THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND TO NOVA SCOTIAN NEGRO EDUCATION

COLIN ARGYLE THOMSON

1968
THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL
BACKGROUND TO NOVA SCOTIAN
NEGRO EDUCATION:

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of
Master of Education
in the Department of Educational Administration
College of Education
University of Saskatchewan

by
Colin Argyle Thomson
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
October, 1968

Copyright 1968. Colin A. Thomson
The author has agreed that the Library, University of Saskatchewan, shall make this thesis freely available for inspection. Moreover, the author has agreed that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the professor or professors who supervised the thesis work recorded herein or, in their absence, by the Head of the Department or the Dean of the College in which the thesis work was done. It is understood that due recognition will be given to the author of this thesis and to the University of Saskatchewan in any use of material in this thesis. Copying or publication or any other use of the thesis for financial gain without approval by the University of Saskatchewan and the author's written permission is prohibited.

Requests for permission to copy or to make other use of material in this thesis in whole or in part should be addressed to:

Head of the Department of Educational Administration
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon, Canada.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer wishes to express his appreciation for the assistance that he received from his advisor, Dr. M. P. Toombs. He is also indebted to the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation for the bursary which was made available to him. Acknowledgement is made of the kind cooperation extended to him by education officials in Halifax and Ottawa.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Problem</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement and delimitation of the problem</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justification for the investigation</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definitions of Terms Used</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acadia</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nova Scotia</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedures Used in This Study</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. A BRIEF HISTORY OF NOVA SCOTIA</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wobbly Road to Utrecht</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utrecht to Confederation</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nova Scotia Enters Confederation</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The One Hundred Years</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN NOVA SCOTIA</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Fabrique Francaise</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Schools Develop</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Beginning of Government Supported Schools</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rise of Colleges</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of the Public Schools</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Free School Acts</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir J. William Dawson</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confederation and Later</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Curriculum Expands</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Wait and Hurry</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slowly Turns the Tide</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. THE HISTORY OF THE NEGRO OF NOVA SCOTIA</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Branded Blacks</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Wars and Negro Immigration to Canada</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shackles Removed</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Underground Railroad</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faint Light</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Beginning of Nova Scotian Negro Education</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. THE UNFINISHED ENDEAVOR</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africville</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Dalhousie Report</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change Agents</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Education</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Voices of Youth</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER
A Remarkable Canadian .......... 112
The Ugly Word .................. 119
VI. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS .......... 131
  Summary ..................... 131
  Conclusions ................... 132
  Recommendations ............... 136
BIBLIOGRAPHY ........................ 144
APPENDIX A. Chronology of Negro History ........ 152
APPENDIX B. "Not In Here" ........ 156
APPENDIX C. An Angry Canadian ........ 158
APPENDIX D. Articles IV of the Treaty of Paris, 1763 161
APPENDIX E. A Negro Like Me ........ 163
APPENDIX F. A Voice In Parliament ........ 164
CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

Racial discontent exists in many parts of the world. Canadians are particularly aware of such unrest in the United States. Do some white Canadians tend to have a patronizing attitude toward Negroes in their own nation? Has Canada its own unique racial problems? Have Nova Scotian Negroes, who compose over three per cent of that province's population, fully shared in Nova Scotia's educational progress? In that province is there a subtle kind of racial discrimination? Has racial discrimination played a part in the history of Negro education in that province? What are the influences which determine the educational climate for the Negroes of Nova Scotia? Difficult and controversial as these questions are they demand investigation and study.

THE PROBLEM

Statement and delimitation of the problem. The general purpose of this study was to investigate the historical and social background of Negro education in Nova Scotia. The specific purposes were: (1) to present Nova Scotia's Negroes, who constitute nearly half of Canada's Negro population, in their historical setting, (2) to examine the post-war developments in Negro education in the Halifax area to 1966, and (3) to examine the work of
individuals, agencies, and organizations involved in Negro education in Nova Scotia.

**Justification for the investigation.** One cannot assume that Canada will be immune from severe racial strife in the future. Knowledge of present conditions can provide some safeguard if that knowledge provides for necessary change. The Negro situation in the Halifax area presents to all Canadians an opportunity to show the world that such minority groups can more fully share in the good life of our nation. This investigation will, hopefully, lend credence to the claim that Canadians must be more aware of the problems involved in the education of Nova Scotia's Negroes. From an identification and an awareness of the difficulties, Canadians may be better equipped to search for solutions and improvements.

**DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED**

**Acadia.** The name "Acadia" was given by France to her Atlantic seaboard possessions in the New World. "The boundaries of the colony were never clearly defined but probably were intended to include what are now the Maritime Provinces and parts of Maine and Quebec."¹ Those boundaries

overlapped the territories later claimed by England as a result of the voyages of Cabot and Gilbert, and for that reason Acadia became a center of the century long struggle between France and England. The struggle ended with the Seven Years War (1756-1763). The origin of the name "Acadie" (Acadia in English) has never been definitely traced. It is thought to be a Micmac word meaning "place of." Gastaldi's map of 1548 showed the territory as "Larcadie," and after 1604 it was referred to as "Acadie."

**Discrimination.** Webster's Third New International Dictionary defines "discrimination" as "the according of differential treatment to persons of an alien race--(as by housing, employment, or use of public community facilities)." In this study the topic of discrimination will be examined in the context of that definition.

**Negro.** Webster's Third New International Dictionary defines "Negro" as "a member of the black race of mankind as opposed by classification according to physical features (as skin color, hair form, or body or skeletal characteristics) but without regard to language or culture to members of the Caucasian, Mongoloid, or other races of mankind." The "Negro" is a member of a people belonging to the African branch of the black race and is marked typically by dark pigmentation, woolly hair, everted lips, broad flat noses
and prognathism.

The term "Negro" is frequently misused and misunderstood. The term "Negro" refers throughout this study, to any person that the majority of the Nova Scotian population would consider to be Negro. Persons of mixed ancestry, even if mainly white in the biological sense, are considered a Negro, except for those who "pass" as white. The Dalhousie Report (discussed in a later chapter of this study) suggests that although the definition is scientifically dubious and may carry unsavoury ethnical connotations, it is the definition most often used in the western world. Many Negroes of Nova Scotia prefer to be called "coloured people."

Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia was one of the three provinces to join Confederation in 1867. Nova Scotia, lying between approximately 43°25' and 47°15' N. and 59°40' and 66°25' W. is composed of the peninsula proper and the adjoining island of Cape Breton. In earlier history, however, Nova Scotia included the area now known as Prince Edward Island and part of New Brunswick. After years of conflict the "province" of Nova Scotia was finally captured by Great Britain and ceded to it in 1713 by the Treaty of Utrecht, under the name of "Acadia or Nova Scotia;" the French remained masters of Cape Breton until the conquest.
Cape Breton rejoined Nova Scotia in 1820. An influx of loyalists led in 1784 to the formation of New Brunswick as a separate colony.

PROCEDURES USED IN THIS STUDY

This study primarily involved a reading survey of Nova Scotian Negro education placed against the background of that province's history, and of Nova Scotia's Negro history in particular.

Because the Negroes are only one of the many groups that constitute the total population of Nova Scotia, the history of those Negroes may be examined in the larger context of Nova Scotian history. With that concept in mind the writer in Chapter II examined some highlights of Nova Scotian history. In order to present Nova Scotia's Negro education in historical perspective Chapter III investigated the history of education in that province. Chapter IV presented the history of the Nova Scotian Negroes. The social and economic factors which have influenced Nova Scotia's Negro education, and the work of individuals and groups involved in Negro education in that province were discussed in Chapter V. A summary was made and conclusions were drawn in Chapter VI.

The writer examined various sources of information such as the University of Saskatchewan Library Card Cat-
alogue, The Education Index, the Encyclopedia of Educational Research, and various newspaper and magazine articles. A search for material was made at the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation Library and the University of Saskatchewan Law Library. Education officials in Halifax and Ottawa were contacted for further information.

The major divisions of the study were arranged topically, but within the chapters a chronological approach generally was followed.
CHAPTER II

A BRIEF HISTORY OF NOVA SCOTIA

The primary purpose of this chapter is to present a brief historical review of the events prior to and after Nova Scotia's confederation. However, major cultural and ethnic roots had been established by 1867, and because the chief waves of Negro immigration to Nova Scotia had already been made by that date, greater emphasis will be placed on the pre-confederation era of Nova Scotian history.

INTRODUCTION

The men who first built Canada on the backs of the beaver and the cod must share their accolades with the early missionaries and farmers of this land. "Acadie," the Micmac name for "place of," was tossed back and forth for 150 years by the French and English. For periods of time Acadia was neglected by its overseas' protectors. At other times, however, Acadia became a focal point of intense international rivalry and war. The struggle for Acadia and indeed for Canada was only part of a larger rivalry which at times touched three continents.

If Acadia was begun by the French, its growth was nourished by healthy additions from the New England states, from Britain, and from many areas of continental Europe. To this day Nova Scotia is a patchwork of ethnic, religious,
and language groups.

Nova Scotia, the lobster-shaped province whose Louisburg claw once guarded the entrance to the St. Lawrence, shows its face to the ocean and its back to Canada. As Raddall says, "In any strategy for the defense or conquest of British North America Nova Scotia had the sinister importance of a two-edged dagger, for its ports and hinterland commanded not only the throat of Canada but the main sea approach to New England."¹

Geography still plays its part in today's Nova Scotia. Its lovely Annapolis Valley, its rough, rocky eastern shore, and the Cape Breton Island coastline sprout pockets of people geographically separated from each other yet joined in a common pride in the accomplishments of their many varied forefathers.

Foundation stones of North America were laid in "Acadie". Among these foundation stones were: first permanent settlement in North America north of Florida (Port Royal), 1605; first Roman Catholic Church in North America (Port Royal), 1605; first social club in North America (Port Royal), 1606; first school founded in Canada (LaHave), 1632; first Common Law Court in Canada (Annapolis Royal), 1721;

first lighthouse in Canada (Louisburg), 1731; first English town in Canada (St. Paul's, Halifax), 1750; first newspaper in Canada (Halifax Gazette), 1752; first English university (Kings, Windsor), 1789; first aeroplane flight in the British Empire (Baddeck), 1909; and the first Canadian educational television (Halifax), 1952.

THE WOBBLY ROAD TO UTRECHT

Prior to 1497, only legendary reports existed pertaining to Nova Scotia, "the wharf of North America." In that year, Cape Breton Island, now a part of Nova Scotia, was visited by John Cabot. For the ensuing twenty odd years, Portuguese fishermen spent winters on that island.

For thirty years, from 1497 to 1527, the sailors of Europe—Cabot, Fernandez, Corte Real, Verrazano, John Rut—had vainly sought a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific. None had succeeded. . . when by royal order, the Breton Jacques Cartier put to sea from St. Malo in 1534.2

History acknowledges Cartier as the discoverer of Canada and the first great figure on the threshold of her past. Failure marked settlement attempts in 1518 on Sable Island, and the first successful effort toward colonizing was not made until 1604-05. Samuel de Champlain (1570(?)-1635) founded Port Royal, claiming the territory for France. "Champlain

---

was an idealist who aimed to found Canada on justice and mercy and whose passion for discovery was never satisfied."

In 1605, the settlers transferred the colony from St. Croix Island to the peninsula proper, establishing the first white agricultural settlement in what is now Canada. Champlain, "The Father of New France" as leader of the group, established in 1606 the Order of Good Cheer. "He was... a hard realistic dreamer, one who translated his visions into action, one who tried to manipulate those around him to contribute to the realization of those dreams."  

In 1621, "New Scotland" was granted, by James I, to Sir William Alexander. The area's name took the form of Nova Scotia in his Latin Charter. Two settlements by Scottish immigrants were organized in 1629; one near Port Royal which had been abandoned by the French, and the other on Cape Breton Island close to Louisburg. The Treaty of St. Germaine gave Port Royal back to France in 1632. Only a small number of Scots stayed in Nova Scotia, the majority having returned to Scotland, but those who remained and intermarried with Acadians are the ancestors of many people now residing in that area. Other colonists were brought to

---

Acadia by the Company of New France in 1632. This group was augmented slightly by discharged soldiers and casual immigrants. The year 1664 marked the capture of French posts in Acadia by the English. By the Treaty of Breda in 1667, the settlements were placed in French hands where they remained until 1690 which saw the capture of Port Royal by the British. Again French control was acknowledged by the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697. Francis Nicholson on behalf of Great Britain brought about the surrender of Port Royal in 1710, renaming the town Annapolis Royal in honor of Queen Anne. All of Acadia became a British possession by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. By that treaty "the lines of demarcation were more sharply drawn, and in a way this consolidated England's control of the sea coasts and her foothold on the flanks of Canada."5

UTRECHT TO CONFEDERATION

In spite of the mutual destruction by the British and French so prevalent over the years, coupled with intense international competition, the Utrecht Treaty, the "final" solution, excluded Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island. This gave rise to the French opinion that areas west of the Missagush River, and north of the Bay of Fundy were not

included in the agreement of 1713. This opinion brought about the creation of a fortress at Louisburg by the French. One clause in the treaty granted the Acadians one year's grace either to leave the colony or to take the oath of allegiance to the British Crown. If the latter course were to be followed, they would be permitted to retain their properties and freedom of religion within the framework of the British Law. From a population of some four hundred in 1671, Acadians increased their numbers to over two thousand by 1710 and to twelve thousand by 1750. By 1750 the Acadians formed the great majority of the total population of the area.

The advent of war in 1744 brought about the capture of Canso by the Louisburg French but the following year Louisburg fell to the British Naval Squadron and to companies of New Englanders. The 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restored Louisburg to France.

In a plan to counterpoise the Acadian settlement in Louisburg and to make final British possession of the peninsula, Honourable Edward Cornwallis arrived at Halifax in 1749 with some twenty-five hundred immigrants from Britain soon to follow. In the March 7, 1749, edition of the London Gazette the following advertisement was placed:

A proposal having been presented unto His Majesty for the establishing of a civil government in the Province of Nova Scotia in North America,
as also for the better peopling and settling of the said province, and extending and improving the fishery thereof by granting lands within the same, and giving other encouragement to such of the officers and private men lately dismissed from His Majesty's land and sea service as are willing to accept grants of land and to settle with or without families in Nova Scotia. 6

It was a long-winded document, promising fifty acres of land to every qualified settler plus ten acres for every member of his family, together with arms, ammunition, and a proper quantity of materials and utensils for husbandry, clearing and cultivating the lands, erecting habitations, carrying on the fishery, and other endeavors that were thought necessary for their support. Every officer under the rank of ensign was to have eight acres, ensigns were to have two hundred acres, lieutenants three hundred acres, and captains four hundred acres. Every officer above the rank of captain was to have six hundred acres, with an additional thirty acres for each member of his family. All were promised rations for one year after their arrival in Nova Scotia. They were promised civil government which was to guarantee all the liberties and privileges enjoyed by any of the King's subjects.

The activity of the British in forming a settlement aroused the suspicion of the French. While British efforts

at coercion in dealing with the Acadians had been almost a complete failure, the French redoubled their efforts to have the Acadians move away from British domination. More provocation was created by enlisting the aid of native Indians to oppose the British strength. Their efforts were not without a measure of success and as a further deterrent to the return of the Acadians to Beauliassin in particular, the French resorted to arson on the homes of those who did migrate. A yardstick of French success was that by 1750, some two thousand Acadians had taken up residence in Prince Edward Island (Ile. St. Jean) and nearly seven hundred had moved to Cape Breton Island (Ile. Royale). Acting on a directive from Britain, Governor Cornwallis issued a dictum to the remaining Acadians which granted them three months in which to vow fidelity to the Crown. The decree was not accepted by the Acadians, nor was any British force used to gain acceptance, since it was felt such a move would drive the Acadians to the enemy camp.

A threat of war brought a further decree making British allegiance mandatory. The alternative was deportation. The Acadians' decision resulted in the order to deport the recalcitrant Acadians, resulting in the removal from Nova Scotia of some six thousand people in 1755, plus two thousand more who escaped. "As military operations, the
expulsion of the Acadians might be described as reasonably efficient. Still refusing to accept allegiance to the Crown, some six hundred Acadians voluntarily left in 1764 from Halifax with the West Indies as their destination. After the Seven Years War, some two thousand Acadians who had been exiled, returned without qualification, and acceded to the British insistence of allegiance. This action resulted in the granting of full privilege of citizenship to them. During this period Louisburg was lost by the French in 1758, followed by the loss of Quebec the next year (1759), and the complete British domination of Canada as stated by the Peace of Paris, 1763. St. Pierre and Miquelon alone remained French property. Over a period of time, the remaining Acadians and returnees swore allegiance to Britain and acquired property. Those people descending from this core, presently compose about ten per cent of the population on the shores of St. Mary's Bay and Pubnico regions.

Since considerable land was made available from the deportation of the large number of Acadians, Governor Lawrence arranged to have the land occupied by settlers from New England. Free land rights were decreed in 1758-1759 with full publicity as to the merits of Nova Scotia.

This move on the part of Governor Lawrence resulted in some forty-five hundred New Englanders settling on the vacated land, in the Annapolis Valley in particular, and near the Chignecto Isthmus. When talking about Nova Scotia Edmund Burke said in a famous speech, "It was formed by overflowings from the exuberant population of New England." The influx of non-French and non-Acadian made British possession authentic, abetted by the arrival of nearly five hundred settlers from the north of Ireland. This influx received further impetus between the years 1772-1774 with the arrival of some one thousand Britishers from Yorkshire settling on the Isthmus of Chignecto, and from some two hundred Scots settling at Pictou.

The development and settlement of Halifax induced the transfer of government from Annapolis Royal to that site. Initially, the government was composed of a Governor and Council, but in 1758, bowing to the wishes of the former New Englanders and in submission to orders from England, the first popular assembly was elected. This was accomplished in spite of a contrary opinion entertained by Governor Lawrence.

In 1769 Prince Edward Island became a separate "province." During the years, 1784-1820, Cape Breton was

---

separated from Nova Scotia, but in 1820 it joined with Nova Scotia. By the time of the American Revolution, nearly fifty per cent of Nova Scotia's population had New England ancestry, and this segment, enlarged by the number of new arrivals, were faced with a dilemma. Sympathy for their former countrymen brought on a small exodus from the province, and four delegations from Cumberland attended the Continental Congress in Philadelphia. Armed private ships, centered at Michias, Maine, descended at various points of Nova Scotia, and a number of Cumberland residents endeavoured to take over Fort Cumberland. The severity of the problem may be discussed as follows:

Cumberland, according to one missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, was ready for rebellion; the Minas settlements, according to another, though disaffected, could easily be overawed. If there was a general feeling it was probably that of Lunenburg: "The fire may perhaps not reach our province; but we shall be the same." The settlers of Nova Scotia, having achieved a bare competence after fifteen years of pioneering endeavour, wanted to be exempt from the great schism of the Empire. Like the Acadians of twenty years before, they aspired to neutrality. Yarmouth made the request frankly, explaining: "We were almost all of us born in New England, we have father, brothers, sons in that country... It is self-preservation and that only which at this time drives us to make our request." Frequent proclamations of the Continental Congress interpreted this naive desire as favourable to their cause, for purposes of propaganda, Nova Scotia was sometimes listed among the rebel colonies.9

9MacNutt, op. cit., p. 81.
The situation eased as Nova Scotian loyalty to the crown stayed strong:

But if there were any chance that Nova Scotia would slip quickly and easily into the hands of the Americans with the tacit consent of the people, the opportunity rapidly receded. In January of 1776, a regiment of troops arrived from Ireland to garrison Halifax. In March appeared the fleet and army from the evacuation of Boston, and Halifax became temporarily the principal centre of British power in America.10

The termination of the American Revolution witnessed the opening of a new phase in the province, as some thirty-five thousand of those loyal (United Empire Loyalists) to the British Crown, took flight to Nova Scotia from the United States. To this number was added those discharged from military service.

The new settlers were mixed in origin, with Negro, German, British and others being represented. The Napoleonic Wars brought a trade boom to Nova Scotia. The lumbering trade and the ship building industry benefited from the war's demand for such products. The area escaped any direct misery from the War of 1812, while enjoying the anti-war sentiment which existed among the Federalists of neighboring New England.

After Waterloo, Nova Scotia experienced temporary economic recession. A succession of poor harvests added to

10 Ibid., p. 82.
the distress. Nevertheless, from 1815 to 1851, the population of the province enjoyed a marked increase with an influx of nearly fifty-five thousand people. These settlers migrated, for the most part, from Scotland and Ireland. The termination of the War of 1812 witnessed the entry of some two thousand Negroes, followed by some two hundred immigrants from Wales in 1818-1819. Those of Scottish origin settled in the north-eastern area of Cape Breton. Following this migration came the development of both iron and coal mining.

The progress of the 1820's paved the way to produce an all-out demand in the 1830's and 1840's for Responsible Government. The governing hierarchy of well-to-do pro-Anglicans felt they should control the government, contrary to 'Democratic' doctrine. The real power was centralized in the Council of Twelve which united secretly the judiciary, law-enacting procedures, and duties of the legislature. Joseph Howe became a leader of the reform group. The administrations of Sir Colin Campbell and Lord Falkland were marked by constant attempts to gain Responsible Government, which became a fact in 1848 while Sir John Harvey was Governor. This accomplishment represented the creation of the first overseas Responsible Government of the British Empire.
During the years between 1854 and 1866 Nova Scotia enjoyed the benefits of reciprocity with United States. The Reciprocity Treaty eliminated the duty on most agricultural, fishing, mining and forestry products. In-shore fisheries of the province and Unites States were included in the agreement. However, the agreement was terminated in 1866 by the Americans. Impetus for trade with the southern states increased by the 1861 outbreak of Civil War in United States. The Trent Affair, the St. Alban's Raid, the Fenian Raids, the Annexation Manifesto, and the alleged threat of invasion by northern armies during and after the American Civil War all echoed in the ears of many Nova Scotians. That need for defense plus the need for increased inter-colonial trade helped to encourage some Nova Scotians to consider some kind of federation with their neighboring provinces.

The preliminary discussion in 1864 relative to the formation of a federation was met with hostile disfavour amongst many Nova Scotians. Representatives from the Maritime areas met with those from Canada during that year in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, to discuss such a union. The issue resulted in a conference in Quebec, and the adoption of the Seventy-Two Resolutions.
In 1867 the province joined with New Brunswick and Canada to form the Dominion of Canada. The opposition was favoured by uncertainty toward the fiscal terms, local jealousies, absence of trust, all made more intense by the fact that Premier Charles Tupper hesitated to discuss the matter with the populace. Efforts to sabotage the idea of union were made by Joseph Howe, who carried opposition to London without avail. Only one member favouring Confederation was elected to the Federal House in the election, in contrast to eighteen members opposing the plan. In 1869 Joseph Howe was successful in his efforts to improve monetary arrangements for the province from Ottawa. Those new arrangements diminished much opposition toward Confederation.

THE ONE HUNDRED YEARS

Since the turn of this century much progress has been made by Nova Scotia, although it has periodically been visited by recession and economic distress. The World Wars of 1914-1918 and 1939-1945 created a stimulant to the fishing industry, lumber and steel. The rest of Canada may have recovered more quickly from the post-war slump of 1920 than did Nova Scotia. Steamship service and a trade agreement with the West Indies also assisted in bettering the economy, as did endowments to the coal mining industry, harbour improvement at Halifax, and a national rise in
Canadian prosperity. The advent of the 1930's brought the depression to the province as to other sections of Canada. In 1925 the net value of production was under ninety million dollars, in 1945 under one hundred eighty million, by 1955, three hundred thirty-five million, and over four hundred thirty million in 1960. The past decade saw the creation of plants for manufacturing, elastic fabrics, The Institute of Oceanography, and an automobile assembly plant.

The Government of Nova Scotia consists of a Lieutenant-Governor, appointed by the Governor General-in-Council, a Legislative Assembly of forty-three members elected by popular vote for a period not exceeding five years, and an Executive Council of nine ministers named by the Premier who leads the majority party in the Assembly. Nova Scotia is represented in the Government of Canada in Ottawa by ten members of the Senate and eleven members of the House of Commons.

Nova Scotia's population continues to increase each year and now approaches 780,000. Today, sixty per cent of the population lives in urban centres. Of the three major cities, Halifax, the capital, has a population of 100,000; Dartmouth 50,000; and Sydney 35,000 thousand. About seventy-five per cent of the population is of British origin, twelve per cent French, and four per cent German. An estimated sixty-two per cent of the total population is Protestant
and thirty-five per cent Roman Catholic. The population of Nova Scotia is represented by over twenty-four ethnic groups. English is the main language spoken while in some districts French and Gaelic can be heard. Three per cent of Nova Scotia's citizens are Negroes. Thus Nova Scotia has a cosmopolitan population.
CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN NOVA SCOTIA

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the history of education in Nova Scotia. Included is a discussion of: (1) the early influence of the church and government; (2) the growth of colleges and public schools; (3) The Free School Acts; and (4) the developments in curriculum and organization since Confederation.

LA FABRIQUE FRANÇAISE

The life of the early French missionaries, most of whom were also "educators," was hard. Harsh winters provided little warmth for their spirits. When the French botanist-educator Diereville visited Acadia in 1699 in the ship "La Royale Paix," he was moved to write poetry. In free translation, it begins:

This harbour is of great extent;
Nature a basin there has lent
Around which grow the fir trees green,
Producing a most pleasing scene.
Upon its bank a structure odd
Erected for the drying cod.¹

"In return for his vice-royalty and monopoly of the fur trade, De Monts was to colonize the country, convert the inhabitants to Christianity, and to have them instructed and

freed from ignorance." From an educational standpoint it was unfortunate that De Monts placed education in the hands of Foutrincourt who seemed to have little interest in such work. A Monsieur Lescarbot, a lawyer, undertook to educate the colonies so "they would not live like brutes."

Because adult males initially came to Port Royal, a school for children was not planned. Adult education of sorts was necessary. However, a second colony was begun in 1632 at LaHave. Governor Razilly encouraged people from France to settle there. The children saw the area's first school built in 1632, half a decade before Quebec's first school building was constructed. The colony was forced to move in 1635 to Port Royal.

In all probability a girls' school was built before 1641 in Port Royal. The headmistress was Madame de Brice. D'Aulnay's two schools were built by 1650. The English destroyed these schools and their records in a 1654 raid. Phillips perhaps wrongly concludes that the French Acadians were "lazy and incapable of accomplishing much for themselves." He states there was not a 'regular' system of teaching during the early French period.

---


The sparse training that was given to early Acadian children was largely a plan to prepare them for an adult life of hard work. "Book learning" was often replaced by "trade learning". Frecker goes so far as to suggest that the land of the Acadians remained in the educational wilderness until 1713, the date of the Treaty of Utrecht, which turned the land of Acadia to the English.

During its first century and a half Acadia's people were divided by national origins. Naturally, the geography of the land left "pockets of people" separated from each other. Time and progress could bridge that division of geography. Language, religious, and cultural differences made the area less than homogeneous in thought and action.

CHURCH SCHOOLS DEVELOP

The church became involved in meeting the young colony's educational requirements. Phillips states that "One of its major objectives educationally was to maintain the superiority of the church in the colony." Because the clergy had been the promoters of education it was natural that the teachers should be the assistants of the ministers. A teacher's philosophy, methods and work would be determined by the denominational majority of his settlement.

---

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts began work in Nova Scotia in 1728 through the leadership of Reverend Richard Watts, clergyman and teacher. Mr. Watts' teaching salary for that year was ten pounds. He used his own Bibles, prayer books and other private sources as texts. The product was religion; not education in the broader sense. In 1746 the S. P. G. adopted new plans for Nova Scotia. Six clergymen and six schoolmasters of the Church of England were to be provided by the society. Each missionary was to receive a salary of seventy pounds a year. In addition, fifty pounds was to be given each missionary as a gratuity to facilitate the just settlement. The S. P. G. plan further stated "that the salary of each schoolmaster be fifteen pounds per annum... and that ten pounds be given to each schoolmaster as a gratuity to facilitate the first settlement."[5]

At Halifax in 1750 and at Lunenburg in 1753 the S. P. G. established schools. The schoolmasters in other places, eight in all, applied to the S. P. G. for licenses, to teach between 1782 and 1802. Sunday schools were rather similar to the church schools. Reverend Watts conducted the first such service in the area in 1728 at Annapolis.

A Mr. Morrison is given credit for establishing Nova Scotia's first private school. He did this, according to S. P. G. records, in 1765 at Granville. Frecker points out an interesting advertisement by such a private teacher:

On June 6, 1805, Mr. Forrestall announces the opening by permission of an English Academy where youth will be instructed in Reading, Writing, English Grammar, Arithmetic, Bookkeeping, Geography, Geometry, Trigonometry, Altimetry, Longimetry, Mensuration, Surveying on a modern and highly improved plan, Navigation, Economics, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Elocution, Composition, etc. F

Phillips mentions at least three types of schools started for special groups. The first was the school at Lunenburg where the German Protestants were determined to maintain the German language and the Lutheran religion. A second school was established at Sydney in Cape Breton. The S. P. G. and the government voted money to support a suitable minister to serve the Anglican townspeople and help to convert the children of others. The third example is that of the first English school at Annapolis "conducted" by Reverend Woods who was working on a Micmac Grammar.

THE BEGINNING OF GOVERNMENT SUPPORTED SCHOOLS

The first form of government of an English colony usually consisted of a governor representing the Crown, and

---

6 Frecker, op. cit., pp. 43-44
an appointed council responsible to the British Parliament. Nova Scotia was granted its own Legislative Assembly in 1758. This assembly, by modern standards, was not strong but it did provide an opportunity for training in self-government and expression. The appointed council was stronger. Some writers suggest that the governing council was not too anxious to spread learning. Obedient subjects rather than enlightened subjects might better serve the council's plans. Nevertheless, the British did give attention to the problem of public education.

State support for schools was often in the form of land which was allotted through the S. P. G. This plan was carried out when four hundred acres for the minister and two hundred for the schoolmaster were set aside in each of six townships, to be settled by Protestants. Additional clergymen and teachers were to receive two hundred acres and one hundred acres respectively. "Between 1759 and 1785, twelve hundred acres in thirty-one townships were set aside for school purposes. . . . and further grants of land were made in ensuing years."7 The lands were used for the furtherance of all education controlled by the Church of England.

The Nova Scotia legislature passed the first

7Phillips, op. cit., p. 72.
Education Act in 1767. An S. P. G. missionary, Mr. Betcher, introduced in 1766 the bill "For the Establishment, Regulation and Support of Schools." The bill dealt with licensing of teachers, prohibiting Roman Catholics from conducting schools, and providing for a board of trustees. Parts of the first two clauses follow:

Be it enacted by the Commander-in-Chief, Council, and Assembly, that no person hereafter shall set up or keep a grammar school within this province, till he shall first have been examined by the minister of such town wherein he proposes to keep such grammar school, as to the qualifications for the instruction of children in such schools; and where no minister shall be settled, such examination shall together with a certificate from at least six of the inhabitants of such town, of the morals and good conduct of such schoolmasters, which shall be transmitted to the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or Commander-in-Chief, for the time being, for obtaining a license as by His Majesty's royal instruction.

Provided, that no person shall presume to enter upon the said office of schoolmaster, until he shall have taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribed the declaration openly in some one of His Majesty's courts, or as shall be directed by the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or Commander-in-Chief for the time being, and if any papish recusant, papist or person professing the popish religion shall be so presumptuous as to set up any school within this province, and be detected therein, such offender shall, for every such offence, suffer three months imprisonment without bail or mainprize.

The second clause was repealed in 1786 and replaced by another which reads, in part, as follows:

\[\text{Shortt and Doughty, op. cit., pp. 513-514.}\]
Provided also, and it is hereby enacted and declared, That nothing in this Act contained shall, or be construed to extend, to the permitting any popish person, priest or school-master, taking on themselves the education or government, or boarding youth, within this Province, to admit into their schools any youth under the age of fourteen years, who shall have been brought up and educated in the Protestant religion.9

The legislature decided on 1780, October 23, that the House should consider the establishing of a public school in such areas of the province as would be thought most proper. Later the assembly decided that fifteen hundred pounds yearly be provided for the building of the school, and one hundred pounds annually be paid for the support of the schoolmaster. The assistant was to receive 50 pounds annually. Some money was raised by lottery.

THE RISE OF COLLEGES

On March 8, 1783, the New York Church of England's clergymen proposed a "Plan of Religious and Literary Institutions for the Province of Nova Scotia." In accordance with this plan the legislature established an academy at Windsor. In 1789 a grammar school was established at Halifax. An act incorporating King's College at Windsor was passed the same year so "The students would be far removed from the wickedness of Halifax," and "thus was conceived King's Col-

9Ibid., p. 514.
The poet Thomas More visited the environs of King's College in 1804 and was moved to write on the ship "Boston" these lines:

With triumph this morning, O Boston, I hail
The stir of thy deck and the spread of thy sail
For they tell me I soon shall be wafted in thee
To the flourishing isle of the brave and the free,
And that chill Nova Scotia's unpromising strand
Is the last I shall tread of American land.  

King's College provides an interesting historical view into the life of Sir Alexander Croke, the brilliant, cynical English judge whose influences had procured him the Court of Vice Admiralty at Halifax during the Napoleonic period. His most notable effort was the ordinance which made the government-subsidized King's College a preserve of the church, excluding all students who would not subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles. Bishop Inglis called Croke's action "bigotry." In return Croke wrote a less-than-kind poem about Inglis.  

Nevertheless, Croke's "bigotry" had forced King's College into an unfortunate position from which it did not emerge for many years, and in the long run he made possible the very

---

10 Raddall, op. cit., p. 73.
11 Ibid., p. 136.
12 Entitled "The Cure for Love," this poem portrayed the good bishop (an elderly gentlemen of impeccable repute) engaged in making love on a horse to a young lady of Halifax. In his anxiety he fell off the horse into a muddy pool--this was the "cure." There was said to be some foundation for the story.
thing he was trying to prevent—a college (Dalhousie) open to students of all faiths and creeds. By a twist of fate both colleges stand today in harmony upon the grounds of his old estate.

In 1802 King's College received a royal charter and an annual grant of one thousand pounds. One statute contained the following clause:

No member of the university shall frequent the Roman Mass or the meeting-places of Presbyterians, Baptists or Methodists, or the Conventicles or places of worship of any other dissenters from the Church of England, or Divine Service. shall not be performed according to the liturgy of the Church of England.\(^{13}\)

Because three-fourths of the population were "dissenters" there was a demand for an undenominational college. Reverend Thomas McCulloch, who in 1805 established Pictou Academy, began his movement in Northern Nova Scotia after 1805. Six years later the Education Act was passed establishing grammar schools in ten districts of Nova Scotia. The headmasters and assistants received yearly one hundred pounds and fifty pounds respectively.

Dalhousie University was born in spite of Croke and his followers:

Dalhousie founded the college which still bears his name, to provide education for students of all faiths. For a site he chose the north end of Grand

\(^{13}\) Shortt and Doughty, *op. cit.*, p. 515.
Parade, where in Cornwallis' original plan a courthouse was supposed to stand, and where the city hall stands today. He laid the cornerstone on May 22, 1820, in the presence of a great gathering of public dignitaries, troops, and citizens, and paid the cost of a building from the Castine Fund, that useful trophy of the War of 1812. The college was a simple, solid Georgian structure of stone. The early students wore scarlet gowns like those of some Scottish universities. Unfortunately, within a few weeks Dalhousie went to govern Canada. His place was taken by Lieutenant Governor Kempt, another soldier whose recipe for progress was neither agriculture nor learning but the building of roads. For many years the college had a precarious existence, and there were times when it ceased struggling altogether. The stately Georgian edifice at times housed all sorts of alien activities--"a museum, a debating club, a Mechanics' Institute, a post office, an infants' school, a painting club and a pastry-cooks' establishment"--not to mention a fever hospital and a beer bottlery. The building itself has disappeared long since, but Dalhousie University survived and flourished in the time to come.14

The story of Dalhousie's early years continues:

The chief and truly magnificent expression of the new urge was the flowering of Dalhousie College beyond the dreams of its founder. Sir William Young, chairman of the college of governors since 1848, was the prime mover in this as in many other things that were good for the city. As far back as 1856 he had confided to a friend: "Let me lay the foundations broad and deep in a system of free schools, and a provincial university may be our next move. To accomplish these ends, although it would be ridiculous to say so in public, I assure you I would willingly sacrifice place and power." From 1863 onwards he proved it, not only with his works but with his purse...15

---
14 Raddall, op. cit., p. 161-162.
15 Ibid., p. 225.
Twelve years after Dalhousie's cornerstone was laid in 1820 by the Earl of Dalhousie, yet another institution was born:

That poor man's university the Mechanics' Institute was springing up all over Britain, and as early as 1829 Joseph Howe was urging one for Halifax. An Institute was duly organized and on January 11, 1832, Howe had the pleasure of making the inaugural address. He spoke there again on many occasions, preaching always the gospel of faith in Nova Scotia, and the intelligent use of her resources. Others, expert in particular fields, lectured on history, architecture, music, agriculture—everything from hydraulics to comparative anatomy. Men of every sort crowded the Institute to the doors. It was astonishing. Their interest remained, and grew. Dr. D. C. Harvey has truly said that "during the next quarter of a century the Institute might well be called the University of Halifax."

Other institutions followed. Acadia College at Wolfville was begun in 1838. The Presbyterian College originated in affiliation with Pictou Academy in 1820. It was reorganized at West River, in 1858 at Truro, in 1860 at Halifax, and in 1878 at Pine Hill, near Halifax. Antigonish saw the Roman Catholic university, St. Francis Xavier, born in 1854. St. Mary's College in Halifax made modest steps after its beginning in 1860. After 1902 it did work beyond the secondary level. The University of Halifax was incorporated by the legislature on the model of the University of London, but when its grant of $2,000 a year was withdrawn by the government in 1881, it ceased operation.

16 Ibid., pp. 174-175.
DEVELOPMENT OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Educational Acts passed in Nova Scotia illustrate the changing thought and emphasis in educational circles. The Act of 1767 stated that ministers of the church of England would license all teachers. Church influence on education was heavy. That same act provided for trustees of schools and granted four hundred acres in each township for use and support of schools. The Acts of 1780 and 1786 made modifications of the above plan.

The Act of 1794 stated that no particular fund would be appropriated for the support of the Halifax Grammar School, and it would be expedient that some provision should be made for the support of schools in other parts of the province. The act then stated how the funds were to be raised. Taxes on some alcoholic beverages were used for the purpose. If the taxes proved to be insufficient the deficiency was to be made up from duty on licensed houses in the city. This act was to stay in force, with minor alterations for the next thirty-two years.

The Acts of 1808 and 1811 recognized the necessity for general education, and arranged an administrative structure for schools. They also provided authority for the support of schools from local revenue. Grammar schools had three trustees, to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-
in-Council in each of the counties of Halifax, Sydney, Cumberland, Kings, Queens, Lunenburg, Annapolis and Shelburne, and in the districts of Colchester, Pictou and Yarmouth. Latin, Greek, English Grammar, Orthography and Mathematics were subjects taught. This plan was the origin of the present county-academy system of Nova Scotia.

Financial support for these schools was to come from local revenue by means of: (1) bequest, (2) a rate on assessment on approval of majority of inhabitants, and (3) subscriptions. Within limits the province was to pay an amount equal to fifty per cent of funds raised locally.

The beginning of the principle of assessment for the raising of funds locally for school purposes was found in the Act of 1808. This important principle was again recommended by the Act of 1811 and again by the Act of 1826. Section 22 of the 1826 Act made assessment unnecessary if voluntary subscriptions provided enough money. In spite of the fact that the Committee on Education recommended to the House of Assembly that compulsory assessment should be made, the above "subscription clause" was maintained.

By the Act of 1832 all schools receiving provincial grants were to instruct all students without charge if the District Board approved such students. The establishment of "the right to education" principle was official.

The idea of compulsory assessment met with trouble
in the House of Assembly. The Act of 1808, as mentioned, recommended it. The Act of 1826 "advised" local assessment on a two thirds vote of the ratepayers. In 1832 voluntary subscriptions were recommended but in 1838 assessment was disallowed, but was again authorized on the limited basis in 1841. The Act of 1841 provided for a central Board of Education to be established for the purpose of making rules and regulations for the sake of uniformity.

During the 1840's and 1850's many school conditions were deplorable. Teachers' salaries and working conditions were most unsatisfactory. The Act of 1845 raised the provincial grant from £6,000 to £11,170. No area received money until the actual school house was built. The situation had not greatly improved so the demand grew for a Superintendent of Education. By 1857 only one-seventh (38,137) of the population received instruction. Much credit is due to the Provincial Superintendent of Education, Mr. John W. Dawson, whose work as Superintendent of Education between 1850 and 1853 provided enlightenment and progress. Dawson was succeeded by Dr. Forrester who started the Truro Normal School in 1855. He also co-operated with the various newspapers to educate the public to the idea of free education which was finally achieved in 1864. He strongly advocated

17To be discussed later in this chapter.
direct assessment as the best methods of providing for the support of education. The Free School Act of 1864 was a highlight in the progress of Nova Scotia.

THE FREE SCHOOL ACTS

School sections four miles in diameter were organized by the Free School Act of 1864. Towns and cities were also considered to be school sections. Local residents elected the School Trustees in towns and cities. Free education for all students was official.

Financial aid for schools came from the following sources: (1) religious denominations, (2) private subscriptions, (3) Excise Tax, (4) allocation of lands, (5) government grants, and (6) rates on assessments.

The Free School Act of 1864, together with the amendments of 1865 and 1866, established a system of free education for all, supported by compulsory assessment, which has continued in Nova Scotia to the present day. On February 15, 1864, Dr. Tupper, Provincial Secretary, presented the so-called "Free Education Act." In doing so he admitted that a "gradual" move to compulsory assessment was necessary for the sake of good public relations. The highlights of the "Free Education Act of 1864" were:

1. A Council of Public Instruction was established which should have the confidence of the country and be responsible to the Legislature. C. P. I.
members should be chosen from the Legislative Council.

2. The office of Superintendent should have separate duties from those of the Normal School Principal.

3. The C. P. I. should appoint Inspectors for all nineteen counties.

4. A Board of Commissioners was to be appointed for each of the nineteen counties or districts. Each district was divided into convenient sections. This Board of Commissioners was to appoint a Board of Examiners for each school district, one of whom was the inspector, to examine applicants for licenses to teach and to issue licenses. The schools in each rural section were to be placed under the control of a board of three trustees.

5. Provincial Aid was increased. A twenty-five per cent premium was offered to every school founded on the assessment principle and declared "free."

6. In order to help poorer districts one-fifth of the amount placed at the disposal of each Board of Commissioners should be set aside for support of schools in such poorer areas. This amount was besides the amount to which they were otherwise entitled.

7. Trustees were to determine the amount of teachers' salaries, which were to come from voluntary subscription or assessment, and not by fees per pupil.

8. Schools were to be "free" to all children residing in the section in which they were established, hence the term "Free School Act of 1864."

T. H. Rand, Superintendent of Education (1864-70) regarded the results of the 1864 Bill as encouraging in spite of the fact that some of the above mentioned measures

---

did not bring immediate results. There was a great shortage of school buildings, finances were limited, and some people were hesitant to change the structure of educational finance. By 1865 forty-six per cent of the school districts had adopted the new measures.

Dr. Tupper decided in 1865 to introduce compulsory assessment, "a stable foundation of Free Education." He resorted largely to indirect taxation for his purpose. The provincial allowance to common schools rose from $58,880 to $90,000. The counties were to supply for common schools sums equal to two-thirds of the Provincial Grants, and those sums were to be raised by compulsory assessment.

By the Education Act of 1865 compulsory assessment for the support of common schools went into effect. The Act was extended in 1866. A universal system of common school education, improved standards, a sound financial potential, were all results of the Free Education Acts of 1864, 1865, and 1866.

SIR J. WILLIAM DAWSON

Dawson (1820-1899) was an esteemed educator, geologist and naturalist. He was born at Pictou, Nova Scotia, and he attended Pictou Academy and the University of Edinburgh. He was Nova Scotia's first Superintendent of Education (1850-1853). Dawson later became a professor of
Natural History and the principal of McGill University. It can be said that he was responsible for the growth of McGill from a small college to an institution of first rank. Between 1857-1870 he was also principal of McGill Normal School which he helped to found. He received in his lifetime the following honors: F.R.G.S. (1854), F.R.S. (1862), C.M.G. (1881), K.B. (1884).

A voluminous writer, Dawson contributed many papers to scientific periodicals and learned societies. His autobiography, Fifty Years of Work in Canada, was published posthumously in 1901.

Dawson had reluctantly accepted the position of Superintendent of Education. He was only thirty at the time and he believed his qualifications might not match the scope of the position. In spite of his early doubts he worked extremely hard as superintendent, and his health broke two years later. He encouraged the establishment of a Normal School. Dawson also wanted free public schools supported by a general equitable assessment. He received little support for his plan from the Legislature so he resigned his position of superintendent in 1853. His disappointment with "those sleepy devils of the Legislature" was heavy. In 1855 he became principal of McGill, a position he kept for the next thirty-eight years.

However, during his time as superintendent, Dawson
realized that common school education in Nova Scotia was far below the needs of the people. Only fifty per cent of the children were at any one time at school. Poorly trained teachers, inadequate school buildings and supplies were problems to be met by the superintendent. In 1850 two-thirds of the teachers had an average salary of £36. Dawson's plan for compulsory assessment was uppermost in his mind. He suggested that the province pay one-third, the county pay one-third (the wealthy would help the poor), and that the district would pay one-third of the costs of education. Again the legislature demurred. Dawson was deeply disappointed with the decision.

Dawson and his successor as superintendent, Reverend A. Forrester, tried to awaken the province to a greater sense of its educational responsibilities. They asked for better schools, texts, grading systems, school facilities, better salaries, compulsory assessment, and many other goals. That many of these goals were eventually reached reflect the solid efforts and ideas of J. W. Dawson. His accomplishments make him one of the great names in Nova Scotian history.

CONFEDERATION AND LATER

According to Phillips, Nova Scotia followed the usual steps in establishing central authorities:

- The (l) establishing of some regular system
of grants, (2) setting up of boards intermediate between the locality and the government to examine and license teachers, (3) establishment of a provincial board with wider powers, and (4) employment of a provincial superintendent and subsequently of additional expert personnel.19

By Confederation denominational disputes had not rocked Nova Scotia's educational structure in the severe manner as was witnessed in other areas of Canada:

"In Nova Scotia there has never been the bitter antagonism between Catholics and Protestants which has unfortunately prevailed in some other provinces of Canada," said the Honorable Mr. Justice F. A. Anglin in 1910 in an address before the Catholic Educational Association in the United States. . . . one is inclined to accept the explanation of the Honorable Mr. Fielding, a Protestant, . . . We have no separate schools by law in Nova Scotia, but I say that we could not have brought about that happy condition if we had not been disposed to meet our Roman Catholic brethren in a generous spirit. . . .20

During the debate on the Education Act of 1865, dealing with compulsory assessment, denominationalism did spark some argument, however. The earlier bill of 1856 which supported separate schools was defeated. The "common school" principle was strong enough even by 1867 to withstand pressure from those who wanted denominational schools.

In Nova Scotia at the end of the nineteenth century the superintendent stated that it was assumed that religious


20 Ibid., p. 322.
exercises were conducted, and that they were held before or after school hours if any objection was made. The nearest approach to religious instruction was the injunction stating that the teacher should inculcate by precept and example respect for religion and Christian morality.

Growth and development in education followed confederation. Nevertheless, as the Superintendent of Education (1864-1870) R. M. Rand reported, there were many aspects of education which needed that growth and development. In the 1400 school sections in 1864 some two hundred were without school houses either public or private and several hundred others could scarcely be called suitable school houses. The physical school houses often presented a deplorable picture. The school life of the teacher and pupil was often uncomfortable and unpleasant. The first grade by grade curriculum was established and printed in 1881. The common school course of eight years (eight grades) and the high school course of four years (four grades) forming a twelve year course was instituted. That plan articulated with the universities. Compulsory school attendance for children seven to twelve years of age became law in 1882. In 1895 the age was raised to sixteen years for town students. Education for blind children was formally instituted by the bill of 1882. In 1857 the Halifax Institution for the Deaf and Dumb was established. Similar provision was made for deaf children in
the 1884 bill. In 1875 a new Normal College was erected in Truro which remained in use until the early 1960's. Humanitarians were successful in securing the establishment of separate reform institutions for children in Halifax in 1864.

**THE CURRICULUM EXPANDS**

"The twenty years from 1890 to 1910 proved to be a period of innovation and experimentation, under the influence of Dr. A. H. MacKay, who was appointed Superintendent of Education in 1891."21 The high school program was divided into "years," with a separate examination for each year. This system lasted until 1930. Professional teacher education subjects were removed in 1892 from the high school curriculum. After that date such training took place at the Normal College, and higher licenses and grants were provided for Normal College graduates. In 1908 the last major curriculum revision prior to 1931 occurred.

"Practical" subjects were added to the curriculum. Technical and agricultural education received new impetus. The Technical Education Act, 1907, established coal mining and engineering schools as well as evening technical schools. The Nova Scotia College of Agriculture was established in

---

1899, and began full operation in 1905. Regular "short courses" in agricultural science were given to Normal College students. Mechanic and Domestic Science departments were begun before 1900 in Halifax and at the Normal College.

Sir William MacDonald provided financial support for a large-scale experiment in consolidation. The school in Middleton is still known as the "MacDonald Consolidated School." Eight school sections were involved in this experiment, but when the special grant was withdrawn half of the eight reverted to "the little red school house." Perhaps the time and situation were not ready for consolidation. Transportation to such areas perhaps required an age of paved roads and motor cars. Another serious obstacle was the delay of children at "picking-up" stations in cold weather, when vans might be unduly delayed by inclement weather and bad roads. The result of this attempt at consolidation is reported by James Bingay of the Jackson Press 1919:

...the system is disliked by both mothers and children, a very important consideration. The former have to prepare their children for school an hour or more before the usual time, so that they can be at the "picking-up" station on time. The latter have to wait at these stations for the van when it is delayed, as it often is by the state of the roads. This is a serious inconvenience in cold and stormy weather; for a heated waiting room every half mile or so along the main route is out of the question. Besides, after the first novelty of van-riding has worn off, the time consumed in going to and from the school is looked on as part, and the most disagreeable part of the school session. Hence, the school day
is considerably lengthened at both ends. 22

THE WAIT AND HURRY

Education in Nova Scotia did not make huge strides in the fifteen years preceding 1925. Many people left Nova Scotia, some moving to the prairies. Industry and agriculture were not moving ahead. "Rural Science" taught at Normal College and summer schools did not meet the challenges. World War I drained more manpower from Nova Scotia. However, the costs of education rose sharply during that fifteen year period. The Carnegie Report of 1921 inferred that widespread apathy toward public education in Nova Scotia was prevalent.

Since 1893 there had been an annual increase of Normal-trained teachers employed in the schools of the province. Later, however, there became a teacher shortage because of the "exodus to the West." The prairie provinces were in dire need of trained teachers. As far as some Nova Scotia teachers were concerned, the main attraction was the higher salaries offered in the prairie provinces. From this time, and well into the 1920's, Nova Scotia lost many of its Normal-trained, as well as experienced, teachers. Indeed, some teachers attended the Normal School for the purpose of being acceptable in the prairies. An old regulation, long

22Ibid., p. 31.
without occasion for use, had to be applied, making tuition free only to those intending to teach at least three years in Nova Scotia. Even this plan did not stop the exodus, since a teacher could go West, earn the higher salary, and repay the Government of Nova Scotia for the cost of the tuition at the Normal School. The exodus continued until the early 1920's when the prairie provinces were better able to supply their own needs for teachers. Meanwhile, the Nova Scotian situation was fraught with danger because places that would have been filled with Normal-trained teachers had to be filled by less qualified teachers, the abler of whom frequently used teaching as a stop-gap before entering upon more lucrative employment.

The war of 1914-1918, accompanied as it was by high employment and manpower needs of the nation, had its effect in creating a teacher shortage, as well as a reduction, particularly of men, in the number offering for teacher training. From 1917 into the early '20's, the average attendance at the Normal College was more than one hundred below the 1915 enrollment. In the year 1916 only fourteen men enrolled, and six of these enlisted before the end of the term.

As a result of the teacher shortage, the policy was adopted in 1915 of admitting university graduates to the Normal College for a six weeks's spring term, awarding them
Superior First Class Licenses. This plan had the advantage of attracting to teaching a considerable number of teachers of high scholastic attainment, but their effectiveness in the school was lessened by their meagre professional training. Although many who qualified as teachers by this stop-gap procedure became outstanding teachers in the province, the arrangement on the whole was not satisfactory either to the students or to the Normal College staff. The course was not adequate either in time or content, and it was discontinued in 1926 when departments of education were set up in the provincial universities for the purpose of training college graduates as high school teachers. The work of the Normal College became principally the preparation of teachers for the elementary and junior high school grades.

SLOWLY TURNS THE TIDE

Dr. Henry F. Munro, appointed Superintendent of Education in 1925, saw the close relationship between the development of education and the political, social and economic growth of Nova Scotia. Realizing that Nova Scotian education was lacking he proposed a four point program for improvement:

1. Improvement of the teaching profession through increased length and quality of academic and professional training, and improved financial security.
2. Revision and broadening of the school program, to provide for different levels and degrees of interest and ability

3. Strengthening the high schools and providing equal opportunity for high school children in rural and urban areas

4. Reorganization of the financial and administrative structure of the school system, which had remained virtually unchanged since the Acts of 1864-1865-1866

Dr. Munro's second proposal gained support in the years between 1931 and 1936. Grades were organized in the six-three-three plan: six years of elementary, three years of junior high, and three years of senior high school. In addition to the regular academic subjects, the program included options in agriculture, commerce, music, art, handicrafts, and later industrial arts and home economics. Some options were available in the junior high school.

Point three of Dr. Munro's proposals was seen as best being served in the establishment of the Larger Unit System. Tempered by the depression, preparations were made in the 1930's for the revision of the administrative and financial structure of the school system. A commission was set up in 1938 to re-examine the problem. It agreed that the old "sectional" system of school finance was disintegrating. Debts were many and teachers' salaries were much in arrears. Legislation for the creation of the larger municipal unit

23Ibid., p. 32.
provided for the administration of schools in rural municipalities by Municipal School Boards. There was to be a uniform levy over the whole municipality, with the balance to be paid by the province from an "equalization fund." This legislation left capital expenditures with the local school sections. This proved to be a deterrent to growth until 1956 when the situation was changed. All municipalities adopted the larger unit by 1946.

Once again did war (1939-1945) delay the best laid plans of mice, men and Munro. By this time the plans called for regional high schools rather than the original plan of small one and two room academic high schools proposed earlier. Larger towns were taking in children from the surrounding areas and the number of rural high schools decreased.

Dr. Munro's wish for a reorganization of the financial and administrative structure of the school system waited thirty years for fruition. In 1953 the Nova Scotian government appointed Mr. Justice Pottier to examine the system of educational finance. His suggestions were embodied, in modified form, in legislation which provided for a "foundation program" for both rural and urban municipalities, financed by a uniform levy of eight mills on an equalized assessment. A notable feature was the provision of grants for capital expenditures from rural and village school
sections to the municipal councils.

In expansion, therefore, as in most other respects, Nova Scotia has been conservative. In its government, Nova Scotia did away with the Legislative Council as late as 1928. In the Department of Education the first minister took office in 1949, and the first deputy minister in 1950.

Conservatism is shown in strong attachment to traditional forms and names and in geographical and sectarian loyalties. Pictou Academy is still so called although it has been supported by local taxation since 1885. The Normal College at Truro, opened in 1855, was still in operation at the same place under the same name in the early 1960's; and arguments about its location in newspapers and periodicals nearly a century apart professed the same distrust of Halifax and the same fear that life in that seaport city would corrupt teachers-in-training from rural areas. The small denominational universities of Nova Scotia maintained their independence against strong inducements to unite. Even among the Roman Catholics there are separate degree-granting institutions for those who speak French. There are also two English-speaking universities, St. Francis Xavier and St. Mary's.

There are three principal degree granting institutions; Dalhousie, Acadia and St. Francis Xavier. A fourth college, King's, is associated with Dalhousie. Mt. St. Vincent,
St. Mary's and Ste. Anne are smaller arts colleges. Specialized institutions include the Nova Scotia Agricultural College and the Nova Scotia Technical College, as well as schools for the blind and deaf.

Educational change in Nova Scotia has not always been easy, as Phillips states:

The hostility of the province to any sudden change—no matter how good in purpose and effect—may be illustrated by the fate of the Tupper administration which enacted free school legislation in 1864 and compulsory local taxation one year later. In recompense for this greatest single service of a government to education, the Nova Scotians in the next election defeated every candidate but one of the Conservative party. 24

Today, schooling is both free and compulsory for everyone of school age. There is no separate school system established by law. The schools are administered in district units and are supervised by the Department of Education.

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORY OF THE NEGRO OF NOVA SCOTIA

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the history of the Nova Scotian Negro. As many of his ancestors were slaves, a discussion of slavery in America is included. Noted also is the movement of Negroes to Canada during the era of the American Revolution, and during the War of 1812. Because Canada was a terminal for the Underground Railway, that account is included also. Attention is drawn to the Negro immigration to Nova Scotia. The chapter concludes with a history of early Nova Scotian Negro education.

INTRODUCTION

Some scholars may be surprised to learn that "A Negro, Pedro Alonso Nino, touched the shores of America with Columbus in 1492."¹ Negroes also accompanied Balboa, Ponce de Leon, Cortez, Pizarro and Menendes. "Mathieu d'Acosta, a Negro, travelled with Champlain on his 1606 voyage to the New World."²

By the 1860's, which witnessed the American Civil War and Canada's Confederation, most of the Negro "immigra-

tion" from United States to Canada had taken place.

Africa was the original source of the Nova Scotian Negroes whose forefathers were slaves brought to the Americas to serve their white masters. The Negro struggle to gain equality, in Nova Scotia as in other parts of North America, has been difficult and long. In recent years newspaper headlines have told of the racial problems on this continent. The problems have been made immeasurably more difficult by the fact that for two hundred and fifty years white men bought and sold human beings for private gain. Though many people, black and white, won emancipation for those slaves, the wounds have remained open to this day.

BRANDED BLACKS

Columbus and his immediate followers treated the Caribs and other Indians of the New World with appalling brutality. When they sent a few hundred slaves back to Spain, Queen Isabella of Castile, forbade them to be kept and returned them. The Spaniards, with the help of measles and smallpox, exterminated the native population of the West Indies and found themselves with nobody to work and gather in their new-found treasures for them.

The labour could be supplied by buying Negro slaves

\[ \text{See Appendix A} \]
from the Portuguese, who were importing them from Africa
and selling them in increasing numbers in a slave-market at
Lisbon. The first shipload of these slaves had come in 1503.
Starting in 1515, they were brought from the Guinea Coast
direct to America.

Sir John Hawkins, a wealthy Plymouth merchant, was
the first systematic English slave-trader. One of his chief
difficulties was with the Queen. Although willing to help
Hawkins on his voyages, and anxious to share the profits,
Elizabeth did not want to provoke Spain to war, so she had
to be approached "on the quiet" because rivalry was great
between the two nations. She was told that the trading
goods were quite unobjectionable, and when later the goods
turned out to have been slaves, it was easy to still the
royal indignation with a percentage of the profits.

The pattern of Hawkins' slave-trading was to sail
past the Cape Verde Isles to the Guinea Coast, exchange
trifles with slave-raiding Negroes for slaves, and then sail
to the New World, where he sold the slaves at high prices
to the Spaniards. Thus there was a triangular voyage:
Plymouth--Guinea--New World--Plymouth. That is why the
voyage west across the Atlantic came to be known as the
"Middle Passage."

Crowded ships carried the thousands of Negroes to
America. A description, in part, of a slave ship is as
follows:

...The height, sometimes, between decks, was only eighteen inches; so that the unfortunate human beings could not turn around, or even on their sides, the elevation being less than the breadth of their shoulders; and here they are usually chained to the decks by the neck and legs. The slaves were stowed in the narrow space between decks, and chained together. They heard a horrid din and tumult among them and could not imagine from what cause it proceeded. They opened the hatches and turned them up on deck. They were manacled together, in twos and threes. Their horror may be well conceived, when they found a number of them in different stages of suffocation; many of them were foaming at the mouth, and in the last agonies,—many were dead. Many destroyed one another, in the hopes of procuring room to breathe; men strangled those next them, and women drove nails into each other's brains. Many took the opportunity of jumping overboard.4

The author continues the description as follows:

The stench below was so great that it was impossible to stand more than a few minutes near the hatchways. Our men who went below from curiosity, were forced up sick in a few minutes; then all the hatches were off. What must have been the sufferings of those poor wretches, when the hatches were closed! I am informed that very often in these cases, the stronger will strangle the weaker; and this was probably the reason why so many died, or rather were found dead the morning after the capture. None but an eye witness can form a conception of the horrors these poor creatures must endure in their transit across the ocean.5

The first regular chartered company dealing in slaves


5 Ibid., pp. 25-26.
was authorized by Charles I in 1631, but it was not until 1672 that the Royal African Company was chartered by Charles II. In 1698, under William and Mary, this company's monopoly was broken and any private entrepreneur was allowed to trade. Finally, when temporary peace came to Europe with the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, an important element in the treaty was an agreement by which Spain consented to sell England the monopoly of the slave trade with her Empire in the New World. The English were to supply a minimum of 144,000 slaves at the rate of 4,500 slaves a year, and the King of England was to receive one-quarter of the profits. Between 1713 and 1733, 150,000 slaves were imported to Spanish and English America. By 1754, there were 293,000 slaves in North America, and by 1790, just under 700,000.

Arguments continue to this day as to the number of slaves that were brought to North and South America. The following account tells of the possible numbers involved:

All general figures are guesses, but the estimates are significant. One author estimates the general migration from the Congo to America to have been as follows: 7,000 annually during the sixteenth century, 15,000 during the seventeenth century, and 30,000 during the eighteenth; for the first half of the nineteenth century he places the number at the incredible sum of 150,000 annually to 1850, and as high as 50,000 between 1850 and 1860, and 2,000 between 1860 and 1885, a total of more than 13,000,000 from the Congo from the beginning of the commerce. Exaggeration, it seems—but, how much? Another author suggests a total
of 20,000,000 exported from all Africa for the entire period. Again an exaggeration? But by how much? Even a conservative estimate would hardly cut this figure in half. It really makes little difference how much it is cut, for, to repeat, the enterprise lasted over four centuries and engaged the energies of many commercially minded people in many parts of Africa, Europe, and the Western Hemisphere. 6

The first decennial census in 1790 stated that there were 757,208 Negroes in the United States. "That amount constituted one-fifth of the total population of the country." 7

TWO WARS AND NEGRO IMMIGRATION TO CANADA

During the Revolutionary War (1775-1781) many Loyalists went into exile over the Canadian border, and with their slaves settled in Upper Canada, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia. By 1750 Americans were flocking to Halifax, but they were not farmers. They were fishermen and traders looking for a harvest from the sea and from the town. There were other settlers of all sorts:

One half-pay naval captain named Bloss built himself a mansion and maintained a staff of sixteen Negro slaves. Another settler well supplied with Negro labour was Joshua Mauger who had laid the foundation of a fortune in the West Indian slave trade and still manned his ships with faithful blacks. 8

6Tannenbaum, op. cit., pp. 31-32.
7Ibid., p. 33.
Negro slaves were in demand and in 1760 the Gazette in Halifax could advertise such items as: "To be sold at public auction on Monday at the house of Mr. John Rider, two slaves, a boy and a girl about eleven years old, likewise a puncheon of choice cherry brandy with sundry other articles."\(^9\) There were plenty of white "slaves" to be had along the docks where passengers landed from Great Britain. The system of indentures by which poor English, Irish, and Scots, male and female, bound themselves out for years to pay for their passage across the sea was perhaps "slavery in disguise." So was the binding out of orphans, who frequently ran away from their masters and for whose capture rewards were advertised exactly as though they had been Negroes from Africa.

Advertisements for the return of such runaways remained a feature of the Nova Scotia Gazette. The trade in Negroes flourished more than ever, for the wealthier loyalists had brought many Negroes with them. The Gazette announced from week to week such bargains as "an able Negro wench about twenty-one years of age, capable of performing both town and country work, and an exceedingly good cook."\(^{10}\) Mr. Jacob Hurd (whose name is still attached to a Halifax lane)

\(^9\)Ibid., p. 63.
\(^{10}\)Ibid., p. 90.
advertised for a reward of five pounds for the return of his runaway Negro, Cromwell. Mr. John Rock, a self-made man of fortune, and a pillar of St. Paul's, offered a mere two dollars for the return of a "Negro girl named Thursday, about four and a half feet high, broad-set, with a lump over her right eye and had on a red cloth petticoat, a red baize bed-gown and a red ribbon about her head."11

Slavery was never legally recognized in the province (nor has there ever been any legal color bar set up there). Nevertheless, slavery was not uncommon from the middle of the eighteenth century, although from 1775 on public opinion was hardening against it:

At one time, when the shortage of labor in the colony brought a suggestion that Negroes should be imported, the argument that they could not stand the climate was countered by the proposal that they could be clothed in beaver robes whose quality they would improve by a winter's wear. . . .12

In 1833 slavery was abolished in all British colonies. Slavery had ceased to be protected by the law when the courts of both New Brunswick and Nova Scotia had in 1800 denied the rights of slave-owners to regain possession of lost property. By 1808 both male and female slaves had generally deserted their masters, who, in Nova Scotia,

11 Ibid.

made strenuous efforts to enforce their authority by new laws that would prohibit desertions.

At the close of the War of 1812 there began a period of great extremes in wealth and poverty, foreshadowing a period of depression:

Yet in 1814, when British warships returned from the southern states of the Union bearing seventeen hundred released slaves, agriculture was the only recourse for these unhappy people, who lacked both capital and skill. They were settled at Hammond's Plains, Preston, and other points outside Halifax. New Brunswick took five hundred, who were settled at Loch Lomond. The British government offered to remove them to Trinidad, but they preferred a northern climate to which they were unaccustomed rather than what they thought would be a return to slavery.13

Employment for the Negroes was limited to poorly paid labor jobs. The fortunate few whose grants of land held agricultural possibilities, were handicapped by their unfamiliarity with the climate and soil conditions. Those factors with alternate periods of work and unemployment, as the demand in labor market rose or fell, gave Negroes little chance to develop habits of consistent industry and ambition.

Several hundred slaves, 14 men, women and children,

---


14William Hall of Hantsport, Nova Scotia, fought with the British army and was awarded one of the first Victoria Crosses. He won the V. C. for valour at the "Relief of Lucknow" in 1857. Hall was the son of a Virginian slave who escaped to Nova Scotia in 1814.
had escaped during the war of 1812 from the Chesapeake plantations and flocked down to the British ships, entreat ing the sailors to take them away to freedom. The officials in Halifax took charge of the Negroes and clothed them against the coming cold weather in captured American uniforms and the regimentals of a disbanded provincial corps. Two thousand Negroes were brought to Nova Scotia during the year of 1815, and were eventually settled on Crown lands in Preston, Halifax County. Most of the Negroes were poor and uneducated. It was hoped by the authorities that the Negroes would be able to carry on market gardening and to supply the city, but the Negroes had been accustomed to good soil, warm climate and inducement from the whip. The barren rocks and trees of Preston failed to encourage productive industry in these early refugees. The authorities who were interested in helping became somewhat discouraged. During this period the Earl of Dalhousie wrote:

... Permit me to state plainly to your Lordship that 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 nature 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. ... 15

This statement is significant for two reasons: (1) it reveals the status of these people who were to make their

homes in Nova Scotia, and (2) it reveals a change in attitude on the part of the officials of the province that indicated the general feeling toward these new immigrants. It was evident that it was not the intention of the government to permit any further mass movements into the country by Negroes, for in March, 1834, the following resolution was passed:

... Whereas it is feared that upon the Negroes being emancipated from their slavery in the British West Indies, the Bermudas and the Bahama Islands, numbers of them may be brought into this province, and prove a great burden to the community: Resolved that a select commission be appointed to consider the best means of preventing the introduction of paupers into this province. ... 16

The bill was introduced but was not allowed by the Imperial Government. The first years saw the government maintaining a relatively close watch over the Negro settlement, providing regular rations, clothing and seed. This plan was later modified by the issuing of small money grants to various communities for the purchase of seeds and other supplies. The plan continued after 1834 for a period of approximately thirty years, during which time the Negroes were left on their own.

The abolitionist movement became very active before and during the Civil War of 1861-1865, and among the many

16 Ibid., pp. 430-431.
efforts in the interest of slaves was the Underground Railroad, which served to shelter and guide many slaves into various parts of Canada.

SHACKLES REMOVED

The Underground Railroad

The Underground Railroad was an organized escape route for slaves, existing in Canada and the northern United States prior to and during the Civil War (1861-1865). In spite of Fugitive Slave laws many sympathetic northerners secretly helped slaves make their way to freedom in Canada. Levi Coffin and Robert Purns were two leaders of the "railroad." Various routes were designated as "lines;" while stopping places were called "stations." Helpers were called "conductors," and the slaves were called "packages" or "freight." Thomas Garrett, a Quaker from Pennsylvania, is said to have helped 2,700 slaves to freedom. A Negro named Harriet Tubman was perhaps the most famous "conductor."

Estimates of the number of slaves who reached freedom through the system vary from 40,000 to 100,000.

The census figures for 1851 and 1861 show something of the influx of escaped slaves. In the former year eight thousand Negroes lived in Canada West and only eighteen in Canada East. By the outbreak of the Civil War there were over eleven thousand in Canada West, a still negligible one hundred and ninety in Canada East. The Negro population of New Brunswick increased nearly fifty per cent during the ten years, from eleven hundred
to sixteen hundred. The Negro was more prevalent in Nova Scotia than elsewhere, for one person in fifty was a Negro, the population increasing from five thousand to six thousand during a decade. There were, therefore, approximately nineteen thousand Negroes in the provinces in 1861, according to the census report, plus an estimated four thousand Negroes on the Pacific coast.17

Many writers suggest that no one knows the exact number of Negroes who came to Canada:

These census figures are unreliable, however, and other sources have placed the Negro population of the provinces as high as seventy-five thousand by 1861. Sixty thousand is the commonly accepted estimate for all of British North America, at least twenty-thousand of whom crossed the border in the final decade. In 1861 the American Missionary Association estimated that forty thousand Negroes lived in Canada West alone, a figure that recent scholars have revised to thirty thousand.18

Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin was inspired by the Fugitive Slave Law. The book, published in 1852, inspired many northerners to aid the Negroes in their escape attempts. One writer suggests:

The new Fugitive Slave Law deeply offended many Northerners. They refused to take any part in catching slaves; instead, they helped fugitives to escape. The "underground railroad" became more efficient and unabashed. Some slaves escaped from coastal areas by ship. Some, travelling by night and guided by the North Star, walked from their plantations to the Ohio River and were helped

18 Ibid., p. 8.
into Canada. Some followed the Appalachian chain into Pennsylvania. The Northern runaways, and men like Levi Coffin, the so-called president of the "underground railroad," helped scores to reach safety. In 1850 about twenty thousand escaped slaves who had settled in Northern communities were subject to recapture, but efforts to seize men often provoked riots. 19

The impact of Uncle Tom’s Cabin on Canadians is discussed as follows:

The Toronto Globe printed selections from the book including the famous fifth chapter, and the book itself sold in the thousands and reportedly made confirmed abolitionists of many Canadians. The story was even more exciting when it was realized that the prototype of Uncle Tom, the Reverend Josiah Henson, who had escaped to the Canadas in 1830, was living at the colony of Dawn, near Dresden, in Canada West. Even today Uncle Tom’s Cabin is the "American classic" that Canadian schools know best. It probably served to make many men vow, as did the young Wilfred Laurier, who was one day to be Prime Minister, that slavery must be destroyed 20.

The following words of an old Negro song tells of the hopes of the escaped slave:

Farewell, old master,
Don’t come after me
I’m on my way to Canada
Where coloured men are free. 21

It was at Chatham that John Brown met with several


Negroes and Whites in May, 1858, to plan a blow against the South. It was to Canada that three men who supported Brown fled after their unsuccessful attempt at Harper's Ferry. A follower of Brown, Samuel Howe, wrote the following to the abolitionist Theodore Parker:

I look with the more interest upon Canada, because it seems to me she is to be the great reliable ally of the Northern states, in the coming struggle with slavery. When the lines are fairly drawn what an immense moral aid it will be to the North to have such a population as that of Canada (especially Canada West) at her back.  

Canadian opinions and interests were largely on the side of the North in the Civil War. One writer states, in part:

A pioneer nation composed largely of independent farmers had little reason to sympathize with slavery. Agrarian radicalism and humanitarian sentiment alike dictated an attitude of condemnation. The economic ties that had been strengthened by the Reciprocity Treaty and the personal ties resulting from the continued ebb and flow of population across the border linked the colonies of British North America with the Northern states, and some tens of thousands of volunteers from Canada served in the ranks of the northern armies.  

Emancipation

In 1789, William Wilberforce made his first great

---


speech in the British Parliament against the slave trade. He was supported by Burke, Pitt and Fox, but the House defeated his motion. Thomas Clarkson, Granville Sharp, and their friends saw that there would never be a decision in Parliament until public opinion had been roused, and their committee started to do all that could be done to rouse it. Wilberforce reintroduced his motion for the abolition of the slave trade and at last his 'Bill to End the Slave Trade' became law in 1807:

... the African slave trade, and all manner of dealing and trading in the purchase, sale, barter, or transfer of slaves, or of persons intended to be sold, transferred, used, or dealt with as slaves, practised or carried on, in, at, to, or from any part of the coast or countries of Africa, shall be, and the same is hereby abolished, prohibited, and declared to be unlawful; and also that all and all manner of dealing, either by the way of purchase, sale, barter, or transfer, or by means of any other contract or agreement whatever relating to any slaves, or to any persons intended to be used or dealt with as slaves, for the purpose of such slaves or persons being removed or transported either immediately or by transhipment at sea or otherwise, directly or indirectly from Africa, or from any island, country, territory or place whatever, in the West Indies, or in any other island, country, territory, or place whatever, is hereby in like manner utterly abolished, prohibited, and declared to be unlawful; 24

Not until 1863 was slavery abolished in United States.

Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation said, in part:

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are, and henceforth shall be, free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, shall recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense; and I recommend to them that, in all cases where allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages. . . .

Many earlier Americans claimed a hatred for slavery, Washington hoped for a plan for the abolition of slavery. Jefferson called slavery "unremitting despotism." Franklin called it an "atrocious debasement of human nature." According to Daniel Webster, slavery was a "moral and political evil." Nevertheless, "The first fifty Negroes from Africa were brought to the Antilles in 1511. . . ." and from that date to the date of emancipation, slavery was an integral part of North American History.

The African nation, Liberia, owes its name to the fact that it was established in 1822 as a home for freed slaves from United States. Significantly the motto of Liberia is: "The love of freedom brought us here."

---


26 Tannenbaum, op. cit., p. 15.
Earlier, in 1787, a party of freed slaves was sent out from England to settle in Sierra Leone. The settlement was not a success, but in 1792 a further contingent of Negroes arrived from Nova Scotia. Eight years later another party of freed Negroes from Jamaica was sent to Sierra Leone whose capital city is well named—Freetown. A container of Nova Scotia soil rests in a Freetown park—a reminder of a Canadian experience.

Faint Light

The majority of Canadian Negroes trace their origin to these three movements—the Revolutionary War, the 1812 War, and the American Civil War. There has been some casual movement across the border from the United States in recent years; also migrants from the West Indies have settled in the industrial areas of Cape Breton, and others have landed as seamen.

There were those in Canada who looked upon the Negro immigration with apprehension. For the most part the newcomers were settled in communities by themselves where they were expected to cultivate the soil. This they did with a small measure of success, often against odds of limited background and poor land. The Negroes felt obliged to develop themselves within their own small communities apart from the rest of society, and this proved to be both
economically and socially impossible. As a result, the Canadian Negro, with an occasional exception, either has become an urban dweller or, as is common in Nova Scotia, lives in his rural community and derives his livelihood by commuting to the neighboring urban centre.\(^{27}\) Ontario and the west have produced a greater number of full-time farmers due to the fact that the Negroes there were given larger grants of better land. In Nova Scotia, the refugees of 1812 were settled on ten acre lots which served to provide only charcoal and a home garden. The small Negro community could not provide the facilities for training or a standard of living comparable to those that existed in the urban centres. Life in the isolated Negro community was hard, and almost unbearable:

Clinging to their cherished grants of land, from which they could barely scratch a subsistence, the Negroes in these settlements became more and more isolated. This segregation was partly voluntary, the Negro families in their pride and poverty turning their backs on the rest of the province. But it soon became a self-perpetuating segregation. The struggle to keep

\(^{27}\) Sam Langford (1880-1956), a Nova Scotia Negro, was one of the greatest boxers of all time. He started his career in 1902 and didn't retire until 1924. Although Langford never held a championship he fought and defeated most of the leading heavyweights of his day. In 1906 he fought the famous Jack Johnson. Langford lost the fight but Johnson refused to fight Langford again. He has remained to this day a hero to many Nova Scotian Negroes.
ahead of starvation made education difficult and this made the search for a living more of a struggle than ever, thus widening still further the gap between the races.28

During the 30-year period between 1871 and 1901 the Nova Scotian rural Negro population decreased by six thousand while the urban population increased by one thousand. What became of the other five thousand and the natural increase? The only explanation that one can be given is a great exodus to the United States in search of gainful employment.29 The census of 1911 showed further decrease of five hundred.

It was not until 1921 that any increase in Negro population was recorded--1300--and that seems to represent the Negro population had begun to be integrated into Canadian economic life, to be free to move from rural to urban centres and to be able; sometimes, to find gainful employment. By 1941 the rural centres had become stabilized, and were able to maintain their populations. A number of factors account for the stabilization: improved roads, schools, churches, health services, electrification, and better means of transportation. Yet, some writers strongly


29 William Bond, an American Negro was the first man arrested by the R. C. M. P. He had been selling whiskey to Indians. Bond escaped to the United States, never to be caught by the police.
suggest that racial discrimination has prevented real economic progress:

Canada has no laws of segregation, but there can be no doubt that Negroes have suffered from racial discrimination in employment and in access to educational opportunity. It was not until the 1940's that Negro girls were accepted for training as nurses in Canadian hospitals. There are few in the professions generally, including teaching, and few have been accepted in such less skilled occupations as store clerks. But gradually these barriers are being removed. Negroes were employed in the urban centres first as labourers and domestics; later more attractive employment was provided by hotels and railways. Two provinces, Ontario and Saskatchewan, now have fair-employment-practices legislation, making it illegal to discriminate on the basis of race, color or religion. The Federal Government has entered a similar clause in all federal contracts. With better income and improved educational opportunity, both academic and vocational, the Negro community of today is endeavouring to make its way through the barriers of racial discrimination and inadequate training. The presence of a few Negro students on the campuses of Canadian universities and at various schools of training has become more or less accepted.

Despite the disapproval of many Canadians and despite their often earnest efforts to overcome it, Negroes in many parts of Canada are still continually facing discrimination. However, in the majority of the larger cities there is no Negro section. For the most part Negroes are permitted to purchase homes wherever their incomes will permit, and this has served to discourage racial self-consciousness.30

In the past very few Nova Scotia Negroes were able to

make a living in the community where they lived. They either had too little land, or it was too poor for cultivation. In many instances, there was not even a deed to property that had come down from one generation to the other. Men and women made their living outside the community. Women seemed to have had more employment opportunities than the men, and in the most depressed areas this was reflected in the loss of interest on the part of the men:

Were it not for the varied forms of Public Assistance supplementing the meagre earnings of our people, I dread to think what the results would be. Consider, - Family Allowance; Mother's Allowance; Old Age Pension; Old Age Assistance; Disability Pensions; Blind Pensions; Unemployment Insurance; Municipal Welfare; and Veteran's Allowance. There is no way, at the present time, to know how many dollars are going into the homes of our people from these sources, however, it goes without saying that it forms a high percentage of the total income. 31

The majority of Negroes own their own homes, especially in the rural communities and in the smaller towns. Land titles are not always satisfactory in some communities where the matter of deeds is a difficult problem. In the towns and cities it is next to impossible for Negroes to purchase building lots. In several areas adjacent to towns, sanitation facilities usually stop when they reach the boundary of the

31 W. P. Oliver, "Characteristics of the Area and Problems Arising Therefrom," an address, mimeographed, undated.
Negro section.

The rural coloured communities of Nova Scotia developed from the grants of land to the coloured immigrants who arrived as free citizens from time to time in the early days of the settlement of the province. In course of time, as the coloured population became more self-supporting, their group problems ceased to engage public attention on a significant scale. This was probably due in part to the fact that the coloured group lived mainly in communities separate and indeed somewhat remote from the majority of the white population.

In more recent years, probably because changing economic conditions have given rise to new and different problems, the status and condition of the Negro in Nova Scotia has established a renewed claim on public interest. Negro problems have been exposed and recognized as problems of the whole community. It has become clear that the coloured population lags behind the majority in educational levels, incomes, employment, and cultural development. The social consequences have been hardship, bordering on misery, for the coloured group. This has been detrimental to the interests of the whole population.

THE BEGINNING OF NOVA SCOTIAN NEGRO EDUCATION

W. P. Oliver of the Adult Education Branch of the
Department of Education, Halifax, has stated, "The educational progress of the Negro in Nova Scotia is determined by two factors, first the educational background or consciousness of the people, and the existing system of education in the province." Early efforts were made by religious societies of the white community to begin education for Negroes in Nova Scotia. Phillips stated:

A school for Negroes was opened in Halifax in 1788, when a licence was given to Limerick Isaac to teach the "reading and writing of English to the Black people." In the same year the Anglican bishop appointed a Negro as schoolmaster at Tracadie and supplied him with religious tracts. Several other schools were established, for the Negro population was considerable.

A later development was a system of grants to school sections: £50 being raised by the section. A government grant of £25 was also given which helped to support the teacher. The difficulty was that the Negro school section lacked the money to qualify for the grant and in many cases the area could not raise the capital for a school house. Some school houses were constructed by religious organizations, however. It was not until 1864-1865 that common schools were made legally free and assessment for their

---

32 Oliver, loc. cit.

support made mandatory. The 1864 "Free Schools Act" marked the real beginning of Negro schools. However, teachers were poorly trained and rarely well paid.

More recent changes such as free school books, the municipal school unit, and loans for capital expenditure have given tremendous help to the cause of Negro education in Nova Scotia. Increased welfare support, family allowances and more government financial support have shown their effects in better school attendance and better clothed children. It has been difficult to obtain good teachers, and it has only been since the early 1950's that teachers for Negro schools have had senior matriculation. Eighty per cent of the teachers, who had by 1949 taken advantage of Normal School training, were children of ministers of the African Baptist churches.

In the past, life in the distinct Negro community of Nova Scotia has not created a sustained desire for education on the part of the people. Because school was not associated with the child's post-school life, school attendance was not always considered essential. Boys had to go to work to bring in extra money. Girls felt they must help in the home. Negro students have lacked the financial means necessary to attend high school or

34 See page 39.
university. A letter written in 1949, by a female Negro student to W. F. Oliver, a Negro minister, points out the difficulty:

I am writing to ask you to find me a job in Halifax for the summer. It is such a problem to get enough money to go through High School and jobs are so scarce down here. There is simply no place in_____ for girls to work at all, and I want to take my "eleven" next term, which will take some money.

If you know where I can get a job in Halifax, would you please let me know? I read the ads in the paper but I don't suppose they hire Coloured girls. Like in_____ factory, they wanted girls there for different kinds of jobs, well, I don't suppose they would want Coloured girls.

Well, could you find out if you can place me please, and thank you very much.35

Nova Scotia's Negroes have a history of poor educational facilities. The following 1956 account describes one example of the problem involved in the Negro community of New Roads, near Halifax:

They were there fifty years before the government built them a school. A small shingle building was put up in 1897 and a Mrs. Jefferson, now a trim little woman over eighty was brought out from Halifax to teach. On her first day the schoolhouse was packed. Mothers and fathers came with their children to learn. The new Negro teacher let them come till the inspector called; then she said, "I can't have all these men and women in here. I got eighty-two pupils and not room for forty." He said, "What can you do?" She told him she'd teach the adults three

nights a week without pay.

"And I had the time of my life the two years I was out there," Mrs. Jefferson told me when I called at her home outside Halifax. "They were a fine class of people at that time, I gave them my rules and I trained them like soldiers; they learned their lessons and it was beautiful." She smiled wistfully as she fingered a lustrous pearl earring. "But they've gone back five generations!" After she left the settlement the school often was empty for years; teachers could not be induced to go out there. She said, "The people had a careless habit of burying their dead in the shallow earth near their houses till the authorities stopped them. I know of one place that had thirteen graves round the doorstep."  

One account states that many Nova Scotian Negroes do not know their own background:

All the people in New Road whom I asked where their ancestors came from shyly said, "Africa, I guess." None knew how or when they had come out to the barrens. Arnold Johnson told me wrathfully that the story I'd heard from the Halifax woman about being put out on the rocks to die was a fable. "We don't want nobody out here believing such lies to make them feel sorry for themself," he said. "Our people's no different from all other coloured folk here abouts. Our people all come from the same time."

I went again to the libraries and archives in Halifax where I found little mention of New Roads. Seven people I talked to who had written books or papers about the Negroes in Nova Scotia seemed only vaguely familiar with the settlement though they had done much research on their subject. They told me New Roads had once been called North Preston and the early history of the New Roaders was undoubtedly the same as that of the coloured people in the rest of the

---

36Edna Staebler, "Would You Change the Lives of These People," MacLean's, 69, 10:31,58,60, May, 1956.
township of Preston of which New Road is a part. 37

The same article suggests that the knowledge of some Negroes concerning their own history is based on more fantasy than fact:

How they came to be living out on the barrens no one seemed to know. Librarians, archivists, and historians couldn't tell me. A Negro woman who had written a religious history of the Nova Scotian Negroes told me she had no proof but she had heard from some old folks now dead that the first New Roads settlers were American slaves captured by the British in a war (she didn't know which war) and put out on the rocks in the winter to die. She said they had survived by digging themselves among the rocks and praying, and carts sent out in the spring to pick up the bodies went back to Halifax empty. "And for over one hundred years those people out there suffered from isolation and neglect," the woman said bitterly, "No one wants to go near them. They are deeply religious but they don't even have a resident preacher." She told me that once a month a preacher goes out from Halifax to conduct a service in the New Roads Baptist Church. The rest of the time the deacons, appointed for life by the people look after the spiritual needs of the settlement. 38

The response of Negroes to their new environment was rather incredible as it was revealed through their degree of organization. Churches were organized as early as 1812, and in 1854 the first meeting of the African Baptist Association of Nova Scotia was held at Granville Mountain, now known as Granville Ferry. This work was undertaken by

37Ibid. p. 53.
38Ibid. p. 31.
Richard Preston, a former slave who had been sent to England, where he was educated, ordained, and given funds to purchase land and erect the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church, Halifax. Preston travelled extensively, and by 1854 had organized eleven churches, which formed the African Baptist Association. This work has played a vital part in the development of the people, who carried with them from the south a rich spiritual experience. The impact of the church is discussed in the following account:

The church has been the centre of Negro culture and every phase of his life has been influenced by it. It stands today as the unifying force in the lives of the people throughout the province. Ninety per cent of the Negro people in the province are either members or adherents of the Baptist denomination. The church has offered an opportunity for self-expression, the development of leadership, the sponsoring of education.39

A Negro Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons was organized as early as 1856, under the Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia. Later, about 1890, a lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows was organized under the significant name of Loyal Wilberforce. A lodge of Ancient Foresters flourished at a very early date. However, most of their needs were met through the church, which had its appeal in high emotion and fervor. "Their one bright hope was

39Oliver, op. cit., p. 4.
their church to which they turned for comfort and self-expression. . . .\textsuperscript{40} To this day the Baptist Church remains a centre of hope for the Negroes of Nova Scotia.

\textsuperscript{40}David Lewis Stein, "The Counterattack on Diehard Racism," \textit{MacLean's}, 75, 21:26, October, 1962.
CHAPTER V

THE UNFINISHED ENDEAVOR

The purpose of this chapter is to examine those factors which influence the education of Nova Scotia's Negroes. Particular attention is given to Africville, a former Negro slum in Halifax, which experienced many of the problems faced by many Nova Scotian Negroes. Also examined is the work of individuals and organizations dedicated to the improvement of education, housing and employment for Negroes in that province. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the question of racial discrimination in Nova Scotia.

AFRICVILLE

Africville until recently was perhaps Canada's best known Negro slum area. In many respects the problem of Africville's Negroes represented the problems of all Nova Scotian Negroes:

Africville seems to typify the problem of the Negroes in Nova Scotia. It is not so much a colour problem as a social one. There is legislation on the province's statutes which outlaw discrimination but a new type of discrimination is creeping in which can militate against the Negro, and against the white Nova Scotian, for that matter--if he lacks technical skills necessary in this age of change. Unless the Negro can become as skilled as his non-Negro fellow-Canadian, unless he can take advantage of the same opportunities, he will remain among the lower-paid citizens. He will
continue to do the dirty work and live in the least desirable districts.¹

Africville was huddled on the side of what, before man's industrial spoilation, would have been a beautiful hill overlooking commodious Bedford Basin. Although rural in its lack of public facilities, it had no water pipes, no sewage system, no paved road at all, and, for most houses, no access road, no nearby public transportation, and no convenient primary school. Near Africville was the city dump, the abittoir, and the incinerator; and through it ran railroad fright spurs.

There had long been difficulty in establishing the legal ownership of land in Africville. Civic lawyers, attempting to trace land titles, were unable to confirm the "legend" that the land was a gift from the Crown to a slave named William Brown in the 1800's. Clear title was proven in only about fifteen cases and the titles to the remaining sixty properties were confused. Land was passed from friend to friend or relative to relative. While ownership "of a sort" could be proven in most instances, the expense of proving such title often proved to be more costly than the property was worth. One article stated:

The officials, as well as the slum-dwellers,

¹Susan Dexter, "The Black Ghetto that Fears Integration", MacLean's, 78, 14:16, July, 1965.
have had their difficulties. Many Africville residents had only squatters' rights to their land. Before boundaries were marked out, land had often been exchanged orally for such tender as a pig or a sack of potatoes.\(^2\)

In interviews, some citizens of Africville told this writer that Queen Victoria granted the land to their ancestors, a claim that may have more social significance than legal validity. Despite the uncertainties of land ownership, there had been considerable stability in house-tenure in Africville. Over forty families had lived in their homes over ten years; others had lived elsewhere in Africville that long or longer. There was a sense of community that pervaded Africville (stemming from kinship ties, long-term residence and, defensively it would seem from scorn felt from outsiders). Indeed, the marginality of Africville's economy, with the low wages of its inhabitants compensated for in part by low housing costs, and by the possibilities of foraging, fishing, and mutual self-help, might crumble entirely if transferred to any more competitively organized section of the city.

Many citizens of Africville were bitter about their position in life. Other parts of the city, even other depressed areas, had garbage disposal, paved roads and sewers, but Africville residents were only too familiar with

\(^2\)Ibid.
the garbage trucks rumbling dustily by their homes over rutted unpaved roads to get to the nearby city dump which was part of the Africville environment. Africville residents had to burn what garbage they could, and once a year band together to hire trucks to haul away the garbage at their own expense.

The city of Halifax began relocating Africville Negroes in 1962. Within a short time some officials realized that the idea did not meet with complete approval from the Negroes themselves. One report in July, 1965, said:

Halifax city council was thunderstruck. The city had been accused, not without justification, of neglecting the Negro slum of Africville for more than one hundred and fifty years. Now, council had made the big decision to raze Africville and move its three hundred and fifty residents into public housing or alternative accommodation in other parts of town. Having made the decision, the city sat back to receive the gratitude of the Negro. Instead, its sudden generosity was greeted with suspicion and reluctance to move.

The aldermanic surprise at Africville's reaction was due to a total lack of communication between the two groups. For years, no one had seriously bothered to find out what Negroes were thinking, and Africville residents had a strong sense that white Halifax had no sincere interest in their welfare.3

Lawyer Alan Borovoy had long been concerned over the plight of the Negroes of Africville. The city of Halifax had been relocating Negroes from Africville, and Borovoy had

3Ibid., p. 18.
helped to guard Negro interests. Borovoy believed that the city was grossly mistreating the people of Africville because they were Negroes. He told the Africville people he would do everything he could to help them—and all the other Negroes of Halifax. He had the law on his side as the federal government prohibits discrimination in the civil service, in industries covered by federal regulations, and in the sale of houses financed by NHA mortgages. Six provinces, including Nova Scotia, have adopted fair-employment practices and fair-accommodation-practices acts that guarantee minorities equal rights to jobs and to get service in such public places as restaurants and summer resorts.

Borovoy suggested that Africville Negroes form an advisory council. They would come to this council as individuals rather than as delegates from organizations. In that way they could decide to do something and act quickly on their decisions. Then they could go back to whatever organizations they belonged to and try to enlist support. The second thing Borovoy suggested was that Negroes immediately collect enough support to make up a delegation to ask the labor minister to spend more money publicizing the fair-employment and fair-accommodation legislation.

People from Africville have been placed in a city-run block of apartments called Mulgrave Park. Mulgrave Park, or anything like it, terrified many people of Africville.
For one thing, it meant paying rent for the first time in their lives. For another, it meant giving up their community church and their community social life. Reverend W.P. Oliver has said that the people of Africville constituted a close-knit community. "Time will change some things," says Oliver, "but I am afraid some of the people will never adjust."4

Civic offers of five hundred dollars compensation where no land title existed and where the city had no legal duty to compensate were scorned by some Negroes who were so suspicious of the underlying motive behind the offer, they felt it preferable to stay in Africville rather than move into other parts of the city. One writer discussed the economic problems involved in the move from Africville:

Africville's three hundred population is gradually being moved out. Some of the families are being accommodated in Mulgrave Park, a public housing complex in the North End. Other families with more resources may buy their own homes, homes with proper sanitation and main water supply, elsewhere. But houses in the province's wage rate for unskilled labour is notoriously low.5

The economics of the problem were further discussed in another article:


The economic facts of the proposed move don't look good to the Negroes. For the first time in their lives, many who have been squatters will have to pay rent, many will have to swallow their pride and accept subsidized housing from the city whose officials they mistrust. Those who refuse to go into public housing may not be able to afford a home, and will be forced into rooms. Many, after years of community support to avoid going on welfare, will have to rely on their monthly cheques from the city's welfare department to get by.6

The city's philosophy behind the relocation was to integrate the Negroes with the Whites of Halifax and with other Negroes living in the centre of town. But these aims were frustrated by Negro anxiety that they would encounter discrimination by moving into a white area.

There had been considerable pressure to get the Negroes out of Africville by December, 1966. The final cost of moving the Negroes of Africville was seventy thousand dollars. All persons who could not prove title to their land received at least five hundred dollars from the city, although the city was in no way legally obliged to do so. Nevertheless, there was considerable anxiety in the minds of the people of Africville over their future plans for themselves and for their children. By July, 1965, less than ten per cent of the total population had been moved. Civic Welfare Director H. B. Jones said that some Africville

---

6Dexter, op. cit., p. 16.
Negroes were forced to move into worse housing than they had in Africville. That opinion reinforced the Negro reluctance.

University of Toronto sociologist, Dr. Albert Rose, called the relocation problem more than a housing problem. He believed that it was a unique welfare problem:

This is the first time in a quarter century of slum clearance, public housing and redevelopment activity in North America, that the removal of a severely blighted area will take away from a large proportion of the residents, not merely their housing and sense of community, but their employment and means of livelihood as well--in this case scavenging on the adjacent city rubbish disposal area.  

In a letter to this writer on June 26, 1966, Rose stated "...those families who have been relocated from Africville have had major difficulties in securing alternative housing accommodation as well as employment." The disruption in the education of the Negro child would also be significant. Rose suggested that the residents of Africville are proud people who go to great lengths to remain independent, and they asked for financial assistance only as a last resort.

Many residents were displeased with the city's plan.

---


8Dr. Albert Rose, letter, June 23, 1966.
for resettlement. Peter MacDonald, a Nova Scotia government welfare officer, has stated that the break-up of Africville's community life has been a severe problem, and that the former residents of Africville would continue to attend their own church and find there a measure of their old community spirit. Many Negroes have said that the spirit of Africville has gone forever. Some families have moved to such places as Montreal and Toronto. Others were allocated public housing in Halifax. Africville has gone as a community and the land has been re-zoned for industry.

THE DALHOUSIE REPORT

In 1962 Mr. Guy Henson, Director of the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, prepared a report called, The Condition of the Negroes in Halifax City, Nova Scotia. In the Foreword of the report Mr. Henson said:

This report, based upon a comprehensive and detailed survey, shows that the Negroes of Halifax City are under-employed, under-educated, and ill-housed; that their employment and housing opportunities are restricted, and that they have been living under a form of segregation. Apart from moral and humanitarian considerations, the resulting economic losses (from low earning, low productivity, low purchasing power, low tax contributions, and high demands upon tax revenues) are clearly on a scale that a modern community cannot willingly sustain.

It is evident to the naked eye that the Negroes in Nova Scotia live under depressed conditions. In earlier days of widespread self-employment as
farmers, as artisans, and in other occupations, individual effort was believed to offer everyone the means to economic and social betterment. Self-reliance still holds the key to advancement, but today employment in groups, urbanization, and increasing interdependence and interaction of individuals and neighborhoods characterize the typical community. These internal changes have been taking place in a period of new and determined racial aspiration throughout the world, and of self-examination and action upon minority problems. All these changes are bringing into sharper focus the problems of the Negroes of Nova Scotia, which can no longer be denied, doubted, or minimized.9

The result of the report, according to Mr. Henson, does give educators, sociologists and humanitarians the proper perspective of the Negro situation in Halifax. Mr. Henson says:

Our ability to right the conditions indicated in the present report will be one of the tests of our ability to compete economically and of our social fitness to survive in today's world. We must create a new atmosphere and give to the Negro the same fair deal—not more, not less—as to any other human being.10

The Dalhousie Report suggested that the depressed economic condition of Halifax Negroes was rooted, in large measure, in the economic difficulties of the Maritimes. The employment problems of Negroes, however, went further than this general condition implies. They had employment opportunities even more unsatisfactory than the local


10Ibid., p. 16.
average. A comparison of Halifax Negroes to the whole city population showed they earned less than the mean income, that they were unemployed for many more weeks than the average, and that occupationally they were concentrated in manual or menial jobs. The report rather cautiously concluded that, in part, the explanation for this relatively poor employment showing was rooted in racial prejudice.

Africville, according to the Dalhousie Report, had a population of four hundred forming nearly eighty families, or again about five persons per family. However, more than fifty per cent of the population was under fifteen years of age. In contrast to the mid-city Negroes, those in Africville lived in almost total neighborhood isolation from Whites. The report indicated that better education could not be had for Africville's children until the Negroes' employment opportunities improved:

No matter what one uses as an index of a poor employment situation (low average income, large number of weeks unemployed, fewness of persons in the more skilled occupations), Africville Negroes rank worse than Halifax as a whole and in general worse even than the mid-city Negroes. More than a third of the Africville workers earn less than $1,000 a year, and less than one per cent earn over $4,000. Using the estimation procedure... one may put the mean Africville income at about $1,500 a year, with men earning about $1,650 and women about $1,100. The low income of males is especially notable. Instead of earning twice as much as females, as is true for both the whole city and for mid-city Negroes, they earn only about fifty per cent more. The reason for this
discrepancy seems to lie in the fact that the same unskilled and service jobs are held by Negro women of both areas, but that mid-city Negro men hold a greater proportion of skilled, semi-skilled, and clerical positions than do the males of Africville.\textsuperscript{11}

The study of the last school grade achieved by the Negroes of Halifax showed that those persons were not generally well educated. Less than two per cent of mid-city Negroes had more than a Grade Twelve education. Less than twenty per cent had gone beyond Grade Nine. Nearly fifty per cent left school between Grades Seven and Eight. Almost twice as many persons had a Grade Six education or less than have achieved education past Grade Nine. The figures for Africville showed an even lower distribution of grades achieved. Those Negroes who attended school tended on the average to be older for each grade than were white students in the same districts.

However, the Negro population is not wealthy and it lacks organization. The severity of the problem facing the Negro population in Halifax cannot be lessened markedly by the Negro population itself. It does not have the financial resources to pay for the needed improvements, or the numbers necessary to exert pressure on the general community.

\textsuperscript{11}Ibid., p. 13.
These three facts taken together--low educational level of Negroes now out of school, relatively high age per grade of Negro school children, and relatively low I.Q. scores of these children may have been the result of environmental conditions. The low educational achievement of those now out of school was, according to the Dalhousie Report, affected in many cases by their economic and social conditions, the need for money, the belief that education would be of little help to them in seeking employment, crowded living quarters, lack of intellectual stimulation among their peers, friends quitting school early, and inferior educational facilities.

CHANGE AGENTS

Adult Education

"The Department of Education was the first official agency to take action to help the Negro." The task was undertaken mainly by the Adult Education Division of the Department of Education. The Adult Education Division was established in 1946, with Mr. Guy Henson its first director. He defined adult education as:

...the means whereby groups of people can solve the problems of bread and butter in their

own communities, recreate a wholesome culture
suiting this new age, and take a constructive
and saving interest in government and
international affairs.\textsuperscript{13}

The purpose of the Adult Education Division has been
described as:

\textbullet\ \textbullet\ steady, growing contribution to
provincial life by means of short courses,
classes, folkschools (short-term residential
schools), and to aid in the programme planning
of other groups, in leadership training, and
in the projects of Home and School Associations,
farm organizations, labour groups, churches and
other bodies serving people and communities.\textsuperscript{14}

In 1962 Gwendolyn Shand, in \textit{Adult Education Among
the Negroes of Nova Scotia}, stated that there were three
chief objectives of the Adult Education Division:

\textit{Firstly, to develop a realistic awareness
among the Negroes of their own particular
problems; secondly, to develop the latent
ability of individuals and groups to discuss
and act in relation to their problems (which
involved improving the level of literacy and
the teaching of the three R's to adults
in night schools); thirdly, the practical
application of the first two objectives to
specific situations in community building.}\textsuperscript{15}

Miss Shand suggested that at least partial success has been
made in most areas. School attendance has been encouraged,
and adult literacy has increased. In still other cases,
evidence had been lacking or has been too slight to permit

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{13}Ibid., p. 12
\item \textsuperscript{14}Ibid.,
\item \textsuperscript{15}Ibid., p. 21.
\end{enumerate}
categorical answers.

The adult education program has been described by Reverend W. P. Oliver as a "program of community development involving all agencies--private and public--that are engaged in the enrichment of human life and dignity."\textsuperscript{16} Oliver continued by saying:

In practically every Negro community in the province a special committee on education has been organized. These committees maintain an oversight of high school students, encourage and support them, and endeavour to assist them financially by their own contributions, by interceding with universities and other institutions of training.\textsuperscript{17}

Oliver believes that it is the responsibility of education committees to bring together post-school adults who wish to raise their academic grade levels, and to provide evening classes in order that they might attain the academic requirements for trade training. All over the province there are thousands of young people who have left school below Grade Seven. They must be brought up to Grade Nine or Ten before they can benefit from existing trade training. The objective of Adult Education, according to Oliver, is to train the masses in the technique of group action within


\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.
a democratic society. He believes that a taste of group achievement will dispel fears and frustration, and will liberate Negroes from the paralyzing grip of the so-called "Negro supporters."

The first conference of Negro teachers and leaders in the Halifax area was arranged in 1948. Two years later regular meetings of the teachers of Adult Education classes near Halifax were established. In June, 1959, monthly meetings of volunteer leaders from Halifax and the vicinity were begun. Those meetings of teachers and community leaders have been held continuously since that time at the offices of the Adult Education Division. Short courses were first set up in the Halifax district in 1951. Since that date, there have been one or two short courses each year in East Preston, Hammonds Plains, Beechville, Cherry Brook, and New Road. For these courses a central theme was chosen, and addresses and discussions centered around it. Subjects included have been employment, education, human relations, discrimination, and community improvement.

Dr. William M. Cooper, Director of the Adult Education Section of the Hampton Institute, in his 1954 Report made an evaluation of the Negro Adult Education Program for Nova Scotia:

1. The adult education program is of basic importance to the welfare and progress of the
coloured citizens of the province—especially in the rural areas. The elementary, secondary and adult schools observed seemed to be doing yeomen services with the limited human and material resources available. Each school was so overloaded or understaffed that the leadership from the division of adult education is the major factor in community and school improvement among these people. This work should be continued and enlarged.

2. The Nova Scotia adult education philosophy and method which insists that each group determine its own needs and work out its own program is essentially sound. At this stage of development capable leadership is extremely scarce—so that leaders from the Adult Education Division with their broader horizons and deeper insights are a God-send in developing the needed leadership in the various communities.

3. The adult education personnel is well accepted by the coloured citizens and their leaders. This is of basic importance in all adult education. Special commendation is due the director and his assistants on this achievement during this time when inter-group relations are so strained throughout the world.

4. In view of the foundations already laid in organizing adult evening classes, it is now possible for community groups to undertake special projects in addition to the evening classes such as providing recreation centers, family life clinics, mental health clinics, and occupational advancement clinics.18

Dr. Cooper suggested that the four problems demanding immediate and urgent attention were: education, housing, employment and human relations. He stated that better Negro

Education would lead to increased earning power. Negro citizens with good housing, according to Cooper, have often made more and better contributions to the community. He claimed that the employers and the province would profit in the long run if Negro workers were placed where they could serve best. There was a need, stated Cooper, to promote better human relations based upon a mutual understanding between the Negroes and white groups. Adult Education for Negroes could play an important role in the solution of such problems. Dr. Cooper claimed strong local leadership plus financial and moral support from the provincial government were necessary.

"Dr. Cooper stated that a 'teacherage,' or model home for teachers, was a necessary part of the programme for improved school facilities."¹⁹ In order to accomplish this objective, he suggested that general community support should be secured, and that the local area should have responsibility for the care and use of the school facilities. He advised that the role of the Adult Education Division should be to guide and to assist the parents of children and the whole community.

Adult education classes under the sponsorship of the Division of Adult Education reached a peak in 1951-1952.

¹⁹Shand, op. cit., p. 16.
There has been a tendency since for the number of classes to decline. Several reasons account for the fluctuations. From 1946-1952, as the people learned about the programmes, they began more and more to ask for them. Later, as a result of the classes and the short courses, the local communities began to develop their own leadership. The districts were then able to make their own arrangements for classes. "Another factor which entered the situation was the development of the programme of the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People." This organization had an increasing impact on the various Negro communities, and began to sponsor certain programmes with indirect guidance from the Division of Adult Education.

The Women's Institute (W. I.) of Acaciaville, Nova Scotia, has the distinction of being the only one in Canada composed of Negro women. When the Acaciaville Community Betterment Association was organized in June, 1962, under the leadership of the Reverend W. Clayton, the women decided it was time they, too, were broadening their views and reaching out in the interest of community life. Mr. Clayton invited Miss Yvonne Chiasson, the Home Economics representative for that region, to meet the ladies

20Shand, op. cit., p. 20.
of the community to discuss their needs. It was decided that the Women's Institute could supply a medium through which the women of the community could obtain the help they were seeking for their problems. Mrs. Florence M. Hilchey, Supervisor of Home Economics, and the Women's Institutes of Nova Scotia, visited the group.

Since the beginning in 1964 talks, demonstrations, classes in rughooking and sewing have been well attended, and a variety concert was put on, the women using their own talent. The response was so great that the W. I. was asked to repeat it for their church. Through their W. I. a number of books were received for a community library, and Negro women from three nearby areas were brought closer together as they sought advice to their problems and helped to develop the role of leadership among the members. In her report at the Provincial Convention of the Women's Institutes of Nova Scotia, Mrs. Cromwell told of the activities of her W. I. and concluded by saying, "We are hoping that we can make our organization stronger and therefore help to make a community of which we may be proud." 21

The Voices of Youth

A group of young Nova Scotian Negroes have formed a society called "The Nova Scotia Project" which publishes a

21News item in the Prince Albert Daily Herald, September 1, 1966.
small but informative newsletter, The Nova Scotia Scene.\textsuperscript{22}

The purpose of the society is described as follows:

1. To develop local leadership and encourage people in the community, especially the youth, to take an active interest in the needs of their community.

2. To attempt to alleviate some of the poverty conditions in the area and the attitudes of apathy and self-degradation that accompany slum environments.

3. To promote better relations among Negro and White in the area by making possible activities in which both groups will be willing to participate.

4. To encourage decentralized control and a greater participation by the people in all those decisions that have direct bearing on them.\textsuperscript{23}

Their newsletter, the "voice" of the Negro youth of Nova Scotia, is printed four times each year. It presents news and views which concern the province's Negro youth, who are demanding improvements. "Because the Negro population is scattered throughout the province and also because there are so few dynamic Negro leaders, the people remain invisible,"\textsuperscript{24} according to Miss Lynn Burrows, a writer for the Nova Scotia Scene. She also claims that "for the most part, now-a-days, if a Negro is highly qualified for a job, he will get it."\textsuperscript{25} Miss Burrows in a letter to this writer

\textsuperscript{22}See Appendix B.
\textsuperscript{23}Nova Scotia Scene, IV, June, 1966, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{24}Nova Scotia Scene, V, September, 1966, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{25}Ibid., p. 9.
stated that she believed there has been "little research done" in the field of Nova Scotian Negro education.

Perhaps significantly, The Nova Scotia Scene claims that Negro "gangs" are virtually unknown, which is unusual when the slum conditions are considered. There is "school-time integration" with the non-coloured students of Halifax, but outside of school there is little integration. Miss Burrows suggests that "although it is an unspoken law that a Negro should not marry a white person, the girls hesitate to go out with guys that are darker than themselves." 26 Miss Burrows continues:

The Negro community generally does not like to admit that they are discriminated against. Neither do they like being called Negro--it's "coloured people;" for they prefer not to identify with the Southern Negro or the civil rights' movement in the United States. But then again, why should they? However, change is unlikely to take place until the Negro admits to himself that there is discrimination--although a very subtle kind of discrimination--staring him in the face. 27

"Club Kwacha" is the headquarters and meeting place for the Nova Scotia Project. Situated at the corner of Gottigen and Cogswell Streets in Halifax the youth club had its difficulties:

Because of the physical condition of the building, we are not certain when club activities

---

27 Ibid., p. 10.
can recommence. The cement floor has lifted in numerous places, and there is a hole in it that must be fixed. The walls are badly damaged, vandals have destroyed the windows, plumbing, and the heating system. Even the doors are broken down. It will take a truck to haul away the debris and rubbish that is scattered over the site. Literally gallons of paint will be needed to brighten it up as well as making it sanitary. The club at present is a shambles but with the co-operation and volunteer labour of enough interested people, we shall again be fully operating as Kwacha House.  

The young Negroes of the area are justly proud of their efforts and their "club." They invite young people of all colours to participate in their activities. "It is a place where social and economic backgrounds are meaningless and where young people can constructively channel their growing discontentment and awareness of present conditions."  

The Company of Young Canadians (CYC) has become involved with the Nova Scotia Project. The CYC was received warmly by the Negro youth, yet there appears to be an element of distrust for "outsiders" by some Club Kwacha members:  

All the work of politicians, professionals and academic experts on programs "to better the lives of Canadians" are of little value without knowing and understand who those Canadians are, and what each is like as a person. This awareness doesn't come through surveys, or through consulting with the social worker in any community, or even talking with one or two so-called "community

---

28 Ibid., p. 3.
29 Ibid., p. 2.
representative." Developing theories and programs, and then trying to fit people into them, is plainly unacceptable. People must come first.\textsuperscript{30}

Some young Negroes of the Halifax area explain that "experts" do not know what it is "really like" to be a Negro. In order for the "experts" to be of any value "they should become a part of the Negro community to such an extent that the people there become more important than any outside organization or program."\textsuperscript{31}

White high school and university students are becoming more interested in the Negro of their province. A number of "head-start" programs have evolved. One report is as follows:

Negro teen-agers in Hammonds Plains, thirteen miles north west of Halifax, saw the ocean and learned to sing folk songs for the first time last summer, 1967. It happened because three white girls, all under 21, spend the summer there conducting a head-start program for preschool children and recreational activities for older children and youths. A trip to Peggy's Cove, thirty-three miles southwest of Hammonds Plains, to see the ocean was one of the outings organized by the girls, a volunteer team working for the Nova Scotia welfare department's social development division. Daneen Atkinson, twenty, a third-year university student and the project's leader, and her volunteer team of high school graduates Heather Greene, twenty, and Claire Timmons, eighteen, lived in a rented house in the Negro community of about sixty families.

\textsuperscript{30}Ibid., p. 10.

\textsuperscript{31}Ibid.
Their house became a mecca for thirty teenagers who would come in the evenings to talk and listen to records. "They hadn't heard folk music before and didn't like it at first," Daneen recalls. By summer's end, however, they were lustily singing the folk songs they'd learned from records.\textsuperscript{32}

The "head-start" program, beginning on a small scale in 1966, was expanded to include more communities, and to use volunteers for the first time. In Weymouth Falls, a Negro community 25 miles from Digby, the major afternoon project was taking the other children to a nearby lake for swimming instructions. School buses provided transportation. Hugh MacIntyre, nineteen, the team leader, took the twelve-to-fourteen year-olds on weekend camping trips, organized ball games for older teenagers, and arranged visits to a farm. The younger children were to attend an integrated school. The program was designed to help them get along with those of another race, most of them from a higher economic level. The children learned crafts, singing, social behavior, how to play together, and such basic necessities as how to use scissors and to distinguish colors and animals. The summer teams are to plan recreational activities in the afternoons and evenings in response to the needs of the residents.

\textsuperscript{32}News item in the \textit{Star-Phoenix}, March 18, 1967.
The Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People

The N. S. A. A. C. P. has no direct connection with the N. A. A. C. P. in the United States. The N.S. A. C. P. is dedicated to the improvement of economic, educational, and social standards of the Negroes of Nova Scotia:

The Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People was organized with the specific purpose of overcoming some of the evident handicaps of its people. Problems of racial discrimination in public services and employment, formal and vocational training, were among the first interests of the organization. Of the efforts to improve this situation the program of adult education sponsored by the Provincial Department of Education has been the most significant. Efforts based on adult education principles have functioned in practically every community where Nova Scotia's thirteen thousand Negroes live.33

The N. S. A. A. C. P., incorporated in 1945, became aware of the need of the Negro group for adult education and self-help programmes. Close co-operation developed between the Association and the Adult Education Division. An initial problem was to create in the coloured communities an awareness of the need for adult education, and a desire to take advantage of the opportunities offered. At this time the Reverend W. P. Oliver of the Association, and representatives of the Division gave talks and held

discussions in the Negro communities. He talked with people to discover their interests and problems. These conversations, addresses and discussions focused on practical matters, such as housing, sanitation and day-to-day problems.

The N. S. A. A. C. P. encourages fuller use of educational opportunities available to Negro students. The organization encourages housing authorities to provide adequate housing within range of employment. Better employment opportunities for Negro citizens are demanded by the N. S. A. A. C. P. The organization officially recognizes that a prime target is the improvement in human relations between Negroes and Whites of Nova Scotia.

The Standing N. S. A. A. C. P. Committee on Human Relations is concerned with any special tensions or strains in relations between White and Negro citizens, and wherever feasible takes steps to remove the causes for such tensions. This committee sponsors annual Brotherhood Week programs in co-operation with the Ministerial Association, and such other organizations as might be vitally interested.

The N. S. A. A. C. P. Education Committee conducts a Province-wide May Day Program to crown as May Queen the representative of the local N. S. A. A. C. P. group reporting the highest number of votes at five cents per vote. The returns from this program are used to provide scholarships
for promising students who need help to continue their education. The committee determines how many scholarships can be given and how much each scholarship shall be.

The N. S. A. A. C. P. Standing Committee on Employment makes an annual or biennial survey of the employment situation and needs among Negro citizens of the province, giving special attention to the persons who do not have an opportunity to work at the occupation for which they have had specific preparation. Representatives of this committee make contacts with employers and intercede on the Negroes' behalf for such employment. The committee's representatives meet such prospective workers and give them advice and counsel to assist them to succeed in such employment opportunities. The Employment Committee records and reports employment gains made each year, and sees to it that due recognition is given to each employer who co-operates, as well as to each worker who succeeds.

A Remarkable Canadian

The Negro community has not functioned in accordance with the democratic processes and for generations it has depended upon benefactors or so-called champions of its cause. That is the view of the remarkable leader, Reverend W. P. Oliver. He suggests "that there has been very little in the attitude of society and in the social structure over
the past one hundred years to encourage Negroes to aspire to better things in life."\(^{34}\) Oliver believes that the Negro of Nova Scotia has been hampered by the attitude of many white people in the area:

The Negro feels thwarted in every move to help himself. Usually if he endeavours to buy a home outside his local community he is refused. He is reluctant to ask for lights, decent roads or other improvements in his community because so often his voice has gone unheard. He has ceased to realize that he has a right to a decent standard of living. He is refused rental accommodations and is often denied the opportunity to work at the skills he had been trained for.\(^{35}\)

The aim of Oliver is "to do those things that will lift the total life of the coloured people through adult education techniques."\(^{36}\) He believes that to develop as normal citizens, minorities must be accepted into the life of the total community. Yet Oliver warns against a crash program of integration. He believes that there should be integration only where there is a common interest with other people living in the same area. Integration must be an evolutionary process, he claims, in which both Negro and white citizens must take part. There must not be a perpetuation of what he calls "stagnant Negro cesspools."

\(^{34}\) Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

\(^{35}\) Ibid.

\(^{36}\) Deakin, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
He expresses some optimism by stating:

There is a new found sense of self-respect and a new pride in his Negro heritage. He is not ashamed to be called Negro. He refuses to hate those who have exploited him. He is anxious to prepare himself for first class citizenship. He asks only for the opportunity to live as a human being with the right to fulfill the aspirations of all God's men. 37

Oliver firmly believes that the basic problem of the Nova Scotian Negro is economic. He says that its remedy requires a program of training and education suited to the needs of the people. "Training must be followed by job opportunities and that implies employment policies involving discrimination only on the basis of intelligence, ability and training." 38

This remarkable Canadian believes that in the past, publicity has not always been for the benefit of the Negro. He claims that some people have used the Negroes as guinea pigs and that vested interests have exploited Negro misfortune.

He is amazed how many fund raising organizations usually manage to include a Negro in their publicity pictures, as if to say, they are helping the Negro. Oliver claims that self-seeking, fear and jealousy among the leaders of

---

37 Oliver, op. cit., p. 20.
38 Ibid., p. 10.
the Negro minority may leave the Negro minority open to exploitation. Oliver says that it is a remarkable achievement, that after the long history of Negro and White living side by side, there is no record of racial conflict in Nova Scotia, and there is really no high feeling or bitterness on either side.

Oliver believes the "Life in the distinct Negro community has not created a desire for education on the part of the people." 39

That there is a growing number of educated Negroes working as teachers, nurses, surveyors and civil servants of various kinds has convinced most Negroes that education pays, even though it still takes more than average will and character for a Negro to step outside the patterns which have been accepted on all sides for generations. 40

Negroes have to convince people, claims Oliver, that the problem is not just a Negro one but a problem for everyone. No city can call itself truly healthy where there is overcrowding and poverty. Wherever a mind is left underdeveloped or a talent unused, the whole community is poorer. The situation, he says, is a vicious circle:

Employers excuse their practice of not


employing Negroes in skilled or semi-skilled positions by saying they are not properly educated, and the coloured people say there is no use in them getting an education because they will never get anything but labouring jobs anyway.41

Self-help is of great benefit to the Negroes of Nova Scotia:

The major implication is that the success or failure of the Negro's effort to help himself will depend upon the interest and desire of the people and leaders in the various communities to organize and work in a constructive manner to deal with the problems vital to all their people.42

Academic history was made by Oliver in November, 1964, when he became the first Negro to be awarded the Doctor of Civil Laws "honoris causa" by the one hundred seventy-five year old University of King's College at Halifax. That he is a Baptist and the university is an Anglican foundation makes the award even more significant. In 1962, he gave up his ministry at Cornwallis Street Baptist Church in Halifax, in an area where many Negroes live and work. Since then he has worked under the province's Director of Adult Education, his special interest involving those people of his own race who have been unable to achieve educational standards, that can be a passport to higher living standards.

41Ibid., p. 20.
42Cooper, op. cit., p. 1.
Oliver is attempting to bring to others a true picture of the Negro community: "I have felt for some time that the day will come when people will be accepted for what they are." He believes that he does not have to live next to white people to have his "status" accepted, so he lives in a Negro neighborhood. In the basement of his home, Oliver, who is not only an education officer, not only a minister of religion, and not only a leader of his community, but all combined, works and meets people. Oliver was born at Wolfville, attended the high school there, and then went on to Acadia University where he won his B. A. in Arts and Theology, and his Bachelor of Divinity Degree. He went into the ministry and was at Five Mile Plains, outside Wolfville, before going in 1937 to Cornwallis Street Baptist Church, Halifax, and remaining there until 1962. Even now, although he has given up fulltime ministry, he still preaches at two small churches at Beachville and Cobequid on most Sundays.

Oliver is aware of the difficulties that lie ahead. He believes that in the community of today, doors are opening wider. He feels that in Nova Scotia there is not absolute animosity towards the Negroes as a race. Oliver is convinced that the old paternalism is disappearing and

43 Deakin, op. cit., p. 64.
for the Negro there is a newborn sense of self-respect and dignity:

Our American brother, says Mr. Oliver, 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 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 the 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.44

Such views are not totally shared by other leaders in the Negro community. Mr. Gus Wedderburn,45 a Jamaican born school teacher, wants changes made more quickly. He believes that part of the Negro employment picture, totally unrelated to race, can be tied to the somewhat depressed economy of Nova Scotia. He states that Negroes, for good reasons, get easily discouraged in the search for jobs.

Reverend Charles Coleman, who succeeded Oliver as minister at the Africville Baptist Church, has been

44Oliver, op. cit., p. 30.

45In the June 25, 1968, election Mr. Wedderburn was the NDP candidate for the Halifax constituency. The results of that vote were: Robert Stanfield (PC) 18,931; M. G. Tompkins (Lib) 10,341; Gus Wedderburn (NDP) 1,191.
described as anti-white, but he calls himself "pro-Negro."

"Nobody," says Coleman, "has the right to push you around--there must be recognition that the people have a right to speak out even when they are wrong." Coleman demands dignity and respect for the Negroes of Nova Scotia.

THE UGLY WORD

The 1919 Loew's Montreal Theatres Ltd. vs Reynolds case involved a Negro who sued for damages on the basis of the theatre's refusal to sell him a seat at the theatre because of the respondent's colour. The court held that the management had the right to sell particular theatre seats to different races and classes as it saw fit.

The 1924 Franklin vs Evans case involved an Ontario restaurant-keeper who refused to serve a Negro. The action was dismissed on the basis that there was no authority supporting it.

In 1939 the Supreme Court of Canada heard the case of Christie vs York Corporation involving a Negro who sued for damages because of his humiliation in being refused beer by a licensed tavern-keeper in Quebec. The Court stated that the tavern-keeper was within his rights.

46Dexter, op. cit., p. 31.
in refusing to serve the Negro. In delivering the decision the judge said, in part, that "... any merchant is free to deal as he may choose with any individual member of the public." The results of this case were used in deciding the 1940 British Columbia case, Rogers vs Clarence Hotel Company, where a beer parlour operator refused to serve a Negro. The Negro lost his case.

The 1947 R. vs Desmond case involved another unfortunate incident. Mrs. Desmond, a Negress attended a theatre in New Glasgow, Nova Scotia, under the following circumstances:

In this case it appears that a downstairs ticket cost 40 cents and an upstairs one 30 cents; that the price in each case included a federal and a provincial tax, the latter imposed by the Theatres, Cinematographs and Amusements Act is three cents for a downstairs ticket, and two cents for an upstairs ticket; that the applicant purchased an upstairs ticket and attempted to enter downstairs; that the ticket-taker at the downstairs entrance told her to go upstairs; that she went to the cashier and offered to pay the difference in the price of the tickets; but came back with only the upstairs ticket and disregarding the ticket-taker went downstairs and refused to go upstairs. It seems that Mrs. Desmond was not able to buy a downstairs ticket because of her colour. The manager had her arrested and laid the charge that she had entered the theatre without paying the correct tax of one cent. Mrs.

---

48 Ibid., pp. 272-273.
Desmond was convicted of the offense and was fined the minimum penalty of $20.00 and costs.

The preceding cases indicate "that the common law is particularly barren of remedies guaranteeing equality of treatment in public places. . . ." 49 Although some of the cases involved provinces other than Nova Scotia, they do have implications to the Negro of Nova Scotia.

In October, 1962, David Lewis Stein stated that Halifax was the last strong hold of the nonviolent Canadian kind of racial prejudice. He was referring in particular to the situation in Africville:

Halifax is one of the last frontiers for the professional do-gooder. Both Halifax and Africville Negroes are supposed to be protected by the province's fair-employment and fair-accommodation legislation. In fact, according to Sid Blum of the Canadian Labor Congress, Human Rights Committee, Halifax Negroes are treated worse than Negroes in any other part of Canada. 50

Many incidents support the claim that racial discrimination is shown towards Halifax's Negroes. Some typical examples are:

A prize fighter: "I studied barbering at vocational school. When I finished I went down to a shop that had a 'barber wanted' sign in the window. They thought I wanted a job sweeping floors; then they said they didn't need any barbers. I went down the street and called them on the telephone. I asked if they needed

49Loc. cit.

a barber and they told me to come right over. I told them, 'I'm the guy who was just there, and I hung up.'

A lawyer: "When I was going to school, I would hear of a place that was hiring boys for the summer. I would go there and they would tell me they were all filled up. Later some of my white friends would tell me they had got jobs at these places after I'd been turned down."

A night watchman from Africville: "When you goes in for a job, you daren't tell them you is from Africville." 51

Other individuals view the situation differently. Manuel Zive, the first Jew to be elected President of the Halifax Board of Trade, believes Negroes should help themselves more than they are. "The ones doing the squawking are the ones who won't do anything to better themselves," 52 according to Mr. Zive. The former Mayor of Halifax, John E. Lloyd, says, "If people in the southern United States treated Negroes as well as we do in Halifax, they would have no racial problem." 53 Many Nova Scotian Negroes, however, feel that discrimination does hamper their opportunities in life.

A young Negress, Sandra Paris, reported a disturbing incident which is another example of racial discrimination:

I made an appointment, by phone, to have my hair washed and set. Upon my arrival in the beauty salon, I walked over to the desk and told them who I was, and the time of my

51Dexter, op. cit., p. 25.
52Ibid. 53Ibid.
appointment. They replied, "I'm sorry, but it is against our policies to do coloured people's hair." I asked to see the manager, who wasn't in. I left and told them I would look into their policies. The following day, my sister kept her appointment and was also refused. She and my brother went to see the owner of the salon, but to no avail as he was very hostile in manner and speaking and tried passing the buck by saying things like "My staff won't do your peoples' hair." Miss Paris has claimed that there are "loop-holes" in the law which allow racial discrimination to be practised. She was angry about her "painful humiliation" and suggests such incidents will continue. Mr. Scott MacDonald, the owner of the beauty salon, was reported to the Department of Labour which sent an inspector to examine the incident. According to Miss Paris, the owner refused to change his policies and was prosecuted under the Human Right's Act. "He pleaded guilty and was fined $25.00 for each charge." Miss Paris claims that the Magistrate simply "went through the motion" and quickly brushed aside her hurt feelings.

Elizabeth Redick and Maxine Gough, two Negro teachers in Halifax who attended Nova Scotia Teachers' College, claim that few "Whites" offered friendship to them so they became "leery" of human contact during their

55Ibid., p. 9.
teacher-training period. Miss Gough, stated that she had earlier been encouraged by her white high school teacher who said "you can try anything. . . and you can go as far as you can go."56 Both women believe that they should provide more leadership for Negroes but are hesitant to do so. "We are persons to sit back. . . and we know it is not good but it comes from our Negro upbringing."57

Mr. Sydney Williams, former director of the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, commented on the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King:

If I had to make a statement to the people of the United States. . . I would ask them not to forget that lunacy has no colour and neither has bigotry. Perhaps they could come to realize that their country is greater than any one of them.58

He believes that Dr. King was the greatest Negro of modern time but lacked the ability to give a "second look" to critical issues. The Canadian Negro, according to Williams will demonstrate his anger in some form but he will not form angry mobs. However some Negro spokesmen strongly disagree with that viewpoint.59

57 Ibid.
58 News item in the Star-Phoenix, April 6, 1968.
59 See Appendix C.
Many Nova Scotian Negroes have followed the racial strife in United States with general apathy. Yet the murder of Dr. King has brought a change in Negro opinion, according to Reverend Wrenfred Bryant, Moderator of the African United Baptist Association of Nova Scotia. Bryant said the murder gave the Negro community "a feeling of wanting to move ahead and achieve our rightful place."\(^60\) Bryant says "Negroes would accept a 'Black Power' that makes them feel they could go into jobs, business and achieve something. . . . and this is known as 'black consciousness.'" It is an emerging term."\(^61\) The shock of the assassination, says Bryant, will make Nova Scotian Negroes "catch fire" in their attempts to gain social improvements:

Canadians would be mistaken, however, if they thought that there was no message for them in the Memphis tragedy. Canada has not yet had a Dr. King nor a Ralph Brown seeking to right racial wrongs here either by massive, but peaceful demonstrations or through incitements to violence. But this does not prove that the wrongs do not exist, nor does it assure that we will continue to be free of the disturbances that have wrecked the United States.\(^62\)

Young Negroes who have been caught up in the urgency of change and better conditions have largely shunned

\(^60\) News item in the Star-Phoenix, May 8, 1968.
\(^61\) Ibid.
\(^62\) Ibid.
violence, however. A brief encounter between Negro and white youths during a dance in the city's north end in September, 1967, had some racial overtones but caused no great alarm. Instrumental in bringing the outbreak under control was a young Negro social worker.

Long frustrated by what they call public apathy and unwieldy government efforts toward their demands for equality in employment and housing, Halifax-area Negroes are now taking a different course to gain their "human rights." Instead of pressing for better housing and greater employment opportunities simultaneously, the Negro community of greater Halifax area is concentrating its efforts on employment. Recently a meeting of one hundred businessmen and Negro leaders, called by Mayor Allan O'Brien, formed a six-member committee to establish a co-ordinating agency that would fit Negro applicants to job openings and follow through on the effectiveness of the program, including counselling and training.

In a June 26, 1968, telephone interview with this writer, Mayor O'Brien indicated there is excellent communication between "city hall" and the Negroes of Halifax. He said no statistical study of the results of the "Africville-move" has been made, but he did state that the new housing arrangement was an improvement. O'Brien said there is a subtle variety of racial discrimination in the Halifax area.
Many business places in Halifax now show cards in their store windows indicating that Negroes are welcome to enter. O'Brien reported that there is a determined effort by his administration to find summer employment for Negro students. He said that the recent racial unrest in United States has been watched carefully by Nova Scotian Negroes and especially by the young Negroes of Halifax. The future of the Halifax Negroes will be difficult, O'Brien intimated, because much of the white community does practice a "quiet and subtle" kind of discrimination.

In an interview with this writer, the distinguished educator, writer, and historian, Dr. Roger Graham, indicated that there has been, "without doubt," a subtle kind of discrimination shown by Canadians to Negroes in this country. He said that many Negro communities in Nova Scotia are "blots on society." Graham claimed that Whites should not attempt to make Negroes into "artificial Whites." He indicated that Negro self-conscientiousness and pride will be a result of better housing, employment and educational opportunities. Canadian university and high school History texts, according to Graham, have neglected the history of the Canadian Negro.

Robert L. Stanfield, Leader of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition, and Member of Parliament for the constituency of Halifax, told this writer in a June 26, 1968, telephone
interview that some Nova Scotians practice "unintended discrimination." He stated that there is discrimination in property rental procedures. There has been a lack of good "educational tradition" in most Negro families; therefore, their skills are low, according to Mr. Stanfield. He stated that the depressed economy of Nova Scotia makes the problem even worse. Mr. Stanfield claimed that the recent racial problems in United States have made Nova Scotian Negroes more aware of their problems and possible solutions. The problem has been both economic and racial. Negroes living in isolated areas of Nova Scotia have been given less chance for progress. The opposition leader suggests that massive federal aid to depressed areas will help to solve the economic problems but the racial problem is really a matter of involving "personal conviction."

The Province of Nova Scotia has accepted in its human rights legislation many of the basic principles set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Human Rights Act in Nova Scotia has been based upon the general principle that every person should be free and equal in dignity without regard to race, colour, creed, ancestry, or place of national origin.

"The Human Rights Act was designed to help meet the social and economic problems of the minority groups who, for one reason or another, are not able to occupy their
rightful place within the community."... The province began its program of human rights legislation with the enactment, in 1955 of the Fair-Employment Practices Act to prevent discrimination with regard to employment, and membership to trade unions by reasons of race, color, religion, and ethnic or national origin. This Act, which became effective on January 1, 1956, safeguards the individual's rights to equality of employment opportunity. The Act provides that an employer cannot refuse to employ or continue to employ, or otherwise discriminate against any person or alter any term of condition of employment because of his race, colour, creed, ethnic, or national origin. An employer cannot use an employment agency which discriminates against people seeking employment. An employer cannot use any form of application that expresses, either directly or indirectly any limitation as to race, colour, creed, ethnic or national origin.

"The Fair Accommodation Practices Act, 1959 was designed to provide that there would be no discrimination on the grounds of race, religion, creed, ethnic or national origin in places to which the public is ordinarily allowed

---

to enter."64 It provides that every person and every class of persons has the right to obtain admission to accommodation, services, or facilities available in any place to which the public is customarily admitted. In addition, the act forbids any person to deny to any person or class of persons admission to, or enjoyment of, the accommodation facilities available in any public place. Publications or advertisements indicating discrimination or intention to discriminate against any person or class of persons is forbidden. Because of a complaint on which the department was unable to act due to the definition of "employer," the Fair Accommodation Practices Act was amended. The revision, as does the Human Rights Act of 1953, defines "employer" as a person who employs one or more employees; previously, an "employer" was defined as one who employs more than five employees. The 1963 session of the Legislature enacted a Human Rights Act which codified the existing anti-discrimination legislation and introduced a new principle--the prohibition of discriminatory practices in the rental of apartments in any building containing more than four self-contained dwelling units.

64Ibid., p. 22.
CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

To place Nova Scotian Negro education in its historical and social setting required an investigation of the times, places, people and events involved. The investigation began with the 1604 arrival at Acadia of Champlain's company, which later shared with its English rivals the motives of adventure, escape, wealth, power and religious zeal. Examined was the French-English rivalry which made Acadia another field for bloodshed. The impact on the Negro movement to Canada of the American Revolution, the War of 1812, and the American Civil War was discussed.

The policies of the state and the church in England and France were reflected in the early attempts at education in that harsh land. Education in Acadia or Nova Scotia became an European transplant with its own peculiar cultural soils for nourishment. Because Negro education has existed within a time and space framework, the history of Nova Scotia has been examined.

Investigated in this study were Africville's educational problems, which in many respects, mirrored the problems of many Nova Scotian Negroes. Investigated also were

\[^1\text{See Appendix D.}\]
the individuals and groups, who since World War II, have attempted to improve educational opportunities for that province's Negroes. Also examined was the concept that employment, housing and social status have affected the climate of Negro education. Because the issues of racial discrimination and socio-economic distress permeate any study of this problem, those topics were also investigated in this study.

The results of this investigation indicated that many Nova Scotians have had a patronizing attitude toward the Negroes of that province. Both subtle and direct discrimination have been shown to many Negro adults and children, many of whom have been "segregated" from white citizens by the influences of geography, economics, housing, and social values. Segregation and discrimination have existed without the sanction of law.

**Conclusions**

Negro children do not fully share in the educational opportunities in Nova Scotia. They are, to a degree, "prisoners" of their heritage. Their parents do not consistently and effectively organize their efforts for educational improvement. The families of many Negro students, often culturally and economically deprived, live in a technological age, a condition which often leaves the Negro "standing in the wings."
Nevertheless, there appears to be a growing "black consciousness" within the Negro community. The demands of the Negroes are being harder pressed on those people responsible for change. The Negroes of Nova Scotia hear of the progress and further demands made by their American cousins. Canadians cannot be assured that unless changes are made in the related fields of Negro education, housing and employment, that the province of Nova Scotia cannot become the center of Canada's major racial problem.

Both subtle and direct discrimination exist toward the Negroes of Nova Scotia. Many white Canadians lack a sensitivity as to the full range of difficulties in being a Negro in a predominantly white community. Many Nova Scotian Whites cannot help feeling a little uncomfortable when they meet a Negro on the bus, at work, at school or at a social gathering. The problem will remain until man learns to judge another on the basis of merit rather than on preconceived notions based on superficial, if obvious, characteristics. Recognition of discrimination appears to be the important first step. Recognition that discrimination leads to injustice, may be the second step. It is important to realize, however, that such recognition can lead to an over-compensation and to an artificial kind

---

2See Appendix E.
of rapport between the Negro and the White. A patronizing attitude by Whites presents no solution to the problem of discrimination towards Negroes.

Many Canadians are inclined to "group" people rather than to accept them as individuals. This tendency applies to the Negro, whose dark skin marks him as a member of a definite minority group, as a "type" rather than a person, as a "Negro" rather than an individual every bit as unique as any other human being. That situation exists in spite of the fact that Nova Scotian Negroes are free to vote, to worship as they please, to depend on the law for protection, and to send their children to the same schools as other children. Article I of the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" states that "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood."3

Early in life, however, the Negro finds that an old, imposed pattern asserts itself often making a mockery of his dreams and aspirations. Often jobs a Negro is expected to do are the more menial ones which pay low wages and are subject to periods of unemployment. He is often expected to carry the pick, not the pencil. There are exceptions

but only in a few cases. The Negro, already restricted in his opportunity for social and economic improvements, is being inundated at the bottom level of the slag heap of obsolescent workers. In Nova Scotia, he symbolizes the province's concern for improving the welfare of all citizens.

Negroes cannot easily find employment because a change of attitude is needed on the part of the white community. This is not an easy task and it will not come about overnight, for many Whites and many Negroes are brought up in two different "worlds." If the standard of living of Negroes could be improved, in many cases Negro children would be brought up in neighbourhoods where there are more white children. This would enable white and Negro children to get to know one another better, cause an early breakdown in existing barriers, and help to hasten a change in attitude.

The Nova Scotian Negro does not enjoy, on the average, as high a standard of living as the average white person. Low family-incomes force youth out to help support the family before they are able to obtain a good level of education. Education is becoming more and more important today in obtaining a good job and in advancing within a job. If Negro children cannot obtain a good education, they may continue to inherit the economic level of their parents. The improvement of Negro life requires improved education for life.
Recommendations

There is need for pre-school classes to enable culturally disadvantaged children to be taught "at the same level" as other children during the first year of school; otherwise, many Negro children will not "recover" and this may lead to early school-leaving. There is need, also, for greater parent-education to enable parents to provide children with adequate preparation for school entrance. There is a need for first-rate teachers to undertake teaching in poor socio-economic areas, for it is not easy to attract a sufficient number of experienced teachers into exceptionally difficult areas. Poor areas may breed poor schools, and poor schools often perpetuate poor areas.

Value of encouragement is far too often little recognized. It becomes apparent, however, to those who teach in rural areas consisting of Negro families, that techniques of positive encouragement are of great importance. All children have basic needs. However, the significance of belonging deserves more attention than usually is given it. The significance of this need may be appreciated more fully if educators consider the Negro child as being in two societies. On the one hand, his parents work in a limited capacity in a technological society to meet his basic physical needs. The Negro child observes that his parents, through a lack of educational training, specific
skills and essential attitudes, and because of negative factors on the part of the society itself, do not belong as other citizens do, in status or attitude, to the technological society. On the other hand, the Negro child's parents control the philosophy and types of activities typical of the homes in which they live. Their sense of belonging to something is measured by the degree to which they control their society. On the surface, this may appear to be a healthy and mature attitude. However, the over-identification of Negro parents with one society, because of lack of adequate identification with another, may be a retarding effect on the social thinking and general personality of their children.

There should be offered in Nova Scotia's schools a course in human rights; this preceded by a teacher-training program that would impress upon teachers the importance of human rights and human relations as a means of creating healthy personality and a healthy society. "If as a profession...we are to give the leadership and counsel reasonably expected of us; we shall first have to clarify our own thinking on important issues." To this date most Negro youth of Nova Scotia have not received that degree of

---

education which would help them to take their most productive role in the total society. The teacher-training institutions must select intelligent and concerned individuals to teach the Negroes of the province. Surely a knowledgeable teacher with a deep concern for the dignity of the individual would best serve the needs of Negro students. The efficiency of the school can be measured by the capacity to maintain itself by the individual satisfaction it affords to the students.

Evidence indicates that the home life, job opportunities, community values, and housing, affect the Negro youth and his education. Education exists in a social context and can never be purely autonomous in process, independent of time, place and conditions. It is suggested here that rather than massive federal and provincial aid to Negro education, the total economy of the area should be improved. Concurrently, there must be an increased concern with the human-relations element involved in the field of Negro education in Nova Scotia. Common sense and fair play cannot be legislated. Concern for the problem can result from knowledge of the situation. From the knowledge must come reform. There is substantial legislation\(^5\) assuring

\(^5\)It is of interest to note that the B. N. A. Act does not mention any race except the Indians.
human rights, but there are many people who are not profiting from it as they should. There appears to be a continuous need for consultation between the Negro leaders and the Negro community. A very real segregation exists in Nova Scotia. Negroes often live in separate geographical areas and this situation has led inadvertently, and within the law, to "segregated" schools and other forms of social segregation. Racial attitudes permeate every phase of life for the Nova Scotian Negro. The management and solution of the difficulties involved present a challenge to Canada's democratic way of life.

Many experts believe that the basic issue involved in the Negro situation in Nova Scotia is to bring about a change in attitudes, both on the part of the majority White group, and on the part of the Negroes themselves. Because of the nature of the many attempts at improvements there are difficulties in evaluating success and failure. Often the needs and results obtained are generally subjective rather that objective and defy measurement in precise terms. Outside help given without insight and skill may be met with hostility. It cannot be expected to bring forth any explicit gratitude. However, the denial of help will lead to even greater problems, to say nothing of the waste of human and economic resources. There must be better communication and dialogue between the Negroes and Whites.
of the community.

The Negroes of Nova Scotia must embark on a self-help program. The maintenance and intensification of present efforts by Negroes as individuals and through their own formal and informal organizations are essential to advancement. Negroes must look to national, provincial and local governments for assistance, but more initiative must come from Negro individuals and citizen groups. Nevertheless, the day for paternalism is past. This is the day when leaders must help people to help themselves.

Negro self-consciousness is increasing across Canada. Canada's first Negro Member of Parliament, Mr. Lincoln Alexander, was elected for the Hamilton West constituency in the June 25, 1968, federal election. Increased Negro education has led to increased Negro awareness of his own place in society. He is rightfully expecting more from his fellow citizens. If not out of humanitarianism, then out of necessity the rest of Canada must meet the challenge—and soon.

The problem facing the Nova Scotian Negro in the future is basically one of human relations. "Until the world accepts the proposition that the universality of mankind outweighs the differences, speculation about the

---

6See Appendix E
meaning of diversity will continue." 7

This investigation of the social and historical background to Negro education in Nova Scotia has many limitations, and may well invite more questions than it provides answers. Other facets of the problem require investigation and study. The roles of senior and local governments should be examined. Another study with a different orientation might include a comparison and contrast of the Nova Scotian Negro education to Negro education in other areas of this nation and elsewhere. A careful study of Canadian attitude to the problems of Nova Scotian Negroes, could be of benefit. Biographical studies of Negro leaders, such as Reverend W. P. Oliver, could be significant contributions. The impact on Nova Scotian Negroes of the recent racial unrest in United States should be examined.

This writer further suggests that Canadian teacher-training institutions should consider more graduate courses and seminars specifically dealing with the topic of "Education of Minorities" in Canada. Educational television might well "zero in" on such areas as the Negro settlements of Nova Scotia. From knowledge and appreciation of the problems involved may come an aroused public opinion.

Change must be the result, and Canadian educators must be among the leaders of that change.

Before more effort, ability and money are invested in Nova Scotia's Negro education, there must be a re-examination and reclarification of the goals of that education. Etzioni states that goals "...provide orientation by depicting a future state of affairs..." A change of goals must come from a knowledge and understanding of the problems involved. Effectiveness and efficiency are lowered by lack of specific objectives and criteria indicating their attainment. That concept certainly applies to any attempts to be made to improve Negro education in Nova Scotia.

After the educational goals have been examined, proper "screening devices" should be created for prospective teachers and administrators. Curriculum and programme change should be structured to meet the changing needs of the Negro student who must be "advanced" to this age of technology and increasing knowledge. A realistic perspective of objectives demands that those people responsible for the curriculum be aware of cultural change.

The greater social utility of intelligence, the

---

increased demand for intellectual manpower, the reduced need for unskilled men and women, the growing recognition of education as an instrument both of economic strength and defense, all demand that the Nova Scotian Negroes receive all the educational opportunities possible. Then, if not out of conscience, sensitivity or fear, but in the name of economics, it makes sense that Canadians must change the climate for Negro education in Nova Scotia. The nation must allow all excellence to be pursued excellently by all. A high price is to be paid for Negro education, but a higher price will be paid for ignorance, illiteracy and incompetence among this nation's people.

This investigation, hopefully, has helped to present a challenge. As Plato said, "What is honoured in a country will be cultivated there."
BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Books


2. Periodicals


3. Publications in a Series


4. **Articles in an Encyclopedia**


5. **Unpublished Materials**


6. **Newspaper Articles**


Prince Albert Daily Herald, September 1, 1966.


*Star-Phoenix*, March 18, 1967.

*Star-Phoenix*, February 17, 1968.

*Star-Phoenix*, May 8, 1968.
Star-Phoenix, April 6, 1968.

Star-Phoenix, September 21, 1968.

7. Published Addresses

Oliver, W. P. "Characteristics of the Area and Problems Arising Therefrom," An address to the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church Conference, Home Mission Board, (Mimeographed, undated).

--- "Adult Education Programs in the Negro Communities of Nova Scotia." (undated).

8. Letters to Colin A. Thomson


Parker, Tom, Executive Secretary, Nova Scotia Teachers' Union. May 18, 1966.

APPENDIX
APPENDIX A

CHRONOLOGY OF NEGRO HISTORY

1. 1526--Negro slave revolt in first settlement in United States (now South Carolina) to contain slaves.

2. 1624--William Tucker, first Negro child born in America, baptized at Jamestown.

3. 1688--First formal protest against slavery made by Germantown Quakers, February 18.

4. 1704--School for Negro slaves opened in New York by Elias Neau, a Frenchman.

5. 1712--Slave revolt, New York, April 8, twenty-one slaves executed, six committed suicide.

6. 1720--Extensive slave revolt in area of Charleston, S. C.; many slaves banished, some hanged, others burned alive.

7. 1739--Slave revolt, led by Cato, starts on a plantation at Stono, S. C.; approximately thirty whites killed as are many slaves; some escape to freedom.


9. 1773--First Negro Baptist church organized at Silver Bluff, S. C.


11. 1776--In the original draft of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson denounces slavery.

12. 1777--Vermont is first state to abolish slavery.

13. 1787--Prince Hall establish first Negro Masonic Lodge in America.

14. 1793--Fugitive Slave Act passed.

15. 1800--October 2, Nat Turner, leader of major slave revolt, born a slave, Southampton County, Va.
16. 1808--January 1, Federal law barring African slave trade goes into effect.

17. 1817--Frederick Douglas born a slave at Tuckahoe, Talbot County, Md., in February.

18. 1818--Negroes form "Pennsylvania Augustine Society" for the education of people of colour.

19. 1822--Denmark Vesey, a slave who had purchased his freedom, carefully organizes one of the most elaborate slave revolts on record, involving thousands of Negroes in Charleston. Authorities arrest 131 Negroes and four whites; thirty-seven were hanged.


21. 1829--Race riot, Cincinnati, Ohio, August 10; more than one thousand Negroes leave the city for Canada.

22. 1830--April 6, birthday of James Augustine Healy, first Negro Roman Catholic Bishop in America.


24. 1838--Charles Lenox Remond is first Negro lecturer employed by an anti-slavery society.


26. 1844--June 24, Boston Negroes hold series of mass meetings protesting "Jim Crow" schools.

27. 1845--Negroes of New England form "Freedom Association" to carry on work of assisting fugitive slaves.

28. 1847--Dred Scott files suit for his freedom in Circuit Court in St. Louis, Mo.

29. 1849--Harriet Tubman, famous "conductor" on Underground Railway, escapes from slavery in Maryland.

30. 1850--Harriet Tubman makes first Underground Railway trip. During thirty years before the Civil War it is estimated that about 75,000 slaves escape to freedom.
31. 1852—March 20, Uncle Tom's Cabin, Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's anti-slavery novel, is published.

32. 1854—Anthony Burns, famous fugitive slave, arrested by United States deputy marshal in Boston, but mobs attack the federal courthouse in an attempt to free him; two thousand U. S. troops needed to return him to his master; people so aroused that no fugitive slave is ever again returned from Massachusetts.

33. 1856—April 5, Booker Taliaferro Washington, famous educator and Negro leader, born a slave in Franklin County, Va.

34. 1857—Dred Scott Decision by the United States Supreme Court, upholding the Fugitive Slave Law, and the idea that Negroes could never become citizens.

35. 1858—The Oberlin-Wellington Rescue Case; Negro fugitive John Price is seized by slave-catchers but rescued by students and a professor of Overlin College, Ohio; Price sent safely to Canada.

36. 1859—John Brown, with twenty-one followers including five Negroes, attacks the arsenal at Harper's Ferry.

37. 1863—President Lincoln signs the Emancipation Proclamation, January 1.

APPENDIX B

"NOT IN HERE"

There was only one customer in the store and the sales clerk served me at once. "Thank you," I said, "but I think perhaps I ought to see the manager about my little problem if he isn't too busy." He came over within a few seconds.

I told him Club Kwacha was having an essay competition: "The History of the Negro in Nova Scotia," "What Kwacha Means to Me," "The Future of the Negro" and (my favourite) "Why School is Not for Me."

He had not heard of Kwacha. I explained the aims and he seemed interested, through wary expectation a "touch"—after all, I must be leading up to something. I explained that the kids wanted the first, second and third prizes to be trophies of descending values and that I had offered to see whether a jeweller would give them a discount on these as their wishes were larger than their pocket-books.

He kept his enthusiasm within bounds, but he was generous. "It is very interesting, I'll give you fifty per cent off any of the trophies." Naturally I thanked him suitably for his generosity. I told him the Club planned to exhibit the winning essays together with the trophies in some prominent place and wondered whether we
could put a card thanking him publicly for his kindness. He showed becoming modesty, "Oh no! It wouldn't be necessary for you to do that. If you made it public I would be flooded with requests for free trophies." "I quite understand, and thank you very much," I said. "Perhaps you would tell your staff about your kind offer to ensure that when the kids turn up to choose their trophies they won't get a brushoff."

"Nix," he cried, "I won't have them in my store, under any condition. I will be pleased to deal with you but if with them the deal's off!"

"But don't you understand," I said, "these are friends of mine who are doing something to raise their community standards. Don't you see that they are, out of their own money, sponsoring a literary competition? They are quite exceptional boys and girls."

"No, I won't deal with them. I've had too much trouble with these types of people. I am very sorry."

It was only when I got home that I saw his ad in the morning paper: Trophies, for every occasion, 70% off. (free engraving).

APPENDIX C

AN ANGRY CANADIAN

Austin Clarke has been called "Canada's angriest Negro." When he moved from Barbados to Canada thirteen years ago he learned that racial prejudice was part of life in Canada. He has said that violence will come to Canada because, he says, Canada is a racist country. Clarke, a writer, lecturer, and news commentator, has lived in Halifax, Montreal and Toronto. He has been a reporter, night watchman, actor, post office employee, and a drawer of unemployment insurance.

He and his Halifax-born Negro wife have two daughters. He claims he is equipping them with knowledge about white prejudice in today's Canada so as to make later life easier for them. Clarke believes that a white man with his talent would have succeeded where he, Clarke, has not succeeded.

On occasions Clarke has been introduced as "The Toronto Negro novelist," which indicates to him that his literary talent has had "strings attached." His role as a writer has been to bring happiness and self-realization to black people. He has attempted to make Negroes cope with their situation in a white society, and to make clear to Negroes the rough realities of life in a white society.
Clarke said he intends to publish his own novels some day. His booklet, "The Confessed Bewilderment of Martin Luther King," was published by a Negro, the late Ted Watkins (Al Kitab Sudan) of the Hamilton Tiger-Cat football team. Mr. James Bacque, Clarke's editor at the MacMillan Company of Canada Limited, claims that Clarke is a better story-teller than was Somerset Maugham.

Writer Dan Proudfoot states that Clarke wants to take all he can from the white people while giving them very little in return. "The black man in Canada is as free as, say, the blackman living in a white society can be... but as for his citizenship—he is not free... and as a human being he is completely unfree."¹

The Canadians who view in a patronizing manner, the recent racial strife in United States might well consider the words of the influential Austin Clarke. Time alone will tell if he is correct in his dire forecast. In any case, a warning verbal shot has been fired. If Negroes of Nova Scotia were to accept Mr. Clarke's philosophy then that province and Canada can expect racial problems. He has said that he does not wish to see a complete separation of the races, but does believe there will always be a lack of harmony between Negroes and Whites.

Mr. Clarke believes that some people consider him to be a Black Muslim. His Muslim name is Ali Kamal Kadir Sudan; he reads the Koran, but stoutly says he is not a Black Muslim. He is to become a temporary writer-in-residence at Yale, but says that life in United States would be unbearable because of the racial strife in that country.

Many Negroes of Nova Scotia and elsewhere in Canada read Clarke's books. His message and views may shock some Canadians. The Negro is a more spiritual man, more expressive, more positive, he says. The Negro, claims Clarke, is touched with rhythm and has the great gift of laughter. Intermarriage is bad, says Clarke, because the baby often has lighter skin and the Negro race loses. He believes that Christianity will become unacceptable to many Negroes because Christian society has left the Negro in an unhappy position in the community.

The outspoken Austin Clarke declares that Canada is a racist country, and Canada will have violence. He says: "As Canada becomes more bluntly racist, native black men and the West Indian will have to react. Race will become a problem here as soon as white people notice that, when they get on a bus they have to sit next to a black man."
ARTICLES IV OF THE TREATY OF PARIS, 1763

ARTICLE IV. His Most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions which he has heretofore formed or might have formed to Nova Scotia or Acadia in all its parts, and guaranties the whole of it, and with all its dependencies, to the King of Great Britain: Moreover, his Most Christian Majesty cedes and guaranties to his said Britannick Majesty in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the gulph and river of St. Lawrence, and in general, everything that depends on the said countries, lands, islands, and coasts, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaty, or otherwise which the Most Christian King and the Crown of France have had till now over the said countries, lands, islands, places, coasts, and their inhabitants, so that the Most Christian King cedes and makes over the whole to the said King, and to the Crown of Great Britain in the possessions above mentioned. His Britannick Majesty, on his side, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholick religion to the inhabitants of Canada: he will, in consequence, give the most precise and most effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholick subjects may profess the worship of their
religion according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit. . . .

APPENDIX E

A NEGRO LIKE ME

They say in Nova Scotia that whites like people like me:
That my friend will only be known to people as dark as me.
I know what they would like to do if I was seen alone—
They's put me in a small black pot, and stir me to a bone.

So the people in Halifax don't have to show their hate,
When they won't let a Negro salesman past their white front
gate.
They think Negro means trouble to their district, child,
and home:
Go down to the city criminal bureau, and tell me,
What race was Al Capone?

The Negroes of Nova Scotia aren't as bad as you whites think.
They are hard-working people with lots of brains to think.
It's when YOU people do them wrong and deny them of their
rights
That stops them from their thinking, and gives them ideas
to fight.

I know you people think that we're not clean 'cause the
way we look.
But who taught you your cleanliness and really how to cook?
Why don't you people stop and think of what the world
'twould be
If you had to exist from the beginning of time without
A NEGRO LIKE ME?

---

Nova Scotia Scene, IV, June, 1966, p. 16. (poem by
Jim Patterson).
APPENDIX F

A VOICE IN PARLIAMENT

Canada's first Negro Member of Parliament is Mr. Lincoln Alexander, who represents the Hamilton West constituency which he won in the 1968 federal election. People are more prepared today to accept a man for what he does rather than by the colour of his skin, according to Mr. Alexander. Nevertheless, he claims, too many Negroes are still employed in menial jobs. The Conservative Member of Parliament does not intend to speak for all Negroes of Canada yet he admits that many people of his race expect leadership from him.

Mr. Alexander, forty-six, who practised criminal law in Hamilton since graduating from Toronto's Osgood Hall in 1953, won the 1965 Conservative nomination in Hamilton West but lost the election to his Liberal opponent. He is the son of a railway porter, and is a veteran of World War II. The Canadian Negroes' biggest problems involve housing and jobs, believes this unique Canadian. He believes that the education of Negroes has suffered because of the living conditions and lack of finances.

In his September 20, 1968, maiden speech in the House of Commons Mr. Alexander said, in part:

I am not the spokesman for the Negroes;
that honor has not been given to me. However I want the record to show that I accept the responsibility for speaking for him and all others who feel that they are the subjects of discrimination because of race, creed or color.\(^1\)

According to Mr. Alexander, Negroes in Nova Scotia and in other parts of Canada suffer under a "subtle" kind of racial discrimination. However, Mr. Alexander's interest does extend beyond racial prejudice. He thinks that it is a great honor to be the first Negro in Canada's Parliament but doesn't want to be known as "the Negro" Member of Parliament. He says, "I want to be known simply as 'the member' from Hamilton West."\(^2\)

---

\(^1\)"Negro Makes Maiden Speech," Star-Phoenix, Saturday, September 21, 1968.

\(^2\)Canadian Magazine, September 21, 1968.