maritime Provinces the system of slavery promised, through the Loyalist arrivals, a new development. The colonies to the southward, previous to the Revolution, might have been regarded as forming three groups - the planting, the farming and the trading colonies. Earlier slave-owners in the Lower Provinces had come from the farming and trading colonies; at the close of the Revolutionary war came more numerous representatives of the three classes of colonies, the Loyalists from the planting portions, where the severer style of slavery was in vogue, being in the majority. Hence the term 'servant' proved one of temporary application, and the designation 'slave' and 'the property of' appeared almost as frequently in official records of early Shelburne as they might have been expected to occur half a century since in a Southern city".²

Nova Scotian Blacks shared not only a heritage of slavery in the United States but, also, a heritage of racism in Nova Scotia. Since the elimination of slavery in the early 1800's, Nova Scotian Blacks experienced an appreciable degree of 'Jim Crow' discrimination in the area of education, services, and employment. In fact, some Blacks perceived the Nova Scotian society as more hostile to Blacks than the American society, and many migrated to the United States in the last half of the

¹Quoted in Smith, op. cit., p. 80.

²Ibid., p. 49.

nineteenth century.¹ Some of the racist practices in Nova Scotia continued until quite recent times. Winks observed that Nova Scotia has been clearly more hostile to Blacks than have other parts of Canada.²

Winks argued that Nova Scotian Blacks, being divided into small subcultures, have lacked a collective historical identity. Unfortunately, he did not present data to support the suggested distinction among Loyalist Blacks, refugee Blacks, pre-Loyalist slaves, and the more recent West Indian migrants. In the absence of the necessary ethnographic studies, it is difficult to evaluate Winks' suggestion. Nova Scotian Blacks, for the most part, do appear to share an acknowledged heritage of American slavery and Nova Scotian marginality. In our studies of Guysborough Blacks (where historical consciousness was only an incidental concern) and Africville Blacks (where questions

¹MackKerrow, writing in 1898, observed: "the United States with her faults, which are many has done much for the elevation of the coloured race. 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 away to the United States and seek employment. Very few ever received a trade from the large employers, even in the factories, on account of race prejudices, which is a terrible barrier, and 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". (op.cit., p.94). It is important, too, to realize that in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, Black Nova Scotian slaves occasionally escaped to the northern United States.

²Winks, "Negro School ...", op. cit., p.469.

of identity and historical awareness were examined closely), we did not find any conscious differentiation among Blacks based on the conditions and the particular time of their ancestors' migration to Nova Scotia. Two historians who have studied Blacks in Nova Scotia support this observation.¹ Through historical research, we found that the bulk of Africville residents were descendants of refugee Blacks, but few Africville residents were conscious of any distinction between Loyalist and refugee migrations. It is doubtful, then, whether Nova Scotia Blacks have differentiated among themselves along the lines suggested by Winks; in those probably few instances where Blacks are conscious of their specific historical linkages, it is doubtful whether the identification has been socially significant.

The one important exception to the above argument concerns the status of West Indians in the Nova Scotian Black community. Here there does appear to have been, and there continues to be,² a conscious separate identification. West Indians are concentrated in the two principal centres of industry

¹Walker, interview cited; and George Rawlyk, personal communication.

²Several of the Black leaders interviewed in the summer of 1969 were of West Indian birth, and commented on the continuing salience in the Black community of the West Indian identification.

and commerce in Nova Scotia, metropolitan Halifax and Cape Breton. Most migrated in groups to Nova Scotia, around the turn of the century, to work in Cape Breton. Others came to Nova Scotia as sailors and took up permanent residence. Still others, particularly in recent years, have come to Nova Scotia as tradesmen or professionals. It would be erroneous to emphasize too much the social significance of the West Indian identity. West Indians are very much involved in organizations such as the N.S.A.A.C.P., the Black United Front and the Afro-Canadian Liberation Movement. The basis for their differentiation lies in the fact that they are urban residents, unlike the bulk of the Nova Scotian Blacks. Moreover, the West Indians are better-educated and enjoy better socio-economic conditions.

Winks' characterization of Black cultural adaptation in Nova Scotia seems fairly sound, but the reasons offered for the development for this cultural style are inadequate and lack empirical support. Insofar as there have not been concerted action and militant collective consciousness, and insofar as there has been overt discrimination, it seems to follow, to use his framework, that either the discrimination has not been significant or there have been too many irrelevant distinctions drawn by Nova Scotian Blacks. Since he has argued elsewhere that discrimination has been significant, his position becomes almost tautological - Blacks have not developed a collective conscience because they see themselves as too differentiated. With the exception

of the West Indians, the differentiations he notes are, at best, of minor relevance.

Structural factors appear to account for the kind of cultural adaptation that Winks observed. Nova Scotian Blacks have been few in number and scattered throughout the province; in 1871, there were some 6,000 Blacks living in at least thirty different communities.¹ Historically, the bulk of the Blacks have been rural and isolated. In their struggle for subsistence, they have been dependent upon Whites. Migration has tended to siphon off the young, the upwardly mobile, and the dissatisfied. Apart from West Indian Blacks, the important differentiations among Blacks have been by community and by socio-economic status. (Two important manifestations of the latter in many Black communities have been the church clique and the "four-hundreds".)²

¹See Table 1 (p. 38) for the population trend for Blacks in Nova Scotia.

²Many of the small Black communities are quite 'close-knit' and the residents differentiate themselves from the inhabitants of other nearby Black communities by a variety of criteria. It would be mistaken to view this community distinctiveness as chiefly the consequence of historically surviving subcultures. It has more to do with the fact that these communities have encompassing kinship structures and with the fact that insidious social-psychological concomitants of institutionalized racism militated against identification with other Blacks.

These factors appear, in accounting for the lack of concerted action and of militant collective consciousness, to be more important than the ones mentioned by Winks. Despite their marginality, Nova Scotian Blacks have 'played the mainstream game'; they have adapted in terms of the accepted legitimate means of a society which, ostensibly, emphasized homogeneity rather than pluralism.¹

3 - The Whitten Levelling Hypothesis

Whitten has written several articles dealing with the marginality of Nova Scotian Blacks.² He has been interested in comparing the adaptation to economic marginality (exclusion from direct access to capital resources) among 'New World Negroes'. In comparing Nova Scotian Blacks and Negroes in Western Ecuador and Colombia, he concludes that the social networks developed in these areas are of the same type³ but are used differently;

¹Nova Scotian Blacks have responded primarily as individuals, rather than as representatives of a group with separate identity and distinct goals. They have migrated, rather than confront. They have tried to make progress without arousing antagonism. See pp. 79-82 above.

²Norman Whitten, Jr., "Adaptation and Adaptability . . .", and (with J. Szwed) "Negroes in the New World: . . ."

³Whitten refers to these social networks as being of the personal network variety; a network is considered not a definable group but exists only from the reference point of a person manipulating other people at a specific time for specific purposes. According to Whitten, these networks are the appropriate structural adaptation to economic marginality, for they facilitate individuals' capacity to seize short-run gain and to take advantage of passing opportunities.

he adds, "regardless of underlying structural similarity, the former [the adaptation of Blacks in Western Ecuador and Colombia] appears to have the cultural capacity for social structural transformation, while the latter [the adaptation of Nova Scotian Blacks] seems to represent a cultural capacity for cyclical repetition of marginality itself".¹ According to Whitten, the culture of 'Negroes in Western Ecuador and Colombia' accords high status to successful exploiters who, in order to take advantage of the boom-and-bust economy, manipulate as a source of social capital their networks of cooperating kinsmen. Among Nova Scotian Blacks, however, "economic success within a community is negatively valued"² and "individuals usually seem to be able to prevent their relatives and friends from moving up within a community;"³ Whitten suggests that a variety of stratagems, including the derision of strivers to outsiders and reference to mental health problems among strivers' kin, have been developed by Nova Scotian Blacks to prevent others from obtaining an adaptive advantage. Moreover, Whitten argues that by giving "conspicuously" to the African Baptist Association, the economic resources of Nova Scotian Blacks have been attenuated.

¹Whitten, "Adaptation and Adaptability . . ."

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

Whitten does not present data in support of the above generalizations. While we have noted the lack of militant collective consciousness among Nova Scotian Blacks, it is difficult to give much credence to the arguments Whitten advances for competition and levelling. Comparison of Colombian Blacks and Nova Scotian Blacks is strange, with respect to their response to scarce economic resources, for economic and ecological factors differ so radically between these two populations. The boom-and-bust export economy of Colombia and Ecuador has no Nova Scotian equivalent, and the ecological conditions of the Blacks are substantially different in the two areas. Data are not given to support the view that economic success within the Black communities is negatively valued. Given the great migration of Nova Scotian Blacks, within and outside the province and over the past two centuries,¹ and given their quick response to economic opportunities as noted above, it is difficult to say that Nova Scotian Blacks have not valued success.² Black Nova Scotian entrepreneurs have

¹Mackerron (op. cit., p. 63) notes that, in the last half of the nineteenth century, the Nova Scotian Black population was "always on the move".

²If Black Nova Scotians do value economic success, it would follow, to use his framework, that their deprivation is largely because Blacks, themselves, "put one another down". Here, then, is a classic case of a social-science misrepresentation about which Blacks have complained; that is, that Blacks are held responsible for their own oppression.

developed when conditions were favourable. It seems that structural and ecological conditions differ so radically between the two populations compared by Whitten, essentially their racial characteristics are all that they have in common.

Towards a New Subculture?

It may seem ironic to talk about the emergence of a distinctive Nova Scotian subculture in contemporary Nova Scotian society. We have argued that a significant, distinctive, Black Nova Scotian subculture does not appear to have taken shape over the past two hundred years. It would appear that now, Blacks are much more involved in Nova Scotian society. Segregated schooling has been almost eliminated (existing now only in a few primary schools); Jim Crow practices have either been eliminated or are under attack from a new Human Rights Act and a new Human Rights Commission; there has been a decline in the Black rural population and in the isolation of Blacks. But Blacks are still poorer than their fellow Nova Scotians and there is still the sense and the reality of marginality.¹ There is less discounting, among the better-educated Blacks, in the general values and aspirations which they share with their fellow Nova Scotians. There is still the large submerged half of the racist 'iceberg' with which

¹There are insufficient data from which to determine whether the comparative position of Blacks has improved.

they must contend. Moreover, social conditions have changed in favour of the development of a new cultural style that can produce more effectively the basic structural changes necessary to alter the social position of Blacks. The Nova Scotian Black population is growing and becoming more concentrated in the metropolitan Halifax area. The Nova Scotian economy has become increasingly dependent upon governmental service expansion and subsidy of industry, altering the traditional modes of employment dependency and making more necessary and valuable the organization and unity of Blacks as an aggressive pressure group. Improved education and greater outside communication have sharpened the dissatisfaction of Blacks and have made them aware of new models of coping with the institutional life that has been organized for them.

A crucial variable in the changing cultural style of Nova Scotian Blacks has been the Black cultural revolution in the United States.¹ There has always been contact between Blacks in Canada and the United States. The early Black settlers in Nova Scotia, for the most part, emigrated from the United States and, during the latter part of the nineteenth century, many of their descendants returned to the United States. Three of the nine pastors (up to 1954) at the Mother Church

¹One of our student research assistants is currently examining the internationalization of the Black Power movement and, especially, its implications in Nova Scotia.

of the African Baptist Association had been recruited from the United States. Nova Scotian Blacks seem always to have been ambivalent about their relationship to American Blacks and about American society. Similarly, there have been opposed interpretations concerning the similarity between American and Nova Scotian Blacks. The Black cultural revolution in the United States, beginning with the Civil Rights Movement, has encouraged a much closer relationship. Developments among American Blacks have been concurrent with the changing social conditions in Nova Scotian society, noted above, and with the increasing Americanization of Canadian society. Accordingly, many Nova Scotian Blacks over the past few years have looked to American Blacks for their identity and for strategies of overcoming poverty and marginality. Martin Luther King was virtually as much an inspiration to Nova Scotian Blacks as he was to the American Blacks. Black leaders in Nova Scotia now depend considerably upon American Black magazines and newspapers and American Black authors for ideas and interpretations about the White-dominated societies in which they live.¹

The growing ties between developments in the United States and Nova Scotia strengthened and assumed greater substance, with the emergence of the Black Power Movement in the

¹Based on interviews with twenty Black leaders in the Halifax area in the summer of 1969.

United States. The Nova Scotian visit, in the fall of 1968, of Stokley Carmichael, and subsequently a delegation of the Black Panther Party, made a tremendous impact and crystallized the development of the Black United Front (B.U.F.) and the manifestation of a new social and political consciousness. Carmichael's message was simple and straightforward: "We're with you; be Black and proud." The Panthers emphasized the development of Black, militant, organization and established communication with the younger and more militant local Black leaders. While the Black community in the Halifax area (where the visits were made) was divided in its assessment of the visits and of the appropriateness of 'American tactics and strategies', the visits did much to convey a sense of strength and universality to the Black struggle in Nova Scotia, to reinforce a budding cultural style among Nova Scotian Blacks and to stimulate ameliorative governmental response to Black marginality. One Black leader in Halifax observed: "The whole community, Black and White, were really shaken up by the visit of the Panthers";¹ another Black leader noted: "The visit of the Panthers helped me realize the universality of the problem of Black people and the importance of applying myself to try to understand the basic issues and try to do something positive, realizing that if I

¹Interview, tape-recorded, September 1969.

didn't, we too would have problems."¹

The dimensions of the new cultural style that seems to be emerging among Nova Scotian Blacks include racial identity and pride, institutions to develop and revitalize Black identity and experience, organizations designed specifically to promote unity among Blacks and to effect social change, and a militant, confrontation style of combating racism. Such changes are the most evident in, but not restricted to, the Halifax area. Racial identity and pride is indicated in a variety of ways, through 'Afro' dress, natural hair-styling, a song about Black pride developed by Black youths in the town of Truro, and the 'we're Black and we're proud' chant of youth in the urban fringe community of Cherrybrook (in reaction to the use of the word 'coloured' by their elders during a community meeting).² The self-designation as Black has, within the past two years, become common among the Black population throughout the province. One Black Haligonian indicated the importance of this designation in the following way:

"I like the word, Black; I used to use the word, Negro, and I think that used to be my favourite at one stage in my life, and I've used the word, coloured. But when I heard the word, Black, and learned why it was used - to make people aware of what they are and who they are and by using the word that they disliked most they condition them-

¹Interview, tape-recorded, August 1969.

²Reported by a participant-observer, Summer 1969.

selves to think a little clearer - then logically this is then a good contention and I accept this one word . . . then we can become brothers among ourselves."¹

Within the past two years several Black social clubs have been established in Halifax and Black study groups have been organized to explore Black Nova Scotian history. A Black-oriented publication is currently being prepared for use in the schools. The Black United Front, an all-Black and provincewide organization, is being established to develop social and political consciousness among Blacks at the grassroots, community, level. The change in cultural style from migration rather than confrontation and progress without antagonism, is evident in several demonstrations that have taken place within the past two years and in the recent successful opposition to the appointment of a City Manager (in Halifax) who was considered by local Blacks to be a racist.²

The future course of the budding new cultural style is difficult to predict. What happens in the larger, wealthier, American Black community will undoubtedly be significant. At the minimum, its enduring ideas for Nova Scotian Blacks appear to be those of community organization and an attack against the denigration of Blacks. Since the Black Nova Scotian population

¹Interview, tape-recorded, September 1969.

²Here Blacks 'joined' with labour organizations in a kind of association that formerly was hindered by the racism of some unions.

is still small and scattered, since the demographic structure of the non-metropolitan population indicates the predominant presence of young children and the aged, and since migration of young adults to Montreal, Toronto and other large centres will probably continue, the survival capacity of a separatist Black organization with a distinct cultural style in Nova Scotian society is problematic. Much of the contemporary poverty and marginality among Blacks is part of the general depression in Nova Scotia. Ultimately, the kinds of strategies necessary to bring about basic structural changes and new directions in government policy seem to entail a larger consciousness and a more broadly based concerted action. The new cultural style among Blacks may be important as a vanguard in this process and as assurance that Blacks will not be neglected or discriminated against. In this sense, the new Black cultural adaptation, like the old one, will be oriented to homogeneity rather than pluralism.

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