

Glenda P. Simms

Diasporic Experience of Blacks in Canada: A Discourse*

The establishment of the James Robinson Johnston Chair in Black Canadian Studies provides a welcome and important opportunity to examine the lives of Black Canadians, who can be referred to as the Black People of the Diaspora.

Although "diaspora" is a term used in reference to the exile of the Jewish people from their homeland, its roots are Greek and it connotes "dispersion" or "scattering." Many Black scholars (Pachai; Tulloch; Winks, *Black in Canada*; James W. St. G. Walker, *Black Loyalists*) have applied this concept to the removal of millions of Africans from their homeland, and their enslavement in North America, Europe, and the Caribbean. This process of dispersion, which is rooted in the slave trade, continues to this day as Black peoples are forced—by politics or economics, by war or famine—to leave their homelands and settle in Euro-dominated societies, most notably the United States of America, Canada, and Great Britain.

Recorded history informs us that from the early seventeenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, some 40 million Africans were brought to the so-called New World as slaves. Such history has not always taught us that, as Joyce A. Ladner puts it:

* This article is based on a lecture given at Dalhousie on 12 January 1993, as the first of two lectures, inaugurating the James Robinson Johnston Chair in Black Canadian Studies at Dalhousie University.

Before Africans were brought to American shores, they had developed highly complex civilizations along the West Coast, the area where a considerable amount of slave trading occurred. Tribal customs and laws for marriage and the family, property rights, wealth, political institutions and religion revolved around distinct patterns of culture which had evolved out of the history of the African people. (181)

What is known, however, is that these African cultures and value systems were denied by the Western societies that enslaved Black peoples in the past. Contemporary reality suggests that such societies have never truly accepted Black people. We live here, then, in a diaspora—a sort of psychological, if not physical exile. This state of existence has had a profound effect on all Black peoples. While alluding to some historical antecedents which have shaped the Black reality, in this article I will focus on the Canadian experience.

I will allude to the richness of the Black Canadian heritage, refer to the issue of how mainstream history and general scholarship have defined the Black experience to date, and demonstrate the need to deconstruct established paradigms of analysis. The establishment of the James Robinson Johnston Chair is an occasion to promote the recognition and understanding of the Black Canadian experience and to assist with the elimination of racial discrimination in Canada.

Black Settlers and Immigrants in Canada

Today it is estimated that nearly 300,000 Canadians are Black.¹ Culturally and linguistically diverse, Black Canadians comprise a growing multi-ethnic and vibrant force in our society. The first Black person on record to have set foot in Canada, Matthieu da Costa, travelled with—depending on various accounts—the expedition (1604-1606) of Pierre de Gua, sieur de Monts, or with Samuel de Champlain's 1606 expedition, to Canada's Atlantic region. According to some accounts, da Costa acted as interpreter between the French and the Micmac Indians of the region, thus suggesting that this Black man may have been in Canada before the European explorer (Hill 3, 219; Williams 7). Though not a permanent resident of Canada, da Costa was one of the earliest forerunners of the Black community.

From the earliest times Black people settled all over Canada as individuals, as families and as communities. Among these communities are Amber Valley in Alberta; Maidstone in Saskatchewan; Chatham and Amherstberg in Southern Ontario; East and North Preston, Africville—gone but not forgotten—and other communities in Nova Scotia. The first Black settlers brought their values to these communities, where they laid the foundations and built the sturdy bridges over which subsequent generations of Canadians have passed.

One of the founding families was the Dallards of Prelate, Saskatchewan. Edmonton journalist Phyllis Johnson writes:

Like most early settlers, the Dallards and other Prelate pioneers struggled and sacrificed, met with frustration and despair. They persisted against all odds by working together and giving each other mutual support. . . . Life on the farm in the 1920s and 30s was anything but easy. Survival depended on everyone contributing his or her best. Perhaps prejudice was a luxury that no one could afford. The Dallards became valued members of the community. (5-6)

Like all pioneers they broke frontiers amidst harsh geographic conditions, impoverishing economic realities, and isolation.

Like other Black settlers, they too built today's Canada. And yet, for many Canadians it comes as a surprise that there were any Black settlers at all. For the most part, as James W. St. G. Walker says, "Canadian historical writing almost completely ignores the fact that there is a Black community here with a 350-year long history" (James W. St. G. Walker *History of Blacks* 3). All Canadians need to realize that Noah Robert Dallard was like the other pioneers who built this country; like them, he was an immigrant. He was born in Virginia in 1885 and immigrated to Canada in 1909 to settle and farm.

Many other Black people came as pioneers to build this country. They came as cowboys, as policemen, and as soldiers to serve in the Canadian armed forces in both world wars. Many came with United Empire Loyalists and some were themselves Loyalists (James W. St. G. Walker, *History of Blacks* 28-35; *Black Loyalists* 1-17). Many others came as slaves to work for Canadian slave owners (Hill 2-19; James W. St. G. Walker, *History of Blacks* 19-27). Others committed to freedom and the search for dignity braved the elements and struggled against tremendous

odds to join the legendary Underground Railroad that brought runaway slaves to Canada from the United States. Daniel G. Hill elaborates:

The legendary Underground Railroad, with its mythical 'trains' running through the northern states to terminals in Canada, had no track and no rolling stock. It was 'underground' in the sense that it was a secret operation carried out by courageous people linked only by their hatred of slavery and their willingness to hide, feed and help onward fugitive slaves. (25)

Joining the movement of Black peoples to Canada were the Maroons (Grant 15-17; Henry 25; Tulloch 87-90; Pachai 16-19) who have a particular place in Black history. Also, at the turn of this century many Black people came from all over the Caribbean to settle primarily in Montreal and Halifax. Daniel G. Hill writes:

Most of Upper Canada's first Black immigrants entered the colony as slaves. In general they worked as domestics and labourers, although some were given an elementary education and placed in positions of responsibility. . . . (163)

As more and more fugitives began to arrive in Upper Canada, their enterprise showed itself in the variety of work they did. While most Black males worked as labourers, a small number had skilled trades. Others worked in service occupations, and a few opened small businesses or entered the professions. . . . (165)

During the 1830s and 40s some of Niagara Falls' Blacks worked as waiters in hotels and as tourist guides; others found jobs on boats. . . . (166)

The expansion of the railroads in the 1850s to 70s gave work to some Black communities. . . . (177)

Over the past 30 years, many more Black people, including those from the Caribbean, joined the third wave of immigrants to Canada in response to Canada's call for educated and skilled workers. These included domestic workers, professionals, students, farm workers, refugees and well qualified tradespeople.

As a result, Black people have made sterling contributions, as nurses and doctors in the hospitals in the major urban centres, as schoolteachers in remote communities, as porters on the railroads, and as caregivers to the young and elderly. Many others have contributed to the business and

economic sectors. The many Black businesses along Bathurst and Eglinton Streets in Toronto demonstrate enterprise and hard work.

The Maroons

The earlier mention of the Maroons needs to be supplemented by more detail to show that, as historian Bridglal Pachai says, the Maroons occupy (16-19, 61) a special place in the history of Nova Scotia. They came involuntarily and virtually in transit, and unlike other Black immigrants, their experience was unique and had no relevance to events in the United States.

The Maroons were free Blacks of military bearing who maintained their independence from colonial rule in Jamaica through a struggle of more than 140 years, during which they survived in mountainous hide-outs. The British could not defeat them militarily and in the end resorted to trickery, the result of which was that in 1796, some 550 Maroons were shipped to Nova Scotia. In Nova Scotia the Maroons became pawns in a power struggle with factions of the British Empire and the local Nova Scotians. The Maroons were, to a great extent, dissatisfied and disillusioned (Pachai 16). They saw their values of unity eroding, their culture threatened and their future at risk. In 1800, the majority left for Sierra Leone. A small group remained. Today many Nova Scotians are their proud descendants. The Maroons must be seen as symbols of our possibilities. As Black Canadians, these early ancestors did much to destroy common myths about how Black people respond to all aspects of their lives and values.

Nanny of the Maroons is one of Jamaica's national heroes. She was the Maroon General who through her mystique and her military strategies, demonstrated the strength, intelligence, and resilience of Black women. Such historical events need to be revisited and to be incorporated into the vision of change and development of Black people in Canada.

One important issue that might be resolved through an analysis of the meaning of the Maroons is the issue of the "indigenous versus the non-indigenous" Black. This has been a contentious and divisive issue that, on many occasions, has pitted the Black Canadians of Nova Scotia, Ontario, and Quebec against the Black Canadians of Caribbean and

African origin. The scholars who occupy the Johnston Chair must be committed to ensuring that this artificial division—which has merely resulted in the "pseudo hierarchy of the oppressed"—is dealt with in a meaningful way. Black peoples must unite in their communities and use their differences as points of dynamic interaction for positive social change.

Africville

The Johnston Chair should allow us to begin an analysis of the historical events that have resulted in 400 years of underdevelopment, marginality, and the loss of control of Black people's social organization and cultural traditions. The activities of the scholars who will occupy the Chair will force us to revisit Africville and stare once again at the Bedford Basin, and listen once again to the ancestral voices that constantly remind us to heed the aspirations of their descendants. This is essential because, as Robin W. Winks has stated: "There is no accurate historical memory in Canada of British North America's own experience with the Negro and even a clouded awareness of an earlier Negro presence is slight" ("Canadian Negro" 290). Clairmont and Magill reiterate the same idea:

Much superficial material is available, but few facts are known, and most of what is known is mythical or erroneous. . . . Africville has been referred to as a community of transients; in fact, most of Africville residents had ancestral roots reaching back almost a century and a half. (39)

The history of Africville is a motif for the continuing Black struggle for identity and survival. It is also a history of a form of resistance, but most importantly, it is a case study of the oppression and marginalization of a people. Africville was and is more than a geographical space. Thus; it is the motif for our struggles as Black Canadians. The events that led to the destruction of Africville should reside in the memories of all Black Canadians and become the rallying cry for future generations as they vow that this is a history that must never repeat itself. Africville also established the crucial link between the Black Canadian experience and the

historical struggles of Canada's First Nations, who for the past 500 years, have been fighting to hold on to and reclaim their lands, communities, and traditions.

Mainstream Scholarship

Generally, Canadian history does not reflect the culture, values, and traditions of the Black Canadian experience. For the most part, mainstream scholarship has tended to define the Black experience and history through the slave trade. Time and again, Black people are reminded that we have been slaves and that all our institutions (families, church, schools, and so on) are reflections of the slave experience. Some people even want us to think that our cognitive behaviors are greatly influenced by slavery. This slant can be seen in some of the many studies which have investigated Black life and culture. Yet the Black community of Canada knows that we have a long and distinguished history rooted in the variety of cultures which have sprung up in the diaspora. Despite efforts to negate us as a people and deny our contributions to the development of the so-called "New World," our African heritage has survived in our music, our art, our literature, our families, and our communities. As Charles Keil says: "Like it or not, . . . a Negro culture exists, and its existence ought to be recognized by all concerned, no matter what their policy or proposed solutions to the American dilemmas" (191-2). However, none of the so-called classic studies have dealt adequately with the structural effects of oppression. Nor has any dealt with specific ways to change the social system so that it no longer produces and reproduces these devastating effects.

Part of the problem with the traditional scholarly approaches to the Black experience is the fact that when slavery is used as the motif in defining this experience, Black life is viewed from a pathological perspective. The resulting discourse dismisses the dynamism, creativity, and fullness of Black people's world view (Glazer 53). Black scholars need to move the lenses of history back to the peculiar institution of slavery and articulate the fact that Black people did not enslave themselves. Thus, they did not conceptualize the institution, define its parameters, calculate its profits, nor did they consciously hinge their identity to their slave experience. Therefore the slave master has more to do with slavery as an institution than do Black people.

The struggle for the Black diasporic identity in a racist society is a continuing and universal theme. Black people in the United States, Great Britain, and Canada share with Black people in South Africa and with people of color in Euro-dominated countries, both the pain of white supremacist oppression and exploitation as well as the pain that comes from resistance and struggle. bell hooks identified this as the deep pain that affects all oppressed peoples of the world:

... there are times when so much talk or writing, so many ideas seem to stand in the way, to block the awareness that for the oppressed, the exploited, the dominated, domination is not just a subject for radical discourse, for books. It is about pain—the pain of hunger, the pain of over-work, the pain of degradation and dehumanization, the pain of loneliness, the pain of loss, the pain of isolation, the pain of exile—spiritual and physical. Even before the words, we remember the pain. As comrades in struggle writing about the effort to end racial domination in South Africa put it in the *Freedom Charter*: "Our struggle is also a struggle of memory against forgetting." (hooks 3-4)

One of the most emotional and problematic themes that will challenge the halls of academe and have a forceful impact on the Chair in Black Studies is the issue of gender. The lives, aspirations, and womanist (i.e., black feminist or feminist of color) perspective of Black Women must take centre stage in any discourse on the Black experience.

The image, struggles, story, and conditions of the Black woman should be seen as a valid microcosm, a fundamental metaphor or paradigm for the story and conditions, first of oppressed womanhood, in general. Second, the Black woman's struggles and experience of oppression must be seen as presenting a valid microcosm of, or paradigm for, the larger image of struggling humanity—for the larger human experience of oppression—for "la condition humaine," at its most fundamental. In discussing the impact of race and gender, we need to remind ourselves that Black women in white society carry the burden that has been aptly termed "double jeopardy." In fact, the notion of double jeopardy is not a new one. Near the end of the nineteenth century, Anna Julia Cooper, who was born a slave and later became an educator and earned a PhD, often spoke and wrote of the double enslavement of Black women and of our being "confronted by both a woman question and a race problem" (Lerner 573). This means that their gender and their racial

inheritance identify Black women indelibly as symbols, targets, and products of traditions of oppression, inequality, and servitude synonymous with histories of colonialism, imperialism, and the oppressive, age-old human evils of greed and violence—the vicious cycles of man's inhumanity to man—and to WOMAN!

And yet, while gender and race may visibly identify some women as products, victims, and symbols of such oppressive histories, there is another, positive side to their reality. In a predominantly white society, Black women are also the visible survivors of such brutal histories that, in these women, the mirror image of all human experience of oppression can validly be perceived. (And such a vision is useful, at very least!) Moreover, the very survival of such sexually and racially oppressed women demonstrates the real proof of the universal human potential to survive—the real expression of the life-force principle innate in us all. In short, the very visibility, survival, and existence of Black women in our society is a reminder that humanity is marked, predominantly among other animals, by our capacity to SURVIVE! And from this bare fact of survival, society can learn an eternal secret, a timeless principle. Indeed as Alice Walker's semi-literate, sexually and economically oppressed child-woman/child-mother heroine, Celie, put it, in the 1982 bestseller, *The Color Purple*: "I'm pore, I'm black, I may be ugly . . . But I'm here" (176).

Indeed, Celie, like all others of her race, gender, and class, is a fictional character who records for us, aphoristically, the classic oppressions and insecurities experienced by most women—economic, sexual, social, and cultural insecurity; insecurity about self-image, "femininity," "beauty," and desirability in the human, but inhumane, marketplace. Walker's Celie, unlike many of her enslaved, conquered, destroyed sisters or grandmothers, was to record for herself and for us, as listeners and learners of all races and genders, a fact that we must all respect, recognize, and validate in our own lives. This is the fact of our existence, and of our innate right to that existence—the fact that we are here, and that, no less than the trees, the stars and the stones, we have a right to be here! In short, even the poorest, the least privileged, the most scarred, the most threatened of women—those human beings most marked by their race and gender as objects of inequality, rejection, oppression, and an undesirable "differentness"—can offer their fellow-

humans a priceless reminder. . . . This is the reminder that we are all here—here in Canada, on this planet, a part of this universe; and we all have a RIGHT TO BE HERE.

Change Vis-à-vis Contentment

Situations of conflict need not remain unresolved. Critical tools are available to analyse the systemic psychological barriers that create injustices in our society. Perhaps John Kenneth Galbraith, in his book *The Culture of Contentment*, has offered us one such analytical tool. He posits the political concept of contentment (i.e., the economically and socially fortunate, a dominant and ruling handful, those who rule under the rich cloak of democracy, a democracy in which the less fortunate do not participate), which he says is a state that reeks of self-satisfaction, of smugness (15).

A feature of the contented is that, having large incomes themselves, they tolerate vast income differences. The contented condemn government as a burden—government being understood here as the organization that serves the interests of those outside the contented majority: those who require expenditures for welfare, low-cost housing, health care, public education, and all the needs of marginalized peoples (Galbraith 25).

Using Galbraith's discussion, we can assert that contentment has allowed the growth of slavery, racism, sexism, homophobia, anti-Semitism, Nazism, classism, anti-aboriginality, segregation, Jim Crow, apartheid, and many other social evils. In other words, while one section of the nation was wallowing in contentment, the other was mired in hardship and deprivation. But the worst thing about the culture of contentment, then as now, is that it does not admit any need for change.

- No change — unless there is cataclysm;
- No change — unless there are freedom marches;
- No change — unless boycotts starve the pockets of the contented;
- No change — unless television pictures of police dogs savaging freedom marchers flood the living rooms of the contented;
- No change — unless people march the streets of Halifax to protest the racism that keeps them excluded;

- No change — unless Los Angeles burns in retaliation for the Rodney King verdict;
- No change — unless young people shatter store windows on Yonge Street after another police shooting of a Black man.

The contented are so content that they are no longer satisfied to assign those they consider below them to "the working class" or even to the "middle class." For to do so would mean there is still hope. They have assigned these people to something they call "the underclass." This is not even a state of despair. This is consignment to death. For there is no possibility of escape from the "underclass." There is no potential in this descriptive for upward mobility. And no one cares, for they are content with the way things are. Who are "the underclass?" Put it another way:

Who are the people who experienced slavery in North America?

Who were the victims of Jim Crow?

Who are the victims of apartheid?

Who gets to eke out an existence in the urban slums while the contented move to the suburbs and the suburban phenomenon of shopping malls?

Who is it that Stephen Lewis says is the target of the most pernicious racism against visible minorities in Canada?

Black people. That's who. Overwhelmingly, the people who are described and dismissed as "the underclass" are Black people. Nova Scotian poet George Borden reacts to this situation in his 1988 poem, "Plantation North":

Promised land
that none would dare refuse.
Just reward
for sacrifices made,
Scotia bound
to start this life anew.
Plantation North.

Refugees
from bondage further south.
Loyalists

to kingdom and to King.
Warriors
with honour and respect.
Plantation North.

Granted
Land remote and barren rock.
Located
farthest from the beaten trail.
Cheated
of entitled deed and law.
Plantation North.

Life
still hangs by thread of day-to-day.
Freedom
borders on the edge of fear.
Human rights
denied without the law.
Plantation North.

Time
has not erased the slaver's whip.
Distance
only serves another cause.
Space
is but a mere six feet of earth.
Plantation North.

This poem reflects not only the condition ignored by the contented, it also reflects the hopelessness that textures the lives of many Black people. But this is not the essential tempo of our lives and our aspirations. Black people do not create culture out of hopelessness. No matter what the hardships, our culture is a celebration of life based on hope for betterment. For without hope we would not have survived the ravages of colonial history. Leaders such as Jesse Jackson have been exhorting us all to "keep hope alive." Martin Luther King, Jr. took us to the mountain tops of our imagination. Black Studies, properly grounded in the Black communities, will certainly help to explode the myths, and deconstruct the lies that spin the ropes of bondage, and help our young people to

value excellence of thoughts and actions, as they take their rightful place in the Canadian society.

The Johnston Chair in Black Canadian Studies is the real beacon of light on the journey towards a new consciousness, for both men and women, Black and White, Aboriginal, non-Aboriginal, immigrant and non-immigrant. . . . Growth in consciousness is difficult, often painful. But if we are to grow beyond our divisiveness, our alienation from ourselves, from each other and from our very environment, a shift in consciousness is needed. We must move from a power paradigm based on exploitation to a paradigm based on co-operation for mutual benefit, based on respect for ourselves, each other, and our world. Nothing short of a revolution of consciousness is needed. This revolution begins in the hearts and minds of individuals united for a common cause. Such a common cause is this first Chair in Black Studies.

NOTES

1. According to the 1991 Census Report, there are 224,620 people of Black origin, 94,395 of Caribbean origin. *Statistics Canada Census 1991*, No. 93-315, Table 1A.

WORKS CITED

- Africville Genealogy Society. *The Spirit of Africville*. Contributions by Donald Clairmont et al. Halifax, NS: Formac, 1992.
- Balz, Albert George Adam. *Descartes and the Modern Mind*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1952.
- Clairmont, Donald H., and Dennis W. Magill. *Africville: The Life and Death of a Canadian Black Community*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974.
- Clarke, George Elliot, ed. *Fire on the Water: An Anthology of Black Nova Scotian Writing*. "Early and Modern Writers, 1785-1935." Porter's Lake, NS: Pottersfield, 1991.
- Cleaver, Eldridge. *Soul On Ice*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968.
- Collier, Jane F., and Michelle Z. Rosaldo. "Politics and Gender in Simple Societies." *Sexual Meanings, The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality*. Sherry B. Ortner and Harriet Whitehead, eds. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge UP, 1981. 275-329.

- Collins, Patricia Hill. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. New York: Routledge, 1991.
- Diop, Cheikh Anta. *The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality*. New York: L. Hill, 1974.
- Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove P, 1963.
- Foucault, Michel. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*. New York: Pantheon, 1980.
- Frazier, Edward Franklin. *The Negro Family in the United States*. New York: Dryden P, 1948.
- Galbraith, John Kenneth. *The Culture of Contentment*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1992.
- Glazer, Nathan, and Moynihan, Daniel. *Beyond the Melting Pot*. Cambridge, MA: MIT P, 1963.
- Grant, John N. *Black Nova Scotians*. Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1980.
- Halpin, Zuleyma Tang. "Scientific Objectivity and the Concept of the 'The Other.'" *Women's Studies International Forum* 12.3 (1989): 285-94.
- Henry, Frances. *Forgotten Canadians: The Blacks of Nova Scotia*. Toronto: Longman Canada, 1972.
- Hill, Daniel G. *The Freedom Seekers: Blacks in Early Canada*. Agincourt, ON: Book Society of Canada, 1981.
- Hodge, John L., Donald K. Struckmann, and Lynn Dorland Trost. *Cultural Bases of Racism and Group Oppression: An Examination of Traditional "Western" Concepts, Values, and Institutional Structures which Support Racism, Sexism, and Elitism*. Berkeley, CA: Two Riders P, 1975.
- hooks, bell. *Talking Back: thinking feminist, thinking black*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 1988.
- Jaggar, Alison M. *Feminist Politics and Human Nature*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Allanheld, 1983.
- Johnson, Phyllis. "Opening Up the West—A Minority Perspective." *Human Rights Forum* 3.1 (Fall 1992): 5-6. (Canadian Human Rights Commission.)
- Keil, Charles. *Urban Blues*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1966.
- Knowles, Louis L., and Kenneth Prewitt, eds. *Institutional Racism in America*. Contributors: Owen Blank [et al.]. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969.
- Ladner, Joyce A. "Racism and Tradition: Black Womanhood in Historical Perspective." *Liberating Women's History: Theoretical and Critical Essays*. Berenice A. Carroll, ed. Urbana, IL: U of Illinois P, 1976. 179-93.
- Lerner, Gerda, ed. *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History*. New York: Vintage, 1973.
- Levine, Lawrence W. *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1978.
- Pachai, Bridglal. *Beneath the Clouds of the Promised Land: The Survival of Nova Scotia's Blacks. Volume II: 1800-1989*. Hantsport, NS: Black Educators Association of Nova Scotia, 1990.
- Remember Africville* [videorecording]. Montréal: National Film Board of Canada, 1991.

- Simms, Glenda P. *Racism and Sexism in the '90s*. Ottawa: Carleton UP, 1990 (1990 Florence Bird Lecture).
- Tulloch, Headley. *Black Canadians: A Long Line of Fighters*. Toronto: NC P, 1975.
- Walker, Alice. *The Color Purple*. London: Women's P, 1983.
- Walker, James W. St. G. *A History of Blacks in Canada*. Ottawa: Ministry of Multiculturalism, 1980.
- _____. *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone 1783-1870*. Halifax: Dalhousie UP, 1976.
- Williams, Dorothy W. *Blacks in Montreal 1628-1986: An Urban Demography*. Montreal: Les Editions Yvon Blais, 1989.
- Winks, Robin W. "The Canadian Negro." *Journal of Negro History* 53.4 (Oct. 1968).
- _____. *The Blacks in Canada: A History*. Toronto: NC P, 1971.