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W. P. OLIVER: BLACK EDUCATOR

BY

© COLIN ARGYLE THOMSON

A DISSERTATION

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a dissertation entitled "W. P. Oliver: Black Educator" submitted by Colin Argyle Thomson in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

The study examined the life and career of Dr. William Pearly Oliver (1912-), Nova Scotian black educator, clergyman, and leader.

Because of Oliver's deep concern with race relations in Nova Scotia, the study provided a brief examination of slavery in that province. His concern also led to brief references to various black groups which came to the province during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Attention was focused on the 1880-1912 period which witnessed white and black reactions to Blacks' problems, their institutions, and their socio-economic situation.

The study, biographical in nature, outlined Oliver's early life, and examined his career as clergyman. Discussed was his leadership roles in various organizations including the African United Baptist Association, the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Black United Front--all organizations whose purpose involves the betterment of the economic, social, and educational status of Nova Scotian Blacks. Oliver's career as an adult educator was given prominence in the study.

The study, which examined one style of black leadership and strategy for change, indicated that Oliver's early

attempts to change black and white attitudes towards race involved an approach of gradualism and accommodation with the white majority. His later efforts, especially those which involved the Black United Front, displayed a hardening attitude toward the matter of race relations. The study indicated that slowly Oliver began to react to black needs and aspirations, rather than to what he felt white society required.

Indicated also were Oliver's attempts to use education as a means to build functional black citizens with self-esteem and higher aspirations. The study showed that Oliver's efforts, not yet concluded, have met with both success and failure.

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Appreciation is extended to Dr. W. P. Oliver who graciously supplied his private papers, his time, and his interest. The officers and staff of the Black United Front also deserve thanks for their courteous assistance. Appreciation is extended to the Adult Education Division of the Department of Education, Halifax, for its full cooperation.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The main purpose of this study is to trace the life and career of William Pearly Oliver, a black[1] Nova Scotian educator, clergyman, and leader. In addition to his educational endeavors particular reference is made to his attempts at organizing and leading Nova Scotia's black population. Also central to this study is Oliver's view on black-white relations in Nova Scotia. This examination of Oliver's life is made in the context of modern black Nova Scotian history.

Statement of Sub-problems

This study has three other purposes:

1. To provide historical perspective to the life of Nova Scotian Blacks.

2. To examine briefly selected aspects of Nova Scotian black history between the American Civil War to the time near Oliver's birth.

3. To examine briefly white attitudes toward Canadian Blacks shortly before and after Oliver's birth.

Delimitation of the Study

This study is biographical in nature, rather than an economic, political, or social history. It is not intended to be a history of Nova Scotia's Blacks or of their education. Emphasis is placed on Oliver's role as leader and adult educator. Little attempt is made to deal with (1) churches other than those affiliated with the African United Baptist Association (AUBA); (2) the organization, financing, and internal make-up of Nova Scotia's schools; and (3) Oliver's political beliefs. Particular attention is placed on the Halifax area; incidental references are made to other areas of black settlement where required.

Oliver's view of his life and career is central to this study. Attention is focussed on his growing black consciousness. Stressed are his motivations and attempts to use adult education as a means to enhance the living standards of the province's Blacks. The question of racial discrimination and prejudice, as seen and defined by Oliver, is discussed in depth. After providing an historical context the study concentrates on the period from 1937 to 1970, when Oliver's concept of education for leadership gradually emerged.

Need for the Study

Many concerned individuals are aware of the racial unrest in the United States and in other parts of the world. In Canada the question of minority rights has also become a matter of concern. This study throws light on racial unrest and minority rights of the Blacks in Canada. It also examines one style of leadership used by a member of a Canadian minority to gain a greater degree of equality for his people.

The study lends credence to the claim that Canadians must become more aware and concerned with minorities such as the Blacks. The study may indicate changes which could be made by the white majority, and provide Blacks further opportunity to evaluate one type of black leadership. From an identification of the Blacks' problems and the suggested solutions of men like Oliver, Canadians may become better equipped to deal with the problems of other minorities.

Review of Related Literature

There are no studies of the life and career of Oliver, apart from a few magazine articles which place him in favorable light.[2] Little has been written which is critical of Oliver's points of view. His work has received considerable newspaper coverage.

The most authoritative source on Canadian Blacks is Robin W. Winks' The Blacks in Canada[3] which examines in considerable detail the Canadian black experience from 1628 to the late 1960's. Winks has brief but pertinent references to Oliver. He indicates that a factor in the marginality of Blacks has been their division, lack of organization and strong leadership, and quiescence in the face of overt discrimination. He claims that historically Nova Scotia has been a racist society. His chapters on the role of nineteenth century black churches and schools were of most benefit to this study. Winks claims that white Nova Scotians, like other Canadians, often shared the racial beliefs which have existed north of the Mason-Dixon line.

The monograph, Nova Scotian Blacks: An Historical and Structural Overview,[4] by sociologists Donald H. Clairmont and Dennis W. Magill, underscores the influence of white prejudice and discrimination in the province. Their work includes several hypotheses to explain the economic marginality of the Blacks. Also included is a brief but disjointed history of the Blacks, their institutions, and their cultural adaptation. The authors partially disagree with Winks' arguments involving the historically-determined divisions within the black community. Their

basic premise is that Nova Scotian Blacks shared not only a heritage of slavery in the United States but also a heritage of racism in the province. Their greatest value is the sociological context in which they examine problems which have faced the Blacks.

Charles Bruce Fergusson's 1948 documentary study[5] contains nearly thirty of the most significant documents dealing with the Refugee Blacks. He introduces them with a scholarly, historical commentary in which he cites many other sources in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia (PANS). His unique work and sources are of great value in providing documents, letters, and legislative pronouncements relative to the 1812-1848 period.

Ida C. Greaves' study of Canadian Blacks cannot be considered a definitive work.[6] Her brief study traces Canadian black history from the beginning of the slavery period to 1931. Greaves offers little hope for black advancement given the socio-economic position of Blacks at the time. She considers Blacks to be an ignored minority.

Although narrow in scope George A. Rawlyk's study of the Guysborough Blacks is significant in that it focuses attention on a group of Nova Scotian Blacks who, he claims, have been for nearly two centuries among the

most economically deprived people of the province. Rawlyk claims that the Guysborough Blacks, like others in the province, have lived in an historical vacuum. He traces the work done in the area by state, church, and school officials who failed to improve substantially the Blacks' experience in their "alien world."[7]

Three sources provide important information relative to the black Baptist Church. P. E. MacKerrow's pioneer work[8] deals with the church's history from the American Revolution to the end of the nineteenth century. His work focuses on the church's growth and difficulties, its leading figures, and descriptions of the congregations belonging to the AUBA. MacKerrow's work reflects the church's preoccupation with temperance and salvation, and accommodation with the white majority of the province.

Pearleen Oliver's study[9] involving the period from 1782 to 1953 continues themes similar to those used by MacKerrow. Her work, published in celebration of AUBA's one hundredth anniversary, was intended to make black Baptists aware of their church's history, and as such tends, like MacKerrow's book, to be hagiographical when referring to black church leaders. Particularily useful are her references to early twentieth century efforts to improve schools and churches for Blacks.

The third major source dealing with church history is The Minutes of the African United Baptist Association of Nova Scotia[10] for the period from 1933 to 1968. This source provides information concerning Oliver's early and later ministry, as well as insights into the organization's purposes, programs, and philosophy. The minutes are particularly valuable for their reports on Blacks' education and Oliver's role in that effort.

Jules R. Oliver's thesis, "The Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Colored People,"[11] briefly traces the history of that organization. In addition to his references to W. P. Oliver, his study suggests that the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NSAACP) after 1962 presented a different approach and philosophy than were used earlier. The study called for a new all-black organization for the province.

Gwendolyn V. Shand's 1961 study[12] of adult education for Blacks is useful because it outlines the program's progress and emphasis to a time immediately before Oliver's full-time adult education efforts. Her brief work, while making reference to Oliver's early educational endeavors, is constructively critical of some features of the adult education program for Blacks. Shand's report unfortunately lacks supportive documentation. The study provides

a basis for contrast and comparison with Oliver's later efforts.

Sources of Data

The sources of data can be grouped into five categories: (1) unpublished materials; (2) books, pamphlets, and articles; (3) newspapers; (4) private interviews; and (5) printed public documents.

Unpublished Materials

The most important unpublished materials are W. P. Oliver's private papers and family scrapbooks found in his files at the Department of Education and in his home. Included are his addresses, sermons, news releases, church bulletins, and correspondence. Letters from numerous Nova Scotians are valuable in the chapter dealing with Oliver's youth.

Various theses and other unpublished materials have already been mentioned. Unpublished reports of the Adult Education Branch of the Department of Education are generally classified under Oliver's papers because in nearly all instances Oliver wrote those reports. When exceptions are made, they are noted.

Books, Pamphlets, and Articles

Books and magazine articles have already been discussed. The most useful pamphlets are the printed church bulletins of the Cornwallis Street United Baptist Church.[13]

Newspapers

Although many Canadian newspapers are used in this study, the Halifax newspapers were most valuable. Particular attention is placed on those sources for the following periods: 1751-1800; 1812-1814; 1865-1884; and 1937-1970. Newspapers from other areas were consulted as needed.

Private Interviews

Taped private interviews with Oliver and other individuals were of great value. All interviews were conducted in Halifax, unless otherwise indicated.

Printed Public Documents

Printed public documents include selected censuses of Canada, selected House of Commons debates, and significant sources from PANS.

The Province of Nova Scotia Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for Nova Scotia[14] for the years from 1946 to 1969 has specific sections dealing with adult education among Blacks, including Oliver's

work therein. The reports, although brief, are valuable in that they indicate the purposes and trends which evolved in the adult education programs for Blacks. A weakness may be their uncritical view of Oliver's work or that of the Adult Education Division of the Department of Education.

Method of Procedure

The study is essentially a narrative with interpretive sections in each chapter. Both topical and chronological approaches are used. There is some overlapping in terms of time in some chapters.

Chapter II begins with a brief sketch of Nova Scotian black history to the time of the American Civil War. The larger part of the chapter stresses later nineteenth century and early twentieth century black history. The roles of two black institutions, the school and the church,[15] are examined. A discussion of marginal poverty[16] among late nineteenth century Nova Scotian Blacks is followed by a brief examination of the black stereotype as seen by many whites. Briefly outlined next are the climatic and other arguments used by some white Nova Scotians to discourage early twentieth century black migration to western Canada. A description of white apathy and racial

hostility in the province is followed by a short summary. The chapter and its summary place in historical perspective Oliver's life and the lives of other modern Nova Scotian Blacks.

Chapter III examines Oliver's youth, his family and its reputation, and influences and incidents which helped to shape his thinking.

The next chapter describes selected aspects of Oliver's ministry: His early years, his difficulties and successes, the secular features of his work, his efforts with the AUBA, his early educational endeavors, and his theological beliefs, among others.

Oliver's connection with the NSAACP is discussed in detail in Chapter V, where the organization's purposes, its strengths and weaknesses, its successes and failures, and Oliver's changing view of the organization are outlined.

His efforts as an adult educator among Blacks are described in Chapter VI. Included are his statements on education's value, criticism of and support for the adult education program, the NSAACP's early cooperation with Oliver's educational work, and an examination of his concept of education for leadership. The same chapter investigates the creation and purposes of the Black United

Front (BUF), and Oliver's participation in the organization. Support for and criticisms of Oliver's BUF endeavors are examined. As in earlier chapters his view of racial discrimination[17] in Nova Scotia is discussed. Brief reference is made to the matter of class differences affecting black-white relations in the province.

The final chapter offers conclusions and suggestions for further study.

FOOTNOTES

1. The term "Black" rather than "Negro" or "Colored" is used in this study. Exceptions are found in some quotations, and when "negro" spirituals are mentioned. 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 skeleton characteristics) but without regard to language or culture to members of the Caucasian, Mongoloid, or the 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 or Black are frequently misused and misunderstood. In this study the term Black refers to any person that the majority of the Nova Scotian population would consider to be black. Persons of mixed ancestry, even if mainly white in the biological sense, are considered black, except for those who "pass" as white. One writer divides the Blacks into the following groups: "1. The North American Black--the so-called Negro population of North America. Even though the majority of genes (80 per cent) come from African Black population, it contains a significant percentage (20 per cent) of Caucasoid genes from Europe. There is no evidence of an appreciable contribution from the Indian populations indigenous to America. This is a relatively new breeding population resulting from an African Black-European hybridization. 2. South American Black--a significant fraction of the Brazilian population. These people, like the North American Black, have a genetic background that is predominantly African Black but with an admixture of European and South American Indian as well. 3. Sub-Saharan African--a. West African Black--West Africa and much of the Congo. b. Bantu--Mozambique, Angola, parts of the Union of South Africa, Tanzania, parts of the Sudan and Ethiopia. d. Forest Pygmy--the rain forests of equatorial Africa. e. Hottentot--the name given the aboriginal inhabitant of South Africa by colonizing Dutchmen." Richard A. Goldsby, Race and Races (London: The Macmillan Co., 1971), 41.

2. See "In Search of a Sense of Community," Time, special issue (Canadian ed.; April 6, 1970), 10; M. O'Malley, "In the Panthers' Wake," The Globe Magazine, February 15, 1969, 23; B. Hinds, "Black Power: Has Halifax Found the Answer?" The Atlantic Advocate, LIX, No. 5 (January, 1969), 9-15; B. Deakin, "Problem of Education," ibid., LV, No. 9 (May, 1965), 63-65; W. P. Oliver, "Race Relations in Nova Scotia," The Watchman Examiner, LIII, No. 11 (February 11, 1965), 72-74; E. L. Homewood, "The Maritime Colour Bar," The United Church Observer, XXII, No. 7 (1960), 8-10, 18, 20-21; E. L. Homewood, "The Maritimes' Race Problem," ibid., XXV, No. 17 (1963), 14-16, 36. These articles discuss Oliver in the context of racial discrimination.

3. Robin W. Winks, The Blacks in Canada (London: Yale University Press, 1971). A number of earlier articles by Winks were incorporated in The Blacks in Canada: "Negro School Segregation in Ontario and Nova Scotia," The Canadian Historical Review, L, No. 2 (June, 1969), (cited hereafter as "Negro School Segregation" and CHR); "Negroes in the Maritimes: An Introductory Study," Dalhousie Review, XLVIII, No. 1 (Winter, 1968-69), (cited hereafter as "Negroes in the Maritimes"); "The Canadian Negro: A Historical Assessment, Part I: The Negroes in the Canadian-American Relationship," The Journal of Negro History, XIII, No. 4 (October, 1968), 284, (cited hereafter as JNH); "The Canadian Negro: A Historical Assessment, Part II: The Problem of Identity," ibid., XIV, No. 1 (January, 1969).

4. Donald H. Clairmont and Dennis W. Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks: An Historical and Structural Overview, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1970, 3. Cited hereafter as Nova Scotian Blacks.

5. Charles Bruce Fergusson, ed., A Documentary Study of the Establishment of the Negroes in Nova Scotia Between the War of 1812 and the Winning of Responsible Government, PANS, Publication No. 8 (Halifax: 1948). Cited hereafter as Documentary Study.

6. Ida C. Greaves, The Negro in Canada, McGill University Economic Studies, No. 6 (Orillia: Packet-Times Press, 1931).

7. George A. Rawlyk, "The Guysborough Negroes: A Study

in Isolation," Dalhousie Review, XIV, No. 1 (Spring, 1968), 20. Cited hereafter as "Guysborough Negroes."

8. P. E. MacKerrow, A Brief History of the Coloured Baptists of Nova Scotia (Halifax: Nova Scotia Printing Co., 1895). Cited hereafter as Coloured Baptists.

9. Pearleen Oliver, A Brief History of the Colored Baptists of Nova Scotia 1782-1953 (in commemoration of the Centennial Celebrations of the African Baptist Association of Nova Scotia Inc., Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1953), (Mimeographed.) Cited hereafter as Colored Baptists.

10. Cited hereafter as Minutes of AUBA.

11. Jules R. Oliver, "The Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Colored People" (unpublished Master of Social Work thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, Acadia University, 1969). Cited hereafter as "NSAACP."

12. Gwendolyn V. Shand, "Adult Education Among the Negroes of Nova Scotia," Journal of Education, X, No. 1 (January, 1961). Cited hereafter as "Negro Adult Education."

13. The church is better known as the Cornwallis Church.

14. Province of Nova Scotia Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for Nova Scotia (Halifax: The King's Printer, 1946-1949). After 1949 the reports were called Province of Nova Scotia Annual Report of the Department of Education. Both cited hereafter as Annual Report(s).

15. In this study the "black church" will refer primarily to the churches belonging to the AUBA.

16. "Marginality, in a sociological sense, refers to a lack of influence in societal decision-making and a low degree of participation in the mainstream of political or economic life. Usually it turns out that a social group designated as marginal is, also, economically disadvantaged. In modern mass society the economic factor appears to be, indeed, the most important criterion in terms of which marginality is defined. Consequently, marginality in a sociological sense tends to be identified as economic marginality or

poverty. In the fullest sense of the word, Nova Scotian Blacks can be classified as marginal." Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 34.

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

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND AND PERSPECTIVE

Nova Scotian Blacks 1749-1865

Black slavery was introduced to Canada during the French Regime (the first recorded black slave sale was by Sir David Kirke in Montreal in 1628[1]) and was continued by the English after the 1763 Treaty of Paris. In what is now Ontario and Quebec the practice had largely died out by the last decade of the eighteenth century.[2] In Nova Scotia slave sales lasted to the second decade of the nineteenth century.[3]

There is no record of slaves held at Port Royal, Nova Scotia. Slavery began in the province shortly after the 1749 birth of Halifax.[4] Perhaps five hundred Blacks, free and slaves, lived in the province before the Loyalist migration.[5] Slave sales and rewards for escaped slaves were recorded in Nova Scotian newspapers.[6] The shackle and the lash were often applied to errant slaves.[7]

Of the thirty thousand Loyalists who came to Nova Scotia during and after the American Revolution, nearly three thousand of them were Blacks, free and slaves.[8] Prior to 1784, 1,232 slaves were brought to Nova Scotia,

New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island.[9] "The number of slaves increased rapidly. The defense of slavery received a number of vocal and well-informed advocates. . . . The variety of work done by Negroes was greatly expanded. . . . Slave and free Negroes now lived side by side."[10] The Loyalist Blacks brought skills and training that neither the pre-revolutionary Blacks or the later 1812 Refugees possessed.[11]

Many of the Blacks were former slaves who "had escaped during the War of Independence, joined the British forces . . . " and served as soldiers and sailors for the British forces.[12] Those Blacks became a center of international dispute between George Washington and Governor Guy Carleton. Washington was unable to secure financial restitution for the "lost" slaves.[13] The British motives were more economic and military than humanitarian.[14]

The Loyalist arrival brought a rash of slave sales[15] and "wanted" advertisements.[16] Slaves tended to be concentrated in the hands of a few Loyalist owners. Although private sales continued into the nineteenth century, the last public slave auction in Nova Scotia was in 1790.[17] Some Loyalist slave owners used the lash and shackles, as did many earlier Nova Scotian settlers.[18] However, ill treatment of slaves was the exception rather than the rule.

Such bad treatment received publicity and was the source of gossip and legend. Slaveholding, as Ida C. Greaves reported, became a common characteristic of the leading Loyalist families.[19] Other Loyalists associated slavery with the new republic which they had reason to dislike.

Meanwhile, free Loyalist Blacks were most often settled on small, barren lots of land on the edge of white settlements.[20] "It is clear that the free Black Loyalists were victims of much prejudice and discrimination. . . . They faced a hostile White population, dominant in numbers and in power."[21] In order to survive some were forced to sell themselves or their children into slavery or indenture. "Those who had trades, such as carpenters, blacksmiths, and coopers . . . readily got work in the city [Halifax] at fair remuneration."[22] In contrast with Loyalist whites of the same class level, Blacks were disproportionately represented among the sharecropping, domestic service, and indentured occupations.[23] Such difficulties did not prevent the Blacks from starting their own schools[24] and churches[25]--a move supported by many whites who wished to see the races separated.[26]

Racial separation was often encouraged by the white churches. Some white clergymen, like some members of their congregations, bought, sold, and willed slaves. A fierce

controversy arose amongst the Loyalist clergy over the issue of slavery.[27] One leading churchman, Bishop Charles Inglis of Nova Scotia, wrote in 1786 that "in general the Negroes are very indolent and improvident,"[28] indicating the low opinion that some churchmen had of Blacks. The churches had no stated policy on the slavery issue; they were prepared to allow the institution to die slowly in Nova Scotia.

The slow death of slavery came primarily as a result of court decisions and a gradual change in public opinion. One account correctly stated that "the courts were astute to find means of making it all but impossible for the alleged master to succeed. . . . "[29] Manumissions increased as the nineteenth century approached.

In the last decade of the eighteenth century the first of two black migrations to Sierra Leone took place. In 1792 nearly twelve hundred free Nova Scotian Blacks, roughly one-third of the black population, were transported to Sierra Leone. During 1791 Governor John Parr[30] worked with Thomas Peters[31] and David George,[32] prominent Blacks, to plan for the migration to Africa. John Clarkson,[33] brother of the more famous Thomas Clarkson, the abolitionist, persuaded hundreds of Blacks to leave Nova Scotia. Clarkson, hired by the Sierra Leone Company of

London, was the driving force behind the migration.[34] Only those free Blacks who could prove their "honesty, sobriety and industry"[35] could leave. On January 15, 1792 it was announced that "the Sierra Leone fleet, consisting of 15 sail [left] with a fair wind. . . . "[36]

Four years later between five and six hundred Maroons (thought to be a corruption of the Spanish word 'Cimmaron' meaning 'wild' or 'untamed') arrived in Halifax from Jamaica, where for generations they had doggedly refused to cooperate with British authorities.[37] The Maroons, accompanied by two commissioners,[38] were well received by Governor John Wentworth, a former slave owner,[39] who talked of "disseminating piety, morality and loyalty"[40] among the Black Jamaicans whom he called "healthy, peaceful, and orderly, inoffensive. . . . "[41] The governor was initially delighted with the energy and gaiety of the Blacks who provided a shock to many other Haligonians.[42]

Gradually Wentworth, whom Robin W. Winks described as "a man who seems to have been genuinely free of racial bias,"[43] became impatient with the Maroons. They were dissatisfied with the whites' reaction to them, the climate, and with the agricultural potential of the area. Wentworth's problem ended four years later when on

August 6, 1800 the ship "Asia" took nearly all the Maroons to Sierra Leone, thereby relieving the province of a large financial strain.

The rebellious Maroons came and left as a group. About four hundred and fifty Blacks remained in the Halifax area after the Maroons departed.[44] The Maroons had cohesiveness, pride, and dignity--characteristics not often displayed by the earlier Loyalist Blacks or by the black Refugees of the War of 1812.[45]

Because the Refugees are the ancestors of most of today's Nova Scotian Blacks, and because they remained an identifiable group late in the nineteenth century, a slightly longer summary of their history is necessary. The Refugee Blacks were disorganized, unable to recover from their earlier slave experience, less well-prepared to meet the economic difficulties in Nova Scotia, and can be called the jetsam of the inconclusive War of 1812.[46] Roughly two thousand of these people came to the province during and after the conflict.[47] (One Refugee was the great-great grandfather of W. P. Oliver.) Originally from the South they found the climate and employment conditions difficult; they lacked the trades and skills that the Loyalist Blacks had. As former slaves they were not trained to participate in independent agriculture.

The Refugees had no David George or Thomas Peters to provide needed black leadership. Earlier black Loyalists gave little assistance and welcome to the poorer Refugees who had come to the province "to be free, to be frozen, and to starve."[48] The Refugees in turn refused to cooperate with non-Baptist Blacks. Even within their own communities, cooperation was lacking.

The Refugees were dispersed throughout the province but they clustered in most cases, unassimilated and unwanted by whites. Many settled in Preston, a community emptied by the 1792 migration.[49]

As people living in clusters they were in a position to become a political force. As uneducated and disorganized people they did not exert such pressure. Blacks of Nova Scotia have never been prevented from exercising the franchise by any restriction based on color.[50] In 1837 they were fully enfranchised; a few years later they were allowed to sit on juries. Their testimony was never rejected in any court in British North America.[51]

Refugee initiative was no greater in the field of education. The 1811 Nova Scotian Public School Act provided government aid to communities which could build a schoolhouse, supply a teacher, and provide £50 through local subscription.[52] No Refugee settlement could meet

those criteria. The province until the 1860's provided small grants to a few black schools. There was talk but no action taken regarding the construction of a black Normal School. An 1832 amendment stated that any district having at least fifteen students, and still unable to maintain its school could receive a maximum grant of £70, plus £5 for books. In 1836 the Board of School Commissioners was given authority to use some of that fund to open black schools, whether or not a common school existed. "These two changes had the effect of putting schools legally but not actually within the reach of black initiative and of segregating black from white children."[53] The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) and The Associates of the Late Dr. Bray, an English philanthropic organization, also opened and financed numerous black schools throughout the province.[54]

If black initiative in education and other concerns was low the cause lay in the economic distress which faced them.[55] Many worked as laborers, domestics, or as sellers of home-made brooms, berries, rum and other sundry articles. Few became involved in the staple industries of fishing, lumbering, and farming. Many of the poverty-stricken Blacks were housed in the Poor House Hospital in Halifax. Others received accommodation at the Melville

Island station where food and supplies were distributed. Blankets and clothes arrived from Britian in 1814, but supplies were too few to meet the demand. Two years later the Earl of Dalhousie wrote: "I find Negroe [sic] families . . . in a state of starvation . . . their numbers increased by those . . . [who] now have joined the Settlers unable to get any work. . . . "[56] A similar picture was described in 1830 by a British traveller, Captain W. Moorsom.[57]

The Refugees failed to progress because they became wards of the state and were to remain so. Their distress was heightened by the fact that cheap white labor, disbanded soldiers, and increasing numbers of European immigrants received first call when labor was required. Beckles Willson, in Nova Scotia: The Province That Has Been Passed By, wrote of the Refugees as privileged "to enjoy the comforts of political freedom and physical starvation . . . " in Nova Scotia.[58]

In the first year after settlement, province-wide crop failures made 1816 the "year without summer." Such conditions raised havoc with the vulnerable Black communities. The basis was formed for years of black hardship and deprivation, for after release from a slave subculture the Refugees joined the earlier Blacks in a continuing

state of subsistence poverty. "But literally dumped into . . . a free society, by the caprice and vagaries of war, they were bound to encounter hardship. . . . Gradually the Negroes became more able to fend for themselves. . . . "[59]

By mid-nineteenth century it was obvious that the black man had come to stay. In the Refugee's arrival and in their Nova Scotian experiences lay the foundations of racism in Canada.[60]

Meanwhile, Nova Scotians, like other Canadians, were aware of events in the United States which were destined to have a profound effect on Canadians. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill, the Missouri Compromise, the Fugitive Slave Bill, the Dred Scott Case, John Brown's raid,[61] Fort Sumter, Appomattox, and Lincoln's assassination were discussed in Canada. Perhaps forty thousand Canadians fought for the North during the 1861-1865 Civil War. One northern regiment formed in Boston had so many Nova Scotians that it was called the "Highlanders."[62]

Other Canadians showed support for the southern cause. Some Canadians argued that a southern victory would in fact lead to the abolition of slavery, because as an independent republic the South could not withstand world public opinion led by northerners and Canadian abolition groups against slavery. As W. L. Morton said:

"The general Canadian feeling became anti-Northern"[63] when it became evident that it was a war to preserve the Union.

By 1842, twelve thousand slaves had escaped from the United States to Canada.[64] The Fugitive Slave Bill of 1850 increased the traffic on the famous "underground railroad"[65] to Canada and to the northern states. While the impact of that traffic on Canada cannot be discussed here, its influence on the Maritimes and Nova Scotia can be outlined briefly. New Brunswick's black population increased nearly fifty per cent between the 1850 bill and the events at Fort Sumter.[66] In 1850 the black population was two per cent of Nova Scotia's population. In the next ten years it rose from five to six thousand--a result of the underground railroad.[67]

Maritime newspapers,[68] perhaps removed from reliable sources, initially hesitated to accept the very fact of war. Thus, Fort Sumter was at first often referred to simply as a "tragedy." One Maritime source stated that " . . . the whole affair is merely a temporary but not dangerous disarrangement of the brain of the American people. . . . "[69] The same source considered Lincoln's 1863 Emancipation Proclamation as having little significance.[70] The New Brunswick Courier of Saint John suggested

that the proclamation would have little impact on Canada.[71]

That Canada had provided a refuge for escaped slaves is fact. It is another thing to say that the Blacks were always accepted as equals once they reached the safety of the "Lion's Paw." Some Canadians were prone to think of their nation as the saviour for slaves, and congratulated themselves feeling that their nation did not share the immorality and prejudice of their neighbors to the south. A poem by Harriet Tubman expressed the erroneous view that Canada would make welcome escaped slaves.[72] Other representatives of this view were Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty who wrote in 1913 that "it is not to be wondered that the eyes of the negro turned longingly to the land under whose flag he need call no man his master."[73]

As Ida C. Greaves observed in 1931: "When there was no slavery from which he [the Black] could flee, he ceased to find a welcome and scarcely found toleration [in Canada]."[74]

Education for Blacks

Nineteenth century Nova Scotian law empowered the school commissioners of each municipality to establish black schools if they, rather than solely a body of petitioners, believed that such schools were necessary. The

law was largely unnecessary because the geographical segregation of black communities made segregated schools a fait accompli. Those communities, adjuncts to white towns and villages, were small, scattered, and rural.

Black schoolchildren of Nova Scotia were the recipients of more white hostility than were black children elsewhere in Canada.[75] In Halifax county three segregated, government supported schools were built serving approximately seventy black students.[76]

The segregated schools, like those of the whites, received careful inspection from school authorities. An 1877 report of the Lockman Street Colored Girls' School gives insight into the school's program: "Their reading in the various class-books, and their recitation of short pieces were considered praiseworthy. They had also made some progress in the multiplication table and the outlines of grammar."[77] During the same year a similar report was given for the Maynard Street School for Colored Boys.[78]

Attendance at black schools was often poor. A report in 1871 involving twenty-two Halifax schools discussed "the number of pupils daily present [PDP] for every 100 registered."[79] The PDP for non-black schools was sixty-two; the PDP for the Zion Colored School was forty.[80] The Inglish School, classified as a "mixed school,"

averaged twenty-four--the only figure lower than that of the Zion School. Even the Poor Asylum school had a better attendance record: fifty-three students. The Zion school headed by a white man, Rev. O'Banyon, received favorable newspaper publicity and was compared favorably with other Halifax schools.[81]

It is apparent that few whites, other than school officials, ever visited the black schools. The report of the Brunswick Street Wesleyan Sunday School, among others, supports that claim: "The scholars acquitted themselves to the satisfaction of a number of their black friends. . . . "[82] White teachers, on occasion, were no less eager to associate with black children. An official of the Board of School Commissioners in 1875 investigated complaints from Blacks who claimed that the Acadian School would not admit black students to advanced classes. "He found that such was the case, and recommended that the teachers be compelled to put the children on the same footing as white children."[83]

At first glance the Acadian School controversy appears to question Robin W. Winks' statement that "many Negroes . . . wished to have separate schools maintained for them. . . . "[84] Winks is correct, however, because those few Blacks who did wish to attend advanced classes

had to apply at a white school; no such classes existed in the black schools. One example, among many, supports Winks' statement: "A letter from residents of Africville, asking to have a [black] school established there, was referred to the Committee of teachers."[85]

In fact and in law there were segregated schools in late nineteenth century Nova Scotia (the existence of segregated schools lasted into the late 1960's). The following excerpt from the 1881 legislative debates referred to an 1876 ruling that " . . . all colored children were from thenceforth excluded from the Common Schools, and separate schools were established for their use. . . . "[86]

In 1884 two other petitions evoked a series of fierce debates in the Legislative Assembly.[87] William S. Fielding, a Baptist, editor of the Morning Chronicle, and minister without portfolio in the Pipe's government, strongly defended the cause of segregation.[88] "Fielding recited virtually every argument known to man then and since against mixing the races."[89]

Fielding's argument narrowly won the vote, but an amendment was passed which stated that black students could not be excluded from instruction in the areas in which they lived. The government could continue to establish segregated schools, although if no black school

existed admission to the public school was to be guaranteed. Through the amendment the segregated school concept was damaged only in those communities where black schools did not already exist, or where the number of black students was considered insufficient to justify the expense of maintaining a segregated school. "In effect, this amendment strengthened segregated schools in those areas where Negroes were numerous enough to justify the creation of a separate school for them, while preventing segregation in fringe areas where only a few Negro families lived."[90] The Education Act, revised in 1918, still allowed inspectors to recommend separate schools for different races, but emphasized that black students could not be excluded from the common schools.[91] Not until 1954 was the reference to race removed from the statute.

Meanwhile Blacks asked for equality in education. Black schools, which generally accepted Booker T. Washington's emphasis on vocational training, could not be considered equal. Separate education, the practice rather than the exception, meant that Blacks could not compete fairly (racial issues aside) with whites.

Blacks did little to force the issue. Late nineteenth century Blacks presented no united front, and they had few common goals for the future. They were divided

geographically and historically. Their children were taught the three evils of "Intemperance, Illiteracy, and Godlessness,"[92] but were not taught to change the status quo.

The few black schools mentioned above did provide a basic education for a handful of Blacks. Thousands of other Blacks remained illiterate or taught themselves the rudiments of reading and arithmetic. Even some of the early black Baptist pastors and elders were illiterate. "They were passing through an age when the theme song was 'If you educate an Negro, you unfit him for a slave.'"[93]

The African United Baptist Association displayed deep concern with education, and the organization provided leadership and preacher-teachers in some areas. Rev. Adam Green, a black minister at Truro, told his early twentieth century congregation that education for black youths was imperative: "Parents must keep their children in school. Our children must become ambitious of the higher education that is obtainable in the common schools."[94] Rev. A. W. Jordan, a well educated minister who served Cornwallis Church from 1884 to 1891, " . . . always reminded the young people of the society that if they had a desire to qualify themselves . . . [then] learning was well worth their attention. . . . "[95] The same source commented

on the lack of school facilities at Preston.[96]

A few other black communities did have schools. Campbell Road's school, near Halifax, had by 1895 " . . . a fine day school in which nearly all the children of school-able age take advantage of."[97] There was a school at Hammond Plains financed by the provincial government. The school was earlier maintained by The Associates of the Late Dr. Bray. Another school operated by 1895 at North Mountain, near Annapolis.[98] Earlier, an 1874 school inspector, William Hartshorne, noted that at Tracadie in Guysborough County a school for Blacks had begun with satisfactory academic results.[99]

Children attending such schools were a distinct minority among the black population. In some instances the same building served as a church and as a school, indicating the close connection between the operation and purposes of the two institutions. Other school buildings remained empty because many white teachers were not prepared to teach in black communities. George A. Rawlyk reported: "Negro education made very little real progress in the period. . . . Negro students were very irregular in attendance; schoolhouses frequently burned down; it was difficult to find teachers willing to teach in the Negro Schools."[100]

Such situations were reviewed yearly by the AUBA, but it was not until 1908 that a definite educational change was suggested. In that year J. R. Johnston, the first black graduate from the Dalhousie law faculty, proposed to the AUBA that a Normal and Industrial School for Blacks be established. The school was to be patterned after the Hampden Institute in the United States.

Encouragement and support for Johnston's plan came from Rev. M. B. Puryear, an American black minister who served Cornwallis Church from 1909 to 1918. In 1914 he called a meeting of prominent church and civic leaders who were asked to support the plan. In September, 1915 the AUBA passed a resolution calling for the establishment of an industrial school for black children.[101]

In 1918 Puryear returned to the United States. Leadership for the plan was assumed by a committee headed by a black man, J. A. R. Kinney,[102] who successfully sought government financial support. A large acreage was purchased near Dartmouth, and the institution known as the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children opened in 1921.[103]

In spite of such successes the educational achievements and opportunities for the province's Blacks were minimal. Winks reported that black education was " . . . mechanical, based on an increasingly outworn curriculum,

and taught by ill-prepared teachers in unattractive buildings, . . . "[104]

The few black schools provided little encouragement for change. The Blacks' acceptance of separate schools displayed an attitude of accommodation with whites. Those schools pointed to the Blacks' second-class citizenship, and exemplified the idea that the races should be divided.

Those segregated schools, whose existence was sanctioned by law and public opinion, also indicated that whites felt strongly about their "racial superiority." White arrogance as much as black acquiescence was responsible.

The Black Church

Richard Preston, a former Virginian slave who arrived in Nova Scotia in 1815, is considered the founder of the black Baptist church. It is difficult to overestimate the impact of Preston, described as a man "with strong conviction, a great gift of oratory and a dynamic personality."[105]

After receiving his education in England, Preston became an outspoken abolitionist. (All black churches and their leaders were activist on one issue: the abolition of slavery.[106]) In 1832 Preston founded the

Cornwallis Church, and in 1854 at Granville Mountain he formed the African United Baptist Association.[107] Twelve churches including the mother church (the Cornwallis Church) became members of the AUBA.

Although Preston's work brought cohesiveness to the black community, his efforts also helped to isolate Blacks from the wider, white community. His work also disclosed the divisiveness that existed among Blacks. As P. E. MacKerrow later reported, the Blacks "had not the unity of action--so desirable to create a oneness of the whole."[108]

Many Loyalist Blacks did not join the AUBA but rather chose to attend "white" churches or one of the six Baptist churches which remained out of the AUBA. In many cases the Loyalist Blacks were initially Anglicans, and some did not quickly change to the Baptist faith. Other Loyalist Blacks, after being rebuffed by the Anglican and Catholic churches, turned to the Baptist church.[109]

Preston's emphasis on interracial cooperation led to the 1861 appointment of a white man as his successor. The new AUBA leader was the Welsh-born James Thomas who, with his son John, "contributed greatly to the welfare of our people and churches. . . . "[110]

The white man's leadership of the AUBA lead to some strife within the black Baptist community. "Petty

jealousies . . . which grew to strife"[111] caused some churches to withdraw temporarily from the AUBA. P. E. MacKerrow said: "This was simply the work of Satan."[112] If such was the case, the Devil had finished his work upon Thomas' death--the recalcitrant black churches rejoined the AUBA.

The Blacks, in most instances, wanted their own churches and church organizations. Pearleen Oliver reported that "as the colored population increased the need for a church of their own became clear."[113] The church provided a brief escape from the white prejudice and discrimination which, in large part, had led to the establishment of those churches. In the church the Blacks found and formed cohesion. It is probable that in their own churches the Blacks felt no need to compete financially with whites.

The church lay at the center of late nineteenth century black life. It was usually the first institution formed in a black community, followed by a school and a temperance society. However stagnant its growth, or how cut off its Protestant fragment, it was the Blacks' community center; it was a place for socializing, as well as being the Lord's house.

The separate black church helped to reinforce the

stereotype of Blacks in the minds of many whites who claimed to know of the black Baptists' religious and emotional fervour, but who doubted the intellectual content of the services. Furthermore, the whites were happy to see Blacks serve God separately, and they often helped to build black churches to that end. It served the needs of the white community to have one spokesman, the clergyman, to speak for the black community.[114]

Those clergymen asked Christ for a better afterlife rather than demanding temporal equality and advancement. Church leaders stressed racial solidarity rather than racial pride. The church fully allowed for black accommodation with the wishes of the whites. "The ultimate effect of these churches . . . was beneficial in terms of compassion, patience, and resignation."[115]

Black congregations grew smaller as the twentieth century approached. The "great exodus" between 1870 and 1900 drained many Blacks to the United States. In 1871 there were over six thousand Blacks living in at least thirty different communities. During the next thirty years the black population decreased considerably (see Table 1 for further details). It was reported that "the closeness of the United States"[116] had taken away many church members and leaders.

TABLE 1

NOVA SCOTIA BLACK POPULATION BY COUNTIES
1871-1901

Nova Scotia	1871*	1881**	1901***
Annapolis	685	792	569
Antigonish	87	61	47
Cape Breton	52	28	23
Colchester	160	208	281
Cumberland	183	164	255
Digby	451	547	448
Guysborough	747	918	664
Halifax	2,181	2,524	2,045
Hants	239	215	242
Inverness	24	13	7
Kings	277	311	210
Lunenberg	28	32	38
Pictou	14	121	204
Richmond	12	17	11
Shelburne & Queens	-	-	-
Victoria	-	-	-
Yarmouth	257	305	415
Queens	381	362	-
Shelburne	427	444	-
Total Nova Scotian black population	6,212	3,062	5,984
Total Canadian black population	21,496	21,394	17,437

*Canadian Government, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1871 (Ottawa: T. B. Taylor, 1873), I, Table 3, 322-332. Cited hereafter as DBS.

**Canadian Government, DBS, Census of Canada, 1881 (Ottawa: Maclean, Roger, and Company, 1882), I, Table 27, 208-221.

***Canadian Government, DBS, Census of Canada, 1901 (Ottawa: The King's Printer, 1902), I, Table 11, 296-312.

The leadership vacuum, in part, was filled by the women in the black communities. When speaking of the Falmouth Baptist Church, for example, P. E. MacKerrow reported that "the women here, as in most of the churches, take the lead."[117] The leadership of those women was recognized by the African United Baptist Association, and in 1913 a motion was passed by that organization which instructed each church to organize a Women's Missionary Society.[118] Three years later the churches were instructed to send at least one female delegate to the annual AUBA conventions.

The AUBA churches, like their white counterparts, placed heavy stress on the baptismal service. Such ceremonies had social as well as obvious religious significance; they provided a break in the monotony of poverty and second-class citizenship.[119]

Another source of religious inspiration was the revival meetings when God was praised and the Devil was scorned. The revivals were to act as catalysts to wayward sinners, and were to sponsor renewed enthusiasm for the churches' activities. MacKerrow reported there were successful revivals in 1879, 1888, 1890, and 1893, resulting in improved church interest and participation.[120]

One of the themes of those revival meetings was a strong attack against intemperance. Other than that of

saving souls, temperance rather than civil rights was the chief goal of the black church. Newspaper reports of the late nineteenth century indicated that the black temperance societies were fighting, at best, an even battle.[121] The AUBA supported an unsuccessful 1898 plebiscite which would have introduced prohibition into the province. The AUBA responded to the plebiscite's defeat: "We regret that the Government has not dealt with the Plebiscite as was expected, but we intend, by the help of God, to stick to the prohibition tree."[122] A later church report reported that "we fear that the rum traffic is on the advance."[123]

The "tyrannical" feature of liquor was stressed by a Black named Wilson who earlier spoke to the Reform Club, a temperance group: " . . . as a slave he had been sold three times, and felt the yoke very severe, but the slavery to drink . . . was more tyrannical than all the others together."[124] "Temperance," said T. Watson Smith, the editor of The Wesleyan, "is everywhere becoming a live issue."[125] His words could be applied to both races.

Sobriety, or the attempt to encourage it, did not always lead to peace among Blacks as the following report, among others, indicated: A concert of colored people connected with the Zion Church, given at the Temperance Hall

" . . . ended with shots fired by one black man at another."[126]

The call for temperance was not the only cause which brought Blacks together. The annual celebration of emancipation in the West Indies brought out the black crowds, banners, bands, and pageantry.[127] Similar celebrations were held in subsequent years.[128]

Such celebrations brought a degree of unity among Blacks. Those events also underlined the difference in the histories of black and white citizens. Blacks celebrated emancipation; whites did not. This point, however obvious, is significant--the memories and knowledge of black slavery separated Blacks from whites. The accommodating black church, in spite of its exhortations to the Lord, could not bridge the historical chasm created by slavery.

Even within the black church, as mentioned earlier, differences arose over matters of policy and belief. P. E. MacKerrow, Clerk of the AUBA, in 1885 suggested that the organization be disbanded, and that the black churches should join the Maritime Baptist Association. Both proposals were initially dismissed by the AUBA leadership.[129]

Nearly twenty years later the AUBA did join the white Maritime Baptist Association. Finances were a major

problem for the dwindling black congregations, and help could be had from the larger, white association. The case involving Rev. H. H. Johnson of Cornwallis Church, for example, illustrated the financial difficulties of the black churches. When Johnson left in 1895 a second mortgage had to be secured to pay his salary, and to cover other debts. In 1904 another Cornwallis pastor reported: " . . . although unwilling to take the most pessimistic view . . . this church is in the worse condition . . . and if allowed to continue, utter ruin must be the result."[130] An AUBA resolution of 1890 even more sharply underlined the financial difficulties.[131] In 1904 the AUBA became affiliated with the Maritime Baptist Association, but still kept its own identity and officers.

As the twentieth century began little, if any, change in direction had taken place. The black church was poor; its influence on white society had not increased. Black ministers still warned their congregations of Satan's temptations on earth. An early twentieth century sermon by Rev. Adam Green of Truro's Zion Baptist Church pointed to the evils on this earth.[132] Green's sermon stressed practical problems facing Blacks, and may be considered an example of what Winks calls the "narrow anti-intellectualism" of the black church.[133]

If God's solace were found in the black church, pride in oneself was not. The church supplied spiritual inspiration, not social change. It supplied some cohesion among black Baptists while contributing to a sense of separation from the wider, Christian community. Social distance between races was the result. Christian brotherhood was a word, rarely a reality.

White sentiments of racial superiority gave the black minority little choice in the matter of separate churches. Time was not ripe for the change that was to come. The passivity and isolation of the black church were rooted in white attitudes and black history. That the black church was "relatively more backward at the end of the nineteenth century than at the beginning,"[134] was a sad commentary both on white attitudes and black initiative.

The Black in Nova Scotian Society, 1880-1912

Poverty

Poverty was a basic fact in the lives of the Blacks. They also carried the special burden of the white man's prejudice and discrimination. Their poverty was rooted in the structural and historical conditions of the province's society. Those conditions from the Blacks' first arrival forced them to the bottom level of the social

hierarchy.

The perpetuation of black economic marginality was linked with the fact that Nova Scotia was once a slave society. Those conditions were also tied to the conditions of settlement and immigration of free Blacks in Nova Scotia. The socio-psychological implications of those facts combined to keep the Blacks in poverty. "A classic occupational pattern for minority groups is economic advancement, despite negative images, when members of the group are enabled to enter new forms of employment that are expanding at the time of their settlement or soon thereafter."[135] Blacks were exceptions to the above pattern.

The pattern of the black existence for the past one hundred and fifty years has been one of marginality.[136] Blacks had political freedom, but little else. They were scattered throughout the province in clusters, usually on unproductive land, removed from both coastal fishing centers and from inland centers.[137]

For those people life was a struggle for subsistence, a struggle often watched with indifference by whites. They lived in settlements that were appendages to larger white communities upon which they were dependent for employment. Opportunities for self-improvement

were not numerous, given the sluggish economy and the racist society in which the Blacks lived.

To maintain even a subsistence level most Blacks were forced to do menial work. Blacks in and near Halifax developed skills in cooperage in order to meet the demand for barrels which would contain salt, fish, apples, and potatoes.[138] In Guysborough county, as elsewhere, a large number of black women worked as domestics while their husbands were fishermen or sailors.[139]

The sea provided little attraction to most Blacks--perhaps a result of the fact that the sea had carried their fathers from slavery to the province, and therefore the Blacks wished to remain "inland."[140] The Halifax press made infrequent references to Blacks serving in the navy.[141]

Examination of newspapers of the late nineteenth century indicated that Blacks were employed in such diverse activities as coal-hawkers, bottle collectors, domestics, labourers, street cleaners, and the like. Blacks near Halifax controlled the seasonal low-bush berry business, and sold their produce in the city's open markets. Thomas H. Raddall later reported on the 1898-1913 period in Halifax when the open markets still flourished: " . . . on Saturdays in the market place one could buy baskets made in

the peculiar African style of the Preston Negroes. . . . "[142]

In 1899 three carloads of black Alabamians were brought to work in the iron furnaces of Sydney, Nova Scotia. "When whites protested, the manager of the furnace assured them that local conditions required segregation of the Negroes in any case."[143]

Another great difficulty (which has lasted to this day) was the matter of housing. Economic necessity forced some families to live under one roof, sometimes resulting in tragedy: "A small Dartmouth house . . . occupied by several colored families . . . was totally destroyed [by fire]."[144]

Later P. E. MacKerrow provided a happier picture involving the residents of Hammond Plains: " . . . nearly all of them are coopers, who supply the fishing, potato, and apple trade with barrels, . . . some of whom own their own mills which places them in close competition with their white neighbours, with whom they trade on mutual terms."[145] MacKerrow also acknowledged that most Blacks faced severe economic difficulties. Every year Blacks moved to the United States, "induced by higher wages for labour."[146] (See Table 1 for numerical decrease between 1871 and 1901.) He emphasized that both racial and economic reasons drove the Blacks from the province.[147] After

listing examples of Nova Scotian Blacks who did well elsewhere, MacKerrow added that the province's Blacks had "every avenue of trade" closed to them.[148]

Black Stereotypes

Sambo existed in the minds of Nova Scotian whites.[149] That image was another obstacle that faced the Blacks during the period and since. In its "Wit and Wisdom" column an 1880 Halifax newspaper reported the preaching methods allegedly used by a black minister: "Firstly, I argufies; secondly I exponderates; thirdly, I puts on de'rousements."[150] The same newspaper, The Wesleyan, four years later reported another "humorous" incident involving the black stereotype: "An old colored Aunty . . . went to the church and requested to be baptised. 'But you have been baptised,' said the clergyman. 'I knows it, massa,' said she, 'but it didn't take.' Several other cases of that sort are reported."[151]

The religious fervour with which Blacks supposedly conducted their church services was criticized in 1911 by Beckles Willson in Nova Scotia: The Province That Has Been Passed By. Willson, who thought Blacks to be dirty and contemptible, wrote: "On the whole they form a dirty, good-humoured, retrograde feature of the population."[152]

In the same year Britton B. Cooke in Maclean's

Magazine wrote that Blacks, if assimilated, would leave a "tinge" of colored blood in the "Ultimate Canadian Race." To make his point Cooke, whose objectivity and authority are open to question, described a "typical" Nova Scotian black community:

> . . . there is a "negro quarter" not unlike the Southern picture in a Nova Scotian town. White people pass it in fear. Mothers frighten children by pointing to its gloomy shadow across the commons which separate it from the rest of the town. It is the abode of little more than innocent shiftlessness, but such places are adapted to the breeding of vice and crime.[153]

The black man was too good natured and "indifferent to everything" to be considered a valuable citizen in Nova Scotia or elsewhere in Canada, according to Cooke. Two years earlier James Hannay's History of New Brunswick described Blacks as a "less desirable element . . . lacking in those qualities of thrift and industry."[154] Hannay's comments were consistent with the sentiments of other Maritime whites.

An earlier caricature of the Nova Scotian Black was described in 1897 by Marshall Saunders' novel, The House of Armour. The Black was caricatured as a lively, child-like buffoon with mystic and quaint qualities. Saunders' novel portrayed an unhappy picture of the Maroons who arrived in Nova Scotia from Jamaica in 1796:

> They disliked Nova Scotia because they said there were no yams nor cocanuts [sic] and bananas growing here, and no wild hogs to hunt; and the men couldn't have as many wives as they chose, nor have cock-fighting; so the government sent them all to Africa.[155]

Blacks in Saunders' The House of Armour and Deficient Saints are domestics. In the former novel, Mammy Juniper was a Cassandra-like, crazed individual. The author had "placed" her in a twenty-year trance. Not unlike her was Rebecca of Deficient Saints, who was presented as a large, home-spun, likeable domestic, devoted to her white employers. She could be bribed for one dollar, "her thick lips moving greedily as she stares at the money."[156] Rebecca's meals were planned only after the family and the pets were considered.

This writer found no Canadian Maritime novelists during this period who portrayed the Blacks in a favorable light. The heroes of Canadian novels at the turn of this century were generally tall, white, and Anglo-Saxon.[157] Any mention of Blacks was usually incidental to the story. Progress was seen as involving minimizing of the taint of inferior racial strains in pure Anglo-Saxon blood.

After 1870, wrote Robin W. Winks, the study of race was scientifically organized. He added:

> . . . as stereotypes of the Negro became more widely known in Canada, as the forces gathered

> under the rubrics of nationalism and racism began to have their effect, the Negro in Canada found himself sliding down an inclined plane from mere neglect to active dislike.[158]

Climatic Argument

White dislike for Blacks was displayed by the province's newspapers during the 1908-1912 period when nearly a thousand American Blacks moved to the Canadian prairies. The migration gave further rise to the vacuous argument that Blacks would not progress in Canada's climate. One Nova Scotian newspaper in 1911 stated: " . . . the climate of Western Canada is unsuitable for negroes, and every effort will be made by organizations interested in keeping them in the south. . . . "[159] The same news item suggested that strong efforts were being made to stop the black migration to the Dominion. The report added that both the government and the churches (no churches were named) opposed the migration.

Indeed, the migration received wide publicity in Nova Scotia, a province where Blacks had lived for generations. Robert Borden, Member of Parliament for Halifax, said: " . . . it would be regrettable for the impression to go forth that the government would not give them [Blacks] the same rights as those enjoyed by white citizens."[160] Speaking to the House of Commons on March 23, 1911, Borden said:

> There are a great many people of that race [black] in different parts of Canada. They are good, honest, law abiding citizens and a credit to the communities in which they live. Some of their settlements have existed in this country for 150 years and others--I am speaking . . . of Nova Scotia--for about 100 years. . . . [161]

Borden apparently did not know just how long Blacks had lived in Nova Scotia. His motives might be suspect as he once allegedly expressed the view that British Columbia must be kept "white."[162]

While many arguments were made in terms of unsuitable climate, Nova Scotians and other Canadians neglected the fact that in 1909 Matthew Henson, a Black, was co-discoverer of the north pole. The transparency of the "climatic argument" is hardly open to question. Certainly subsequent experience of Blacks in Canada has exposed its vacuity. However, the climate of opinion that greeted the Blacks near the time of W. P. Oliver's birth is not easily dismissed. Canada's nothern latitudes, her mission, and her destiny required solid British stock, and other Anglo-Saxons.[163]

White Apathy and Hostility Examined

During the period race differences where stressed by Blacks and whites. (The Blacks' wish to have their own churches and schools has been noted.) Whites also placed

significance on color difference, as the following press release indicated: "The North Park Club, an institution composed of colored people, had a picnic . . . and of course all enjoyed themselves in a way their pale brothers and sisters wouldn't commence to."[164]

Other "pale brothers and sisters" chose to ignore the Blacks and the color bar. They followed the advice offered in 1883 by T. Watson Smith, editor of The Wesleyan: "As to the Color Line, the best way to obliterate it is to ignore it, and the best way to keep it up is to talk about it."[165] In the following year the same source discussed the "peculiarities" of yellow, brown, and black people.[166] Such discussion hardly "obliterated or ignored" color differences.

Ignored also was the Crimean War hero, William Hall, winner of a Victoria Cross. After his death in 1904 Hall was buried in an unmarked grave. (After World War II the black branch of the Canadian Legion in Halifax was named in his honor.) Both black and white apathy may be blamed for Hall's ignominious burial.

White apathy sometimes changed to hostility toward Blacks. After the famous 1910 boxing match between Jack Johnson, a Black, and Jim Jeffries, "the great white hope," an incident described as a "Race Riot in Dartmouth" took

place involving Blacks and whites. The newspaper report stated: "The intense racial feeling created . . . over the result of the Jeffries-Johnson fight was demonstrated last night, when almost a riot broke out in Dartmouth. . . . "[167] The newspaper reported that several similar incidents had taken place.

Perhaps no incident better exemplified white arrogance than the 1911 "Preston Affair." During one June evening session a group of white Liberals was reported to have visited the school, bringing a case of liquor with them. In full view of the nearly forty children and their black teacher, John Scott, they continued their drinking party. The class was quickly dismissed by Scott, and a meeting of black citizens was held to discuss the incident. The incident was taken from the hands of the black families involved (although a report was made to the school trustees and the provincial government) by the Conservative opposition. Led by J. R. Johnston, a black Halifax barrister, the opposition group met the following evening to denounce the "Liberal outrage." Johnston said the incident involving innocent children was a shame, and " . . . it was only done because it was a colored school."[168]

Summary

Generations of Canadians through literature, science, and history had "learned" of the Blacks' inability to adapt to cold climate, their laziness, their Sambo-like characteristics, their odor, and their love of pleasure. "Indeed, when Canadian Negroes encountered a wall, they could not know whether it arose from aesthetic, class, or social bias, whether it was real or imagined."[169] The Blacks, in the minds of many whites, had become stock figures they had been in Southern mythology. Blacks were treated as one entity, one definable, visible group that "unfortunately" had been placed in Nova Scotia. Blacks, early in the twentieth century, were treated less like individuals than were their grandfathers.

Some Nova Scotian whites tended to label Blacks as inferior, rather than to sympathize with their plight. Other whites, as sociologist Charles W. Hobart later suggested, believed there was no racial problem in Canada.[170] Hobart added: "Perhaps one of the most consistent sources of Canadian complacency on the subject of race relations is the contrast between Negro-white relations in the United States and in Canada."[171] Blacks found white complacency a difficult obstacle to overcome.

By the time of W. P. Oliver's birth, Nova Scotians had become aware that their province had become a home for a small but permanent black minority, and that the black population might well increase.

As the twentieth century approached the study of race became more "scientifically" organized.[172] Racial prejudice turned white attitude toward Blacks from neglect to open dislike. "During the early decades of the present century . . . the Negro sank to his nadir in Canada. . . . Canadians accepted the usual turn-of-the century smorgasboard of racial truths, half-truths, lies, and irrelevancies. . . . "[173] Racial attitudes in Canada largely followed the continental norm above the Mason-Dixon line.

By 1912 white Nova Scotians confused the descendants of slaves, Loyalist Blacks, Maroons, and Refugees. The Blacks were largely viewed as a monolithic group which shared the same history. Religion, education, and improved communication had begun to bring the various black groups together, but it was far too late to break down white prejudice and discrimination. In one sense the white majority was correct: The Blacks were as one group--poor, badly educated, and with limited hope for change.

FOOTNOTES

1. T. Watson Smith, "The Slave in Canada," Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, X (1899), 1. Cited herafter as NSHS. For a scholarly account of slavery in French Canada, see Marcel Trudel, L'esclavage au Canada Français (Montreal: Les Presses Universitaires Laval, 1960). For brief histories of slavery in Canada, see W. R. Riddell, "The Slave in Canada," JNH, V, No. 3 (July, 1920); Greaves, The Negro in Canada; E. Kenton, ed., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents (New York: Vanguard Press, 1954), Part V, Chap. I, and Winks, The Blacks in Canada, Chap. I and II. For an informed discussion of the applicability of the "Black Code" to French Canada, see W. R. Riddell, "Le Code Noir," JNH, X, No. 3 (July, 1925), also J. C. Hamilton, Canadian Institute Transactions, Series 4 (1890-92), 105-108 which also contains a summary of legislation affecting slavery before the French capitulation.

2. See Winks, The Blacks in Canada, Chap. II for an informed account of slavery after the Capitulation. See also W. R. Riddell, "The Slave in Upper Canada," JNH, IV, No. 4 (October, 1919); Smith, "The Slave in Canada." The last recorded slave sale in Lower Canada was in 1797; the last such sale in the Maritimes was in New Brunswick. Royal Gazette, July 10, 1816. Slave trade within the British Empire was abolished in 1807 (see Appendix A). The abolition of slavery within the Empire came with the 1833 Abolition Act (see Appendix B). In the following year the Nova Scotian Assembly passed a resolution which would discourage freed Blacks from entering the province. See Fergusson, Documentary Study, 57 for details.

3. The Assembly in Nova Scotia did not have the power to abolish slavery even if it were legally recognized. Not until 1833 was there an official end to slavery in Canada. The famous 1772 Mansfield decision, whose impact was doubtlessly felt in Canada, reflected changing public opinion, but it did not abolish slavery in Great Britain or anywhere else. For a discussion of the "Effect of the Abolition of Slavery Act," see Fergusson, Documentary Study, 56-57. In 1762 the Nova Scotian General Assembly gave indirect recognition to

slavery by referring, in an act to regulate the sale of liquor on credit, to "any soldier, sailor, servant, apprentice, bound servant or negro slave." Quoted in Riddell, "The Slave in Canada," 361. Unsuccessful legislative attempts "to regulate" slaves were made in 1787, 1789, and 1808. Fergusson, Documentary Study, 5-8. For discussion of the 1808 bill, which passed second reading, see Beamish Murdoch, A History of Nova Scotia or Acadie (Halifax: James Barnes, 1867), III, 271.

4. For early examples of slave sales, see Halifax Gazette, May 30, October 14, 1752, November 1, 1760; Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser, May 28, 1776, January 17, August 31, 1779, among many others. Cited hereafter as NSG and WA.

5. D. H. Clairmont and D. W. Magill, Poverty Among Nova Scotia's Blacks, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1969, 48. D. Allison in "General Return of Townships," NSHS, VII (1891), 47 estimated the province's 1772 population to be 19,120. The five hundred Blacks, therefore, were a distinct minority.

6. For examples of such "wanted" advertisements, see NSG and WA, September 26, 1775, July 9, 1776, September 14, 1779, September 5, October 24, 1780, among others. Some buyers advertised for their requirements: " W A N T E D, to purchase A Negro Woman about 25 or 30 years of Age; that understands Country work and the management of a Dairy, She must be Honest and bear a good character." NSG and WA, May 28, 1776.

7. For graphic descriptions of such treatment, see Nova Scotia Gazette, May 30, 1769; NSG and WA, November 23, 1773, September 5, 1779.

8. For an incomplete count of these Blacks, see T. Watson Smith, "The Loyalists at Shelburne," NSHS, VI (1888), 32.

9. Fergusson, Documentary Study, 2.

10. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 28.

11. Ibid., 95, 140. Many Blacks today are entitled to place the initials U.E.L. after their names. In 1789 Lord Dorchester, then Governor-General, proposed to

put a mark of honor upon those families who had become Loyalists by 1783. Many of the Loyalist Blacks considered themselves to be in a higher social class than other Blacks.

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

13. Article 7 of the Treaty of Paris, 1783, gave legal support to Washington's claim. See A. G. Lindsay, "Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and Great Britain Bearing on the Return of Negro Slaves, 1783-1828," JNH, V, No. 4 (1920) for further discussion. Cited hereafter as "Diplomatic Relations." Many Blacks feared they would be returned to their former owners. See "Loyalists and Land Settlement in Nova Scotia," PANS, Publication No. 4 (1937). For difficulties facing the Blacks who settled in the province, see Rawlyk, "Guysborough Negroes," 26-28; T. C. Haliburton, A Statistical and Historical Account of Nova Scotia (Halifax: Joseph Howe, 1929), II, 264 (cited hereafter as An Account of Nova Scotia); and Phyliss R. Blakeley, "Boston King: A Negro Loyalist Who Sought Refuge in Nova Scotia," Dalhousie Review, XLVIII (1968). W. S. MacNutt called the life of the free Blacks one of "domestic servitude" in his The Atlantic Provinces: 1712-1857 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1965), 305. Some Blacks had enrolled under Sir Henry Clinton in the Black Pioneers to fight for the British in the American War of Independence. See Greaves, The Negro in Canada, 40; "North to Carleton," PANS, Publication No. 11, L-LIII, 111; "Carleton to Fox," ibid., XXXII-XXXVI, Letter 80, 112. Late in the war the British commander, Sir Guy Carleton, guaranteed freedom to those slaves who could find refuge behind British lines. Certificates were offered by the British to Blacks guaranteeing their safety. See Lindsay, "Diplomatic Relations," 399.

14. For a similar viewpoint, see Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 9. See Smith, "The Loyalists at Shelburne," 74-75 for discussion of the blurred distinction of the words "servant" and "slave." Many of the Loyalists' "servants" were slaves. The use of indented servants continued into the nineteenth century. An 1804 bill passed by the Nova Scotian Assembly said: "All indented or hired servants, for

a term not less than six months shall have a certificate from former master, which succeeding master shall receive and keep in his hands. . . . Servants convicted . . . of counterfeiting such certificate to be publicly whipped." Nova Scotia Government, Statutes of Nova Scotia 1804, Stat. 5th, Georg. 3rd, Cap. 7, Sec. 1, No. 1, 72.

15. See NSG and WA, February 25, March 31, and June 24, 1783, July 19, 1785; also Port Roseway Gazette and Shelburne Advisor, August 11, 1785.

16. See NSG and WA, May 20, 1783, November 8, 1785, August 22, October 31, 1786; Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser, June 30, 1789, June 7, 1791. Cited hereafter as RG and NSA.

17. RG and NSA, September 7, 1790. The last reward for a runaway slave in the Maritimes was offered in the Royal Gazette of New Brunswick, July 10, 1816.

18. The United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada: Annual Transactions 1904-1916 (Brampton: The Conservator Book Dept., 1914), 39. As late as 1826 another black woman was publicly whipped in Shelburne. For other examples of cruelty toward Blacks, see Smith, "The Loyalists at Shelburne," 77; and Riddell, "The Slave in Canada," 80.

19. Greaves, The Negro in Canada, 18.

20. For the work of Stephen Blucke, a veteran of the Black Pioneers, who attempted to supervise the distribution of land to Blacks, see Smith, "The Loyalists at Shelburne," 76. For a brief discussion of the inequality given to Blacks in the matter of land distribution, see Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 9-11. Loyalist whites also had difficulties in Nova Scotia outlining their complaints. Ramsay Cook, John T. Saywell, and John C. Ricker, Canada: A Modern Study (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co., Ltd., 1964), 14.

21. Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 27.

22. Ibid., 7.

23. Haliburton, An Account of Nova Scotia, II, 280. Rawlyk calls the experience of the free Blacks a traumatic one: "In the harsh wilderness of Nova Scotia they were abruptly confronted by a series of hazardous and even harrowing experiences. . . . The Negroes . . . were to be plagued by the combined ravages of crop failure, poverty, starvation, ignorance, and white prejudice. . . . The migration to Nova Scotia was to result in a grim adventure in an alien world." Rawlyk, "Guysborough Negroes," 24. For further description of the difficulties, see the Acadian Recorder, September 9, 1916.

24. For discussion of schools for Loyalist Blacks, see Fergusson, Documentary Study, 48; Smith, "The Loyalists at Shelburne," 76; Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 20-21; and Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 56-60; and Proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts for 1790 (London: F. Brooke, 1790), 44.

25. For further discussion of the churches attended by Loyalist Blacks, see Fergusson, Documentary Study, 58-66; and Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 21.

26. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 339.

27. For a partial list of clergymen who owned slaves, and for a discussion of the controversy involved, see Riddell, "The Slave in Canada," 362-66; A. W. H. Eaton, The History of Kings County (Halifax: The Salem Press, 1910), 236; E. M. Saunders, "Rev. John Wiswall," NSHS, X (1899), 22; and Winks, "Negroes in the Maritimes," 460. The most heated argument involved Rev. Daniel Cock, a Presbyterian minister from Truro, who owned two slaves. He was attacked in the press by numerous other clergymen. Rawlyk reported that the Catholic clergy of Guysborough openly discriminated against Blacks: "It is interesting to note that the Roman Catholic Acadians were perhaps just as prejudiced . . . as the English-speaking Protestants. . . . While most white Protestants were willing to have the Christian gospel preached to the Negroes, many Acadians refused to have anything to do with them." Rawlyk, "Guysborough Negroes," 27. For an example of a clergyman who willed his slaves see W. T. Hallam, Slave Days in

Canada (Toronto: Women's Canadian Historical Society, 1919), 12. Rev. John Wiswall of Falmouth claimed he loved his slaves who in turn would gladly die for his family. Saunders, "Rev. John Wiswall," 22. The Quakers of the province composed the only religious group that held no slaves.

28. Quoted in Rawlyk, "Guysborough Negroes," 25.

29. Riddell, "The Slave in Canada," 377. For discussion of court cases involving the "legality" of slavery, see Ronald S. Longley, "The DeLancey Brothers, Loyalists of Annapolis County," NSHS, XXXII (1959), 72; and Winks, "Negroes in the Maritimes," 461. See Fergusson, Documentary Study, 5-9 for the test cases involving DeLancey and other slave owners. After an 1803 test cast involving DeLancey "the opinion prevailed that courts would not recognize a state of slavery as having a lawful existence in Nova Scotia." Longley, 8. Haliburton in 1829 wrote that the slavery question "never received a judicial decision." Haliburton, An Account of Nova Scotia, II, 280. In any case, slavery existed in fact. Without elaboration Smith reported that "in fact, slavery near the close of the last century, had a certain legal recognition in this province." Smith, "The Loyalists at Shelburne," 75. No study has been made dealing with the profitability of Nova Scotian slavery. Haliburton claimed that slavery was not required in the province "where clothing and provisions is attended with so much expense." Quoted in Stanley Brehaut Ryerson, The Founding of Canada: Beginnings to 1815 (Toronto: Progress Publishing Co., 1963), 237. Although evidence is lacking Haliburton's statement has merit. A 1785 newspaper advertisement said: "At the Merchant's Coffee House will be sold a likely strong Negro Wench . . . [and] is sold for no fault but want of employ." NSG and WA, November 30, 1784. Rawlyk added: "Slavery . . . was not essential to that expansion . . . and clearly not adaptable to the marginal existence that most Nova Scotians were to win from the sea and their forested, often bleak land." Rawlyk, "Guysborough Negroes," 460. Indented servants and increasing immigrants from Europe made slavery unnecessary. Riddell disagrees with the above statement: "Slaves did not pay so well in Canada as in Georgia, but they paid." Riddell, "The Slave in Canada," 366.

30. Parr placed several proclamations in the province's newspapers outlining the purposes and advantage of the Sierra Leone venture. See RG and NSA, October 25, 1791. For the purpose of the Sierra Leone Company (which transported the Blacks), see the public announcement in the above source. For a graphic description of that African area, see Adams Archibald, "The Story of the Deportation of the Negroes from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone," NSHS, VII (1891), 134. Cited hereafter as "Deportation of Negroes." For the British government's plans for the Nova Scotian Blacks who were to go to Africa, see "Dundas to Parr Letter," RG and NSA, September 27, 1791.

31. For discussion of the role of Peters, a veteran of the "Black Pioneers," see Archibald, "Deportation of Negroes," 134; and "From Slavery to Ghetto," The Atlantic Baptist, February, 1969.

32. George may be considered father of the black ministry in Nova Scotia. See MacKerrow, Coloured Baptists, 8-15, also Cornwallis Street United Baptist Church One Hundred and Twentieth Anniversary Services, Souvenir Program (Halifax: 1952). For a newspaper "flashback" of George, see The Chronicle-Herald, May 29, 1965. George took most of the Shelburne Blacks with him, and his congregation disappeared. The Anglican church at Preston also became inactive as a result of the migration. One source stated: " . . . George's church in Shelburne was racially mixed, initially, but some whites reacted against this situation and forced George to leave the settlement." Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 123.

33. For elaboration of Clarkson's efforts, see Smith, "The Loyalists at Shelburne," 77 and Archibald, "Deportation of Negroes," 144.

34. The company was authorized to pay the debts of any Black who wanted to leave for Sierra Leone. There is some evidence that the British government later began to discourage active recruitment once it became aware of the great receptivity of the Blacks. Whites who had hired Blacks as laborers tried, often by force, to keep the Blacks in Nova Scotia. False rumors were spread that those departing Blacks would be sold into slavery. Summarized from Clairmont and

Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 12.

35. "Public Announcement by Governor John Parr," RG and NSA, October 25, 1791. For explicit terms of reference for those Blacks who might wish to leave for Sierra Leone, see the public announcement made by the Sierra Leone Company in ibid.

36. RG and NSA, January 15, 1792. See ibid. for a list of the fifteen vessels used. The same source on April 14, 1792 announced the safe arrival of the ships at Sierra Leone, and stated that "only seventy Blacks" died during the voyage.

37. For a discussion of the Maroons in Jamaica, see W. C. Borrett, Historic Halifax (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1948), 58; Adams Archibald, "Life of Sir John Wentworth," NSHS, XX (1921), 67. Murdoch, A History of Nova Scotia or Acadie, 147-65. Further bibliographical information is found in Fergusson, Documentary Study, 15 and Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 78-95. The Evening Mail, January 9, 1932 gives a "flashback" of the Maroons' experiences. A lively, colorful discussion of the Maroons in found in Thomas H. Raddall's Halifax: Warden of the North (Toronto: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1965), 121-23.

38. William Dawes Quarrel and Alexander Ochterloney, after whom two Halifax lanes are named, were the commissioners responsible for the Maroons. They quarreled, and were later replaced by London and Halifax officials.

39. Wentworth sent over ninety slaves to Surinam. Archibald, "Life of Sir John Wentworth," 53.

40. Quoted in Raddall, Halifax: Warden of the North, 122.

41. Quoted in Archibald, "Life of Sir John Wentworth," 67.

42. The Maroons had little formalized religion; they believed in Accompang, the God of Heaven; and they buried their dead in strange fashion. Raddall, Halifax: Warden of the North, 122.

43. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 81. See Haliburton, An

Account of Nova Scotia, II, 282, 287-89 for Wentworth's attempts to appease the sometimes justified complaints of the Maroons. There is no evidence to suggest that Wentworth initiated the Maroon migration to Sierra Leone. See ibid., III, 291 for such an unfounded statement.

44. T. B. Atkins, "History of Halifax," NSHS, III (1895), 134; R. M. Martin, History of Nova Scotia (London: Whittaker & Co., 1837), 21. Martin said the black male population in Nova Scotia in 1807 was 1,412, the female population, 1,378. In 1816 R. Inglis reported the combined black population of Preston, Hammond's Plains, Refugee Hill, and Halifax as 1,619, consisting of 590 men, 439 women and 590 children. J. S. Martell, "Immigration and Emigration from Nova Scotia 1815-1838," PANS, Publication No. 6 (1942), 37. The impact on Halifax of the black migration of the War of 1812 can be seen by contrasting Inglis' 1816 total with the 1801 Halifax total of 451 Blacks as suggested by H. H. Potter and D. G. Hill, "Negro Settlement in Canada, 1628-1965: A Survey," Report presented to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (April, 1966), 33. Haliburton reported that in 1828 there were three thousand Blacks in the province. See Haliburton, An Account of Nova Scotia, II, 292.

45. Although later Blacks were also called "refugees," the term "Refugee Blacks" in this chapter refers to those Blacks who arrived during the War of 1812. The history of the Refugee Blacks has been well covered by Fergusson for the period between 1812 and 1848. See also Winks, The Blacks in Canada, Chap. IV; Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 12-19; and Rawlyk, "Guysborough Negroes," 27-31.

46. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 114.

47. Martell, "Immigration and Emigration from Nova Scotia 1815-1838," 37.

48. Quoted in Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 127.

49. Other settlements were formed at Beach Hill, Beaver Bank, Fletcher's Lake, Prospect Road, and Hammond's Plains. Most of these settlements were in the

Halifax area. See MacNutt, The Atlantic Provinces: 1712-1857, 158 for a further discussion of such settlements.

50. Fergusson, Documentary Study, 66.

51. Smith, "The Slave in Canada," 122.

52. For further details of the 1811 legislation and subsequent relevant legislation, see William B. Hamilton, "Society and Schools in Nova Scotia," in Canadian Education: A History, ed. by J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp, and Louis-Phillippe Audet (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1970), 94-99.

53. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 135.

54. See ibid., 135-138 and Fergusson, Documentary Study, 58-88 for discussion of church and other assistance to black schools between 1812 and 1848.

55. See Pearleen Oliver, Colored Baptists, 22-23 for further details.

56. Quoted in Fergusson, Documentary Study, 29.

57. Captain W. Moorsom, Letters from Nova Scotia (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830), 127.

58. Beckles Willson, Nova Scotia: The Province That Has Been Passed By (London: Constable and Co., 1911), 53.

59. Fergusson, Documentary Study, 67.

60. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 61. "By the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, . . . the basic patterns for the involvement of Blacks in Nova Scotian society were set for the next one hundred and fifty years." Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 109.

61. Brown met with Blacks and whites at Chatham to plan his attempt at Harper's Ferry. See J. C. Hamilton, "John Brown in Canada," The Canadian Magazine, IV (December, 1894), 134; Fred Landon, "Canadian Negroes and the John Brown Raid," JNH, VI (April, 1921), 174-82; J. L. Hubbard, "Mr. Hamilton's Sketch of Brown,"

The Canadian Magazine (March, 1895), 487-89; R. J. Zorn, "Criminal Extradiction Menaces the Canadian Haven for Fugitive Slaves, 1841-1861," CHR, XXXVII (December, 1957), 284-94. For views differing from Zorn's, see A. L. Murray, "The Extradiction of Fugitive Slaves from Canada: A Re-evaluation," ibid., XLIII, No. 4 (December, 1962), 298-314. Murray suggests that anti-slavery agitation was largely unnecessary and ineffective.

62. New York World, January 9, 1864. See E. McInnis, Canada: A Political and Social History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc., 1947), 273 for a discussion of the reasons why many Canadians served in the Northern armies.

63. W. L. Morton, The Canadian Identity (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), 43. For a similar stance, see Robin W. Winks, Canada and the United States: The Civil War Years (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1960), Chap. II. Cited hereafter as Civil War Years.

64. Zorn, "Criminal Extradiction Menaces the Canadian Haven for Fugitive Slaves, 1841-1861," 284. The Upper Canada black population rose from 2,102 in 1851 to 13,666 in 1861. Ontario's 1871 black population was 13,435, indicating that few Blacks had yet to return to the United States. Canadian Government, DBS, Census of Canada 1608-1870 (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1870), Table C-1, Table C-III, 18-20. In 1871 the proportion of Blacks per 100,000 population showed Nova Scotia with 16.0; New Brunswick 6.0; Ontario 8.3; and Quebec with less than 1.0. Ibid., 20. Both Nova Scotia's and Canada's black population fell from 1881 to 1901; in the former case from 7,062 to 5,984; in the latter case from 21,394 to 17,437. Ibid., Census of Canada 1881, I, 285; and ibid., Census of Canada 1901, I, 300.

65. See Fred Landon, "The Fugitive Slave in Canada," The University Magazine, ed. by Andrew Macphail, XVIII (April, 1919); also "The Negro Migration to Canada after the Passing of the Fugitive Slave Act," JNH, V (January, 1920), and "Anti-Slavery Society in Canada," ibid., IV (1919). See also C. W. A. David, "The Fugitive Slave Law and its Antecedent," ibid., IX (January, 1924). For a discussion of the myth surrounding

the history of the underground railroad, see Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 193, 232-41.

66. Winks, Civil War Years, 7-8.

67. These census figures may be unreliable. Some sources claim that the black population of the provinces reached 75,000 by 1861. Sixty thousand may be a more realistic figure. Approximately 20,000 Blacks arrived in the decade before the Civil War; many returning after cessation of hostilities. Winks, Civil War Years, 6-8.

68. In Nova Scotia there were many who felt no sympathy for slavery but nevertheless shared little love for the North. Winks suggests that "Nova Scotians appeared to make a greater effort to maintain neutrality of thought, for five of their newspapers appeared to be neutral while nine were anti-Northern and four were anti-Southern." Winks, Civil War Years, 222. For a discussion of Canadian newspaper opinion regarding the Civil War, see ibid., Chap. XI.

69. Frederickton Head Quarters, September 26, 1862.

70. In fact the emancipation of American slaves did have direct impact on Canada, for after the war thousands of escaped American slaves in Canada returned to the United States. Therefore, there were fewer "niggers" (the term was often used by the press and the public) in Canada--much to the relief of many white Canadians.

71. New Brunswick Courier, January 10, 1863.

72. See Landon, "The Fugitive Slave in Canada," 271.

73. Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, eds., Canada and Its Provinces, VII (23 vols.; Toronto: The Edinburgh Press, 1913), 531.

74. Greaves, The Negro in Canada, 39. "Canada was no haven of milk and honey. The Negro suffered hardships that must have made him wonder whether he had merely exchanged one wretched life for another." Henrietta Buckmaster, Flight to Freedom: The Story of the Underground Railroad (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1958), 13.

75. Winks, "Negro School Segregation," 169.

76. See ibid., 183 for the figure of seventy black students who attended Halifax's black schools. Winks' estimate appears to be low. See n. 77, 78 and 79 below. It must be noted, however, that Winks supplied no date when referring to the black school population.

77. Morning Chronicle, July 7, 1877.

78. See ibid., July 11, 1877.

79. Halifax Daily Reporter and Times, January 17, 1871. Cited hereafter as HDRT.

80. Summarized from ibid.

81. See Morning Chronicle, July 19 and August 6, 1873 and British Colonist, July 16, 1874 for favorable accounts of the school's activities.

82. HDRT, January 19, 1871.

83. Morning Chronicle, December 3, 1875. It is not known if the Blacks were eventually allowed to attend Acadian School.

84. Winks, "Negro School Segregation," 183.

85. Morning Chronicle, December 3, 1875.

86. Quoted in Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 22-23.

87. One petition was from Pictou where Blacks were not yet segregated, and the other from Halifax where Blacks were segregated in schools.

88. See Morning Chronicle, April 1-19, 1884 for accounts of the segregated schools question, and for Fielding's arguments. Fielding represented Halifax County where the majority of the affected Blacks resided.

89. Winks, "Negro School Segregation," 183-84.

90. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 379.

91. See Nova Scotia Government, The Revised Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1923, I (Halifax: The King's Printer, 1923), 498-500. For purposes of this chapter the terms "separate" and "segregated" mean the same thing.

92. This theme is suggested by Pearleen Oliver, Colored Baptists, 35.

93. Ibid., 34.

94. Quoted in "They Endured," CBC radio broadcast, written by M. Whitelaw and produced by D. Cooke, Halifax, February 7, 1969. Cited hereafter as "They Endured."

95. MacKerrow, Coloured Baptists, 38.

96. See ibid., 58. In 1898 the New Road (Preston) school had sixty-nine black students whose ages ranged from five to age thirty-three. Nova Scotia Government, Department of Education, Council of Public Instruction, Register of the Attendance, Studies and General Standing of the Pupils, and Statistics of the School in New Road, Halifax County, Nova Scotia (Halifax: A. and W. Mackinlay, 1898).

97. MacKerrow, Coloured Baptists, 65.

98. Ibid., 72.

99. Nova Scotia Government, Nova Scotia Educational Report (Halifax: 1874). (Mimeographed copy.)

100. Rawlyk, 'Guysborough Negroes," 34. Rawlyk estimated that in 1871 in Guysborough County's Manchester area there were at least thirty black families. Only two families had fathers who could read but neither were able to write. Only one child between the ages of five to eighteen inclusive was attending school. "What else could these primitive people expect, anyway?" expresses the attitude of many of the shiftless and illiterate white inhabitants. Summarized from ibid., 33.

101. See Pearleen Oliver, Colored Baptists, 38.

102. James A. R. Kinney (1878-1940) was a highly respected black man who had been the driving force behind the

building and operating of the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children. Kinney served as superintendent and secretary-treasurer of the institution begun in 1921. The Chronicle-Herald, ca. November 6, 1940. (Newsclipping.)

103. Not until the mid-1960's did the institution open its doors to non-Blacks. The institution has used both "Scotia" and "Scotian" in its name.

104. Winks, "Negro School Segregation," 167.

105. Pearleen Oliver, Colored Baptists, 23.

106. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 340.

107. See MacKerrow, Coloured Baptists, 18-89 for details of Preston's pioneer church work.

108. Ibid., 40.

109. Rawlyk, "Guysborough Negroes," 25-26.

110. Pearleen Oliver, Colored Baptists, 30. See Morning Chronicle, June 18, June 20, 1879 for accounts of Thomas' death. No black clergyman's death received comparable press coverage during the late nineteenth century.

111. MacKerrow, Coloured Baptists, 33.

112. Ibid.

113. Pearleen Oliver, Colored Baptists, 36.

114. Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 123.

115. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 339.

116. MacKerrow, Coloured Baptists, 79. In spite of the thirty year drain the black population increased ninety-one per cent between 1871 and 1961. In 1961 the black population was nearly twelve thousand (see Table 2).

117. MacKerrow, Coloured Baptists, 90. See ibid., 84 and Pearleen Oliver, Colored Baptists, 28, 39 for further

reference to female leadership.

118. See "A Tribute to the Late Mrs. Maude Sparks," Grasp, March, 1972 for an obituary of " . . . the last surviving woman of that little group who met around the well in East Preston . . . and made the then bold and courageous move of organizing women in church and community work." Mrs. Sparks served as the organization's first president from 1917 to 1919.

119. See MacKerrow, Coloured Baptists, 32; British Colonist, April 28, 1874; and Morning Chronicle, August 20, 1877 for accounts of such baptismal services.

120. MacKerrow, Coloured Baptists, 49-54. See Morning Chronicle, September 27, 1875 for account of a black revival meeting.

121. Halifax newspapers from 1865 to 1900 regularly reported cases of Blacks fined and/or sent to jail for drunkenness, and for the illegal sale of liquor. There is no indication that the Blacks were less intemperate than were whites.

122. Quoted in Pearleen Oliver, Colored Baptists, 34. For other references to the black churches' temperance work, see MacKerrow, Coloured Baptists, 60, 81, and 84.

123. Pearleen Oliver, Colored Baptists, 34. See ibid. for discussion of the African United Baptist Association's efforts in the temperance movement.

124. Morning Chronicle, July 30, 1877.

125. The Wesleyan, May 16, 1884.

126. British Colonist, November 21, 1874. On occasion Blacks who attended temperance meetings were the recipients of harassment from whites. See Morning Chronicle, July 30, 1877 for example.

127. See British Colonist, August 6, 1868 for a colorful account of the 1868 celebration.

128. Descriptions of later Emancipation Day celebrations are found in the Morning Chronicle, August 3, 1875;

and August 3, 1878. The Freeman of Saint John, New Brunswick on August 4, 1859 reported a similar celebration as well as commenting on the position of Blacks in that community.

129. See Pearleen Oliver, Colored Baptists, 36 for MacKerrow's 1885 resolution asking that the AUBA should join the Maritime Baptist Association.

130. Quoted in ibid., 32.

131. See ibid., 35 for the resolution calling for a description of the church's financial difficulty.

132. "They Endured."

133. See Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 361 for reference to the "narrow anti-intellectualism" of the black church.

134. Ibid., 340.

135. Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 32.

136. Ibid., 96. See n. 16, 15 for a sociological definition of "marginality."

137. Norman Whitten Jr., "Adaptation and Adaptability as Processes of Microevolutionary Change in New World Negro Communities" (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Meeting, Boston, 1967), 8. (Mimeographed.)

138. C. R. Brookbank, "Afro-Canadian Communities in Halifax County" (unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1949), 30.

139. Rawlyk, "Guysborough Negroes," 34.

140. This theme is explored by Marjorie Whitelaw's CBC program, "They Endured."

141. For accounts of Blacks involved in mutinys, see Morning Chronicle, September 5, 1873; and British Colonist, June 18, 1874.

142. Raddall, Halifax: Warden of the North, 237.

143. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 300.

144. See the Morning Chronicle, September 9, 1879 for a similar disaster.

145. MacKerrow, Coloured Baptists, 69.

146. Ibid., 87.

147. Ibid., 95. MacKerrow noted that in the last half of the nineteenth century the black population was "always on the move." Ibid., 63.

148. Ibid., 63.

149. Helen C. Bannerman's 1899 Story of Little Black Sambo was popular in Nova Scotia and in other parts of Canada. It is still read by many Canadians today.

150. The Wesleyan, October 1, 1880.

151. Ibid., December 14, 1884. For a description of a "typical black mammy," see ibid., December 7, 1883. The editor of The Wesleyan, T. Watson Smith, wrote numerous articles dealing with the Canadian Black. See enclosed bibliography. Smith, a devout Methodist and a strong temperance spokesman, displayed considerable sympathy with and knowledge of the Blacks. See "Editorial," ibid., July 4, 1884 for Smith's sympathetic views.

152. Willson, Nova Scotia: The Province That Has Been Passed By, 53. Louis Hemon, author of Maria Chapdelaine, talked of the "horrible American nigger" whose smell "rouses disgust and rage in so many white men." Quoted in Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 295.

153. Britton B. Cooke, "The Black Canadian," Maclean's Magazine, XXIII, No. 1 (1911), 10. By 1921 Canadian Blacks tended to be more urbanized than most other stocks, ranking sixth highest out of thirty-two stocks listed. At that time 25.42 per cent of all Canadians lived in centers having over 25,000 people. The black average was 35.97 per cent. Canadian Government, DBS, "Per Cent of Specified Origins in Cities of 25,000 and Over in Canada, 1921," Origin, Birthplace, Nationality and Language of the Canadian

People (Ottawa: The King's Printer, 1929), Table 56, 14. Cited hereafter as OBNALCP.

154. James Hannay, History of New Brunswick (Saint John: John A. Bowes, 1909), 345.

155. Marshall Saunders, The House of Armour (Philadelphia: Rowland Co., 1897), 116.

156. Marshall Saunders, Deficient Saints: A Tale of Maine (Boston: Page Co., 1899), 210.

157. See the literary works of J. Algie, James Dunlop, Charles W. Gordon, J. M. Grant, C. J. Harris, Le Roy Hooker, S. M. Jones, L. McAlister, J. A. Murdoch, J. M. Oxley, Charles G. D. Roberts, Marshall Saunders, V. Sheard, C. M. Sinclair, M. E. Tenant, A. M. Wilson, J. Wood, E. R. York, E. R. Young, among others, whose heroes are generally the prototype tall, blond, Anglo-Saxon. For a discussion of Canadian novelists' view of Canada's Blacks, Indians, Chinese and other ethnic groups of the period, see Stephen Mark Beckow, "A Majestic Story of Orderly Progress: English Canadian Novelists on Canadian Society 1896-1900" (unpublished Master's thesis, Carelton University, 1969).

158. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 292.

159. The Halifax Herald, June 1, 1911. The belief that Blacks cannot stand Canada's climate goes back to the time of the French Regime. Edgar McInnis, a Canadian historian, states that during that period the argument that Blacks could not bear this nation's climate was countered by the proposal that "they [Blacks] could be clothed in beaver robes whose quality they would improve by a winter's wear. . . . " McInnis, Canada: A Political and Social History, 8.

160. The Halifax Herald, March 24, 1911.

161. Canadian Government, Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada (Ottawa: The King's Printer, Session 1910-Session 1911), col. 5947. Cited hereafter as Commons Debates. For further parliamentary debate concerning black migration to western Canada, see ibid., 5945, 5911, 6526, 4930, and 5039. For newspaper comment, see Edmonton Capital, April 25, 1911; Evening

Journal, April 8, 1911; Manitoba Free Press, March 28, April 27, 1911; Northern News, April 25, 1910, May 6, 1911; and The Halifax Herald, June 1, 1911. See also Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 300-13.

162. For Borden's remarks referring to "white" British Columbia, see James S. Woodsworth, Canada and the Orient (Toronto: The MacMillian Co., 1941), 84. A recent source added: "The word, 'climatic,' in particular, furnished a convenient rationale for staunching a flow of people thought likely to disturb the traditional relationships of races and nationalities. . . . " Morris Davis and Joseph F. Krauter, "The Negroes," The Other Canadians: Profiles of Six Minorities (Toronto: Methuen Publishing Co., 1971), 42.

163. See C. Berger, The Sense of Power (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), Chap. V for expansion of this theme. For the "northern character" of Canada see Morton, The Canadian Identity, 89-93, 108-110.

164. Halifax Chronicle, June 29, 1879.

165. The Wesleyan, December 7, 1883.

166. Ibid., June 6, 1884.

167. The Halifax Herald, June 16, 1910. Fighting between groups of Blacks and whites was not common. The British Colonist, September 17, 1874 reported one of the more severe cases of such disagreement: "The colored inhabitants of Three Mile Plains (3 miles from Windsor) held their annual convention at that place last Sabbath, and no doubt would have conducted their ceremonies with decorum, had it not been for the interference of half a dozen [white] roughs. . . . They created a disturbance about the door of the church which the audience endured as long as possible. A general fight then took place . . . with rocks and sticks. . . . Next day the white roughs, bent on further trouble, boarded the train at Windsor . . . and attacked one [black delegate]. . . . There were two fights with citizens before the day ended."

168. The Halifax Herald, June 14, 1911.

169. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 335.

170. Charles W. Hobart, "Non-Whites in Canada: Indians, Eskimos, Negroes," Social Problems: A Canadian Profile, ed. by Richard Laskin (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Company of Canada Limited, 1964), 90.

171. Ibid.

172. "The idea of natural selection was translated to a struggle between individual members of a society; between members of classes of society, . . . and between different races. This conflict, far from being an evil thing, was nature's indispensable method of producing superior men, superior nations, and superior races." Thomas F. Gossett, Race: The History of an Idea in America (Dallas: SMU Press, 1963), 18. "Social Darwinism was buttressed by another widely accepted belief in 19th century America: the white man's burden." Louis L. Knowles and Kenneth Prewitt, eds., Institutional Racism in America (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), 10.

173. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 291-92, 296.

TABLE 2

1961 BLACK POPULATION

	Canada	Nova Scotia
M	16,184	5,967
F	15,943	5,933
T	32,127	11,900

Canadian Government, DBS, "Population by ethnic groups, for Canada, 1901-1961," Census of Canada, 1961 (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1962), Series 1, 2, Catalogue 92-545, Table 35, 35-2.

CHAPTER III

YOUNG OLIVER

Family Background

The ancestors of William Pearly Oliver were slaves. His great-great-grandfather from Virginia was one of the estimated two thousand Blacks who came to Nova Scotia during and after the War of 1812. That his forefathers were slaves has had a tremendous impact on the thinking of Oliver who believes that the master-slave complex, to a degree, still permeates black-white relations in the province. In an angry speech at St. Francis Xavier University, Oliver said:

> . . . you have to think back some three hundred years, . . . how black people were torn from their homes, how their families were broken and how they were stacked in the slave ships and brought over to this country and sold as beasts of burden to perform the heavy tasks. . . . Our culture, everything that belonged to us was wiped out and we were trained to be obedient, to accept orders. We were no longer human. . . . This is a hard situation to overcome--this dehumanization--this process of removing from man his sense of dignity. . . . [1]

Oliver's roots run deep in Nova Scotia and in North America. For over a century and one-half his family has been in Canada; for a longer if an unknown period, it has become "North Americanized."[2]

Four generations of the Oliver family have had intimate connections with the University of Acadia, Wolfville. Oliver's father and grandfather together served that institution for over a century. Oliver graduated from that University with a B.A. (1934) and B.D. (1936). His sons attended Acadia; and one son, Leslie, was an instructor there. Acadia University, therefore, has played a significant role in the history of the Oliver family. W. P. Oliver acknowledged that his life has been partially shaped by the institution and its immediate environment:

> It was providential that I was born in Wolfville in the type of environment that was provided--the academic, the spiritual environment, and the type of people that I got to know. As I look back over the years now, there was a great influence in terms of values and outlook on life from these people.[3]

Most of Oliver's neighbors and townsmen were white, and treated his family with kindness.

> I recall during the days of the Influenza epidemic, following the first World War, that my father was stricken, and I recall the number of neighbors who brought in hot broths or made up special poultices in their homes and brought them in. This . . . is the sort of thinking that comes to mind when one thinks of neighbors. . . . Charity connotes a handout. Neighborliness connotes a loving gift.[4]

His grandfather, William, served Acadia University for over forty years. In later years he was called Superintendent of Buildings and Grounds, but in reality his years of work involved hard labour. Each classroom had its own

furnace or stove, and William Oliver stoked each one. The 1911 University yearbook, the Acadian Athenaeum, included his photograph, and said as follows:

> Having proved his worthiness, Mr. Oliver was transferred from the Seminary to his present department. . . . As a mine of information, an aid to decorating committees and the like, and an indicator of the feeling of the faculty toward any student escapade, he is invaluable . . . loquacious and most willing to oblige with his favorites, but merely tolerant with others, William is most certainly a unique character. Those who have become acquainted with him will agree that the University could scarcely replace him. . . . [5]

Apparently Oliver, senior, agreed that his role at Acadia was an important one. O. Rex Porter, a classmate of William Pearly, and now Supervisor of Special Educational Services for King's County, wrote:

> William Oliver's grandfather was known to me and was of superior intelligence, although he could not read or write . . . and he would often say, as a plain statement of fact, that, "me and the President run the college!"[6]

The grandson, William Pearly, recalls the dedication the elder William had for Acadia University by stating: "I barely remember the night when University Hall was burned, but I recall that my grandfather was so badly shaken that it was months before he overcame the shock, so great was his attachment to University Hall."[7]

Forty years later Clifford Oliver, the son of William

Oliver, senior, and the father of William Pearly, was also honored by the students of Acadia. Clifford Oliver as a youth had worked with his father at Acadia. For nearly sixty years he lent his services to that institution; his employment covered the space of time occupied by six University presidents, ending with President Watson Kirkconnell. The present President of Acadia, J. M. R. Beveridge, who was raised in Wolfville, wrote that "Clifford Oliver was a sober, industrious person who was always relatively cheerful and had a good sense of humor."[8] As an "institution" within an institution, Clifford Oliver, a respected figure on campus, was honored by the graduating class of 1951. The University yearbook reported:

> The graduating class of '51 made our smiling janitor honorary life membership of that class, and presented him with an identification bracelet as a token of their feeling toward him. Mr. Oliver was guest of honor at the Senior Banquet and Dance, and on Graduation Day he donned cap and gown to graduate with his classmates by whom he will never be forgotten.[9]

When his grandson, Leslie, was appointed mathematics lecturer at Acadia, the ailing Clifford Oliver expressed great joy that at last there was a "real professor" in the Oliver family. For many years Leslie's grandfather was called "Professor Oliver" by many students.

The two elder Olivers were well-known by the prominent Halifax industrialist, Lloyd R. Shaw, who attended school

and university with William Pearly. Shaw reported: "As to his father and grandfather, they had a long, and unique association with Acadia University, where they were practically regarded as institutions themselves, because of their personality and character."[10]

It may be said that the two above "awards" had a patronizing tone to them. The 1911 yearbook said: "Having proved his worthiness, Mr. Oliver was transferred . . . "; and the 1951 yearbook called Clifford Oliver, "our smiling janitor." Although the "patronizing" aspect of the awards may be a matter of opinion, William, his son, believed that by the time his father was near death, the older man had recognized the patronizing attitudes of many whites:

> I detected something that I had never detected before in my father. It took the shape of mistrust in the sincerity of his university associates, and a reaction to paternalism. To me it was a revelation of his own life-time desire to function in society without any reservations. His was a reaction to the slave-master complex. Here was an eighty year old man who had spent the major portion of his life in the university community of "good" people, expressing sentiments that contain all the fundamental components of the current black Movement on this continent.[11]

The above statement supports the claim that William Pearly, raised in a white community, did not until later consciously recognize or acknowledge any large degree of black awareness or anti-white sentiment.

Early Youth

Oliver, who was born on February 11, 1912, claimed that he was the only black youth in Wolfville. The census of 1921 indicated that there were nine blacks in the university town.[12] Numerous individuals including Oliver's Sunday School teacher have indicated that he is correct in his claim: "The grandfather and grandmother and father and Billy were in my day the only colored folk in Wolfville, and so young Billy was the only colored boy in Wolfville."[13] One of Oliver's teachers in elementary school, Mrs. Gladys I. Best, also has noted that he was "a lone black youth."[14] Oliver's family photograph album displays a picture of his Grade III class of forty students--one black lad amongst the white youth of Wolfville.

He played with those white classmates, and not until he was a young man did he have much contact with Blacks who lived in neighboring communities (see Table 3 for distribution of Blacks in 1921). Among his classmates were the sons and daughters of university teachers. Mrs. Best wrote: "His two greatest pals were Harold Perry, son of Professor Perry of Acadia, and William or Billy Cutten, son of Dr. George Cutten, who at that time was President of Acadia University."[15] Oliver has stated that such an environment

TABLE 3

NOVA SCOTIAN 1921 BLACK AND WHITE POPULATION BY COUNTY

County	Total Population	Black Population
Annapolis	18,153	438
Antigonish	11,580	103
Cape Breton	86,296	295
Colchester	25,196	344
Cumberland	41,191	398
Digby	19,612	455
Guysborough	15,518	336
Halifax	97,228	2,240
Hants	19,739	309
Inverness	23,808	7
Kings	25,723	266
Lunenburg	33,742	8
Pictou	40,851	322
Queens	9,944	177
Richmond	12,577	21
Shelburne	13,491	331
Victoria	8,814	-
Yarmouth	22,374	125
NOVA SCOTIA	523,837	6,175

Canadian Government, DBS, "Population classified according to principal origins of the people by counties and their sub-divisions," Sixth Census of Canada (Ottawa: The King's Printer, 1924), I, Table 27, 384-99.

helped to sustain his interest in things academic:

> Most of the black people in Nova Scotia either lived on the fringe of some community or in the straight black community. We lived on University Avenue, and our next door neighbor was the Dean of Biology, and a clergyman lived behind us. I suppose in today's terms we lived in a "good" section of the town.[16]

Although Oliver acknowledges that as a boy he did not read widely, he said: "I was quite successful and remained fairly well at the top of the class."[17] Mrs. Best, one of his teachers, disagrees with Oliver's statement, and adds further insight into his boyhood:

> As a young boy he was not an outstanding student. He was more interested in sports, particularly hockey, than in studies. I believe later he developed more interest in school. . . . I enjoyed having him as a pupil. . . . Like most boys his age he did enjoy his own way . . . but when occasion demanded he responded to discipline.[18]

Miss Susie Baxter, Oliver's Grade II teacher, says that "He [Oliver] is remembered as a student of fair standing, and able to accomplish tasks with a little encouragement. Progress was apparent during the year."[19] Shaw, who is a friend of Oliver, reports: "Bill and I were in the same classroom throughout most of our school days and also in the same year at University. As a student, he was intelligent, applied himself to his studies and never had a problem with them."[20]

When young Oliver began school he was taken to classes

by his mother or an older person because of the racial taunts of white boys and girls. As a young boy Oliver made a decision which he feels helped to set a pattern for the rest of his life: "One day I decided that I was not going to run any more so I stopped and fought it out. And that was the end."[21] He believed he became "quite the champion" in his school because of the fight. (Yet one of his early teachers wrote: "I know of no leadership [strengths] but he may have acquired some during his high school days."[22]) Oliver, who claimed the incident to be a turning point, later stated: "I have always been conscious of the fact that it was necessary to show some strength and some conviction. If you do not respect yourself, who is going to respect you?"[23] In spite of the boy's fight, his school principal, B. C. Silver, wrote: "I recall Bill as a nice, well-behaved boy. . . . "[24] Miss Baxter added:

> As a citizen, he was able to participate in various school activities, with interest. He was especially fond of games on the playground, and joined in them with a real zest. He mingled freely with white children at school, at church, and in the community.[25]

In one significant respect Oliver's family was different from many other Nova Scotian black families, he claims. A heritage of slavery brought with it many matriarchal families:

> It is my feeling that this stems from slavery.

> Marriage was not always recognized by slave owners. When they saw fit the male was sold and his mate was left behind with the children, either to mate again or to bring up the children on her own. The male was deprived of responsibility--he was more of an itinerant. He never realized when he was going to be taken away.[26]

At the time of his youth, suggests Oliver, many of the province's black families were matriarchal. His family was an exception:

> . . . our family was a patriarchal family. Father was there--he was the strong man, the provider; and this is one of the things that has struck me as I moved out of our own community and saw that the shift of responsibility and the initiative seemed to be coming from the female.[27]

Oliver's family was dominated by his father. His mother left the family in 1921--an incident that Oliver considers a "significant turning point"[28] in his life. The father, Clifford, later married " . . . the fine daughter of one of our leading colored ministers Rev. W. A. White of Cornwallis St. Halifax, a sister of the well-known singer Portia White."[29] Mrs. Best discussed Oliver and his father's second family:

> Billy, as he was always called in his boyhood, had two half brothers and three half sisters. His half brother, Donald is a lawyer in Halifax. His half sister, Shirley, married a doctor. . . . Billie's step-mother is one of the secretaries at Acadia University. . . . She is quite a pianist.[30]

The Oliver family was well regarded in Wolfville. Porter stated that "the family was certainly <u>respected</u>,"[31]

and Mrs. Best added that "The Olivers were a highly respected family in this town."[32] Similar opinions were recorded by Beveridge and by Oliver's Sunday School teacher.

Sunday School provided Oliver with pleasant memories. For five or six years ten Wolfville boys were taught by the same Sunday School teacher who is warmly remembered by Oliver. That "group of ten," as Oliver has called them, remain friends to this day:

> We were a class of ten boys who refused to relinquish our teacher on promotion day. I think she taught us for about six years. In that class were such people as Boyd Barteaux, now the president of the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union; Sid Wheelock who at one time was the secretary to the Prime Minister of Canada; Glen Porter, the former mayor of Bridgewater; Lloyd Shaw, one of our leading industrialists . . . . We have all remained close friends.[33]

The Sunday School teacher, who wants her name "eclipsed" from this study, reflects upon the "group of ten" and on Oliver:

> When I was married they served refreshments at the wedding, ten of them. No white boy could have got along better with the boys who were all white. . . . We used to get together in my home and go outside for winter sports, and never was there any racial problem. Most of the boys were from prominent families, professors' sons mostly, but they were as one. I never knew of any racial difficulties.[34]

Her observation indicates that contrary to what Mrs. Best said about Oliver's early leadership role, he did provide leadership in church: "We used to have a circle of prayer and Billy was president of the class and he prayed like a

full fledged deacon. . . . Billy never hesitated to take his turn and he did very well indeed."[35] Oliver's own memories of his Sunday School experience are recorded in a recent letter:

> I must admit that when I begin to drift back over the years to the snow shoe parties, the candy pulls, and the years the group of ten spent with you . . . it makes me realize [that] . . . I owe a great deal to the fellowship and your understanding and Christian approach to youth. . . . I have a deep sense of appreciation of my experiences in our Sunday School class.[36]

Oliver has made no mention of the church attendance of his parents. His Sunday School teacher wrote: "I never saw any of the family in the Baptist Church except the boy. . . . "[37] Obviously Oliver's church experiences helped him eventually to pursue a career in theology. The white Baptist church played an important role in his childhood. The church offered him a high degree of social intercourse, and an opportunity to develop leadership abilities.

Oliver stated that he experienced a "normal" childhood. For the most part he competed with his classmates not on the basis of color, but on merit. He did state that the degree of competition between the races was such that if " . . . a black person wanted recognition he had to do it better than the other [white] fellow."[38]

His teachers, all white, showed respect for him as an individual, and are warmly remembered by him. They displayed

little paternalism. One teacher said of Oliver: "He was well liked by everybody as he had a keen sense of humour and a vivid imagination."[39] His ebullience led him to perform before Acadia's students, with unexpected consequences: "When Billy was a small boy, the Acadia students were especially attracted to him by his winning ways, and had him dance for them. Then, when his act was completed, [they] would toss him pennies."[40]

As a boy he did not even consider whether he should be called "negro," "colored" or "black," although his race at that time was most often referred to as "colored." Today he cannot recall any time in his youth when he was called "nigger." Mrs. Best wrote that "I'm very sure Billy had no racial difficulties when in school. . . . "[41] Those statements are contradicted by Shaw whose account gives an interesting view of the black-white relations among Nova Scotian youths fifty years ago:

> One of my earliest recollection (it probably occurred when we were about 10 to 12 years of age) happened when one of the most rugged and leading athletes in our school called Bill a 'nigger'. I will never forget the courage with which Bill tackled this other lad, overcame him in a wrestling and boxing set-to, and gave him a good beating, which was well deserved. I recall that none of the rest of us came to the rescue of Bill's opponent, as we might have done had we not felt deep down, that Bill was in the right. We were all friends with both Bill and this other lad, so that I think it may be significant that none of us did jump into the battle at that time.[42]

In a press interview Oliver recalled his youth:

> My father was foreman of the university farm. I was the only Negro child in Wolfville. Our neighbors were biology, theology, various kinds of professors. I chummed around with their children. They went to college and I thought it the natural thing to do. . . . Actually, I was no different than anybody else while acquiring my education.[43]

Porter, his school and university classmate, lent credence to Oliver's statement: "In elementary school, as the only negro, he did not pass unnoticed but there were no social barriers against him. He obviously thought of himself as in no way different from any of the others."[44] In spite of Oliver's statement that his education was "no different" from that of other youths, he acknowledged that its purpose, as defined by the white schools, differed for the black and white child in Nova Scotia:

> It is very evident that whites were looking upon Blacks in a different way, and that the rationale of that day was get your own [black] school, mind your own churches, and we'll help you do it, but have them separate. . . . The teacher may make a statement but the message that is received on the other end is interpreted in different ways based on who the receiver is. The black child receives one message and the white child receives another message from the same teacher, from the same center. The center may send one single message and the white child, it tells him to be creative, to get self-fulfilment, to be self-expressive. For the black child it may be saying--this is not for you, be docile, keep your place, be one of the most respected citizens and all this sort of thing.[45]

Another training ground for the Wolfville youth was the scouting movement. Oliver's keen interest and

participation in the movement carried into his adulthood. He claimed that scouting put him "on the track," and that it had a positive influence on his life. He was the one black youth in the Wolfville pack. Later in life he said: "I often say that I preached my first sermon at Scout Camp. We had a Bible story contest. I told the story and won the prize."[46] He later became a Scout leader in Halifax where he stated that scouting was one of the soundest training experiences for boys.[47] The comment of his Sunday School teacher correctly explained Oliver's adult interest in the movement: "Scouting was probably a carry over from training in Wolfville for we had an excellent Scout leader at the time Billy was growing up."[48]

His scouting and school experience taught young Oliver a strong sense of citizenship. He is proud to be a Canadian. As an adult he reflected on his early pride of Canadian citizenship:

> One never loses that sense of pride of Country born. . . . Probably one of the most satisfying exercises of the class was to stand erect, head high, to salute our flag. As I think of those exercises involving the flag, and of the magnitude of the Commonwealth, I am amazed that through it all we never gave much concern to the differences of race and culture that existed within this large "family"; but rather we were given a sense of security as a result of its compactness, and the loftiness of its ideals. The ethical and moral content of the ideals of good citizenship of fifty years ago was much simpler than it is today.[49]

When he was a boy of eleven he had a conversation with an older friend--a conversation that deeply impressed him. In his 1964 acceptance speech at King's College, when he received his honorary Doctor of Civil Laws degree, Oliver related that early conversation: "'Billy, what are you going to be?' Shyly I answered, 'I don't know.' Then came his friend's firm yet reassuring reply: 'You can be anything you want to be.'"[50] That message given to Oliver nearly fifty years ago is a message he gives today to the black youths of Nova Scotia.

The boy's early experiences, for the most part, represented a partial exception to the Canadian rule as expressed by Winks: "White prejudice [in Canada] reached a peak during and immediately following World War I."[51] Yet young Oliver's middle class background removed him from much of the difficulties experienced by his black brethren in Nova Scotia and elsewhere in North America.

High School

During his high school career Oliver's family encouraged him to excel in academic work and in sports. As Porter recalled: "In High School he [Oliver] took part in athletics and obtained recognition and praise there."[52] Shaw, who was impressed with Oliver's "courage in sports

and life generally," said of him: "He was always fair and gentlemanly in sports."[53] This early experience sponsored a life-long interest in all sports:

> Athletics provided much satisfaction. Hockey, football, baseball, field and track, and swimming were among the sports in which I was involved. In my graduation year from high school, I was captain of the major teams, football and hockey.[54]

One significant incident in sports hurt him deeply. His hockey team was to play a tournament against the Kentville team which refused to play as long as a Black was on the Wolfville team. Oliver's team rallied to his support and refused to play if he were "disallowed." The Kentville team subsequently agreed to allow Oliver's participation. The incident made Oliver more conscious of his racial difference, but did prove to him that many white youths believed that prejudice had no place on the field of sports.

As he grew older he gained an increased awareness of his racial difference. He was one black youth in an all-white community.

> In the earliest years I did not notice too much difference as most black males discover. Not until one gets into the teenage period does one begin to discover the difference that one has to use. One has to use expediency as far as the opposite sex is concerned. There are certain taboos in the matter of socializing. A black youth functions as long as he stays in the male section of the community. Then there are really no problems. Certainly interracial dating was taboo.[55]

Oliver was accepted on the street, in the classrooms, on the

playing field, in the local Baptist church, but not in the homes of his middle class classmates. Later, as an adult he added:

> Well, I suppose there would be the other social influences of class structure. I noticed this in terms of birthday parties and that sort of thing. People [white] usually invited guests not so much entirely on the basis of friendship but rather as a matter of social status. The guest lists seemed to indicate what level of society one were in. A black boy was not welcomed in such a situation. This is a value of the white society.[56]

In another source Oliver commented on his growing awareness of "the social-class struggle":

> During the last two years in high school I became conscious of the social-class struggle. . . . I had organized an athletic club that actually exerted a considerable influence upon many things that took place among our peers. . . .[57]

Oliver was excluded from many social events involving young people because of his color. As he and his white classmates were claimed by puberty, they were also seized by the conditioned realization of racial difference. He was allowed friendships with white males but was discouraged by whites from having friendships with white females. His school principal added: "Culture and class pressure made him face up to the question 'Who am I?' In a sense it was a defeat to be unacceptable as an escort for the sisters of his white friends. However, he learned from this situation. . . ."[58] The social distance between Oliver

and his white friends may be measured by the fact that he did not sleep in a white home until the age of twenty while on a trip to Dartmouth.[59]

His high school and university classmate, Porter, added to Oliver's assessment of his teenage years:

> . . . all went well until High School and the organization of mixed parties. At this stage . . . [white] parents decided that it would not be proper for their daughters to be escorted to and from parties by our negro friend. This rebuff must have come as a shock . . . and throughout the balance of High School and University he found his social life among his own people and was reported from time to time as living . . . a 'wild' life.[60]

Shaw, who stated that Oliver undoubtedly suffered from racial prejudice, "much of it not overt," supported Porter's statement:

> At Acadia University, I recall quite vividly that Bill didn't attend most dances and other social functions at the College. He was an excellent tap-dancer and often performed at these affairs. I thought at the time (and this was probably the case), that he didn't attend because there were few, if any, black girls in the town, or at the University; therefore, he didn't feel free to take someone else, or to attend. This must have been very hard for him.[61]

Oliver's adolescence was not devoid of happy experiences. As a youth he had many field trips and fishing expeditions which gave rise to his present interest in the outdoors. He also gained an interest in and love for botany and biology--subjects in which he excelled in school.

This matter of plants and flowers started way back

> when I was in Grade 4 or 5. I remember my Grade 5 teacher. He was a great one to bring plants and flowers to class. Of course, I would enjoy going into the woods. At that time I used to go every Saturday fishing by myself and get back from the lake country some rare flowers that most people would not see. Such experiences brought me much satisfaction. I would look in the various texts for the flowers.[62]

He kept his youthful inquisitiveness for things in nature. To this day he spends as much time as possible by himself in contemplation and thought. He enjoys fishing and hunting, interests gained during his youth.

An incident in the final year of Oliver's high school helped to harden his determination to succeed in a white society:

> . . . I got a job on the university campus. . . . We were wheeling cement . . . July and August were hot so we stripped to the waist while wheeling the cement up steep ramps. . . . And I would rush . . . trying to do a good job. And the minute I looked my buddy would be under a tree having a good smoke. Two weeks later I saw one of those fellows going around with a pair of white overalls on and a hammer hanging on the side of his overalls. He had become an apprentice carpenter--by sitting in the shade. I looked around and there was another white fellow walking around with a steam-fitter. He became a foreman. I was still pushing the wheelbarrow. What did I say to myself? Nobody was going to offer me anything. If I were going to get anywhere I would have to go to University. It made me very conscious of my color.[63]

This and other incidents showed Oliver that to succeed as a black man a university education was necessary. When asked what reaction he had after such incidents, Oliver

stated:

> It is hard to define the emotion. I will certainly say this--that it opened my eyes, and made me analyze every situation that I was going into. I knew then that I was not going to take society for granted. I was going to compensate on the basis of merit.[64]

Years later while speaking at St. Francis Xavier University, Oliver re-told the story mentioned above. He concluded by stating:

> The whole value system's gone astray. You work hard; they [whites] sleep under the tree; they get their promotions and you are still on the wheelbarrow. This is not fair. This is injustice but I didn't allow it to break me. . . . I can make it my own way, because he [the white man] is not going to give me a break. I've got to push twice as hard. . . .[65]

Oliver also received a friendly "push" from many white people. He would agree with Porter's statement about him: "[Oliver had] an understanding school principal, a scoutmaster, and a Sunday School teacher and Superintendent."[66] Incentive for university training also came from his immediate family.

Acadia University

Although Oliver's interests in science brought him to enroll in the pre-med course at Acadia in 1930, he had misgivings about the plan.

> I had to make a decision as to what I was going to do. Was I going to prepare myself to leave Wolfville

> or was I going to settle there permanently? I was living on the university campus so it seemed natural to give it [University] a try. No one could say that I did not make the attempt.[67]

As Porter wrote, Oliver was fully supported by his family:

> Family pressure was present also. Both his father and grandfather were ambitious for him to obtain the formal education they had not received. They were highly intelligent and made him see . . . that a university education was the key to position and respect.[68]

In his study in the pre-med course Oliver met with considerable frustration. His marks in the sciences and mathematics (formerly his strength) suffered and were not satisfactory. Oliver hints that discrimination may have played a part in that situation. He states, not without some bitterness, that he was "eased out":

> I was doing very well in my sciences in the pre-med work. Suddenly my marks started to go down and various roadblocks seemed to develop. I began to feel a sense of frustration at the same time. I wanted to get out in the black community to attend meetings of the black church and to talk with black clergymen.[69]

It was the wish of the University authorities, he claims, that he discontinue his pre-med course:

> When people spoke of education for black boys they generally thought of preparing them for the ministry. One rarely heard of someone speaking of a black youngster with potential and putting him through school and university, and letting him take whatever channel he was fitted for or developing or leading him into the sciences. . . .[70]

His academic and personal disappointments led Oliver

to transfer to theology at Acadia. White opposition to his proposed medical career, and his own growing awareness of the significance of his blackness led him to a theological career. Porter supported Oliver's view: "Theology was . . . about the only field in his native province, where he could attain the prestige which has been his."[71] Porter suggested that Rev. W. A. White, whose daughter had married Oliver's father, helped to persuade the young man to enter the ministry. Further persuasion, said Porter, came from the Dean of Theology. (Oliver made no references to such persuasion.) Porter stated: "By the time he [Oliver] was ready for this decision, however, he had obviously undergone a variety of social pressures and had developed a 'self theory' and knew what he was like and in what type of career he belonged."[72]

It was not until his University career was well underway that Oliver had any degree of empathy with other Blacks. The sister of his Dean of Biology brought him yearbooks from various American black colleges. The black football players featured in those books became symbols of "black opportunity" for the young scholar.

At University Oliver was accepted warmly by most of his contemporaries. He again found sports to be an outlet for his energy. Beveridge reported that Oliver "was a better than average athlete and did very well in track and

swimming."[73] Porter added that such outlets were not without restrictions:

> In University . . . he concentrated on track and this may have been because . . . of difficulties of teams being served in certain hotels when a negro was a member. It may have been for this reason that he chose a more solitary sport and concentrated on being a long-distance runner, at which he did very well.[74]

Shaw added to Porter's account:

> In his university years, he specialized in track (especially long-distance running). He, for several years, won most of the five-mile and ten-mile races in the Valley and in other parts of the Province. This took a lot of discipline and hard training.[75]

Porter, who claims that Oliver was seldom seen at University residences, stated that the young black student was sometimes "the life of the party": "At the university parties, he would sometimes appear and entertain the guests with a demonstration of dancing, dressed in what, at that time, was the latest style."[76] His private photograph album contains a picture of Acadia's band with Oliver the only non-white member. At Acadia he was accepted as a participant and sometimes as a leader. Beveridge added depth to the discussion of Oliver's University years:

> . . . I think one of the most pertinent things I can say about his career at the University is the sheer normalcy of it--the fact that he got along well with others, apparently enjoyed his experiences here, participated in various student activities in a normal and successful way . . . . He was well accepted by his fellow students. . . .[77]

In spite of good times University life brought some harsh realities to Oliver. The pleasant childhood was passed; new experiences in human relations awaited him:

> There was a transition with me. Once you leave the school campus you become a different figure; you become sort of a threat, a challenge to this thing that has been subtle all these years. While you were one little black child you did not threaten anybody; you did not threaten social patterns or the racial situation.[78]

During the early part of his University studies Oliver found a void in his life. Something was missing, he claimed, even though he believed that "university life is strong proof that intelligent people of different races can live together in a harmonious manner."[79] On campus there was the Circle Français, the Jewish Club, and the Chinese group, among others. There was no black group with which he could associate.[80]

> My innermost and deepest needs were not being fulfilled in the town of Wolfville. I did not travel much or have many associations with my own people until later in my university days.[81]

Later he summarized the situation as follows:

> . . . the [later] university years represented the period when I realized the differences and the consequences of being Black. . . . During these years the automobile provided opportunities for me to visit Black communities and to meet Black young people. . . . The decision to enter the church was influenced by my contacts with the Black community, and probably involves the phenomena of identifying.[82]

His old friend and classmate, Beveridge, offered a more

positive assessment of the University's influence on Oliver:

> My impression would be that his experience in Wolfville and at the University would do much to give him the confidence and poise to handle in an excellent manner the various difficulties and crises that are the lot of most adults.[83]

Oliver states with considerable self-chastisement that for the first twenty-five years of his life he was an "oriole," an individual who was black on the outside and white on the inside. In other words he lived in a white society among white friends and colleagues, but he was not fully accepted by that society. He was a black man with limited contact with those of his race.[84]

As a lone black youth in Wolfville, Oliver presented no challenge to the white majority as long as he stayed within the limits, albeit sometimes ill-defined, set by the white majority. His awareness of his color difference was sharpened by the subtle and overt brands of discrimination displayed by whites:

> The white youth in my day had a far easier time than the black youth. It did not really matter if he was lazy or not . . . or shirk [ed] his job. I gave ten hours of work for ten hours pay--that is the white man's value. But the system did not work for me. I never got promoted. I was Black![85]

A more optimistic assessment of Oliver's earlier years was written by Miss Baxter:

> It's very possible that Wolfville exerted a positive influence in guiding Dr. Oliver toward his life's

> work. His personal associations with friends of school, church, and community could well have provided an incentive, and impressed him with a desire to be of help to those of his own race. There was a need, and he could fulfil that task.[86]

Oliver looks back on his youth with a mixture of happiness and bitterness. He believes that:

> People are people, and the very fact that they happen to have different colors should not matter. I realize that the historical background calls the people to function in certain ways but I also toy with the idea that one could take two people--two children of two different racial backgrounds and set them up in a uniform environment, and after a time those children are going to develop in the same way if all things remain equal. Thus, it is a matter of an accident of history.[87]

Before he graduated with his Bachelor of Divinity degree in 1936, Oliver, a young man of twenty-four, wrote his thesis, "Jesus and the Problem of Wealth in its Social Relation."[88] An examination of that work indicates that he was a sincere and concerned individual. In many respects the work represents a philosophy that he has followed during his career. Young Oliver, no arm-chair philosopher, struck hard at the economic ills that faced society during the Depression. His work displayed a realization that man's institutions lay at the root of the economic problem.

His thesis acknowledged that the existent economic structure of Canadian society was not meeting the needs of its citizens. Jesus, he claimed, demanded faithful use of

wealth, and warned of the unjust stewardship of wealth. A socialistic system founded on the love that Jesus taught would be adequate and efficient. No system of economics or social reform can be successful unless it is based on love. A man does not own his wealth; he owes it, wrote the young theological student.

A distrust of the wealthy and influential is displayed in Oliver's thesis. Many such people, he claimed, are led to feel that they may ignore the method used to obtain wealth as long as they contribute to good causes. In dealing with a financial problem the financier should inquire as to the results upon other people, rather than to the gain to be obtained. The class hatred that is built up by the unjust methods of business is far from a Christian state of wholesome love. Oliver acknowledged that competition in its "pure state" is nourishing to the moral and spiritual character of man, but when it "develops into pugnacity" it loses its desirability for society. Wealth can draw out the animal characteristics of man.

Perhaps one can identify Oliver's viewpoint as a type of Christian Socialism. His ideas formed thirty-five years ago are not foreign to some people today. When one examines the later career of Oliver one sees that he never avoided the hard, economic realities of life. His ministerial

career exemplifies that type of approach.

His Halifax ministry would call on his leadership abilities. He would become a social activist and change agent--something for which his Wolfville experience had not adequately prepared him.

Early Manhood

A number of factors in his youth have been noted which encouraged the rather naive black man later to become a social activist and leader. This is not to say that his ambition was totally selfless. His theological training, encouraged by family and friends, would lead Oliver to the prestige that the ministry would offer--an opportunity he believed denied him in other professions because of his blackness. In any case, he chose to preach to his people, rather than to serve them in another professional capacity.

In spite of his family's modest means, and in spite of the Depressions's influence, he was given the opportunity to attend University. In this sense he was a rather unique individual. For his time Oliver's youth was an atypical Nova Scotian black experience. ("In the entire 200 years of Black settlement in Nova Scotia [to 1949] only three native-born Blacks had graduated from college and all three were products of racially mixed settlements."89)

The atypical feature of Oliver's youth can be seen when one examines the experiences of other Maritime Blacks at that time. In Saint John all restaurants and theatres closed their doors to Blacks in 1915. In Halifax, Fredericton, and Colchester, Blacks could not be buried in Anglican churchyards. In Bathurst, New Brunswick, the citizenry falsely spread the word that a bylaw required all Blacks to be out of town by sundown. In Pictou County Blacks were not permitted to live in Stellarton, Westville, Trenton, or Pictou itself. In Truro a white vigilance committee ordered Blacks off the street at night.[90] Oliver had some racial difficulties in his small University town, but they could not compare to the difficulties and challenges faced by other Maritime Blacks. If not by distance but by experience, Oliver was removed from the harsh racial realities of other Blacks.

Challenges he had yet to meet would reveal that in spite of his family's fine reputation, his popularity, and his academic background at Acadia, his Wolfville experiences had provided him with little insight into an understanding of racial difficulties he would face in the Halifax area. There thousands of Blacks lived in a greatly different set of economic and social circumstances.

Those circumstances stunned the young minister who

wrote: "I was shocked by the contrasts between life in the Black community and with what I had known in my home town."[91] When he left Wolfville he could not be called a crusader, a reformer, or social activist of any magnitude. He had potential but no grand design for improvement. The Wolfville youth, whose eyes were hardly opened to the racial realities of Nova Scotia, required long years of frustration, success, and failure before he could see more clearly the tasks to be undertaken.

When one examines the life of Oliver to the time of his departure from Wolfville, one sees two conflicting pictures. One displays a youth popular in school, sports, church, and scouting. The same picture shows the youth dancing to his delight and that of his school and University classmates. He appears very much a part of his white environment. Beveridge's "normalcy" statement has considerable validity in spite of the few physical altercations caused by racial slurs.

Conflicting with the above portrait is another, less valid one. One sees here a young black boy spending weekends alone in the woods and countryside searching for new treasures to add to his love of botany. (Many of his later speeches and writings use botany in his analogies and comparisons.) The portrait also records Oliver, the

long-distance runner. He is alone. He sets his own pace and route (a practice he continues to this date--within the rules set by law).

Other "rules" he learned as a youth involve a recognition of the importance of hard economic facts, the advantage of family solidarity and happiness, the need for a firm theological stance, the necessity to give of himself, and the need to protect himself. Those "rules," among others, are still followed by Oliver.

As the young, devout, and sincere "oriole" left his white Wolfville environment he was to find that his experience there had not prepared him well for the challenges of his important ministry. Nevertheless, he did have a clever father who supported his academic ambitions, a sound university training, family connections with the mother church of the African United Baptist Association, and was soon to acquire his strongest asset, his wife, neé Pearleen Borden.

Oliver's former principal, B. C. Silver, discussed Oliver's youth and its influence on his later life:

> From the time he was a small boy he showed an interest in his fellow-man. . . . This interest in other people stayed with him all through his . . . school life. . . . You felt he was interested in what you had to say but he did not hesitate to question if he was in doubt. There was a mutual something here which defies definition. Even to this day he is ever on the alert approaching problems with a well planned thoroughness. . . . [92]

Silver's well founded statements concerning Oliver's early frankness, thoughtful uncertainty, alertness, and thoroughness could also be applied to the black man's later approach to problem solving.

During his student ministry Oliver was called upon to use that alertness and thoroughness. He said of his early experience: " . . . when you work with the black church, you analyze, you observe, and you try to discern the most effective way to get the job done."[93]

The following questions and challenges faced the young student minister: How can a clergyman motivate his people? How can one overcome black apathy and the lack of goodwill in the community? What is the solution to the problems of neglected church buildings? How can one build pride of accomplishment? Why is there an absence of young people in the black church? What is the most effective method of solving those problems?[94]

These and other questions faced Oliver, the student minister. He and his "ministerial partner,"[95] Pearleen, were to find no easy or quick answers.

Mrs. Pearleen Oliver

In 1937 Oliver married Pearleen Borden, formerly of Guysborough. Oliver met his bride during his student

ministry at New Glasgow. The Borden family was well known and respected in that area. Their marriage was followed by a reception at Wolfville's "white" Baptist Church--an indication of Oliver's close association with the white middle class of the town.

Mrs. Oliver has been active in church affairs and in other aspects of her husband's professional life. She is an author, pianist, public speaker, and spokesman for a number of women's groups, black and white. She holds strong views regarding the treatment given to North American Blacks by whites. Of his wife Oliver said:

> You've asked the role that Pearleen has played in my life. It's not an easy thing to explain but one would have to know Pearleen. She is a very brilliant girl. I would think that number one, she has managed; I had the imagination and the ideas, but there are little details I just can't be bothered with. She'd fix them up, put them in shape. In the matter of domestic things, I never had any worries. She managed our finances, purchases, clothing, all of these things. I earned the money and gave her the cheques and bank accounts. The only time I became involved was in matters of investments, or this kind of thing. In church work we divided the work. She worked with the girls and the women. I concentrated on the men and the boys and of course designed total designs for the overall program. She would do the typewriter work--putting these ideas down, planning, projecting plans for a year, two years, whatever the case might be. Most of my life has been out in communities, night time, every night, even out of the province. But she was there with the children, managing and doing all of these things--girls' groups, mothers' groups."[96]

Mrs. Oliver wanted to become a nurse but was denied the opportunity because of her blackness. She added: "Being a Black presents a wonderful challenge but with courage a black person can become anything he wants to be."[97] Her own attempt at nursing casts doubt upon her earlier optimism.

Pearleen Oliver believes her people need champions: "Someone just has to get up and bring attention to all the evils."[98] The newspaper clipping entitled "Negro Minister's Wife Is Fighter For Her People" suggests that "she and her husband have been those champions more often than they'll admit."[99] She has tremendous empathy with those disadvantaged Blacks in Nova Scotia and elsewhere in North America.

Her energy, mind, and initiative have been of great value to her husband's career and causes. She has been a frequent contributor to the Minutes of AUBA. Her book, A Brief History of the Colored Baptists of Nova Scotia 1782-1953, was well received by the black and white community. The comments of Oliver's early Sunday School teacher summarized Mrs. Oliver's influence on her husband: "Billy was fortunate to marry one of the finest and most intelligent colored girls I know. . . . She has helped him greatly."[100]

The Olivers have five sons: William Philip, Leslie, Jules and Stephen--all have attended university, In high

school Philip was chosen as the student "most representative of a Canadian citizen." In 1964 Leslie was elected as student council president at Queen Elizabeth High School where twelve Blacks attended classes with nine hundred whites.[101] Jules is the chief executive of the Black United Front.[102] Like their father, the sons have embarked on middle class careers.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Black Man in Nova Scotia: Teach-In Report (Antigonish, N.S.: St. Francis Xavier University, January, 1969), 3. One report of the conference discussed Oliver's performance: "Those who attended should have been impressed by Dr. William P. Oliver. This distinguished man has made a long term contribution to community life in Nova Scotia. When he keynoted the teach-in, he was angry and he was woefully tired. And so he should be. He has been fighting the good fight for years. The still existing prejudice and lack of opportunity is a repudiation of his whole exemplary life. He has a right to believe that, on his performance alone, the Black man has proved his worth. But that was not his conclusion and there was a note of heartbreak in his whole magnificent address." The Casket, January 30, 1969.

2. On November 9, 1866 a petition was received from seven ratepayers of Cross Road (Lucasville) School Section, Halifax County, requesting that William Lucas, William Oliver, and Andrew Lucus be appointed trustees of the school section. Summarized from "Minutes of the District Board of School Commissioners, Halifax West," Halifax, May 8, 1866-May 16, 1876. (Mimeographed copy.) W. P. Oliver's grandfather was born in the Lucasville district. It is probable that the man mentioned in the 1866 petition was his great-grandfather. Oliver was unable to give any information about any of his forefathers who lived before his grandfather. He did add that the Lucasville land on which he is now living has been in his family since the War of 1812. If Oliver's claim is correct it appears even more probable that the man mentioned in the 1866 petition was his ancestor. Kardiner and Ovesey, among others, suggest that the most conspicuous feature of the Black in America is that his aboriginal culture was smashed either by design or accident. During and after slavery the black man consequently became "North Americanized." See A. Kardiner and L. Ovesey, The Mark of Oppression (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1962), Chap. II.

3. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 11, 1970.

4. Oliver Papers, "Sermon: Who is My Neighbor?" Halifax, ca. 1962.

5. Acadian Athenaeum, 1911, 265.

6. Letter from O. Rex Porter to writer, November 24, 1971. The Wolfville Acadian, May 31, 1934 and the Acadia Bulletin, May 30, 1934 gave high praise to William Oliver, senior (1850-1934). George B. Cutten, former President of Acadia, wrote of William Oliver, senior: "When I visited Wolfville, I always tried to call first on the President of the University, as seemed to me most fitting and my next call was on Mr. William Oliver. Mr. Oliver's greeting was always friendly and genuine, and no call I enjoyed more, for we were FRIENDS." Quoted in letter from B. C. Silver to writer, February 13, 1972.

7. Oliver Papers, "Address to Acadia Alumni Association," Frederickton, 1970.

8. Letter from J. M. R. Beveridge to writer, December 28, 1971.

9. Acadian Athenaeum, 1951, 52. A 1966 Wolfville newspaper report stated: Mr. Clifford Oliver and his father served the University for more than a Century. At the time of Clifford Oliver's retirement the administration and the office staff of Acadia University tendered him a reception. President Dr. Watson Kirkconnell read an original poem describing Mr. Oliver's long and faithful service to the University. His connection with Acadia is continuing through his family, all of whom have attended the institution. There are seventeen university degrees in his immediate family, and two of his grandsons are attending this year. Summarized from Wolfville Acadian, April 14, 1966.

10. Letter from Lloyd R. Shaw to writer, December 28, 1971.

11. Oliver Papers, "Address to Acadia Alumni," Wolfville, ca. 1964.

12. Canadian Government, DBS, "Population classified according to principal origins of the people by counties and their sub-divisions, 1921," Sixth Census of Canada, 1921 (Ottawa: The King's Printer, 1924), I, Table 27, 394.

13. Letter from Sunday School teacher to writer, December 5, 1971.

14. Letter from Mrs. Gladys I. Best to writer, December 5, 1971.

15. Ibid.

16. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 11, 1970.

17. Letter from W. P. Oliver to writer, November 1, 1971.

18. Letter from Mrs. Gladys I. Best to writer, December 5, 1971.

19. Letter from Miss Susie Baxter to writer, December 29, 1971.

20. Letter from Lloyd R. Shaw to writer, December 28, 1971.

21. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 12, 1970.

22. Letter from Mrs. Gladys I. Best to writer, December 5, 1971.

23. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 12, 1970.

24. Letter from B. C. Silver to Sunday School teacher, December 11, 1971.

25. Letter from Miss Susie Baxter to writer, December 29, 1971.

26. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 12, 1970.

27. Ibid.

28. Letter from W. P. Oliver to writer, November 1, 1971. Oliver highly values family solidarity. He was otherwise unclear as to the full meaning of that "significent point" in his life.

29. Letter from Sunday School teacher to writer, December 5, 1971.

30. Letter from Mrs. Gladys I. Best to writer, December 5, 1971. Donald Oliver, a prominent Halifax lawyer, is active in civil rights movements. He has worked closely with W. P. Oliver on many occasions.

31. Letter from O. Rex Porter to writer, November 24, 1971.

32. Letter from Mrs. Gladys I. Best to writer, December 5, 1971.

33. Letter from W. P. Oliver to writer, December 13, 1971.

34. Letter from Sunday School teacher to writer, December 5, 1971.

35. Ibid.

36. Letter from W. P. Oliver to Sunday School teacher, December 9, 1971.

37. Letter from Sunday School teacher to writer, December 5, 1971.

38. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 12, 1970.

39. Letter from Mrs. Gladys I. Best to writer, December 5, 1971.

40. Letter from Miss Susie Baxter to writer, December 29, 1971. Mrs. Best elaborates on Oliver's dancing performance: "As a young boy he was an excellent clog dancer and often was given pennies by the students in order to get him to dance, and had to make up double time [in school] for being late." Letter from Mrs. Gladys I. Best to writer, December 5, 1971.

41. Letter from Mrs. Gladys I. Best to writer, December 5, 1971.

42. Letter from Lloyd R. Shaw to writer, December 28, 1971. Shaw added: "An example of the opposite kind of incident occurred one day when Dr. Silver, our principal, called for volunteers to put on a boxing match out in the school yard at recess. I put up my hand, and looking around, saw that the only other hand up was Bill's (he sat behind me). (At least, in one year we shared

the same double seat.) We were probably in about Grade IX or X at the time. With Dr. Silver as referee, we had a real set-to with boxing gloves--all in good spirits--with the rest of the boys and girls cheering us on." Ibid. " . . . a class of this calibre could not live together from Primary A to and including Grade XI without affecting one another's outlook in some small way. I contend that the 1930 class of the Wolfville High School is an interesting example of a society in which each would contribute something to the other or others and in the end raise the general thinking of the Class as a whole. It was the good fortune of all members of the Class to be so associated." Letter from B. C. Silver to writer, February 13, 1972. See Appendix for Oliver's efforts in sports.

43. The Free Press, December 3, 1964.

44. Letter from O. Rex Porter to writer, November 24, 1971.

45. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 12, 1970.

46. Ibid. During his early Halifax ministry, Oliver, a former King Scout, led an all-black scout troop.

47. Halifax Mail, December 4, 1943.

48. Letter from Sunday School teacher to writer, December 5, 1971. Shaw discussed Oliver's scout leader: "Mr. E. Percy Brown, who was Scout Master in Wolfville throughout most of the years of our youth . . . had a very strong personality and love of the outdoors, which he passed along to many of the boys of the town throughout the years. . . . " Letter from Lloyd R. Shaw to writer, December 28, 1971.

49. Oliver Papers, "Address to IODE Provincial Council," Halifax, 1963.

50. Ibid.

51. Winks, "Negroes in the Maritimes," 466.

52. Letter from O. Rex Porter to writer, November 24, 1971.

53. Letter from Lloyd R. Shaw to writer, December 28, 1971.

54. Letter from W. P. Oliver to writer, November 1, 1971.

55. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 11, 1970.

56. Ibid.

57. Letter from W. P. Oliver to writer, November 1, 1971. Silver supported Oliver's statement about the club, and offered further information about the man's youth: "Dr. Oliver was a valuable member of the Wolfville High School Boys' Club. The boys of this club wrote their own regulations and then discussed them with me as their Supervising-Principal. I don't recall ever asking them to make any changes. Most of the boys were Scouts and came from homes where CONFIDENCE prevailed. This showed in their behaviour at school and in public. Mind you they were full of 'get up and go' when needed as the athletic sheets show. . . . Dr. Oliver (Bill) was a member of an outstanding High School graduating class (1930). There were 37 in the class, distributed as follows--Acadia University, 19; Agricultural College, Guelph, 1; Nursing, 3; Teaching, 6 (Public Schools); Business, 4; Farming, 2; At Home, 2. . . . His attendance at school was very good. If he was absent there was always a very good reason. He was always neatly groomed. I can still see him on his way to school moving quickly with a happy expression which I am pleased to say he has not lost. Like all active boys he had a few tricks up his sleeve. If I spoke to him about any one of them he would say, 'Well, Sir, every boy has a few tricks,' which was accompanied by a smile which left with you the impression that back of it was an inexhaustible source of goodness." Letter from B. C. Silver to writer, February 13, 1972.

58. Letter from B. C. Silver to writer, February 13, 1972.

59. Oliver Papers, "Speech to Dartmouth Rotary Club," Dartmouth, February 19, 1968.

60. Letter from O. Rex Porter to writer, November 24, 1971.

61. Letter from Lloyd R. Shaw to writer, December 28, 1971.

62. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 12, 1970.

63. Ibid., May 11, 1970.

64. Ibid.

65. The Black Man in Nova Scotia: Teach-In Report (Antigonish, N.S.: St. Francis Xavier University, January, 1969), 4.

66. Letter from O. Rex Porter to writer, November 24, 1971.

67. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 11, 1970.

68. Letter from O. Rex Porter to writer, November 24, 1971.

69. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 11, 1970.

70. Ibid.

71. Letter from O. Rex Porter to writer, November 24, 1971.

72. Ibid.

73. Letter from J. M. R. Beveridge to writer, December 28, 1971.

74. Letter from O. Rex Porter to writer, November 24, 1971.

75. Letter from Lloyd R. Shaw to writer, December 28, 1971.

76. Letter from O. Rex Porter to writer, November 24, 1971.

77. Letter from J. M. R. Beveridge to writer, December 28, 1971.

78. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 11, 1970.

79. Halifax Herald and Mail, April 13, 1948.

80. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 13, 1970.

81. Ibid., May 11, 1970.

82. Letter from W. P. Oliver to writer, November 1, 1971.

83. Letter from J. M. R. Beveridge to writer, December 28, 1971.

84. See infra Chap. IV for a discussion of Oliver's ministerial career--a contrast with his earlier "limited contact" with Blacks.

85. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 11, 1970.

86. Letter from Miss Susie Baxter to writer, December 29, 1971.

87. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 12, 1970.

88. W. P. Oliver, "Jesus and the Problem of Wealth in its Social Relation" (unpublished Bachelor of Divinity thesis, Acadia University, May 1, 1936).

89. Quoted in Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 26. After 1918 (the year Oliver began school) black schools fared badly, "and the most blind of school inspectors could not have pretended that separate education was equal education." Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 379. Winks' statement adds credence to the claim that Oliver, who attended a "white" school, had an atypical black boyhood.

90. Summarized from Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 325.

91. Letter from W. P. Oliver to writer, November 1, 1971. In 1911, a year before Oliver's birth, half of Canada's Blacks lived in seven cities: Toronto, Montreal, Windsor, Halifax, Saint John, Sydney, and Winnipeg. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 495.

92. Letter from B. C. Silver to writer, February 13, 1972.

93. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 13, 1970.

94. Summarized from ibid.

95. Ibid.

96. Ibid.

97. Chronicle-Herald, newsclipping, ca. 1954.

98. Ibid.

99. Ibid.

100. Letter from Sunday School teacher to writer, December 5, 1971.

101. The Windsor Daily Star, December 4, 1967.

102. See infra, Chap. VI for discussion of the Black United Front.

CHAPTER IV

THE MINISTRY

The Early Years

In 1937 Oliver was called to Cornwallis Church where he served for the next twenty-five years. He was the youngest minister ever to serve the mother church, and with the exception of Richard Preston, served that institution longer than any other clergyman.[1]

Oliver is proud of the long history of the Cornwallis Church and the African United Baptist Association. He believes that the church has been the central influence on the Blacks' lives, and that "its history is in reality the history of our [black] people."[2] Sociologists Donald H. Clairmont and Dennis W. Magill add to Oliver's statement: "The churches provided the focal centre for whatever genuine Black subculture has existed in Nova Scotia."[3] The church, Oliver believes, was the buttress required by Blacks during and after the slavery period in Nova Scotia: "Psychological needs were satisfied through a faith that enabled them to escape from reality. . . . "[4] Clairmont and Magill add that the church provided a variety of services and organizations; and social status was associated with participation in church activities. The churches provided indigenous

leadership in black communities.[5]

Oliver added that "God was a reality to those people of simple faith."[6] When referring to the Blacks (including his own great-great-grandfather), who came to the province during and after the War of 1812, Oliver stated:

> The question is often asked, 'How were the Refugees able to survive?' I am thoroughly convinced that one of the greatest strengths in the culture of these early immigrants to Nova Scotia was their religious background. . . . [The Church] permitted them an opportunity to express their grievances in the Negro Spirituals in such a way as not to offend the slave owners, or to be suspected of insurrection.[7]

Oliver noted that the church perhaps blinded the Blacks to their difficult experiences, and that they developed an escapist approach as a result: "Fortified by a warm religious fervor they developed a philosophy of life that gave them a sense of security within their own isolated communities, but which suppressed the aggressiveness found in most immigrants."[8] He has claimed that in many respects Blacks have retained much of their slave culture which has been maintained through the negro spirituals and church life. With mixed feelings he assessed the impact of the church on his people:

> Today, the major portion of our people are cared for spiritually by a Baptist Church, the faith they brought with them from the South. It takes a long time for the message of the love of God to register with a people who have known nothing but its opposite from man.[9]

Such insight and opinion came only after many years' experience in Halifax. When he arrived there in 1937, he was not prepared for the considerable frustration and unhappiness that awaited him. He was called to be a leader of people described by Robin W. Winks as follows: " . . . he [the black man] stood alone [in the 1930's] without effective national organizations, social cohesion, dynamic church leadership, full education, protective legislation, or a medium for making known achievements or grievances."[10]

Hesitancy

When Oliver agreed to accept the Cornwallis assignment he did so with considerable hesitancy. He was unsure that he could face the heavy responsiblity and prestige of his pastorage. He was succeeding the late Rev. W. A. White,[11] a highly respected clergyman and war veteran. Oliver knew and respected his predecessor: "Dr. White brought a new image to the black church in that he was able to relate to the white community as well. He was an outstanding preacher and an able leader of men."[12]

Encouraged by his wife, Pearleen,[13] Oliver accepted the position with considerable apprehension. Further encouragement came from the Superintendent of the United Baptist Association of the Maritime Provinces, Rev. E. S.

Mason:

> I can realize your feeling that you are as yet comparatively inexperienced, and that you would like to have another year or so as pastor, before taking charge of a city church. . . . You have had a very good course of training, one much superior to that of any man whom we have ever had in the Baptist ministry among the colored folks of these provinces.[14]

Adding to Oliver's hesitancy was the depressed economic position of the Cornwallis Church. J. A. R. Kinney of the church board wrote: "The great trouble is this: The church is down very far financially--unpaid taxes and other accounts run quite high, and while I feel we can perhaps in a year's time bring her back, it will take a little time and a great deal of Hard Work."[15] Oliver was to prove equal to the economic ills of the church, and became a successful fund-raiser for the institution.

After his 1936 convocation from Acadia University, Oliver preached in rural churches before moving to Halifax.[16] He made a solid reputation as a student-minister. One of the first official references to Oliver was in the 1934 AUBA minutes which noted that Lic. Wm. Oliver addressed the convention " . . . and all were greatly impressed with his words."[17] The next year's minutes reported that "an overflowing house heard a very excellent sermon by Lic. Wm. Oliver who based his sermon . . . [on] those who received the talents and how they were used."[18] That sermon, like

his earlier thesis, signalled his life-long determination that the church must be aware of the economic difficulties of its people. The same minutes of the AUBA convention also noted: "The work of Lic. Wm. P. Oliver in Inglewood and Granville Ferry is most highly commended."[19]

His reputation was such that Kinney could write: "There is much enthusiasm from both races regarding your coming . . . [and] you will get good support from us."[20] The President of Acadia, F. W. Patterson, wrote:

> I am glad to know that Rev. W. P. Oliver has been asked to succeed the late Capt. White as the Minister of Cornwallis Street Church. I have known Mr. Oliver from boyhood and esteem him highly. He is of excellent character, sound judgement, good ability and should make a successful leader of this important Church.[21]

Superintendent Mason described Oliver as follows:

> This young man is well equipped for his important work. He is physically fit, he was reared in the atmosphere of Acadia University, was given the best the Town High School could give, and has added to that a full Arts Course followed by two years in Theology, securing thus his B.A., M.A., [sic] and B.D., degrees. He has thus received the best training any Minister of the Colored Churches in these Provinces has ever had.[22]

The Maritime Baptist said, in part:

> While he has not had a long experience in the pastorate, he possesses, in addition to his educational equipment the qualities which go to make a successful minister--sterling integrity, sound judgement, devotion to duty and a conciliatory spirit. Mrs. Oliver is also possessed of unusual gifts and personality and both are held in high esteem.[23]

Typical of the many letters from his rural, black congregations was the following letter from a Bridgetown resident: "By all accounts we will soon be losing you and regret it very much. But we feel very proud to think that you had such a call, as a young man, and we are very much pleased indeed."[24]

Oliver's potential was recognized by the AUBA whose 1936 minutes reported that "we are especially blessed, we feel in . . . [having] William P. Oliver . . . " in the organization.[25] Further encouragement came from the Halifax press: "The new pastor . . . comes well equipped to carry on the traditions of this old historic church which dates its service in Halifax since 1832. . . . "[26] Another press report added: " . . . although only just arrived in the city, [Oliver] is fast making friends, and the cordial reception tendered to him and Mrs. Oliver this week, is a test of honor and esteem in which they are held."[27]

With such encouragement young Oliver accepted the position. He then became identified with a large black population. Gone were the days of an isolated black youth in a white community. He became part of the non-white group, and part of the challenge to Anglo-Saxondom's values.[28]

Difficulties in Halifax

In a press interview Oliver reflected on his reception by white Haligonians:

> The first 25 years of my life were spent in a white community. . . . After graduation I came to Halifax and I got quite a bump. While in Wolfville I had forgotten that I was something different, that I was from Mars . . . but when I came to Halifax I walked into many stores and heard "Hello Sam." I got sick and tired of being talked down to. . . . I began to wonder if I was a man. . . .[29]

The white reception stunned and hurt the young Black from white Wolfville. He acknowledged that he was frustrated by the white reaction:

> Coming fresh from college with very little experience other than that gained in my home town, I found myself cast into an entirely new world. It was an ugly world with unnatural boundaries. In it there appeared to be nothing but despair, hopelessness, decay and darkness.[30]

The white clergy's response to Oliver slowly stung his professional pride:

> It took me a good many years to realize that I was not regarded as a Baptist Minister by the majority of my associates, but as a Negro Baptist Minister. It makes all the difference in the world when race or color takes precedence over your calling or profession.[31]

In the 1930's, Oliver claimed, it was assumed by Blacks and whites that black clergymen would lead black congregations.[32] (The 1934 AUBA convention said that " . . . it seems desirable that all the Churches of our Colored People

be in one body for the sake of our own unity. . . . "[33]) To his amusement and surprise Oliver often received telephone calls from whites asking: "Are we allowed to come to your church?"[34] He always welcomed white worshippers.

Another of the things that surprised the young minister was the extent of the geographic segregation of the Blacks in and near Halifax. Africville and the Maynard-Creighton Street areas (where Oliver at first lived) were such "segregated" areas in Halifax. Preston, Beechville, and Sackville, among others, were black settlements near Halifax-Dartmouth. Of such areas Oliver said: "The existence of neighborhoods or racial ghettos serve only to establish stereotypes that falsely label a minority as the inferior, and the majority as superior."[35]

Some of that majority disapproved of his use of negro spirituals. An examination of Oliver's early church programs shows an emphasis on negro spirituals. A typical 1939 service included the singing of "Deep River," and "Oh, who dat a comin overy yondah?"[36] He was proud of the heritage of negro spirituals, and found that they met a basic religious need of his congregation. Not without humor Oliver suggests that he cannot sing well:

> I recall doing a trip of one end of Prince Edward Island to the other and invariably white people would expect a black minister to be able to sing.

> I can remember I was young enough and crazy enough to attempt some singing. I only sing one line now and I leave it for the congregation to carry it.[37]

He resents and rejects the stereotype of the black man as "a happy, singing, banjo-playing individual."[38] With more quiet humor he adds that such an imaginary person at least would be without ulcers.[39] The importance of negro spirituals is discussed by Oliver:

> I think that music might be considered a value. Religious musical experience used to be a value until it became contaminated by the white man's religion. There was much of value in that concept of the hereafter, in the concept of life here, as expressed in Negro spirituals.[40]

As a young clergyman, Oliver said:

> The background of the Negro race is such that religious life became very prominent. Torn as they were from the land of their birth and forced under great cruelty to become a beast of burden, their only hope was in almighty God. As we read and sing some of the old spirituals we can catch a gleam of the load they carried in their hearts.[41]

More difficult than any white disagreement regarding spirituals was an incident involving Oliver's intended purchase of a home:

> This was a property advertised for sale on Windsor Street. . . . I went out one Saturday morning to see this house . . . a lady came to the door and then I indicated to her that I'd seen the property was advertised for sale. There was no price stated: I just came to look at the house and find out what the price was. She very quickly without answering any questions said: "We are asking $18,000, that's too much for you."[42]

More insidious was the subtle kind of discrimination experienced by Oliver in Halifax, as exemplified in the following:

> The white mistress would say to her black maid: "Well your daughter can come and work for my daughter for in a couple of years she will be old enough to do kitchen work." The white mistress would make that suggestion never thinking that the young person might wish to seek an education or a better position.[43]

A quarter of a century after his arrival at Cornwallis the Halifax press commented on the difference the young man found between his Wolfville and Halifax experiences:

> Mr. Oliver was born in Wolfville, and educated in its schools and at Acadia University. There was no segregation there, but acceptance and good will. Thus provided was a happier environment for a growing lad, and protection from attitudes which afflict a group living in a community limited to one race and one color.[44]

Such "protection" was not in evidence once the young man assumed a leadership role among Blacks living in the wider white society.

There was little protection for a more serious "bump" that faced Oliver during his later ministerial career. Although he claims that he does not take threats seriously, he has received unsigned letters which have threatened his life.[45] Such letters, he claims, were sent by white bigots who resented his support of Martin Luther King.[46]

His reception in Halifax was a mixture of happy and unhappy experiences. The unpleasant memories, it appears, are more often recalled by Oliver: "I spent my first 24 years in a white community. I had to learn a few things when I came to one of my own [black] communities. I now know both sides. Society had inferior and superior beings."[47]

Financial Concerns in Oliver's Ministry

Oliver stoutly believes that black people cannot best serve God in a land of bondage.[48] Here he refers directly to the economic plight of the black Nova Scotians. Throughout his twenty-five year career at Cornwallis, economics remained his constant concern:

> Sometimes the church is not aware of the needs of humanity because it has become too preoccupied with its own problems. . . . Many times the programme of the church is predominately one of raising funds, building buildings, to the point where there is very little energy on the part of the clergyman left to meet the human needs of the people. So often it becomes commercial and people lose that warmth and compassion that our Lord had for people. . . . One of the points of frustration in my ministry is the fact that if the black clergyman didn't take a direct interest in the . . . financial aspect of the churches, his whole work would fail.[49]

His church congregation of over one hundred[50] people faced a financial crisis. The City Collector forced Oliver's congregation to dig deep for finances: " . . . unless you

make immediate arrangements to pay up the overdue instalments, I shall be forced to recover this charge by offering the property for sale."[51]

Oliver believes that the ability of the church to meet its "deep commitments" is in direct proportion to the prosperity of its people. Real stewardship means financial sacrifice. He adds: "It is my belief that more people become defeated spiritually because of material frustration and economic failure than [those who] have succeeded to live comfortably."[52] Oliver's assessment of the difficulties facing Blacks is supported in a 1947 Halifax newspaper editorial:

> . . . the Negro is on the edge of the labor field, and that on the whole if he wants to live he must be content to do certain prescribed jobs, and only in the odd case does he get away from the edge of the field where his earning power can be increased and he in turn enabled to provide more of the essentials of life for his family.[53]

Under the young clergyman's leadership the mother church became debt-free in 1942. An education center (although it is a church hall, its name indicates its purpose) was completed in 1957. The Halifax press reported that "the dream of a new educational and community center . . . becomes a reality."[54] In 1956, Oliver conducted a fund-raising effort to pay for the center and $45,000 in pledges from one hundred and eighty-seven members was raised.[55] The impressive figure

may indicate Oliver's ability as a fund-raiser. When asked how an allegedly economically deprived group could raise such an amount he replied:

> This is a matter of people really making a sacrifice. They were prepared to make these sacrifices because probably for the first time they felt a pinch of strength and they felt they were benefiting from achieving. Too long they had been told you can't do this or you have to get somebody else to do this. You see, this whole thing started with thirty men and over a period of a couple of weeks of orientations, of meditation, prayer, they were committed. Through these thirty men we were able to enlist the support of the 187 people referred to.[56]

The fund-raising, said Oliver, "demonstrated . . . the need of the giver to give."[57]

The Board of Cornwallis Church recognized Oliver's leadership in the fund-raising campaign: "We are thankful for a number of large and unexpected donations. . . . This sort of support from the community speaks very highly for the leadership our Pastor is giving us."[58] Oliver was aware of the possible danger that the spiritual needs of his people might suffer because of his drive for material improvement of the church. Acknowledging that suspicion of any "rake-off" is "natural" in any disadvantaged community, Oliver stated:

> One of the most vulnerable, the more precarious things that a black leader has to be concerned with is the matter of money. To be under suspicion of any manipulation handicaps you. And one of the methods, procedures that I've always followed is

> prodigious reports, financial statements, even probably using techniques that the orthodox churches wouldn't use--posting the contribution list every quarter--so that everybody would see what's coming in and how it's being spent.[59]

Oliver's sermon to the 1942 AUBA conference summarized the importance he placed on financial and other participation. His sermon, "Faith Justified by Deeds,"[60] called for his people to live and practice their faith, not simply to believe in it. The church also had a secular role to play.

Twenty years later, when Oliver left Cornwallis Church to begin his full-time work with the Adult Education Branch[61] the financial picture had brightened for the AUBA:

> There are 22 churches serving approximately 55 per cent of the 13,000 Negroes in Nova Scotia. Ten clergymen serve the 22 churches. In 1962 the resident memberships were 1,569. We have $290,200.00 in church buildings, $51,580.00 in 6 parsonages. In 1962 we raised for all purposes $51,648.81--slightly over $2,300.00 per church or $30.00 per person.[62]

Cornwallis Church had also experienced financial success under Oliver's leadership. A 1962 church bulletin reported:

> $30,000 has been set up in Trust Funds and the income from same will be paid to this Church during all the years of its existence. Current giving of members has increased from $1,000 in 1937 to $14,000 in 1962. Value of property has increased from $13,500 to over $100,000.[63]

Oliver's stress on the economic well-being of Blacks has been mentioned. The tone of many of his speeches and

sermons intimated that Blacks must serve their God--but with full stomachs, equal opportunity, and with hope for the future. He has said that his people must become "Shareholders Of The Kingdom."[64]

Some of the blame for the church's financial difficulties, says Oliver, is found in the attitudes of the black community: "It is obvious that the Negro Community does not have the financial base or maybe the desire to adequately pay for the services of a fulltime ministry or some other agent. . . . "[65]

Secular Concerns

Oliver has not been content to deal only with the spiritual problems of his people. Their secular affairs--educational, economic, housing, and employment--have occupied much of his talent and time: "Someone might ask why all this should be of such concern to a clergyman, and I would attempt by saying this, 'A clergyman would not be troubled by it if he were content to preach a Gospel of escape rather than a Gospel of life. . . . '"[66] A good example of that secular facet of his ministry was his work in the Urban and Rural Life Committee of the AUBA. Oliver was chairman of that committee at its inception in 1949.

His rationale for the formation of the committee is

expressed in the following statement: " . . . the church cannot sit idly by while hosts who look to it for hope become buried deeper and deeper each day in despair and frustration."[67] Blacks, like other citizens, cannot ask for rights unless they are willing to accept responsibility for helping themselves. The committee, Oliver reported, was formed for three reasons:

> (1) because the Association is the most highly organized body among our people; (2) because there were social problems that urgently required a united approach on the part of our own people; and (3) it was felt that the church was morally obligated to give leadership to its people in matters of social change.[68]

The committee's purpose was to give the black churches' ministers and lay leaders a voice in matters of human rights and relations, housing, employment, and education. In an annual report to the committee, Oliver further outlined its philosophy and purpose:

> To really appreciate the action of the African [United] Baptist Association we must be absolutely unbiased in our observations of the progress made by our people during the past 135 years. We will have to be honest in our comparisons and admit wherein we ourselves have failed as a people. We must be courageous enough to refuse to accept any standards of the country where we live; we must endeavor to work on the basis of full citizenship as implied in a democratic Christian country with all the rights and responsibilities.[69]

The committee organized by Oliver hoped to be a voice for the thousands of Nova Scotian Blacks. Implied in the

following statement was that the church was not meeting the secular needs of its black members:

> Whereas the African [United] Baptist Association has a church in practically every Colored Community . . . , it has been felt that such a committee could render vital service to its people and to society in general. The creation of this committee does not imply that the churches have not been concerned over these problems, but is simply an effort to organize . . . in order that the many demands for leadership that have come from our various communities might be met without any reserves. . . . Such a committee brings into being a body which has the authority and the right to consider the problems of any of the Colored communities within the Association.[70]

A more critical assessment of the organization's role was presented by sociologists Clairmont and Magill:

> The African [United]Baptist Association and the local church leaders were looked upon, by the official societal power structure . . . as the representatives of the Black population. Official communiques were translated usually through the church leaders and it was through these leaders that White do-gooders entered the communities.[71]

Oliver would agree with those statements, especially in the light of his disenchantment with white, liberal "do-gooders;" yet as the clergyman he may have served, however unwittingly, the "societal power structure" mentioned above.

Oliver believed the organization was necessary because the state and church were failing to meet certain basic needs: "I realize that as a Baptist I am getting on controversial ground. However, it is quite obvious that the failure of either the church or state to be realistic about the

matter of true brotherhood . . . leaves the other open to criticism."[72]

Although Oliver was a strong supporter of the AUBA he has questioned its existence, and the possibility that the organization lead to separation of the races:

> The largest segregated institution [in Nova Scotia] that remains is the church. . . . Whereas other [church] Associations are organized on a geographic basis the AUBA is organized on the basis of race. . . . How can these differences exist in a society whose religious ideals affirm the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man?[73]

The reason why the AUBA must continue, according to Oliver, is because of the whites' attempt to keep the psychic and material advantages of racial prejudice without giving up a political creed which claims freedom and justice for all men, and a religious belief which affirms the equality of men.[74] The 1967 AUBA minutes said: "The philosophy of this Committee is such that it is not deluded by hand-outs that degrade, paternalism which is another form of discrimination, nor by false victories, that fail to make any real changes. . . . "[75] Oliver believes that black people suffering from discrimination and prejudice begin to question the validity of the churches' claims. Black and white Christians are getting further apart. Oliver believes that the church should be an institution which transcends race, but because of white attitudes it remains necessary to keep black churches

and the AUBA. Blacks can empathize with the black churches' purposes and leadership.

The whole question of separate identity for the AUBA was examined by its 1959 executive. Oliver noted that "those who sweated for the Association want to see it perpetuated."[76] He later added: "As long as there are Negro families living in isolated communities there is need for the Negro church and the AUBA."[77] In an angry statement Chairman Oliver noted:

> I support those members of our Association who claim they are going to hold on to the African [United] Baptist Association until they are sure of where they are going. I am not a racist or a separatist but with the breaking up of communities and the scattering of our people (integration they [whites] call it), I have seen too many forlorn, rejected, churchless people, to take any other position. . . . Until Negroes demand respect and dignity, even if they have to be aloof, the situation will never be any better--regardless of all the laws that may be passed.[78]

Oliver stressed the value of the AUBA to that organization's 1962 convention at New Glasgow: "The AUBA has been a most essential and vital organization in the life of our people throughout the years. It served as a unifying and identifying body; it has, . . . provided hope during the trying years of our history."[79] His assessment of the AUBA was supported by Clairmont and Magill: "The primary vehicle of Black unity has been the African [United] Baptist Association of Nova Scotia, formed in 1854."[80]

Oliver's support for the AUBA[81] and separate black churches was expanded in the following statement: "I have devoted my life to a ministry that has been mainly directed to members of my own race who I feel have been the victims of a social system that . . . has isolated, suppressed and kept them in a position of inferiority, socially, economically, and culturally."[82] He said that the position of the black man has historical reasons: "The stigma of slavery and color has kept them [Blacks] separated and unaccepted ever since the days of their original settlement in this province."[83] Solace and self-identity was found in a separate church organization.[84]

A 1964 newspaper headline, "Baptist Minister Attacks Negro Split Personality," featured Oliver's report to the 111th AUBA sessions:

> We as Negroes do not like ourselves. . . . Too often we play the schizophrenic role of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde--one character in the company of whites and another in the company of our own people. The split personality is a weak personality. . . . Basic Christian faith may eventually bring us to the day when . . . there will be no need for us assembling under a separate camp. However, until that day, let us take pride in ourselves and to the task that is before us.[85]

As former moderator of the AUBA, Oliver told the 1964 convention that the main problems facing the Blacks were education, employment, housing, and human relations. He discussed the Blacks' problems of discrimination, illegitimacy,

common-law marriages, lack of hope, and migration to other parts of Canada.[86] He claimed that self-pride and self-awareness were necessary before the black man could help himself. The AUBA, he concluded, was an organization that could help encourage those attributes. He told the AUBA leaders: "As churchmen, we have been excusing our apathy toward social problems by saying [these problems] . . . are not the business of the church."[87]

Oliver recognizes that the black clergy must become more involved in secular matters, and must become a "more aggressive, militant force in society."[88] He concludes that "there must be a spiritual commitment beyond the realm of professionalism that sends one out to see the poor whether they be across the track or across the sea."[89] He warns that the act of helping people must not rob the recipients of self-esteem:

> Too often we emphasize what man owes to God . . . but fail to emphasize what Christians owe to all men. . . . The Church must be able to identify with the needy. . . . Because the poor are deprived of influence politically and economically, a strategy of disruption has developed. . . . This is why many well intentioned programs of social action have been unable to get off the ground. There is still pride which says, "I prefer to have less and thereby maintain dignity and independence."[90]

He acknowledges that there are critics who challenge the church's role in secular activities: "One is amused

and at the same time alarmed by the often repeated question, 'Why doesn't the Church run its own business and stop telling people what to do?' Such expressions emanate from an ignorance of the role of the Christian church in society."[91] Yet when in difficulty those same critics, says Oliver, ask why the church has not done anything about such secular difficulties. He concludes that such people want to "have their cake and eat it too."[92]

Support for Oliver's involvement in social concerns comes from Marvin Schiff, the province's Human Rights Coordinator. Schiff believes that churches are like any other organizations--they have a social responsibility. He adds that "it is time for the clergy to become actively engaged socially and politically in presenting a united front against discrimination. . . . "[93] Joseph Drummond, a prominent black spokesman from New Brunswick, adds: "I am also concerned about the role of the churches in fighting discrimination. . . . The Mormons reaffirmed their doctrine of the inferiority of Blacks. No [Maritime] voice was heard against this."[94] The well-known Halifax black spokesman, Buddy Daye, among others, agrees with Oliver's concern with society's ills: "I would like to see all churches, all faiths become more vocal and actively engaged in the struggle to get rid of the prejudiced attitudes that exist among their church

members."[95]

In spite of his attempts to clarify issues and to improve the situation facing Blacks, Oliver intimates that progress has been painfully slow. Apathy by whites and Blacks appears to him as one difficulty. In a moment of despondency Oliver reported to the Rural and Urban Life Committee of the AUBA: "There is not much point of us coming here year after year appointing Committees, if we never use them; and permit social scientists and psychologists to move in and break up the power structure of our communities--more than that--our Association as a whole."[96] Another disappointment for Oliver was described as follows:

> Probably the greatest disappointment in the AUBA was the fact that the Home Missions Board of Convention would not support or encourage the objectives of the Rural and Urban Life Committee. . . . I realize that this was well ahead of the times, but it represents what we are now doing in the BUF.[97]

In spite of the lack of support, Oliver and his committee continued to function. The committee did provide considerable cohesiveness in the black community. Clairmont and Magill agreed with Oliver that black church leaders were in a position to conserve and enrich any distinctive black subculture in the province.[98] In its secular work, however, the AUBA was slow to bring concrete changes. It did provide a forum for black leaders' discussions. Yet

these questions come to mind: How many white leaders were listening? Were they prepared to meet the demands for change? Oliver's efforts in the NSAACP and BUF[99] indicate that to him, at least, more "teeth" were necessary in any black organization. The AUBA and its member churches lacked bite. Winks added his assessment of the black churches of the 1960's:

> The black Baptist churches did give Blacks inspiration but basically they were ineffective in meeting the major problems--partially because they did not see those problems in terms of future goals so much as in terms of immediate needs, and partially because their solutions too often arose from the oldest method of all: solving a problem by failure.[100]

In retrospect Oliver acknowledged that during the early years of his ministry " . . . it could very well be that the church was meeting more of a social need than a spiritual and moral need."[101] Oliver's sentiments were supported by Rev. H. L. Mitton, his successor as Moderator of the Baptist Convention of the Atlantic Provinces:

> The minister in many churches today is regarded . . . not so much as a man of God but as a business executive, a fund raiser, a promoter. The church is a redeemed community, but it is also a redeeming community in a world of politics, education, and entertainment. Pray that you may so vitally affect your church and community that the church will not become an institution but an instrument of God.[102]

In retrospect Oliver claimed that he had to be too many things for too many people.

A Critic of the Church

Oliver, the crusading clergyman, has not hesitated to criticize the white Christian church:

> [White] Christians may be quite fundamental about the reality of God and insist upon the literal interpretation of His word, but refuse to acknowledge the brotherhood of man. The white Christian says to the black Christian: "YOU MAY BE MY BROTHER-IN-CHRIST, BUT YOU WILL CERTAINLY NEVER BE MY BROTHER-IN-LAW."[103]

For years Oliver has been confused by the attitudes of white Christians who have used religion to reinforce their feelings, even though this requires them to distort the faith and beliefs of the church. While warning that the church must not become infected by the ills of society, Oliver notes with regret that "the greatest wounds can be affected in those places where one expects to find healing."[104] He believes that when one enters into thoughtful fellowship with people who share a common faith and a common commitment, healing should begin to overcome insecurity; and the need for prejudice should disappear.

Black people often look to the churches to solve racial problems. Oliver feels that the church has a problem to solve within itself before it can be effective in solving the racial problem. As keynote speaker to the 1959 Baptist Young Peoples' Union of Ontario and Quebec, Oliver told the

seven hundred delegates of "Christian double talk":

> . . . many Christians substitute sophistication for graciousness, flattery for praise, tolerance for love. Toleration too often is nothing more than indifference--a cold lifeless feeling. Toleration is not enough, . . . it only means we will endure a situation, that we will put up with it. It does not mean that we like it or intend to do anything about it.[105]

For Oliver "the Gospel of Christ cannot be fulfilled in an atmosphere of arrogance, pride or superiority."[106] White Christians, he states, must examine themselves: "Through the process of introspection the white church should help its people to re-examine the past, and face up to the issues of prejudice, discrimination and bigotry. The bigot should not be able to be comfortable and self-satisfied within the true Christian fellowship."[107] Oliver says: "In our Christian democracy, even though all men have the right to justice, such has not been practised."[108]

Church leaders also come under Oliver's attack:

> If [white] religious leaders fail to see the injustices of a social system that professes to be based upon democratic principles, and yet fails to make an effort to provide the benefits of democracy for all its people, our high sounding pleas for better understanding and international peace become as 'sounding brass and tinkling cymbols.'[109]

Some of those church leaders who have been criticized by Oliver have made recent public statements concerning the province's racial problems. Most Rev. W. W. Davis, Anglican

Bishop, told the two hundred and eighty delegates attending the 97th session of the Diocesan Synod in Halifax that racial discrimination is evident "in our minds and hearts."[110] Stronger words come from Rev. Lucius Walker of Halifax who stated that the community has similarities to the deep South. He added: " . . . I refer it to Halifax-Mississippi . . . in that it has . . . the same characteristics of depression, repression, and oppression."[111] Most Rev. James M. Hayes, Archbishop of Halifax, noted: "I am not satisfied myself with the efforts of the Roman Catholic Church in this [racial] matter."[112] He stated that white apathy toward Blacks was a large problem. Rev. George S. McGray of Halifax agreed with Hayes, and suggested that "non-attenders" are the worse offenders because they do not want to hear about their social responsibilities. McGray stated that churches could afford to do little but examine the local "Negro problem." He concluded: "Perhaps the Negro's biggest problem is himself because he creates an ingrown community. They have lived in this type of society for so long that they have become stagnated."[113] Rabbi Daniel Levine of Beth Israel Synagogue of Halifax said that the Jewish community had provided jobs, financial aid, and moral support to the black community. Levine stated that Blacks should be granted economic concessions so as to rebuild their communities.[114]

Rabbi Moshe Wallach of Shaar Shalom Synagogue said: "The Jewish community is prepared to participate in an active way to help improve the Blacks man's lot."[115]

Further study may indicate just how representative are the above views. Whites may "see the injustices," to use Oliver's words. Words are not enough; they can become "sounding brass and tinkling cymbols." Yet the statements indicate that some white clergymen do recognize the problem of discrimination. The clergymen are concerned. It remains to be seen if their congregations are fully prepared to welcome Blacks as "Brothers-In-Christ," to use another of Oliver's terms.

As Oliver suggests, for Blacks to become "Brothers-In-Law" is quite another question. In a 1966 survey seven of eleven Halifax-Dartmouth clergymen stated that interracial marriages "should be accepted but not necessarily encouraged."[116] (This is also Oliver's viewpoint.) Three of the clergymen disagreed because of the "strain" such marriages would place on the children. Rev. James Stahl of the Full Gospel Church was quoted as saying: "The Bible teaches God made us separate in race . . . I can't see why they should be united."[117]

Oliver wonders whether the Christian faith is specific enough in dealing with race relations. He does reject any

claim that the Bible endorses slavery, and he sharply disagrees with the statement in Gunnar Mrydal's monumental work, An American Dilemma: "The Bible nowhere condemns, and throughout recognizes slavery."[118] Oliver finds slavery inconsistent with God's plan for man. He finds a paradox in that the most prejudiced and the less prejudiced are to be found in the white Christian church.

According to Oliver, the role of the church can be paradoxical in that it makes and unmakes prejudice. Church-goers are more prejudiced and less prejudiced than the average. Participation in church affairs is correlated with the prevailing prejudices. It is likely that church members are more prejudiced than non-church members. Those who occasionally go to church are a little more prejudiced than those who never go. Those who go often are still more prejudiced. The more people participate in the church, the more they share in the prejudices of the community--up to a point. Then the pattern reverses as sustained and thoughtful participation changes such beliefs. A reshaping of thought takes place and the pattern is broken. Oliver explains that set of circumstances by the fact that many people attend church as "the thing to do." They are conformists so they share the community's prejudices more than the non-conformists who stay away from church. Increased conformity, increased church attendance,

and increased prejudice may all go together. As mentioned, the pattern eventually reverses itself after the individual has experienced "sustained and thoughtful participation."[119]

Oliver believes that "thoughtful participation" must become part of Christian practice. Christianity can become the religion of an intelligent, thoughtful individual:

> Some despise religion . . . assuming quite wrongly that if they associate themselves with the church they will have to leave their powers of reason and intellect outside, and become subject to a purely emotional appeal. . . . How much suffering has come to this world because intelligence and knowledge have been divorced from religion! . . . Failure in no small measure has been due to the refusal of her members to exercise their powers of thought and reasoning . . . to discover God's will and purpose for the world.[120]

In his criticism of the church, it must be noted, Oliver attacks not the Christian faith but rather the action of so-called Christian leaders and followers. He also disagrees with those who consider Christianity as a religion only for the downtrodden:

> Those who ridicule Christianity often refer to it as a religion for the downcast, the afflicted, the aged and the infirm, the weary and the weak. This it is and always has been . . . whilst Christianity serves the weak it calls into its service the strong, and gives life to all. Let us then think of it as a religion for the strong. . . . Christianity arouses in us a consciousness of our nobility and worth.[121]

The hypocrisy of some Christians is challenged by Oliver: "People from other lands come to Canada and see

the discrepancy between the gospel proclaimed by the white missionaries and what they experienced after visiting our country."[122] Canadian Christians often do not practise what their church preaches. He believes that true brotherhood is a scarce commodity in Canada: " . . . man by nature is a friendly creature and likes the idea of brotherliness, but there are always barriers, traditions, conventions which frighten him and [thus] he acts in a manner contrary to his own nature. He wants to be brotherly but he wants it on his own terms."[123] He concludes that "we are only giving lip service if we fail to look within our souls, and acknowledge our own personal failures in the matter of our relations man to man."[124]

In his criticism of the church Oliver has not excluded the black congregations and their leadership. His whole ministry was an attempt to inspire and produce black leadership. He stated that "congregations lose a great deal when they have to admit that they are unable to provide leadership for their own [black] churches."[125] Oliver added that university education for black clergymen is necessary so " . . . the leaders of our communities in the years to come will be able to keep up with the progress and competition of the modern world."[126] He suggested that the black clergy has made a strong attempt to encourage education among

Blacks:

> The [modern] Negro church in Nova Scotia has always emphasized the importance of education. Many of the first [black] teachers were the sons and daughters of Colored clergymen. Ministers recognized the need first for the practical reason of having functional officers and teachers within the church. Eventually Church people became conscious of the importance of having educated as well as Godly men in their pulpits. . . .[127]

When writing in 1963 to R. E. Whitney of the Home Missions Board, Oliver noted that in the previous two decades all black ministers came from white congregations with the exception of the four individuals who came from the Cornwallis Church. (To 1954 three of the nine pastors at Cornwallis Church were recruited from the United States.[128]) Black congregations were failing to provide self-leadership. In the Whitney letter Oliver added:

> I fully realize that [black] masses are easily influenced, and whether the effort to isolate our people further is successful will depend upon the leadership we place in our churches. . . . I note too, that most effective lay workers are from Negro congregations that had, at sometime, white leadership. This is not a racial factor but a cultural and sociological one.[129]

He told the AUBA that the black man too often "fawns and caters" to the white man[130]--a practise that disgusts him.

Certainly Oliver attempted to provide leadership in church affairs. He was President of the Halifax-Dartmouth Ministerial Association in 1956. The officials of the AUBA credited Oliver in 1948 with another "first":

> We wish to take cognizance of the honour conferred upon . . . Rev. W. P. Oliver and his choir in conducting the Coast to Coast service, 'Church of the Air,' on July 4th. This message being the first time in history for a coloured pastor and his choir to bring the message to the Nation we feel that our race and Association was honoured.[131]

For eighteen years he was clerk and compiler for the AUBA,[132] and he was elected as Moderator of that organization in 1962. Two years earlier he was chosen President of the Maritime United Baptist Convention. One Halifax press release entitled "Notable Appointment" said, in part:

> Oliver, . . . was accorded the highest honor which his denomination is empowered to bestow. Almost seven hundred delegates from all parts of the Maritime Provinces and Newfoundland, elected Mr. Oliver. . . . There are no less than two factors which render the appointment significant. In the first place, he was chosen on the first ballot, an occurrence unique in contemporary memory. That such could happen is a tribute to Mr. Oliver's abilities and an expression of the confidence which the people of his communion have in him. Again, the selection is noteworthy because the new president is a member of the colored race. . . . During his ministry in Halifax, Mr. Oliver has earned acclaim both for his work as a clergyman and for his devoted efforts on behalf of the colored citizens . . . he has given of himself tirelessly in endeavors for the advancement of that ethnic group within our society. . . .[133]

Oliver's wife called the election "Bill's greatest honor."[134] The Maritime Baptist reported that it was a most popular election and " . . . a well merited tribute to someone who had deserved it."[135]

Chaplaincy

Oliver supplied spiritual leadership to the three armed forces during World War II. Customarily chaplains were appointed to one or the other of the forces but in Oliver's case an exception was made. As Honorary Captain, wearing an army uniform, he served the spiritual needs of Blacks of all denominations from 1940 to 1945. He was attached to Military District Number Six from which he operated three and one half days a week--in addition to his regular duties at Cornwallis Church. Of Oliver's appointment as Chaplain the President of the Colored Citizens Improvement League, B. A. Husbands, said:

> . . . [It] is striking evidence of the increasing role the colored people in this district are playing in the fight for freedom. . . . The appointment was well chosen. Rev. Mr. Oliver has become increasingly popular with both service personnel including the merchant marine and civilians since he came here a few years ago. . . .[136]

Oliver was only one Black who showed strong support for the Canadian war effort. The AUBA shared in the wartime nationalism and fervour. In 1940 the following resolution was passed: "The African [United] Baptist Association sincerely commend the stand taken by the British Empire in its strong efforts for the protection of justice, freedom and liberty; and, that Christianity and all that it implies may not be overthrown by the forces of evil."[137] Two years

later a further resolution was passed by the AUBA: "With our country at war we would suggest that every effort be made to make our people conscious of the seriousness of the times, and would further suggest that the National Anthem be sung at the close of one of the Lord's Day Services."[138]

Oliver's wartime chaplaincy gave him further insight into the problem of race relations. Under the stress of war, he noted, men tend to "forget" differences in race, creed and color simply because of mutual need.[139] He found a minimum amount of discrimination in the integrated forces of Canada. A Globe and Mail editorial supported Oliver's viewpoint.

> The war did an educational job . . . Negro servicemen fought in the Canadian forces along with other Canadians, and Negroes worked on the home front side by side with their compatriots. As a result an attitude of acceptance of the Negro came to prevail in Canada to a degree that had not existed before.[140]

Robin W. Winks wrote that the war improved the Blacks' position. Although there was initial hesitancy to accept black volunteers, " . . . as the war continued blacks were accepted as equals into both the regular army and the office corps. . . . "[141] Winks concluded: "Thus, the total impact of World War II was an educational one for white and black, bettering the status of the Negro worker--in and out of uniform. . . . "[142]

In spite of Winks' assertion that the war brought improvement to Blacks, two events related to the war effort must be noted: Oliver, a black man preached to black servicemen; and in Halifax and Montreal black branches of the Canadian Legion were established. The war also helped to underline, in one sense, the social distance between Blacks and whites.

Oliver learned from those servicemen that they expected a better life after the war: " . . . we used to have Padre's Hour--a discussion period. I met with Colored Personnel on boats, on gun sights, in the barracks and mess halls, [and] . . . the discussion invariably went to what can be done to make a better life after the war was over."[143]

He stated that the optimism of the black veterans was misplaced:

> . . . they had served their country in the time of crisis, they had travelled widely, and obtained new ideas, and were eager to execute them. The return to civilian life brought them many disappointments. They found that they did not have equal opportunity for employment, . . . nor did they have equitable access to the resources of the country.[144]

Oliver's opinion was supported by Clairmont and Magill who stated that white prejudice was especially great after World War II.[145]

The black realization that post-war Canada was not providing social and economic equality helped lead Oliver

to form the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Colored People.[146] In 1945 he said that Blacks must continue to use their "fighting spirit": "[It is a] Christain duty to fight against forces which foster religious and racial hatred, and that the Negro must fight these forces with the same intensity as he showed as a soldier in battle."[147]

Captain Oliver's concern went beyond the problems of the black servicemen. The wartime removal of Japanese-Canadians from British Columbia brought a response from him which succinctly expresses his views on racism in Canada:

> The question of whether the Japanese whould be allowed to return to B.C. after the war is just one part of the great racial problem that will confront postwar Canada and as such must be faced with a view to the future. Therefore it is my opinion that Canadian born Japanese should be free to take their place in B.C. . . . Canada cannot afford to make discrimination on the basis of ancestry. Any attempt to deny the Japanese the right to return to B.C. or to ship them back to Japan would be discrimination purely on the basis of ancestry and thus make us guilty of those things that we have contended were wrong in the Nazi policy. We must remember that the Canadians who are giving their lives in battle are doing so, not for any particular racial group in Canada, but for all Canadians. . . .[148]

He also participated in the activities of an organization called "The Canadian Friends of the USSR." That group raised funds to buy medical supplies which were sent to the Russian allies.[149]

Oliver looks back to his chaplaincy with mixed emotions. He was shocked to note that in all the official messages

recognizing the gallantry of Canadian servicemen, recognition was given to every Canadian ethnic group except Blacks. Part of his duties as chaplain was to console the black families who had sons and fathers killed during the war. He found little justice in such situations.

During the war Oliver unsuccessfully attempted to discover the number of Blacks serving in the armed forces. He was told by military authorities that no such information was available.

After the war Oliver applied for and received his Canadian Citizenship Certificate which described him as follows: "Color-white; Complexion-Brown."[150] He concluded that two extremes were involved: rigid segregation and absolute disregard. To him the certificate inferred that Blacks did not exist--in spite of their war effort.[151] This experience made Oliver realize that a black organization was necessary to improve the image of the black man.

Nearly twenty years after the war Oliver reflected on changes which had taken place among some Blacks:

> . . . a Negro middle class has developed since the last war. They now have aspirations, and a desire not to be classified as a group. . . . Some who become better off want to forget entirely that they came from Negro communities. Some middle class Negroes appear to have no concern at all for their not so fortunate counterparts [and] . . . tend to reject their former communities.[152]

Cornwallis Concluded

From 1950 to 1962 Oliver worked on a part-time basis with the Adult Education Branch of the Department of Education. In 1962 he left his full-time ministry at Cornwallis and began his new career as an adult educator.

The decision to leave Cornwallis after a quarter century's service was a difficult but understandable one. He loved the mother church; he had made many friends there and was proud of the church's heritage. He summarized his twenty-five years at Cornwallis:

> I feel that the successes in the church are difficult to identify. . . . In 1937 the church was heavily in debt, and the membership consisted of a few older families. In 1962, when I resigned, the membership had increased five fold, every age group was organized, they had remodelled the church extensively, built a community center and paid the eighty-six thousand dollar loan in six years, four years ahead of the contracted time. A substantial reserve fund had been built up through bequests.[153]

His education interests with the AUBA and the NSAACP[154] had whetted his appetite for the adult education field. His work in those organizations had shown him that perhaps more could be done for his people through education. In retrospect, his gradual and growing interest in education makes his 1962 decision appear as a natural turn of events. Greater financial reward in the Department of Education was not the deciding factor.[155] It can be said that to change

professions at the age of fifty required courage and optimism.

A 1962 Halifax editorial called "An Outstanding Career of Service" spoke of Oliver's diligence and devotion to a wide range of projects.[156] The editorial referred to his "severance of such a long established bond" at Cornwallis.[157]

The African United Baptist Association passed two resolutions which honored Oliver upon his retirement from Cornwallis. The first resolution acknowledged his leadership efforts;[158] and the second asked black Baptists to support him in his adult education career.[159]

Further accolades came from Senator Gordon B. Isnor who spoke of Oliver's splendid achievement. Isnor added: " . . . I was pleased to know that you and Mrs. Oliver would be entering a field which would provide a wider scope for you among the colored people of Nova Scotia."[160] Rev. William Wallace Davis, Bishop Coadjutor of Halifax's Anglican Diocesan Center, wrote: "Because of your long and distinguished service in our City you are held in high regard by our people. . . . "[161]

After twenty-five years Oliver could look back to a period of growth and development within the church. As outlined above, Oliver too had changed. Both his flexibility and determination led him to a career with the Adult

Education Branch where he had wider opportunity to effect changes through education for Nova Scotian Blacks.

His attempts to organize black congregations and to crystallize issues have been noted. Slowly his concept of leadership evolved. By the late 1950's he displayed less readiness to acquiesce to what he considered "white Anglo-Saxon values," and he became a lucid critic of the social system in which his church and people existed. His determination to help the Blacks led him to sever his connections with Cornwallis Church, and to begin a new full-time career.

By 1962 Oliver had achieved a quiet confidence in himself, and an understanding of what he considered to be the major problems facing his people. He felt a sense of responsibility; he knew the difficulties facing his people. In that sense, E. Franklin Frazier's comments in Black Bourgeoisie could be applied to Oliver:

> Many individuals among the first generation of educated Negroes . . . had a sense of responsibility toward the Negro masses to overcome the handicaps of ignorance and poverty. Their influence over the masses was limited, to be sure--not, however, because of any lack of devotion on their part, but because of the control exercised by the white community.[162]

Oliver's Theological Beliefs and Practices

Oliver speaks against those who would offer substitutes for the love of Christ. He believes that Jesus' plan for

mankind is a universal one: The centralization around one God.[163] All men are children of God whose son, Jesus, is the savior of mankind. Oliver basically accepts "A Baptist Declaration of Faith" whose tenets are:

1. Baptists have been and continue to be a people of the Bible.
2. God is the creator of all things, and has benevolent purposes for all men. He has unveiled His redeeming purpose and has put it into operation through the atoning work of Jesus and by the power of the Holy Spirit.
3. Every man is competent to stand before God in his own right without means of any human mediator. God created man in His own image, and Christ died for all men.
4. Man is responsible before God. By nature and practice man is a sinner. He can repent, pray, confess his sins, and receive God's forgiveness through Jesus Christ.
5. Salvation is wholly by grace through faith apart from any work of man. Salvation is the gift of God wrought in the atoning death and resurrection of Jesus Christ.
6. Man has the right to be free. The church and state have their respective places in the purpose of God.
7. Baptists declare a spiritual gospel that is relevant to modern man in every aspect of his life. Social sin is the sum total of individual sins. The problem of race is but one of many moral and social problems which beset this generation.
8. Christian men and women should be the conscience of the social order. Baptists deplore any attitude or act that degrades human personality, or denies to any man the right to the blessings of God.
9. Baptists declare their love for all men. Because of their understanding of God's truth, they maintain their own identity. They extend the hand of brotherly cooperation to all who love the Lord Jesus Christ.[164]

Oliver's ministry does not appear totally consistent

with the above mentioned fifth point. His belief that the church has responsibility outside the institution implies that, to him, salvation demands service both to God and to man. He told the 1962 AUBA delegates: "Over and above the sponsoring of the religious program, an effort has been made to meet the needs of our people on all fronts--socially, economically, and educationally."[165]

Baptists compose a Protestant denomination of Christians who hold that baptism is only for believers and only by immersion. They reject the practice of infant baptism on the ground that initiation into the fellowship of Christians should be confined to those who make a profession of Christian belief, of which infants are incapable. They hold that the only mode of baptism authorized by Scriptures is immersion. (At Cherrybrook in 1951 Oliver baptized sixty-five persons in the largest such ceremony known to black Canadians.[166])

Black Nova Scotian Baptists have defined the word "Christian Church":

> A Christian Church is a Company of regenerated persons, Baptised on a profession of faith in Christ, United in covenant for worship, instruction, and the observance of Christian Ordinances of such service as the gospel requires; recognizing and accepting Christ as their supreme Lord and Law Giver, and taking His word as their only and sufficient rule of faith and practice in all matters of conscience and religion.[167]

The following AUBA resolution further outlined the organization's practices--practices in which Oliver believes:

> We . . . believe that all African United Baptist should conform to the high standard set by the United Baptist convention in the raising of finance for the carrying on of the objects of the work and that no methods of a gambling nature or the appearance of gambling shall be used; such as: Drawings, Lotteries, Pools or Games of chance of any description. We believe that no home-made Beers and Brewed Beers should be sold or Dances carried on or promoted, in the name of any of the Associated Churches or any departments operating under the name or in the name of the Church; nor anything of any nature that is deemed illegal and covered by the criminal Code of the Dominion of Canada, or frowned upon by the Lord's Day Alliance.[168]

It must be noted that the AUBA philosophy is basically consistent with that of the Maritime Baptist Union. (The AUBA joined the larger group in 1904.) It is further noted that the AUBA and Oliver believe in the separation of state and church responsibilities and power.

As mentioned, Oliver's ministry has been both socially and spiritually oriented. He said that "the white Baptist Church is theologically fundamental. . . . The concern has been for what goes on within the church fellowship and disregarding what happens in society."[169] Oliver claimed the black Baptist church has been more socially conscious than its white counterpart.

Today Oliver states that the white Atlantic Baptist Convention has become extremely reactionary and fundamental

in its position. He adds: "I believe in the social gospel, and feel that it is a more accurate interpretation of the Ministry of Christ."[170] In an apparent contradiction, he continues: "It is true that in the main I concur with the theology of the right wing of the non-Black Church . . . and that wing is a minority which cannot fully comprehend the spiritual needs of their Black brethren."[171] Furthermore, if Oliver believes in the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God, then it follows that his white brethren should be able to comprehend the spiritual needs (if not other needs) of Blacks. Oliver is unclear as to what special spiritual needs Blacks alone require.

Oliver claims that the right wing (with whose approach he partially agrees), "in an effort to become sophisticated and liturgical, has omitted 'SOUL' from their religion."[172] He says that "soul" is an essential feature of worship in the most effective black churches. Oliver is unclear as to the meaning of "soul." It is true that he has used "negro" spirituals in his ministry but that practice hardly meets the full definition of "soul."[173] Some younger Blacks and Oliver sometimes address other Blacks as "soul brothers" or "soul sisters." In Halifax and in other areas of the province, Blacks refer to "soul" food and "soul" music. Oliver

does not have a definition of the word "soul."

There is evidence that historically "soul" was not characteristic of black Baptist churches in the province, and that those churches' practices were not unlike that of white Baptists.[174] For example, Rev. W. R. Boone came to the Cornwallis Church in 1880 from the United States, but left after one year because he found church customs in Halifax so different from those he had earlier experienced.[175] Mackerrow noted that spirituals and songs composed during the American slavery period sounded quaint to black Nova Scotians in the 1890's.[176] The 1931 study by Arthur H. Fauset, Folklore From Nova Scotia, concluded that black Nova Scotians knew little or nothing about the black folk-tales common to the South. Fauset said that the province's Blacks shared with whites the same folk-tales.[177] Clairmont and Magill added: " . . . with a few notable exceptions, Black Nova Scotian churches have not been known as repositories for 'soul' in the fashion of American Black congregations."[178]

In spite of Oliver's insistence that there are differences between black and white Baptist ministers, those differences appear to be superficial. One would be hard pressed to differentiate sharply between the theological stance of the two Baptist churches.

In commenting upon two of his successors at Cornwallis Church, he said: "I don't believe that Coleman and I differ very much in theology or message."[179] He wrote that Mack " . . . endeavors to accommodate the left wing of the Atlantic Baptist Convention."[180]

Oliver's theological beliefs and practices, not unlike those of many white Baptists, can be summarized as follows: A belief in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man; entry into Heaven does not require social and economic deprivation on earth; hypocrisy within the Christian Church needs to be condemned; his assertion that real stewardship demands commitment and sacrifice; the church has a secular role to play in society; man owes a debt to man as well as to God; a quantity of faith and emotion in church services need not be at the expense of intellectual content. In short, he generally accepts "A Baptist Declaration of Faith," already mentioned.

Oliver acknowledges that the black church may contain weaknesses; he demands that black clergymen by both educated and Godly; he wonders if Christianity is specific enough in matter of race relations; he believes that slavery is alien to Christian belief; he suggests that the church can be a source of racial prejudice; and he is adamant that Christianity can be a religion for the

powerful as well as the downtrodden.

He does admit that the black tradition in Nova Scotia has been one of "humbleness, honesty, and sincerity."[181] In the case of the black Nova Scotian, Christianity has been a faith for the downtrodden. "Time and again the Negro has been told to cast his burdens upon the Lord, and cast he does Sunday after Sunday,"[182] in spite of Oliver's insistence that Christianity is also a faith for the strong.

FOOTNOTES

1. Based on the list of black clergymen who have served Cornwallis Church in "125th Anniversary Services of the Cornwallis Street United Baptist Church," Souvenir Program, Halifax, March 24-29, 1957, and W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 12, 1970. Preston served the church from 1832 to 1861. Ibid.

2. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 26, 1970.

3. Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 87. The authors waver somewhat in their discussion of black subculture in the province: " . . . a significant, distinctive, Black Nova Scotian subculture does not appear to have taken shape over the past two hundred years." Ibid., 136.

4. Oliver Papers, "The Nova Scotia Negro," Halifax, ca. 1953. For similar sentiments concerning American black churches, see John H. Bracey, Americans: Selected Documents (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Incl, 1972), 579.

5. Based on Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 115. They suggest such leadership had little chance to bring about change: "While the church provided essential services . . . limitations imposed by deprivation and ideology restricted its effectiveness for social change." Ibid., 88.

6. Oliver Papers, "Home Missions and the African Baptist Association of Nova Scotia," Halifax, ca. 1953. See letter from student to Mrs. L. Jefferson, November 5, 1934 for an example of a young Black's religious faith. Ibid.

7. Ibid., "The Negro in Nova Scotia, 1686-1967," Halifax, 1967.

8. Ibid., "The Negro in Nova Scotia, Yesterday-Today," Halifax, ca. 1965.

9. Ibid., "Trends in the Life and Thought of the Nova Scotia Negro," Halifax, ca. 1962.

10. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 414.

11. The AUBA minutes said of White: "Died, September 9, 1936--after some 36 years of vigorous and fruitful ministry. Rev. W. A. White D.D. passed away leaving the legacy of a crowded life spent in unselfish service to advance the welfare of the Colored People of this province." Minutes of AUBA, 83rd Sessions, Preston, September 5-8, 1936, 35. Another prominent black Baptist minister was the energetic organizer and evangelist, Wellington States (1877-1927) of New Glasgow. States and White were the leading black Baptists of the inter-war period.

12. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 12, 1970. Clifford Oliver's second wife was the daughter of Rev. W. A. White.

13. See supra, 112-15 for discussion of Pearleen Oliver.

14. Letter from E. S. Mason, Superintendent of the United Baptist Association of the Maritime Provinces, to W. P. Oliver, February 24, 1937.

15. Letter from J. A. R. Kinney to W. P. Oliver, February 22, 1937. Kinney was Superintendent and a founder of The Nova Scotian Home for Colored Children, an institution in operation since 1919. Hard work indeed was the order of the day. For example, in 1939 Oliver made 656 pastoral visits, officiated at 18 funerals and 32 weddings, dedicated 11 infants, made 43 hospital calls, and arranged 235 employment opportunities. "The Annual Fall Rally of the Cornwallis Street United Baptist Church: Program," ca. January, 1940.

16. Oliver preached at Inglewood, Windsor Plains, and North Shore Mission before coming to Halifax. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 13, 1970.

17. Minutes of AUBA, 81st Sessions, Halifax, August 17-20, 1934, 7.

18. Ibid., 82nd Sessions, Weymouth Falls, August 16-19, 1935, 21.

19. Ibid., 28.

20. Letter from J. A. R. Kinney to W. P. Oliver, February 22, 1937.

21. Reprinted in "Cornwallis Street United Baptist Church Program," Halifax, May 2, 1937.

22. Ibid. Mason was partially incorrect. Oliver did not earn an M.A. degree.

23. The Maritime Baptist, March 10, 1937.

24. Letter from Mrs. E. Mitchell to W. P. Oliver, March 29, 1937.

25. Minutes of AUBA, 83rd Sessions, Preston, September 5-8, 1936, 46.

26. The Mail-Star, ca. March, 1937.

27. Ibid.

28. See supra, Chap. II for a discussion of such values.

29. The Mail-Star, October 17, 1963. In an interview Oliver recalled an incident which took place early in his ministry: "I recall very vividly having been on a visit to Guysborough with three or four other clergymen and on our return we stopped at a restaurant in New Glasgow to have a meal. It was quite late at night and I remember sitting there, we sat there for considerable time, and finally the little waitress began to burst into tears and began to sob: 'Oh, I'm sorry, I can't serve you.' . . . We asked to see the manager and he was hiding in the kitchen and wouldn't come out. So we left." W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 13, 1970.

30. Oliver Papers, "Self-Help in the Colored Communities of Nova Scotia," Halifax, ca. 1950.

31. The Mail-Star, February 19, 1968.

32. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 13, 1970.

33. Minutes of AUBA, 81st Sessions, Halifax, August 17-20, 1934, 9.

34. The Mail-Star, February 19, 1968. That whites should ask if they might attend Cornwallis Church (few did attend) provides an interesting contrast to Oliver's wedding reception and earlier church experiences in Wolfville.

35. Oliver Papers, "When Planning Comes to Town," Halifax, ca. 1963.

36. "Cornwallis Street United Baptist Church Program," Halifax, January 8, 1939. In an annual radio broadcast from The Nova Scotian Home for Colored Children on October 6, 1940, eleven negro spirituals were sung, indicating a pride in the black heritage.

37. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 22, 1970.

38. Ibid., May 12, 1970.

39. Ibid., May 26, 1970. See supra, Chap. II for use of stereotypes.

40. Ibid.

41. Oliver Papers, "The African Baptist Association of Nova Scotia," Halifax, ca. 1939.

42. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 22, 1970. For evidence of difficulties involving residency, see report of white mob's destruction of a Black's home in Trenton, Nova Scotia in 1937 in Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 419.

43. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 22, 1970.

44. The Mail-Star, November 6, 1964.

45. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 20, 1970.

46. After the murder of King, Oliver participated in a memorial service in honor of the slain civil rights leader. See Oliver Papers, "Prayer," Memorial

Service for Martin Luther King, Cornwallis Street United Baptist Church, Halifax, April 7, 1968.

47. Ibid., "Conference on Social Welfare of Negro Race," Special Meeting of the AUBA Executive, Halifax, January 27, 1959.

48. Minutes of AUBA, 98th Sessions, New Glasgow, August 18-20, 1951, 30.

49. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 22, 1970.

50. Church membership increased greatly under Oliver's leadership. The Halifax Herald, February 21, 1941, called his church "the largest church for colored people in Eastern Canada."

51. Letter from City Collector to H. W. Kane, February 24, 1939.

52. Oliver Papers, "Urban and Rural Life Committee of the AUBA: A General Statement of its Activities and Scope," Halifax, 1950.

53. Editorial, The Mail-Star, March 13, 1947.

54. The Mail-Star, December 28, 1957.

55. The Free Press, October 26, 1957.

56. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 22, 1970.

57. Ibid. Oliver's deep concern for economic matters continues to this day. On March 22, 1971, at Stellarton, for example, he delivered a speech entitled, "Significant Issues Draining Our Profits," Grasp, I, No. 9, April 1971. That stress on economic welfare is not dissimilar to the central point of his 1936 Acadia University thesis. Supra, Chap. III.

58. "Report of Deacon Board, Cornwallis Street Baptist Church, Halifax, Nova Scotia: Reports and Statements of Accounts Presented at the Annual Meeting," Halifax, January 27, 1960, 4.

59. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 26, 1970. When Oliver was elected moderator of the AUBA that

organization reported: "He [Oliver] challenged the church to a renewed interest . . . and a new approach to church financing throughout Stewardship Campaigns." Minutes of AUBA, 110th Sessions, Weymouth Falls, August 17-19, 1963, 38.

60. Minutes of AUBA, 89th Sessions, Digby, August 15-17, 1942, 18.

61. See infra, Chap. VI for Oliver's work in the adult education field.

62. Oliver Papers, "Characteristics of the Area and Problems Arising Therefrom," Address to Cornwallis Street United Baptist Church, Halifax, March 3, 1964.

63. "Highlights of Past 25 Years: 1937-1962," Cornwallis Street United Baptist Church Program, Halifax, March 25, 1962. In 1961 Oliver reported that the church's property worth $65,000 was debt-free. What he called a "gigantic achievement" was completed in five years. "Cornwallis Street Baptist Church: Reports and Statements of Accounts Presented at the Annual Meeting," Halifax, 1961.

64. This expression is suggested by a sermon by Oliver. See Minutes of AUBA, 110th Sessions, Weymouth Falls, August 17-19, 1963, 39.

65. Ibid., 115th Sessions, Cherrybrook, August 17-19, 1968, 35.

66. Oliver Papers, "Self-help in the Colored Communities of Nova Scotia," Halifax, ca. 1964.

67. Ibid., "Urban and Rural Life Committee of the AUBA of Nova Scotia," Halifax, ca. 1964.

68. Minutes of AUBA, 114th Sessions, Dartmouth, August 19-21, 1967, 16-17.

69. Oliver Papers, "Urban and Rural Life Committee of the AUBA of Nova Scotia," Halifax, ca. 1964. The report notes the committee's concern in education, employment, credit union, cooperative, and human relations fields.

70. Ibid.

71. Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 116.

72. Oliver Papers, "Brotherhood: United Nations Day," ca. October, 1960.

73. Ibid., "The Church--Its Involvement in Social Concerns--Racial Relations," Halifax, ca. 1962.

74. Ibid.

75. Minutes of AUBA, 114th Sessions, Dartmouth, August 19-21, 1967, 17.

76. Oliver Papers, "Minutes of Special Meeting of the Executive of the AUBA and Members of the Social Service Committee of the Maritime Baptist Convention," Halifax, January 27, 1959.

77. The Mail-Star, August 17, 1964.

78. Oliver Papers, "Report: Rural and Urban Life Committee," Halifax, August 19, 1967.

79. Minutes of AUBA, 109th Sessions, New Glasgow, August 18-20, 1962, 25.

80. Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 87.

81. See "Constitution of the AUBA," Minutes of AUBA, 84th Sessions, Hammonds Plains, September 4-6, 1937, 5. The constitution has been revised a number ot times.

82. Oliver Papers, "The Church--Its Involvement in Social Concerns--Racial Relations," Halifax, ca. 1962.

83. Ibid., "The Nova Scotia Negro,""Halifax, ca. 1960.

84. Conferences of the AUBA have discussed a wide range of topics and interests. The 1961 conference, for example, discussed such problems: The Breaking of the Lord's Day Act, Testing of Nuclear Weapons, Gambling, Prejudice and Discrimination, The Encouragement of Black Youths to Enter Social Service, Illegitimacy, and the Encouragement of "More Bending of the Knees and Less

Bending of the Elbows." Summarized from the Minutes of AUBA, 108th Sessions, North Preston, August 19-21, 1961, 8. The 1958 sessions discussed the "three A's" facing the black population: Alchoholism, Apathy, and Atheism. Minutes of AUBA, 105th Sessions, Truro, August 16-18, 1958, 7-8. Throughout the 1930's and early 1940's the AUBA minutes noted the number of Blacks attending universities and normal schools, indicating a strong interest in the promotion of education.

85. The Mail-Star, August 16, 1964.

86. Ibid., August 18, 1964.

87. Oliver Papers, "Report to Rural and Urban Life Committee of the AUBA," Weymouth Falls, August 15, 1963. Winks discussed Oliver's earlier secular concerns: "He nudged industry, service institutions, and the government toward granting his people more nearly equal opportunities for employment. He spoke out against discrimination in the job market, persuaded Halifax's hospitals to admit Negro girls to nurse's training in 1945, and in 1952 the city employed Negro school teachers for the first time, largely through his efforts. Oliver argued that the Negro shared responsibility for his own degradation, for the vicious cycle of unemployment arose from the black man's lack of marketable skills. He did not talk of social justice, or integration, or of civil rights often; rather, he spoke of the need for unlocking doors to education, from which all other bounties would flow." Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 351.

88. The Mail-Star, November 19, 1960.

89. Oliver Papers, "The Abundant Life," Address to Acadia University Students, Wolfville, March 8, 1970.

90. Ibid., "Sound the Trumpet," Speech to Acadia University Theological Club, Wolfville, ca. 1966.

91. The Mail-Star, November 19, 1960.

92. Ibid.

93. Ibid., March 12, 1969.

94. Ibid., December 8, 1969.

95. Ibid., December 6, 1968.

96. Oliver Papers, "Report: Rural and Urban Life Committee," Halifax, August 19, 1967.

97. Letter from W. P. Oliver to writer, November 1, 1971.

98. Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 116.

99. Infra, Chap. V,VI for discussion of the NSAACP and BUF.

100. Summarized from Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 360-366.

101. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 20, 1970.

102. The Mail-Star, ca. August 1961.

103. Oliver Papers, "Brotherhood is Based on Good Human Relations," Address to Dartmouth Rotary Club, Dartmouth, February 18, 1968.

104. W. P. Oliver, "Race Relations in Nova Scotia," The Watchman Examiner, LIII, No. 3 (February 11, 1965), 73.

105. The Gazette, May 18, 1959.

106. Oliver Papers,"Who is My Neighbor?" Halifax, ca. 1964.

107. Ibid., "The Church and the Problem of Minorities," Halifax, ca. 1960.

108. The Mail-Star, April 13, 1948.

109. Oliver Papers, "Brotherhood: United Nations Day," Halifax, ca. 1960.

110. The Mail-Star, December 7, 1968.

111. Ibid., March 2, 1970.

112. Ibid., December 7, 1968.

113. Ibid.

114. The Chronicle-Herald, December 6, 1968.

115. Ibid.

116. The Mail-Star, June 27, 1966.

117. Ibid.

118. Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York: Harper and Row, 1944), 86.

119. Oliver Papers, "The Church--Its Involvement in Social Concerns--Racial Relations, Halifax, ca. 1962.

120. Ibid., "Address and Sermon to AUBA Convention," Halifax, 1961.

121. Ibid.

122. Ibid., "The Negro in Nova Scotia," Halifax, ca. 1960.

123. Ibid., "Brotherhood: United Nations Day," Halifax, ca. 1960.

124. Ibid., "Address to Women's Canadian Club," Halifax, ca. 1957.

125. The Mail-Star, August 17, 1964.

126. Ibid., August 18, 1964.

127. Oliver Papers, "Some Aspects of the Adult Education Program in the Negro Communities of Nova Scotia," Halifax, ca. 1965.

128. Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 138.

129. Letter from W. P. Oliver to R. E. Whitney, August 31, 1963. In 1949 Oliver noted that in the previous one hundred years only three Nova Scotian Blacks had graduated as clergymen while others had taken special training to meet minimum requirements for ordination. Oliver Papers, "The Negro in Nova Scotia: 1814-1949," Halifax, 1949.

130. Minutes of AUBA, 109th Sessions, New Glasgow, August 18-20, 1962, 26.

131. Ibid., 95th Sessions, Acaciaville, August 14-16, 1948, 7. Rev. W. A. White earlier gave numerous local radio broadcasts.

132. See The Mail-Star, August 19, 1958 for presentation of gift to Oliver in honor of his eighteen years of service as clerk of the AUBA.

133. The Chronicle-Herald, September 7, 1960.

134. The Maritime Baptist, August 6, 1960.

135. Ibid.

136. The Mail-Star, ca. August, 1941.

137. Minutes of AUBA, 87th Sessions, Weymouth Falls, August 17-19, 1940, 13.

138. Ibid., 89th Sessions, Digby, August 15-17, 1942, 13.

139. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 20, 1970. For an account of Blacks' participation and sacrifice during World War II, see Pearleen Oliver, Colored Baptists, 49.

140. Editorial, Globe and Mail, September 3, 1957. For a discussion of the war's impact on American black social change, see Thomas T. Lyons, Black Leadership in American History (Don Mills, Ontario: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1971), 180-84.

141. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 421.

142. Ibid., 423.

143. Oliver Papers, "Development in the Negro Communities of Nova Scotia," Halifax, 1961. Oliver suggested that the war should make Blacks realize that their difficulties could not compare to the difficulties of people living in war-torn parts of the world. See "Cornwallis Street Church Bulletin," Halifax, January, 1944. After the war Oliver was made an honorary life member of the William Hall V.C. Branch of the Canadian Legion, Halifax.

144. The Maritime Baptist, February 28, 1946. Maurice

Reddick, a black survivor of Springhill's great mine disaster, was refused membership in the local branch of the Canadian Legion.

145. Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 34.

146. See infra, Chap. V.

147. Quoted in Jules R. Oliver, "NSAACP," 12-13.

148. The Monetary Times, November, 1944. (Clipping.)

149. Oliver's private scrapbooks have many pictures of the monarchy which may indicate his support for that institution.

150. W. P. Oliver, Submission to the Senate Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs, and Bill S-21 Dealing with Hate Propaganda, Halifax, April, 1969, 2. Cited hereafter as Submission to Senate. In his submission to the Senate Oliver noted that the Blacks of his province have been so "neatly contained" that the use of hate propaganda by whites has not been necessary to suppress Blacks. In a later press release, however, Oliver predicted that hate propaganda by whites will be used when Blacks "shake off apathy and demand first-class citizenship." The Chronicle-Herald, May 1, 1969. See also "Women Fined for KKK-type Threat," The Mail-Star, February 20, 1966. The threat was made to former residents of Africville who had moved to a white Halifax neighborhood.

151. Oliver, Submission to Senate, 2.

152. The Free Press, December 3, 1964.

153. Letter from W. P. Oliver to writer, November 1, 1971. Oliver still preaches regularly at Beechville. Of his experience there, he wrote: "Beechville, of course, is my model of what the church can do. I started there in 1937 and I am still serving this community. Today 26 out of the 54 families have relocated into new co-operatively built homes." Ibid.

154. See infra, Chap. V for Oliver's role in the NSAACP.

155. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 20, 1970.

156. The Mail-Star, February 2, 1962.

157. Ibid. O. Rex Porter, Oliver's early classmate, considers him to be the leading black intellectual in Nova Scotia. The white man condemned Oliver (and his race) with faint praise: "Measured against others of his own race his career has been outstanding. Measured against others in theology in his area possibly it has not been so remarkable." Letter from O. Rex Porter to writer, November 24, 1971. It is not known with what professional qualifications or personal experience Porter made his assessment of Oliver's ministerial career. This writer found no other individual or written source that attacked Oliver, the clergyman. For an informed discussion of American black intellectuals, see Harold Cruse, The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual (New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1967).

158. Letter from A. D. Thomas to W. P. Oliver, April 3, 1962.

159. Minutes of AUBA, 109th Sessions, New Glasgow, August 18-20, 1962, 30.

160. Letter from Senator Gordon B. Isnor to W. P. Oliver, March 27, 1962.

161. Letter from Rev. William Wallace Davis to W. P. Oliver, February 22, 1963.

162. E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), 235.

163. Minutes of AUBA, 86th Sessions, Halifax, August 19-21, 1939, 38.

164. Summarized from "A Baptist Declaration of Faith," The Maritime Baptist, June 10, 1964.

165. Minutes of AUBA, 109 Sessions, New Glasgow, August 18-120, 1962. Twenty-five years earlier the AUBA's program stressed similar priorities:
1. Every community requires pastoral care
2. Needy churches must be assisted
3. Sunday School literature should be available to children
4. Social service and child welfare cases should be

investigated
5. Visitations should be made to hospitals and to other sick people
6. Stress must be placed on the betterment of school facilities and teachers
7. There should be a permanent organizer in connection with ladies' auxiliaries, social and welfare work
8. The church should support The Nova Scotian Home for Colored Children
9. Mens' organizations should be formed with the church
10. All church activities which strengthen the black race should be encouraged
11. Careful attention must be placed on financial priorities and records. Summarized from Minutes of AUBA, 84th Sessions, Hammonds Plains, September 4-6, 1937, 4.

166. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 351.

167. Minutes of AUBA, 84th Sessions Hammonds Plains, September 4-6, 1937, 1.

168. Ibid.

169. Letter from W. P. Oliver to writer, November 1, 1971.

170. Ibid.

171. Ibid.

172. Ibid.

173. A recent American publication discusses the concept of "soul": " . . . there is little intellectualizing and analyzing on the part of the ghetto's [black] inhabitants on this subject. . . . What the lack of pronounced definition points to . . . is that 'soul' vocabulary is predominately for 'in group' consumption. . . . The vocabulary of 'soul,' which is a relatively recent phenomenon, is used among younger Negro ghetto dwellers . . . to designate in a highly approving manner the experiences and characteristics which are 'essentially Negro.'" Quoted in Russell Endo and William Strawbridge, eds., Perspectives on Black America (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), 9-11.

174. See Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 117 for a similar viewpoint.

175. MacKerrow, Coloured Baptists, 37.

176. Ibid., 53.

177. Arthur H. Fauset, Folklore From Nova Scotia (New York: The American Folk-Lore Society, G. E. Strechert and Co., 1931), viii.

178. Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 117.

179. Letter from W. P. Oliver to writer, November 1, 1971.

180. Ibid. Mack and Coleman declined comment on any aspect of this study.

181. Minutes of AUBA, 100th Sessions, Halifax, August 15-17, 1953, 28.

182. Winks, "The Canadian Negro," Part II, 5. Clairmont and Magill suggest that the influence of the Baptist Church is over estimated: " . . . although most Nova Scotian Blacks are Baptist . . . only a small minority are formal members in the sense that they have been baptised. . . . There is, also, a pattern of small attendance at regular church services. . . . An hypothesis that appears consonant . . . would be that those Blacks who are involved . . . would more likely be influenced by Baptist beliefs [and] . . . would tend to enjoy better socio-economic conditions. . . . " Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 126. Brookbank in 1949 added that there was a pattern of small church attendance in most black communities. Brookbank, "Afro-Canadian Communities in Halifax County, Nova Scotia," 33-34.

CHAPTER V

OLIVER AND THE NSAACP

1945-1963 Era

The Beginnings

Featured prominently on a wall of the Cornwallis Church is the 1945 Charter of the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Colored People.[1] The latter traces its beginnings to 1938, when a group of twenty Halifax Blacks met regularly at the Garrish Street Hall to discuss mutual problems. Those individuals, led by F. B. Holder, a British Guiana-born black physician, formed the Colored Education Centre. Leaders in industry, education, politics, and the ministry were invited to speak to the group. This small organization plus the Halifax Colored Citizens Improvement League[2] later lent support to the formation of the NSAACP.

In 1945 the William Hall V.C. Branch of the Canadian Legion,[3] the Wilberforce Lodge of Oddfellows,[4] interested individuals, and the Cornwallis Church endorsed the constitution[5] of the NSAACP. Oliver, whose twenty-five year service at Cornwallis Church had begun in 1937, may be considered the founding father of the organization.

Oliver claimed that his experience as chaplain to

desegregated, black servicemen of the three armed forces during World War II had shown him the necessity of a structured organization for Nova Scotia's Blacks:

> . . . some of the idea came from writing letters and reading letters for service personnel. . . . , a chap would be writing his wife asking her about certain specific repairs on the house; getting ready for winter. . . . Also, there were concerns expressed . . . as to what they would get for employment. Then, interpretations of the Rehabilitation's Acts, the Land Service Acts; helping these fellows to take advantage of the benefits that were being offered--all took my time and interest. It suggested to me . . . that people should be brought together in groups.[6]

Oliver told of one such racial incident, among others, which showed him that some collective action was necessary:

> It was the time of the Greek overthrow by the Nazis and they [Greeks] were migrating to this country. We had taken an offering in our church for them, as the slogans put it, "the starving Greeks." Shortly after that I went to Saint John, New Brunswick, to attend a convention executive meeting, and I went to a Greek restaurant. . . . The waitress said I'm sorry "we can't serve you in here." So I came back and asked for the manager and I . . . showed him my Canadian Legion badge, and suggested to him that the Sunday previous we had just taken a collection, an offering for the starving Greeks. It was difficult to think that he would come to this country and enforce regulations that were compatible with that of the Nazis. . . . The man apologized and wanted me to be his guest for dinner.[7]

In contrast with an earlier racial incident involving service in a restaurant,[8] Oliver reacted quickly to the racial insult offered him. His reaction was a result of his maturation, experience, growing self-confidence, and a realization that

the time for defined, aggressive action had arrived.

With the young clergyman's leadership the NSAACP was organized in 1945 by church, fraternal, and Canadian Legion members with a view to improving the standard of living of the Black in Nova Scotia. The association was not affiliated with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) formed in 1905.[9] There was no intention to interfere with other agencies which might be working for black improvement. In the initial stages the objectives of the NSAACP were rather general, namely, the advancement of the status of the black people.[10] The rationale for the organization was described as follows:

> The NSAACP called upon all Black men to become involved in the development of the economic and social status of their race. The philosophy maintained that no Black man could find even temporary isolation from the conflicts and tensions of racism. No thinking, sensitive Black could avoid involvement with the racial struggle, and an attempt to do so would be a flight into unreality.[11]

The Purpose of the NSAACP

The constitution of the NSAACP states the purpose of the organization:

> (a) To improve, and further the interests of the coloured people of the province.
> (b) To provide an organization to encourage and promote a spirit of fraternity among its members.
> (c) To co-operate with governmental and private agencies for the promotion of the interests and welfare of the province or any community therein, wherein coloured people are resident, and

particularly in reference to coloured people.
(d) To improve the educational opportunities of coloured people of the Province or any community therein.
(e) To do all such things as are incidental or conducive to the attainment of the above aims, objects and purposes.[12]

"Problems of racial discrimination in public services and employment, and formal and vocational training, were among the first interests of the organization,"[13] whose main attempts at reform were in the areas of education, housing,[14] employment,[15] and human relations.[16] An aim of the organization was to encourage greater black pride and awareness. As a pressure group it attempted to improve black-white relations in cooperation with private and governmental agencies.

Optimism was high in the early years of the NSAACP; hopes were expressed that five hundred Blacks would soon join. (These hopes have never been realized.[17]) In its first issue, The Clarion, the first black newspaper of the province, called the organization "the ladder to [black] advancement."[18] The 1945 NSAACP minutes indicated the immediate horizon for the organization: "We should be able to draw up a Constitution that will be well received by all our Colored people, first in the city of Halifax, and eventually spread throughout the province."[19]

Further definition and clarification of the goals of the NSAACP were provided by "The Cooper Report." William

Cooper, Registrar of Hampton Institute, Virginia, and vice-president of the Adult Education Association of the United States, was invited to Nova Scotia in 1954. His study was sponsored by the NSAACP, the Division of Adult Education, the Municipal School Board of Halifax County, the African United Baptist Association, the Halifax Protestant Youth Foundation, and other interested community groups. His report was intended to encourage other NSAACP branches to begin in the province. After study, travel and consultation, Cooper stated that the four immediate problems of Nova Scotia's Blacks were:

1. To provide educational opportunities for the coloured children . . . to the end that they may prepare to increase their earning power and render greater service to their communities.
2. To secure reasonably adequate housing facilities for the coloured citizens who want to own or rent within range of employment so that they will not be unduly penalized in commuting from home to work.
3. To secure employment opportunities for coloured citizens in the occupations and on the levels for which they are prepared.
4. To promote better human relations based upon a mutual understanding among the various groups, with special emphasis on coloured-white relations.[20]

Cooper acknowledged that the problems of health, civic participation, family relations, and recreation, among others, also challenged the NSAACP. However, he claimed that the four above-mentioned problems were so "urgent and basic" in their implications that they deserved first and continuing action. Although his report unfortunately provided few

concrete solutions to problems, his four-point program has remained the center of the NSAACP's endeavors to this day. The report did help to define the problems; it did give direction to the organization. It told the NSAACP that a grass-roots approach was necessary for that organization. Cooper's statement (which Oliver has used as a guide-line) that "you can't take a man's pulse with a pair of pliers,"[21] best summarizes Cooper's approach.

Oliver believes that the problems of education, housing, employment, and human relations are interrelated. However, "education was the cornerstone of the organization."[22] It was the thing, said Oliver, that kept the NSAACP alive.[23]

During the 1950's Oliver believed the NSAACP to be the means to advance the province's Blacks, in spite of the organization's small budget and membership (see Table 4). In 1955 Oliver optimistically stated that the NSAACP was receiving support from across the province, and although "administration becomes a problem at times, the entire movement is proving its worth, and continues to grow in a sound manner."[24] By 1956 the NSAACP had branches in Halifax, Cobequid Road, Digby, Weymouth Falls, Beechville, Inglewood, Hammonds Plains, and Yarmouth.[25] Preston and Africville (Seaview) branches were added in 1962, the year in which New Road, Cherrybrook, and Preston East requested branches (see Figure 1).

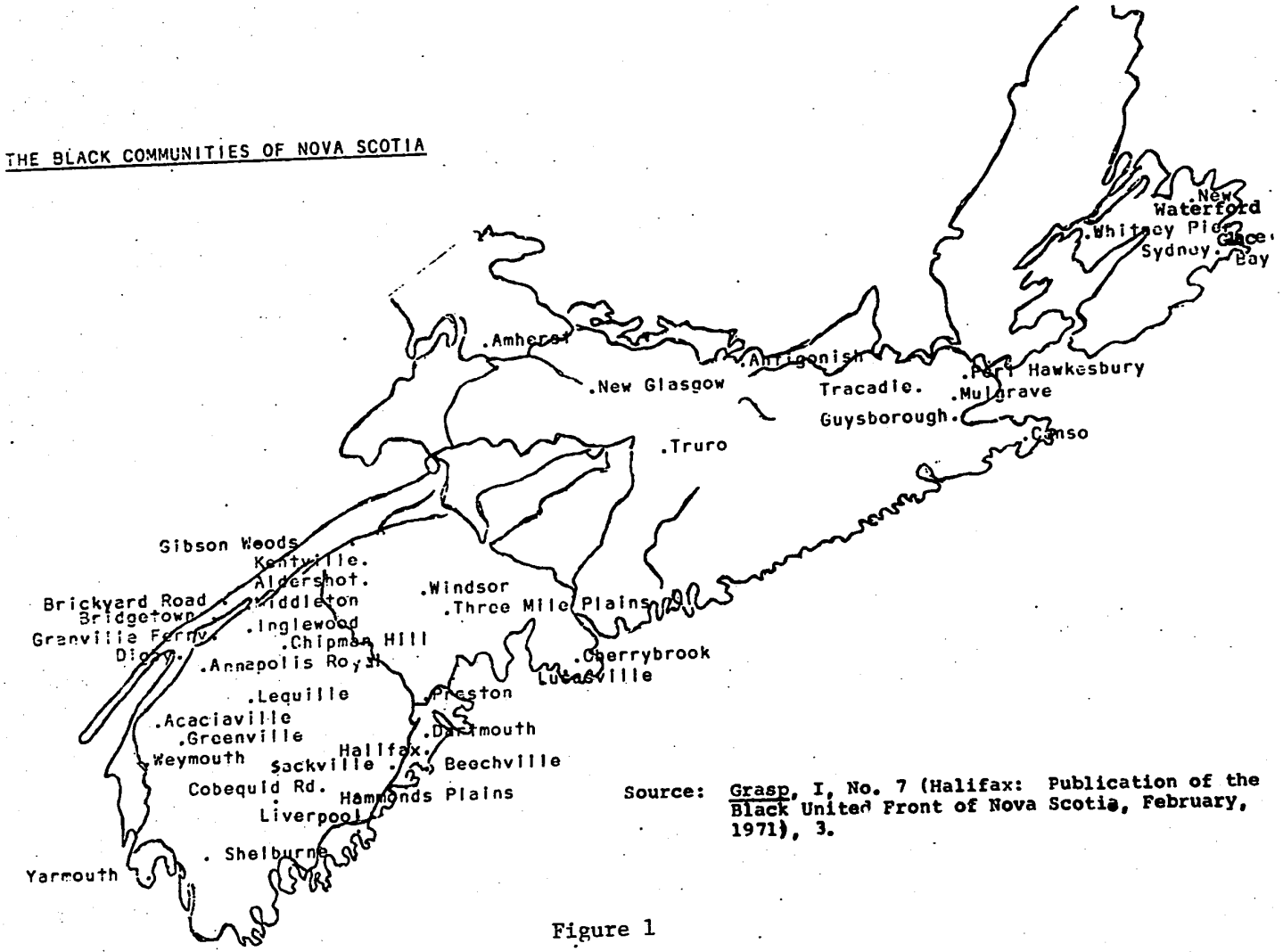
TABLE 4

NSSACP MEMBERSHIP AND BUDGET FOR SELECTED YEARS*

	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1970**
Membership	70	80	85	90	95	70	75	138	168	251	229	270
Budget	$120	400	300	410	500	4,100	4,200	5,500	6,000	6,900	4,300	-
	------- Formative Years ---------					---------- Wedderburn Era ----------						

*J. R. Oliver, 13, 19.
**H. A. J. Wedderburn, private interview, May 14, 1970.

THE BLACK COMMUNITIES OF NOVA SCOTIA



Source: Grasp, I, No. 7 (Halifax: Publication of the Black United Front of Nova Scotia, February, 1971), 3.

Figure 1

Branches of the NSAACP later included some white membership. The constitution stated it was to be an integrated organization. Significantly Oliver said that the organization was initially intended to be an all-black one, but to exclude whites by the constitution would have been "politically unwise."[26] Oliver believed that "in spirit" the NSAACP was to be all-black. His point is supported by the fact that all the charter members of the NSAACP were Black.

Interested whites did join and by 1970 over one-third of the two hundred and seventy members were white.[27] Oliver's enthusiasm for the organization lessened accordingly. Changing social conditions in Nova Scotia plus racial unrest in the United States had gradually altered Oliver's view of black-white relations in the province.

Church Support for the NSAACP

Oliver, a charter member of the NSAACP, gave the organization its name and acknowledges that he got it "off the ground."[28] His church supplied the facilities, meeting place, and guidance for the young organization. His pulpit and printed church announcements told the community of the progress of the NSAACP. The church was its patron;[29] the NSAACP was the secular arm of the church,[30] said Oliver, who defined the organization as "a secular body that is not limited by Denomination, Race or Color, but aimed at meeting

the needs of the Negro Race"[31] of the province.

Rather than become president of the organization, Oliver chose to work behind the scenes with the exception of his efforts with the Education Committee of the NSAACP. He helped to recruit the organization's president, including the present president, H. A. J. Wedderburn.[32] (The presidents of the NSAACP, until Wedderburn's term, were not considered by the black membership as leaders; the black clergy supplied the real leadership.[33])

The organization solicited and received moral support and publicity from the AUBA. Typical of such communication was a 1954 letter to the AUBA from S. M. Jones, secretary of the NSAACP:

> In a short time we expect to have a plan ready for each Community to set up a Branch of the NSAACP for themselves. Each town or village has its own problems and with an united organization we can help each other solve them. This organization is basically Christian and does not support anything that is detrimental or our people. . . .[34]

In reply, the 1954 Resolutions Committee of the AUBA presented the following resolution:

> Be it resolved that proper recognition be given to the genial solicitations received from the NSAACP, and that each [black] locality be urged to give careful consideration to such plans and propositions which may be presented by this organization . . . being dedicated and consecrated to serve the secular interests of all Negroes throughout the Province of Nova Scotia.[35]

Six years later a similar resolution was passed by the AUBA

meeting at Dartmouth.[36]

Throughout those years Oliver encouraged his church and the AUBA to support the NSAACP's efforts. As a minister who recognized weaknesses in the Christian church[37] he called for stronger leadership from the church in order to overcome the plight of the Blacks. One researcher reported: "It was felt that the Black church, by itself, could not do the job that needed to be done."[38] Oliver, the NSAACP's architect, made the black Baptist church its greatest buttress. The NSAACP's small shadow fell largely on the black communities in and near Halifax.

Some disagreement with the "small shadow" statement comes from Jules R. Oliver: "Although the Association cannot be considered to be representative of the Black population (in the metropolitan area), . . . the majority of Blacks seemed to identify with the NSAACP. It was felt . . . that the Association meant what it articulated it was endeavoring to do."[39]

Early Tangible Targets

In its formative years the NSAACP was aggressive in its demand to eradicate "Jim Crowism" in Nova Scotia. Few of these demands led to a direct confrontation with the majority-white society. The best known exception to this non-confrontation approach involved the 1947 "Viola Desmond

Case," which the organization eventually carried to the Supreme Court of Canada.

Mrs. Desmond, a Halifax black beautician, attended the Roseland Theatre in New Glasgow where the "Jim Crow law" required Blacks to sit in the balcony of the theatre, while whites sat in the downstairs section:

> 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.[40]

It appears that Mrs. Desmond had been unable to purchase a downstairs ticket because of her color. A policeman and the theatre's manager allegedly grabbed the woman by her legs causing damage to her knee and hip. The manager had Mrs. Desmond arrested, charging that she had entered the section of the theatre without paying the correct tax of one cent. She was jailed for twelve hours and was later tried for defrauding the federal government of one cent. Rather than spend thirty days in jail Mr. Desmond paid the twenty dollars fine plus costs.

The NSAACP helped Mrs. Desmond to take her case to the

Supreme Court of Canada which eventually reversed the earlier decision. The final result provided encouragement and morale for the young organization. Fifteen years later Oliver reflected on that legal land-mark in Canadian history:

> . . . this meant something to our people. Neither before nor since has there been such an aggressive effort to obtain rights. The people arose as one and with one voice. This positive stand enhanced the prestige of the Negro community throughout the Province. It is my conviction that much of the positive action that has since taken place stemmed from this [incident] .[41]

The NSAACP had other tangible targets. In 1946-47 it successfully applied pressure on the Children's Hospital of Halifax to include black girls in its Nursing School. Other pressure was applied on the Department of Education to remove "Black Sambo" style stories from school texts.[42] The NSAACP asked that the story of Canada's first Victoria Cross winner, William Edward Hall, a black man, be included in the schools' history texts. Acts of discrimination in public places such as barber shops, department stores, and restaurants were attacked by the NSAACP using the press as the chief means of publicity.

The organization gave support to many of the recommendations carried in the various studies made in the black communities in and near Halifax. For example, in 1958 the "Stephenson Report" conducted under the auspices of the Institute of Public Affairs of Dalhousie University, was

strongly supported by the NSAACP. George Stephenson, Director of the Redevelopment Study for Halifax, reported that many Blacks were living in substandard homes. Of the report Charles G. Wilson, president of the NSAACP, said:

> We, of the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Colored People would like to go on record as favouring the findings and recommendations of the "Stephenson Report." . . . People in Nova Scotia, denied living accommodation because of their color or creed have no recourse except to appeal to groups such as yours. . . .[43]

Although the organization could support such worthwhile recommendations, it lacked the power (as Wilson's letter intimates), influence, membership, and money to bring about many significant changes. This fact Oliver slowly recognized. The organization he had helped to build was not solving the fundamental problems facing the Blacks, though the problems themselves became better defined.

Oliver spoke of the earlier years of the NSAACP: "We are faced with the serious problem of combatting strategies that kept the Negro in his place [and] . . . Negroes who played ball received the stamp of white approval."[44] In retrospect Oliver stated that the organization spent too much time and effort dealing with one crisis or another, rather than attacking the roots of the problems. Oliver's son, Jules, reported: " . . . the Association was aggressive, but not in a manner which would appear to be an

open-confrontation on the white society. Most of its aggressiveness was directed on an internal basis . . . at improving the social condition of its race.[45]

NSAACP and Adult Education

In 1948 the president of the NSAACP said that much in the future depended upon the interest shown by black parents to the education of their children. He believed that to increase this attitude in black parents a useful program of adult education was necessary.[46] The organization soon began adult education programs which stressed the concept of self-help.[47]

Support for the educational work of NSAACP's Education Committee, headed by Oliver, came from a number of concerned groups and individuals. The Moderator of the AUBA, Rev. W. A. Thompson, said in 1951 that he strongly supported the committee's efforts. He felt that the program "should serve to lift and benefit many of our race throughout the province."[48]

Oliver's committee[49] acknowledged that the most tangible assistance came from the Adult Education Branch of the Department of Education:

> One of the policies of the Adult Education Division was to work with groups or agencies that were working on a Provincial basis. The NSAACP fell within this category. . . . , it was decided that one of the outstanding concerns of the elementary education for post-school individuals was started.[50]

Initiated by Oliver, the first formal conference on adult education sponsored by the NSAACP was held in Halifax, January 3-4, 1948.

> Oliver . . . stated that classes had been organized in nine communities with a number of other communities looking forward to organization. It was pointed out that the conference was to be a fact finding conference. . . . reports were heard from the various communities, under the heading "What Is Being Done in Your Community?" . . . An encouraging feature was that in practically all cases where classes were operating for the second term there was an increased enrolment, . . . [51]

Guy Henson, first Director of the Adult Education Branch, established in 1946, addressed the conference. He claimed that "the aim of adult education was to help people to do well what they must do."[52] The programs must not lose sight of the social and community needs of the black people, and must not be imposed from outside the black community. Henson's assessment of the situation led to the appointment of Oliver as consultant to the Adult Education Branch. He added that the first task was to overcome illiteracy and to create a "fondness for reading." Henson continued: "Adult education to be successful . . . should result in community study and action groups which would lead to the improvement of the community--academically, economically and culturally."[53]

Charles Topshee, Assistant Director of the Division of Adult Education, warned the Blacks' teachers against using methods that were meant for children.[54] He suggested

that the teachers find out the specific needs of the adult students and progress from there: "Let them read what they want to read and do not try to force a book on them because you think it is good for them."[55] Topshee outlined four basic principles to guide the teacher of black adults:

1. The leaders and members of the discussion group should be on equal basis
2. The leader should endeavor to produce ideas from all members and draw everyone into the discussion
3. No one member should monopolize the discussion
4. The leader should endeavor to keep the discussion informal.[56]

The second session of the 1948 conference was also addressed by Oliver who suggested that the needs of the black communities were similar to the needs of all rural communities in the province: employment, education, public health, leadership, race relations, and urbanization.[57]

The historic conference helped to cement cooperation between the NSAACP (particularly its Education Committee) and the Division of Adult Education. These efforts of Oliver were recognized by the Department of Education, and in 1950 he was appointed on a part-time basis as consultant to the Division of Adult Education. In 1954 the Adult Education Division assumed sole control and direction of the adult education classes for Blacks. The NSAACP continued to cooperate in this concern.

The programs created went beyond the establishment of a "three R's" approach to education. Ways to improve gardens,

recreational facilities, homes, land clearing, and community organization in black communities were discussed in the classes. Oliver reported to Henson in 1951:

> The year's operations have centered on ten communities within a seventeen mile radius of Halifax City. With the exception of the City there are distinct communities of Colored People with their own churches, schools and community problems. This area with approximately 4,000 people had twelve groups functioning through the year.[58]

Classes in elementary school subjects, leather craft, sewing, and community development were held during the year. The basic philosophy behind the program was that of developing efficient local leadership capable of calling groups together and arranging programs based upon particular local needs and the available leadership.[59]

G. V. Shand reported that "the Department of Education was the first official agency to take cognizance of the situation, and to take action to help the Negro":[60]

> 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 . . . gave talks and held discussions in the Negro communities. Mr. Oliver has said that he "sowed the seed through personal conversations." He talked with people to discover what they were interested in. These conversations, addresses and discussions focussed on practical matters, such as housing, sanitation, and day-to-day problems.[61]

Shand also added criticisms of the adult education program: " . . . the fact that many [programmes] failed or petered

out must have left the people with a sense of frustration."[62]

In 1949 Oliver more optimistically assessed the progress and role of education, and adult education in particular:

> The result has been that as never before our young folk are entering the high schools, their minds set upon training themselves for living. The adult educational program received enthusiastic endorsement by Negro communities, and they are organizing, studying and discussing the vital issues of life, to the end that they as citizens might contribute more to the society in which they live and that they might tap a greater percentage of the resources of the country. This is no wild movement filled with emotion and kindled by agitation, but purely the natural phenomenon of the cultural development of any people.[63]

Oliver also stated that life in the black communities had not created a desire for education. School attendance, he claimed, was too seldom associated with the black person's post-school life. He believed that many of the black students were deliberate under-achievers as a result.

Oliver, in a 1950 report, discussed the multi-faceted approach of the NSAACP-Division of Adult Education programs:

> The first classes were in the 3 R's and were designed to overcome illiteracy and semi-illiteracy. Members of the groups were not provided with regular texts but studied materials within their own experience. The use of the many types of forms that come to the average home today such as, Old Age pension, children's allowance, mail order and the like are samples of the types of material used to build up a course. When the teacher looks for reading material

> it will deal with health, sanitation, soil preservation, reforestation or how to cover a well. Many times the mathematical questions are brought to the class-room by the group members from their jobs. It may be the matter of estimating the cost of excavating a cellar, the cash value of raising hens or pigs, or the quantity of materials to build a concrete wall. Every effort is made to keep the course in vital touch with the every day life of the people.[64]

The second step of the program evolved around the concept of group discussion and group decision-making. When a particular group appeared to have gained a degree of proficiency in the "tool subjects," Oliver reported, the participants moved into the discussion part of their training where self-expression and cooperation were encouraged:

> . . . the subject matter has been kept within the scope of the experience of the people: Health, sanitation, the development of their local resources, schools, recreation and nutrition. From the discussion groups have come community action projects such as reforestation, land clearing, improved and new schools, canning groups, sewing and cooking classes, well baby clinics, community sponsored music, telephone services, electric light services, the planting of special fruits such as the high-bush blueberry.[65]

The program embraced the assumptions and programs of Booker T. Washington who accepted the separate but equal concept for Blacks' education. This view is supported by Winks, who adds: "Much of this activity was busy work, for no one in Nova Scotia seems to have developed a clear and long-range program. . . . The 1950's were perhaps a bit too

late . . . to make hewers of wood and drawers of water. . . . "[66]

With the sixteen groups functioning in the Halifax area by 1950 the approach of the two sponsoring organizations was to give all possible assistance needed for the sake of efficiency without curbing personal responsibility and initiative. The Division of Adult Education served as a source of material and guidance, and gave substantial grants to pay teachers' salaries. Regular meetings were held throughout the year for teachers and leaders so that problems could be clarified, solutions suggested, and taken back to the local communities for action.

Oliver claims that for a long while the education program of the NSAACP was the main thing that sustained interest and growth in the organization.[67] The Adult Education Branch was impressed with Oliver's educational efforts and as a result he was sent to parts of the United States in 1949. "One of my specific tasks," Oliver observed, "was to get in touch with NAACP to learn what they were doing, how they did it, how they organized, what their objectives were. . . . "[68] As part of his tour he visited the Carnegie Corporation, Howard University, Tuskegee Institute, Rockefeller General Education Board, and the Hampton Institute. Of the tour Oliver said: "It

was a revealing experience and has helped us tremendously in understanding our own problem."[69] He stated that the NSAACP really "came into bloom"[70] as a result of his experience in the United States.

At the Hampton Institute he learned of the work of William M. Cooper whose first report was discussed earlier in this study. It was a partial result of Oliver's trip that Cooper came to Nova Scotia in 1954. In a second report Cooper acknowledged the work of the NSAACP, Henson and Topshee of the Adult Education Branch, and Oliver in particular. The study specifically recommended that the Adult Education Branch work closely with Oliver's Education Committee of the NSAACP.[71]

By the mid-1950's Oliver's Education Committee had evolved a six-point program aimed toward: (1) improved health; (2) better homes; (3) better farms; (4) improved schools, (5) increased jobs; and (6) better use of municipal and provincial agencies.[72] These six points were found to be the most common areas of discussion and concern in the adult education classes. It was a matter of the "students" telling the educators what problems should be solved. Oliver said of the program: "It is called education, but it is rather community planning."[73] He said the goal was to produce " . . . inspired citizens who are able to

recognize their problems and have the vitality and spunk to do something about them, in an intelligent manner."[74] The Blacks had to break "the vicious circle of their own illiteracy and lack of opportunity."[75]

The NSAACP's Six-Point Program for education was intended to meet the needs of all Blacks of the province. The Adult Education Branch helped by providing:

1. Elementary training for those Negroes who could not read or write
2. A more functional citizen through the cultivation of the reading habit and the ability to discuss issues
3. Material and personnel for special programs
4. Sources for information and guidance on community problems
5. A major portion of the financial responsibility for teachers' salaries.[76]

The Education Committee called for constant evaluation of the program. Oliver said: "It must be understood that what has been done to date [1950] started with our people and must end with our people."[77] The concept of self-help was emphasized by Oliver: "We realize that unless we go all out to help ourselves we will always be in a rut."[78]

Oliver reported that the Adult Education Branch lent solid moral and financial support to the Education Committee of the NSAACP:

> The NSAACP would have me acknowledge their appreciation of the tenacity of spirit that has characterized the efforts of the Division of Adult Education; the patience and understanding of its leaders, the

> wealth of its resources it has put at the disposal of the [black] communities.[79]

Further support for Oliver and the program came from Robert Lorne Stanfield, then Premier: "One of the several approaches to helping our colored population must be through Adult Education. . . . The work being done by Mr. Oliver . . . is soundly based on the idea of generating self-help through education, counselling, encouraging group activities, and fostering pride in accomplishment."[80]

Oliver wanted the program of education to create self-esteem, productivity, and social awareness. Education he believed, could be a vehicle for achieving social and economic mobility: "The most fundamental need is an effective program of education whereby man, woman and child can develop skills to bring about social and economic mobility. . . . The community must be so developed that nobody would want to leave it."[81]

Oliver seemingly has not fully come to grips with the fact that educated Blacks are leaving the province because of the very "mobility" he wishes them to have. Many have moved to Ontario and to the United States. Two of Oliver's own sons are a case in point; one is an educator in Quebec, and another a computer expert in Montreal. A black graduate from St. Francis Xavier University, who was a Black United Front Field Representative, recently moved to Montreal.

These examples, among many, indicate that Nova Scotia is failing (as are its black communities) to keep its educated Blacks. Oliver has no solution for the problem of educated black migrants. The depressed economic position of Nova Scotia only adds to the difficulty of keeping well trained citizens, black or white, in the province.[82]

In spite of the migration of some educated Blacks, Oliver, by the early 1960's, became more convinced that improved education for Blacks was a high priority. Since 1950 the function of NSAACP's education committee had been largely assumed by the Adult Education Division of the Department of Education. Were Oliver to accomplish what he felt was necessary in the field of black adult education, he had to work within the potentially large framework of the Adult Education Branch. Coupled with his growing concern and expertise as a part-time educator was his increasing dissatisfaction with what he considered to be the limited accomplishments and the often unsuccessful methods of the NSAACP. In retrospect, it does not seem surprising that Oliver left the Cornwallis Church and its "secular arm" to devote his energies to the cause of adult education.

Oliver in his Post-NSAACP Period

In 1962 Oliver dropped his leadership role with the NSAACP after seventeen years of participation. When discussing his full-time appointment to the Adult Education Branch, Oliver said: "It meant that I had to distribute myself to all groups, and try not to confine myself to any one particular organization."[83] The NSAACP did continue to use him as a "consultant," however.

The lack of time was not the only reason why Oliver's participation with the NSAACP diminished. It appears that during the 1960's a "hardening" developed in his attitude toward the racial question.[84] He began to feel that because of the NSAACP's inability to right the fundamental wrongs dealt to Blacks of the province, a new, stronger, and more militant approach was required:

> It [the NSAACP] is not relevant to present day needs, the more fundamental needs. . . . it is more essential that black people come together to make their own decisions, to analyze their own problems, and to make their own decisions. . . . If I am concerned with the advancement of black people I want to hear what black people think, not what white people think. In an integrated organization, self-interests prohibit people from getting at the basic issues.[85]

When asked what organizational mistakes, if any, were made when the NSAACP was formed, and what changes he would make if he were to return to 1945, Oliver replied:

> . . . knowing what I do now, I would certainly make

> a difference, and it [the NSAACP] would be for Blacks only . . . because of what I see to be the fundamental need of the black man. . . . We didn't know what was happening and what had happened to our people psychologically. We didn't know what was wrong, why our youth had low aspirations; we didn't realize all of these things--that the psychological effect of racism was such that you had to start with that individual. He's got to learn to walk himself; he's got to like, love himself, be proud of himself. . . .[86]

Oliver openly admitted that he had made certain "wrong assumptions" when the organization was formed:

> . . . it could very well be that I wasn't able to recognize what segregation had done to my [black] brothers and sisters. I hadn't been brought up in that. I couldn't feel what black people, my brothers and sisters felt. With years of separation and isolation [from Blacks] I was, by in large an "oriole."[87]

Increased black awareness and pride moved Oliver away from the integrated approach of the NSAACP. A 1954 statement by Oliver gave, perhaps, the first hint of his growing disenchantment: "We have found that the Whites are ducking the issue that both we and they know must ultimately be faced."[88]

Oliver believes that the NSAACP in its later years became involved with issues rather than causes of those issues; and a sustained, long-term program was set aside. The organization had been involved in the St. Croix burial affair,[89] the Oldland case,[90] the Africville relocation question,[91] the Carvery episode,[92] and other issues.

Oliver claims that the organization failed to get to the basic causes of such developments. A different approach was needed--one of black self-determination:

> If more has not been accomplished it is because we have not arrived at a clear cut method of going about it. Cooperation [with whites] is good, but lessons of the past should teach us that unless we assume responsibilities for our own problems no good can come out of it. In many respects we have made mistakes in allowing too much publicity--of the wrong type. It has served only to discredit our people. In many instances projects intended to help our people were merely using us as guinea pigs.[93]

Minority groups, he believes, should negotiate with no strings attached.[94] That the Blacks of the province must become united in a cohesive manner was the philosophy of Oliver by the early and mid-1960's. The NSAACP was not by that time the vehicle to carry the Blacks to any degree of self-determination: "The organization became a haven for 'Toms'--people who fed their egos by rubbing shoulders with white people in high places. . . . "[95] and had become the object of paternalism.

By the 1960's Oliver also became convinced that improved legislation[96] was not the total solution to the problem of discrimination and prejudice. However, he did say in 1963 that "discrimination is decreasing due to two reasons--legislation and public opinion."[97] He stated that the "first emancipation" was through legislation; but, he added: "You don't give a man dignity through

legislation."[98] "The second emancipation," he said, "must be in terms of black-realization."[99]

That goal cannot be reached, he believes, by using the "crisis to crisis" approach that he considers the NSAACP to have used in the period after he left the organization in 1962. To be refused a meal in a restaurant, for example, does not greatly disturb Oliver who calls such an incident "small peanuts."[100] He can deal with the obvious, he says, and not be frustrated by it. He believes that dealing with "crises" is not central to the underlying issue of racial discrimination. Oliver claims that long-standing, subtle discrimination is a much more important and difficult matter: "It's like a hair across your face--you can feel it; you know its there, but you cannot pick it up."[101]

Oliver's changing attitudes have been noted by historian George A. Rawlyk who claimed that he and Oliver "tangled" in the NSAACP. Rawlyk, who incorrectly stated that Oliver disagreed with the methods of Martin Luther King, acknowledged in 1971 that " . . . Oliver's views have profoundly changed in the intervening years."[102] Those changing views led to his disenchantment with the NSAACP.

By the mid-1960's Oliver became more convinced that the NSAACP's integrated approach was not solving the problems facing Nova Scotian Blacks. It lacked numbers, power, and

finances. In a 1965 letter to Ernest Johnson, president of Yarmouth Minority Group (who wished to form a branch of the NSAACP), Oliver said: "With reference to affiliation with the NSAACP--actually there is no provincial organization as yet with which to affiliate. . . . "[103]

Oliver's view that the NSAACP lacked a hard-line definitive approach, alleged by him to be necessary, was supported by Donald C. Denison, a white man who had become the Chairman of the organization's Education Committee. Under the headline "NSAACP Takes Blow to the Solar Plexus," Denison was quoted as saying that "We [the NSAACP] are not ready but should be, to face the obstacles and challenges with which we are confronted."[104] Claiming that the NSAACP had too much talk and not enough action, Denison resigned in 1968.[105]

The NSAACP had glaring weaknesses, Oliver claimed. Membership was low;[106] and there was no paid staff and no central office of its own. The organization became too much of a social club, it moved too slowly, and failed to remove apathy among potential members. Oliver also stated that white members assumed the initiative for change while many Blacks were prepared to allow them to do so. It became more important to get influential white people into the organization than to recruit younger Blacks.[107] For Oliver, the word "colored" in NSAACP did not signify black pride and awareness.

Perhaps the fact that the organization's reports emanated from the Division of Adult Education office (after 1950, the year Oliver became a part-time advisor to the division) lessened black empathy with the organization. The membership was largely centered in and near Halifax; it was not a provincial-wide organization. Membership cards for the NSAACP were sold from the Halifax branch, signed by Halifax officers. "The NSAACP" says Oliver, "has never been Nova Scotian!"[108]

Leadership during the later years, claims Oliver, was a chief weakness in the NSAACP: "There was a lack of leadership which could give ability to Blacks to function as a group, [and] there was too much individualism, not enough division of responsibility."[109] Coordination among the branches of the organization was not satisfactory. He claims that in later years the office or president of the NSAACP could be used for partisan politics.

H. A. J. Wedderburn, NSAACP's president, was a candidate in the 1968 federal election. Oliver feared that the office of president would lose its non-partisan approach. He stated that it would have been the ethical thing for Wedderburn to have resigned from his NSAACP position before standing for election.[110] Although Oliver professed personal respect for Wedderburn, he said that the NSAACP could have been

weakened by Wedderburn's political actions. Oliver noted that the constitution outlines the non-partisan feature of the NSAACP, and added that "the organization should encourage people to participate in politics but there is a danger of splitting your people."[111]

The office and voice of president have become synonoymous with the NSAACP, says Oliver. Not enough "participatory democracy" in decision-making was practised in the organization. Oliver intimated that the image of the NSAACP is in totality wrapped-up in the president.[112]

Oliver's move away from a slower, conservative approach toward a more strident, "militant-within-the-law stance"[113] has been gradual. As the 1960's progressed he more often used the word "Black" rather than "Negro" or "Colored." He became less patient with what he considered to be the injustices which Blacks faced. Oliver claimed in 1966 that "even if racial prejudice persists underground, the Negro today is making sure that he is not economically and culturally inferior to his white counterpart [and] . . . is coming to grips with the problem."[114]

The Blacks must not be denied "the right to be." They have been facing a process of dehumanization. Racial discrimination in Nova Scotia is like an iceberg--nine-tenths of it is invisible. The time for handouts and paternalism

is gone. These sentiments are typical of Oliver, first speaker at the January, 1969 Teach-In at St. Francis Xavier University. He spoke as one who had tried for thirty-five years to work within a white society, and who too often had been denied success:

> You know the hierarchy of human need--food and shelter, then the matter of security and safety. And then we get into the matter of the social need of all human beings to be accepted and then we go a bit further into the ego needs--self-esteem, and then the high pinnacle of creativeness, the opportunity to contribute. I suggest to you that the matter of food and shelter is not the crying need of black people. They want to be themselves. They want to be able to create, and they want to be able to determine their own destiny. This, to me, is the issue, the right to self-identity.[115]

Oliver wants the black man to be proud of his own image. Only then the whites can and will react positively to the black man, the victim of racism in Canada: " . . . racism teaches us that one drop of black blood can turn a white man into a black man, but it would take an ocean of white blood to turn a black man into a white man. . . . "[116] Oliver acknowledges that racial incidents and legislation to prevent them are significant. However, he believes, the mark is still missed. It is here, perhaps, where Oliver and the NSAACP are furthest apart. Black pride and black self-esteem (Oliver uses the two terms interchangeably) cannot be a transfusion from the majority white. It must come from within the black community itself. Oliver says he is not an advocate

of isolationism, separatism, or the like. He wants to build a confident, self-assured, black man who can take his rightful place in the Canadian society.

Oliver's work is known and respected by Joseph Drummond, President of the New Brunswick Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In 1968 Drummond said that Blacks were no longer content "to be raped by a white society."[117] He added: "I have 10 children. You have denied me my rights but you aren't going to deny them theirs. I'll see to it."[118] Like Oliver, Drummond has in recent years taken a hardened stance in the matter of race relations.

Typical of Oliver's hardening opinions is the advice he gave to the 1967 AUBA Conference:

1. Blacks must respect themselves and be proud of their race.
2. Blacks must be prepared to make sacrifices to prove they are adequate and capable.
3. Black citizens must show a greater degree of independence; they must not become "Uncle Toms" or "shoe-dusters."
4. Black children must become better educated.
5. Blacks must refuse to imitate whites for the sake of imitation.
6. Political action by Blacks must become a necessity.
7. Because the term "Negro" in Nova Scotia has become synonymous with violence, poverty, poor housing, and illiteracy the term "Blacks" must be used.
8. Black communities must stop being sociological guinea pigs. If such communities have needs then those citizens must organize themselves for action and change. Too many researchers and writers are looking for the slum Negroes they read about in their sociology text books.[119]

He describes his earlier approaches in the NSAACP to that of a good fisherman, an individual with patience to withdraw and to come back again. Those days are in the past for Oliver, who says: " . . . time is running out; I am getting older, less patient and more tired."[120] He insists that the "escalation of aspiration" for Blacks cannot be done through an integrated organization as is the NSAACP--an organization which, he repeats, includes black "Toms" and white liberals.

In discussing white liberals he says that they can be the Blacks' worst enemy. In spite of good intentions they can prevent the black man from reaching self-realization and dignity. The Blacks must be allowed to make their own decisions and their own mistakes without the aid of the white liberal, who, he claims, is an individual who wants to help, who feels he has no prejudice, but who does not really know what the fundamental problems are. "A liberal, however well-intentioned, might lead the Black into fantasy and delusions, blinding him to the reality that is there--that Blacks are black."[121] The liberals fall into paternalism, says Oliver, who suggests that they have their place but must be guided.

Oliver's position is supported by Buddy Daye, a prominent black spokesman, civil rights worker, and youth leader: "When I think of black people working together, one of the

greatest problem is the liberal whites who go into the black communities and divide them."[122] Speaking in Halifax, Howard McCurdy, a University of Windsor black professor, and President of the National Black Coalition of Canada, said: "It is time for liberal whites to stop trying to choose leaders for Blacks."[123] Oliver, Daye, and McCurdy are among the major black spokesmen who demand that the province's Blacks receive a larger degree of self-determination, without the aid of liberals.

Many of the twenty thousand Blacks[124] (see Tables 2 and 5) of Nova Scotia, until the recent Black Family meeting, and the visits of the Black Panthers,[125] have lived largely within the terms set by white society. Blacks, however, are learning from the NSAACP experience. That experience has not involved great change in their lives. As Robin W. Winks stated: "The Nova Scotia Negro seemed in 1969 very little better off than . . . in 1949; where he had risen he had done so through his own sporadic efforts, more often secular than religious, or because of a general improvement in the condition of the province."[126] That statement helps to explain Oliver's growing impatience with the rate of social change, and his dissatisfaction with the NSAACP's efforts.

Oliver's growing disenchantment with the NSAACP was

TABLE 5

BLACK POPULATION IN CANADA

1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
17,437	16,994	18,291	19,456	22,174	18,020	32,127

Canadian Government, DBS, "Population by ethnic groups, for Canada, 1901-1961," Census of Canada, 1961 (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1962), Series 1, 2, Catalogue 92-545, Table 34, 34-1.

concurrent with his increasing emphasis on black pride, black consciousness, and black self-esteem. His later speeches and writings made frequent references to such terms. When writing of them, he said: "I have used them interchangeably as meaning . . . the same thing. In the main, I think of them as accepting oneself and not becoming dehumanized by the fact that I'm not white."[127] The above definition appears defensive and even to do Oliver an injustice. It is doubtful that a white man would truly accept the reverse of Oliver's statement, namely, "I think of not becoming dehumanized by the fact that I'm not black." If one were to take Oliver's definition in isolation, it would appear to represent a considerable lack of black pride.

It is clear that Oliver lacks a clear definition of terms such as black pride, black consciousness, and black self-esteem. Only in recent years has he given some thought to them and their connotations. Circumstances of birth and employment have delayed any crystallization of thought. By his own admission, he has had little time for serious reading which might have led him to a clearer conceptualization of such terms.[128]

It is also clear that the fact he has spent

40 per cent of his life in a white community has tempered his reaction to white expressions of racial superiority and to any black sense of inferiority. His youth, although not devoid of racial difficulties, was a rather pleasant experience largely removed from the racial realities of Nova Scotia. His theological training encouraged him to regard a man's character first, and his color second. His daily work with the Adult Education Division has brought him into contact with professional colleagues who do not measure his competency in terms of color.[129] Many of his life experiences have turned him away from extremism of any sort.

This is not to say that Oliver has not heard the voices of black extremism and dissatisfaction in Nova Scotia and elsewhere in North America. When his fellow Blacks are talking, Oliver is an excellent listener--a skill or tendency which he has polished during his adult education career. He also listens to what he considers to be the voice of black history in Nova Scotia and elsewhere in North America. To him, that voice speaks of slavery's horror and of the whites' feeling of racial superiority. Those two themes permeate his more recent speeches and writing.

As a result of his interpretation of the black experience, his kind of black awareness and pride has an angry edge to it. That sharp edge seldom shows itself; it is both

sheathed and dulled by his Christian faith in man--in spite of what he considers to be the white man's inhumanity to the black man. Enough of that sharp edge displays itself, on occasion, indicating that Oliver will not accept or condone any act of dehumanization.

He is a proud man; he wants other Blacks to share in that pride. The accomplishments of his race, its African heritage, and its values are in part the components of his racial pride.

In a recent publication of Exodus, emanating from the Adult Education Division, Oliver discussed the connection between education and organization-for-action, and black self-esteem: "Probably the most intriguing and significant trend in the movement for social change among black people in Nova Scotia is in the area of self-concept. It involves the question of how people feel about themselves or their self-image."[130]

Oliver noted that in recent years the emphasis has shifted from better school facilities, teachers, and curriculum to an emphasis on the importance of self-identity. Better educational opportunities did not necessarily lead to self-esteem among Blacks:

> The change to consolidated schools and amalgamated school boards resulted in the phasing out of segregated black schools. There is only one left in the

> province today. . . . The slogan during this transition period was "equality of educational opportunities." These were creditable efforts and probably resulted in the current emphasis on self-esteem and self-concept. It is obvious that more is required than integrated schools and improved facilities in order to provide equality of educational opportunities for black students. The school setting must enrich the students' sense of self-worth. . . . [131]

In his article Oliver intimated that the self-determinist Black United Front,[132] not the integrationist NSAACP, was the organization which could sponsor and nourish black self-esteem. As a result of the new organization Blacks for the first time "found a sense of identity":

> The reason for this change is a result of his improved self-concept or self-esteem. . . . In order to fulfill this objective and to bring about social change, they [BUF] adopted the philosophy of self-determination as the basis of organization. Thus the person became the priority. . . . The result is that there is a new awareness and a sense of self-worth developing that is being reflected in the aspirations of both adults and young people.[133]

The educational program, Oliver added, must provide an opportunity for black self-esteem to grow. Without self-identity and pride a Black cannot be considered to be an educated individual:

> Dignity and self-esteem are essential to the development of mature functional individuals. The educational process must not only develop skills--but people. . . . Exposure to the achievements of black men and women can make them hold their heads high and give them greater confidence in their own ability to learn and achieve.[134]

Oliver's black pride has a visceral aspect to it that hinders precise definition. In part, it is a result of frustration and anger caused by the inability (to this date) of Blacks and whites to gain a defined and successful route to black socio-economic equality. Because of that inability, Oliver has asked: "Why must this be?" He has looked to himself and to other Blacks for the answer because, for him, the greater white society has been too apathetic and discriminatory to ask, let alone answer, the question.

In this process of introspection Oliver has found what he considers to be black values which must be recognized and fostered. Those values were represented in "negro" spirituals before such music "was contaminated by white versions."[135] In those spirituals, he suggested, there was spontaneity; mind, body, and spirit combined to communicate with the Lord. Black values placed less stress on material things and on "punctuality priorities in life."[136] Those values, he added, allowed illegitimate children to be loved and accepted--contrary to the white value system. He said that some unnamed aspects of the moral code are different in the black value system.[137]

He believes that the values of today's Nova Scotians, black and white, are rooted in part, in the historical fact that men enslaved men. Oliver suggests that a heritage of

slavery affects the black man's self identity: " . . . some white people seem to grasp the validity of black identity more readily than some negroes . . . because the black minority, as a sub-culture, has developed a subservient and dependent attitude toward the white majority."[138] Such a history or heritage is not forgotten by Oliver, a descendant of the enslaved. It permeates his thinking process and his concept of modern black and white relations. Oliver's daily life, purposes, efforts, and aspirations for his people must be placed in the context of his deep concern with the fact of black slavery and with the history of white attitudes toward Blacks.

"Values," says Oliver, "relate to culture, life style, and motivations."[139] Motivation certainly has been different for black and white Nova Scotians. Oliver acknowledges a lack of motivation among many Blacks, and he consistently calls for "escalation of black aspirations."[140] Such escalation or motivation, he believes, must come from within the black community--a community of persons which embraces, what Oliver calls, black consciousness, black pride, and black self-esteem.

By the early 1960's Oliver doubted that the NSAACP was the proper escalator of those black aspirations. By the end of the decade he was sure that a new, all-black

approach was necessary, in addition, of course, to his adult education work. That new approach, less accommodating, better financed and organized, but still operating within the confines of law, was the Black United Front. For Oliver the NSAACP was no longer relevant to the needs of his people or consistent with his own changing beliefs.

FOOTNOTES

1. That the charter was placed in the Cornwallis Church was indicative of the close connection between the two groups. That connection has weakened in more recent years.

2. In 1932 the Halifax Colored Citizens Improvement League was begun by Beresford Augustus Husbands O.B.E., a respected black leader in the Halifax area until his death at eighty-five years of age in 1968. Husbands served as the organization's president for thirty-six years.

3. In Halifax's Cornwallis Street United Baptist Church is a scroll honoring Hall, Canada's first black Victoria Cross recipient for valor as part of the crew of the H.M.S. Shannon at Lucknow in 1857.

4. Oliver was Noble Grand Master of Halifax's Loyal Wilberforce Lodge of the IOOF in 1939. It is probable that his earlier leadership in that organization led to its support of NSAACP.

5. For studies of the NSAACP, see Jules R. Oliver, "NSAACP,"; also Eugene Williams, "The Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Colored People" (unpublished Master of Social Work thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, Dalhousie University, 1969). Cited hereafter as Williams, "NSAACP."

6. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 12, 1970. For Oliver's views on the war's impact on "race relations and brotherhood," see Oliver Papers, "Race Relations," Address to Allied Youth Summer Camp, Halifax, August 10, 1966.

7. W. P. Oliver private interview, May 13, 1970.

8. See supra, n. 29, 175 for the earlier incident.

9. W. E. B. DuBois may be considered as the founder of the NAACP. He was a black intellectual who opposed the methods of Booker T. Washington. For a discussion of the early NAACP goals, see Lyons, Black Leadership in American History, 106. See also Murray Eisenstadt, ed., The Negro in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 179-88 and 224-26 for discussion of DuBois' "The Talented Tenth" and "Niagara's Declaration of

Principles"; Ralph Kendricks and Claudette Levitt, eds., Afro-American Voices: 1770's - 1970's (New York: Vantage Books, 1967), 95-101. The Canadian Association for the Advancement of Colored People was formed in 1924. It was patterned after the American model but was not connected with it.

10. See Oliver Papers, "Education and Community Action Committee Report to NSAACP," Halifax, 1950 for elaboration of the general purposes of the organization.

11. Jules R. Oliver, "NSAACP," 12.

12. Oliver Papers, "The Constitution of the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People," Halifax, March 29, 1945.

13. W. M. Cooper, A Proposed Program for the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Halifax: May, 1954, 2. Cited hereafter as Program for NSAACP.

14. Oliver suggests that the NSAACP has had limited success in the field of housing. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 26, 1970.

15. Employed Blacks in 1954 were engaged "in the heaviest and lowest paid jobs, agriculture, mining, lumbering, steel, the railway and shipping industries." Jules R. Oliver, "NSAACP," 8. Pearleen Oliver stated that during the Depression "our Race suffered the most because they were the last hired and first fired." Pearleen Oliver, Colored Baptists, 45.

16. For further discussion of the problems facing black education, housing, employment, and human relations, see D. F. Maclean, "Human Rights Projects and Activities," 1965 Human Rights Conference: Selected Papers, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1965.

17. See Table 4 for membership and budget of the NSAACP for selected years.

18. The Clarion, 1946, 1. (News clipping.) The editor of The Clarion was Mrs. Carrie Best, now a member of the Board of Directors of BUF, and a respected and outspoken member of Nova Scotia's black community. She

spent time in jail rather than pay a $2.00 parking fine--a result of an alleged discriminatory act. She treated the incident as a matter of principle and personal dignity. Her "incident," which received wide publicity, took place on July 27, 1968. Not until May 20, 1969 did Judge A. R. Lusby of Amherst dismiss the case, clearing Mrs. Best of all charges. She believes that "Black people must get away from the aversion about being called Black . . . and we must be proud of the fact that we belong to the black race." The Mail-Star, February 24, 1969. Mrs. Best, a close friend of Oliver, has stated that violence will supply no answer to the problems of the province's Blacks. Not without humor she said that she was "too young to fight and too old to run." Ibid., March 13, 1970. She called The Clarion, "The Voice of Colored Nova Scotians." Numerous copies of the newspaper can be found in Oliver's home. The Clarion, like numerous other Canadian Blacks' newspapers, features local and regional news, and stresses black racial consciousness and an accommodating attitude toward whites. The publication calls for a national black organization, espouses middle class values, and encourages Blacks to climb to bigger and better things in life. The New Glasgow newspaper, which began as a church bulletin, was published from 1947 to 1956, a longer time period than most black newspapers in Canada. Coppertone, for example, published by Denny Grant of Halifax in 1966 lasted only two or three issues. For a discussion of Blacks' newspapers, see Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 390-412. Winks states that of the twenty-three black publications (with an average life-span of less than two and one-half years) only three have survived to 1970. Ibid., 391.

19. Quoted in Jules R. Oliver, "NSAACP," 11.

20. Cooper, Program for NSAACP, 1-2.

21. Quoted in Minutes of AUBA, 101st Sessions, Weymouth Falls, August 14-16, 1954, 10.

22. Williams, "NSAACP," 44.

23. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 13, 1970.

24. Oliver Papers, "Adult Education in the Colored

Communities," Halifax, January, 1954.

25. Most of these branches were in the vicinity of Halifax, This fact lends credence to the view that the organization was not province-wide.

26. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 12, 1970.

27. H. A. J. Wedderburn, private interview, May 14, 1970.

28. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 13, 1970. Studies of the NSAACP by Eugene Williams and Jules R. Oliver support this claim.

29. Ibid.

30. Oliver Papers, "Minutes of Special Meeting of the Executive of the AUBA," Halifax, January 27, 1959.

31. W. P. Oliver, "Rural Live and Adult Education," Minutes of AUBA, 109th Sessions, New Glasgow, August 20, 1962, 25.

32. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 7, 1970. Oliver often served unofficially as secretary and public relations officer of the NSAACP. Reports for the organization originated from Oliver's Adult Education Branch desk after he began his part-time work there in 1950. Wedderburn met all the previous NSAACP presidents but could recall the names of only two of them. This fact may be an indication of the modest role played by his predecessors. H. A. J. Wedderburn, private interview, May 14, 1970. Both Oliver and Wedderburn agree that the latter, because of his Jamaican background, reacts differently to the Nova Scotian situtation. Ibid., and W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 22, 1970. See "How Negro Discrimination Works Here," Dartmouth Free Press, December 17, 1964; and Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 130-31 for discussion of differences between native-born Blacks and East Indian Blacks. See The Chronicle-Herald, January 8, 1969 for criticisms of Wedderburn's presidency and methods.

33. Jules R. Oliver, "NSAACP," 15. See Williams, "NSAACP," 16 for similar viewpoints. The following have served as presidents of the NSAACP: A. F. Smith, 1945-47; R. S. Symonds, 1947-50; C. Wilson, 1950-52; J. W. Carter,

1952-54; C. Wilson, 1954-59; G. Davis, 1959-63; H. A. J. Wedderburn, 1963-.

34. Minutes of AUBA, 101st Sessions, Weymouth Falls, 1954, 13.

35. Ibid., 30.

36. Ibid., 107th Sessions, Dartmouth, 1960, 36.

37. See supra, Chap. IV for Oliver's view of the church's weakness.

38. Jules R. Oliver, "NSAACP," 11.

39. Ibid., 14.

40. D. A. Schmeiser, Civil Liberties in Canada (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 302. Loew's Theatres Ltd. vs. Reynolds, Montreal, 1919; Franklin vs. Evans, Ontario, 1924; Christie vs. York Corporation, Quebec, 1939; and Rogers vs. Clarence Hotel Company, British Columbia, 1940, are earlier court cases involving Blacks' rights to frequent public places. These earlier cases were decided against the Blacks involved. See D. A. Schmeiser for further details.

41. W. P. Oliver, News Bulletin, III, No. 4 (Halifax: Adult Education Division, Department of Education, April, 1963).

42. In 1969 Mrs. Jaqueline Guyette presented a resolution on behalf of the Nova Scotia Teachers' union to the Honorable Gerald Doucet, Minister of Education. The resolution stated that "it was increasingly recognized that racial prejudice was instilled by patronizing, superficial, and negative treatment [of minorities] in school courses." The Chronicle-Herald, April 10, 1969.

43. Letter from C. G. Wilson to the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, January 27, 1958.

44. Oliver Papers, "Development in the Colored Communities of Nova Scotia," Halifax, 1969.

45. Jules R. Oliver, "NSAACP," 16-17.

46. Oliver Papers, "Minutes of Conference on Elementary Education Sponsored by NSAACP and the Adult Education Department," Halifax, January 4, 1948.

47. Shand, "Negro Adult Education," 12. See Williams, "NSAACP," for further elaboration on the NSAACP's early adult education program.

48. Quoted in Oliver Papers, "Report of the Education Committee of the NSAACP," Halifax, 1951.

49. This committee was known both as the "Education Committee" and the "Education and Community Action Committee."

50. Oliver Papers, "Annual Report of the Education and Community Action Committee of the NSAACP," Halifax, 1950. See infra, Chap. VI for further discussion of Oliver's involvement in adult education.

51. Ibid., "Conference on Elementary Education," Halifax, January 3, 1948.

52. Ibid. Winks reported that "until the war, adult education was ignored in Nova Scotia. . . . " Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 381.

53. Oliver Papers, "Conference on Elementary Education," Halifax, January 3, 1948.

54. In 1945 there were only twenty-five black teachers in the province. Minutes of AUBA, 92nd Sessions, Weymouth Falls, August 17-20, 1945, 29.

55. Oliver Papers, "Conference on Elementary Education," Halifax, January 3, 1948.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid. The 11,900 Nova Scotian Blacks in 1961 were classified as follows: rural, 5,316; farm, 382; non-farm, 4,934; and urban, 6,584. Of the total, 3,308 lived in areas (Halifax-Dartmouth) with populations over 100,000. Canadian Government, DBS, "Population by groups and sex, for provinces and territories, rural farm rural non-farm, and urban size groups," Census of Canada, 1961 (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1962),

Series 1, 2, Catalogue 92-545, Table 36.

58. Letter from W. P. Oliver to Guy Henson, July 30, 1951.

59. Oliver Papers, "Adult Education and the Colored Communities," Halifax, September 30, 1954.

60. Shand, "Negro Adult Education," 3.

61. Ibid., 4.

62. Ibid., 11.

63. W. P. Oliver, The Negro in Nova Scotia (Halifax: Adult Education Division, Department of Education, December, 1949), 6.

64. Oliver Papers, "Self-Help in the Colored Communities of Nova Scotia," Halifax, 1950.

65. Ibid.

66. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 382.

67. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 13, 1970. He also met with the black educator, Mary McLeod Bethune.

68. Ibid. The NSAACP and the NAACP of the United States have never been joined by any kind of alliance. The two organizations have corresponded but no firm ties have been made.

69. Oliver Papers, "Self-Help in Colored Communities of Nova Scotia," Halifax, 1950.

70. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 13, 1970.

71. Cooper, Adult Education Among Negroes.

72. Oliver Papers, "Adult Education and the NSAACP," Halifax, 1950.

73. Quoted in Shand, "Negro Adult Education," 5.

74. Oliver Papers, "Report of Education and Community Action Committee of the NSAACP," Halifax, 1950.

75. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 383.

76. Oliver Papers, "Report of Education and Community Action Committee of the NSAACP," Halifax, 1950.

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid.

80. Nova Scotian Information Service, Halifax, October 19, 1962. Oliver's leadership has been recognized by other sources. For example, The Free Press, December 3, 1964, calls Oliver "the acknowledged champion of improving the status of the Nova Scotia Negro." This writer has read a great many letters regarding problems of housing, family troubles, employment, educational opportunities, and discrimination, among others. Those letters, to which Oliver quickly replied, may be considered as an index of the man's stature. He has led a number of money-raising campaigns in aid of numerous black victims of fire and other tragedies. The New York Times, May 26, 1969, calls Oliver "the most well-known and widely respected black man in the province."

81. The Mail-Star, April 17, 1969. Educational achievement tends to be lower in Nova Scotia than in many other provinces. Only 24 per cent of the boys and 27 per cent of the girls reached Grade XII in 1970. In British Columbia, for example, the corresponding figures are 64 per cent and 62 per cent. Even within the poor educational context of Nova Scotia, the Blacks have had poorer educational opportunities. School consolidation has not been carried far enough to provide Blacks with equal educational opportunities. Summarized from Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 60. Potter and Hill stress the importance of the sluggish regional economy, and of prejudice and discrimination in the failure of black settlements to show marked economic and social advancement. Potter and Hill, "Negro Settlement in Canada, 1628-1965: A Survey," 34.

82. Statistics Canada announced the average income for Canadian families for 1969: Canada, $8,026.50;

Alberta, $7,916.40; Manitoba, $7,244.30; Saskatchewan, $5,994; British Columbia, $8,059.40; Newfoundland, $5,701.70; Prince Edward Island, $5,530.80; Nova Scotia, $6,389.60; New Brunswick, $6,282.30; Quebec, $7,789.60; Ontario, $8,987.40. It is clear that Nova Scotians and other Maritime residents have a considerably lower income than most other Canadians. The Lethbridge Herald, January 28, 1972. In 1962 not one Maritime city was among the twenty-five Canadian cities with the highest average incomes in the nation. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 382. A 1970 report stated: "Nova Scotia is itself economically disadvantaged, of course, vis-a-vis the broader Canadian society. In 1967, the Nova Scotian per capita personal income was 77 per cent of the national average." Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 3. The province has been called "the greatest place for capitalists without capital in the world." Editorial, Globe and Mail, November 17, 1969. The net effect has been to "make a poor region poorer." Ibid.

83. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 12, 1970.

84. Glen Hancock, former Dean of the School of Journalism at King's College suggested that in recent years Oliver has become more militant, and the community has become somewhat mystified as a result. Previous to the establishment of the Black United Front, Hancock claimed, Oliver had the reputation of having two feet on the ground: "His work since BUF puts this stance in question . . . he may be alienating whites unless he makes himself clear." Glen Hancock, private interview, May 17, 1970. H. A. J. Wedderburn also claims that Oliver's leaving the NSAACP has cause some apprehension in the black community. He adds that Oliver caused surprise, confusion, and a sense of betrayal when he broke from his earlier, more conservative stance. H. A. J. Wedderburn, private interview, May 14, 1970. Hancock, a former schoolmate of Oliver's and a man who helped to write the citation which was presented to Oliver at the King's College 1964 convocation, called him, without elaboration, "the intellectual bridge" between the black and white communities. Glen Hancock, private interview, May 17, 1970. The former dean stated that Oliver is the "number one" Black in Nova Scotia. See The New York Times, May 26, 1969 for comments supporting Hancock's view of Oliver's "number one" status. Wedderburn

also considers Oliver to be "the number one leader in the black community. . . . " H. A. J. Wedderburn, private interview, May 14, 1970. A different assessment regarding Oliver's changing attitude is offered by Robin W. Winks: "While the man who succeeded him [Oliver] as chief officer of the NSAACP, H. A. J. Wedderburn . . . mentioned the possiblity of sit-ins at city hall, Oliver cautioned his people against following these new outsiders who did not understand local needs and customs." Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 351. Winks, who perhaps underestimates Oliver's own brand of militancy, adds that it was Oliver who, "in a quiet and often painfully slow way," had long sought equality for Blacks. Ibid. Winks suggests that there was "the changing of the guard" in 1964-65 when Wedderburn and others, such as Coleman Burnley "Rocky" Jones, replaced Oliver as leader of the province's Blacks. However, subsequent events involved in the creation of the Black United Front throw a different light on the matter.

85. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 12, 1970.

86. Ibid.

87. Ibid.

88. Quoted in Jules R. Oliver, "NSAACP," 27.

89. A St. Croix by-law passed in 1907, reads: "Not any Negro or coloured person nor any Indian shall be buried in St. Croix cemetery." Quoted in The Star Phoenix, October 11, 1968. In 1968 a black child was refused burial at St. Croix because of the by-law. The incident received wide publicity across Canada, and condemnation from Wedderburn and the NSAACP. In spite of such protests the child was buried at Windsor. In an understatement Robert McCleave, Member of Parliament of Halifax-Hants, said: "The St. Croix cemetery situation was a real shocker . . . Things like that should not happen." The Mail-Star, December 6, 1968.

90. Halifax labor groups and black leaders strongly opposed the 1970 appointment of Robert Oldland to the position of City Manager. Oldland, from Oklahoma City, was alleged to be anti-Black and anti-labor. Rallies were held in Halifax demanding that Oldland should not

receive the $30,000 per year appointment. After considerable controversy, sparked by Oliver and Wedderburn, among others, the city hired another individual for the position. Oliver received a number of telegrams from interested black citizens of Oklahoma City, including ones from Archibald Hill, Member of the House of Representatives, State of Oklahoma and Dr. A. L. Dowell, Oklahoma City Councilman, warning of the allegedly discriminatory views of Oldland. See The Mail-Star, March 10-18, 1970 for accounts of the issue. Mayor O'Brien of Halifax spoke of the difficulties when the "undemocratic left" and the "woolly-left" (an apparent reference to Blacks) come together. Ibid., March 18, 1970. Oliver called Oldland's appointment a "tragic mistake" and claimed that race relations in Halifax would suffer if the decision were not changed. He and others arranged a peaceful protest march which was to include the widow of Martin Luther King. When city council discussed the issue, three hundred black and white citizens, watched by twenty-five extra-duty policemen, filled the "tension-filled . . . city council chambers." Ibid., March 13, 1970.

91. Africville, the most publicized black ghetto in Canada, was located on the shore of the Bedford Basin, on the north end of Barrington Street, Halifax. By 1962 the decision to bulldoze Africville (Seaview) out of existence was made by the City of Halifax. Approximately one hundred families, some of whom had lived there for generations, were affected by the subsequent relocation. For adequate descriptions of the area, see The New York Times, June 14, 1964; Oliver Papers, "Report on Africville," Halifax, September 25, 1962; Ibid., "Africville," Halifax, July 23, 1962; The Mail-Star, August 24, 1961; E. L. Roach, "A Statement on Housing," Halifax, ca. 1963. Social problems of Africville were discussed by Guy Henson, The Condition of the Negroes of Halifax City, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1962, 15-16. Black reaction to the relocation plan is discussed by S. Dexter, "The Black Ghetto That Fears Integration," Maclean's, LXXVIII, No. 14 (July, 1965); The Mail-Star, February 5, 1963; and Homewood, "The Maritimes' Race Problems," 15. Recommendations, reports and observations pertaining to the relocation are discussed by Dr. Albert Rose, "Report of a Visit to Halifax with Particular Respect to Africville," Halifax, December 6, 1963; Letter from

R. B. Grant, City Development Office to D. F. Maclean, Halifax Advisory Committee on Human Rights, Halifax, June 19, 1964; "Report: P. F. C. Byars to Members of the Sub-Committee of Council on Africville and the Representatives of Human Rights Advisory Committee," Halifax, June 15, 1966. The reaction of Oliver, who considered Africville a microcosm of the black problems, and who as early as 1942 petitioned City Council for Africville improvement, is outlined in Oliver Papers, "Interview with Dr. W. P. Oliver by Dennis W. Magill," Halifax, December 8, 1969; Ibid., "Report on Africville," Halifax, September 25, 1962 and The Star Weekly, January 1, 1966. By 1966 most of Africville had disappeared to make room for city roads and bridge approaches. The major follow-up study which involved the relocated citizens (many moved to Mulgrave Park, a low-rental housing development) was made by Donald H. Clairmont and Dennis W. Magill, Urban Relocation of Africville Residents: A Sociological Investigation of Planned Social Change, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1967. The Africville Branch of the NSAACP was not started by Oliver until 1962 when plans had already been made for relocation in spite of NSAACP reservations and recommendations. By the time the relocation took place Oliver was no longer directly associated with the NSAACP.

92. "Pa" Carvery was the last black citizen to be moved from Africville. On January 2, 1970, "the saddest day of his life," in spite of some support from the NSAACP, Carvery moved from Africville. The Mail-Star, January 12, 1970.

93. Oliver Papers, "Characteristics of the Area and Problems Arising Therefrom," Address to Cornwallis Street Baptist Church Convention, Halifax, March 3, 1964.

94. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 13, 1970.

95. Ibid.

96. For brief outlines of the legislation, see "Summary of Fair Employment Practices Act 1955," "Summary of Fair Employment Practices Act 1959," "Summary of Human Rights Act 1963," Labour Standards Division, Department of Labour, Province of Nova Scotia, 1966; and Nova Scotia Human Rights Act, Part I, Reprinted by the Nova Scotia

Human Rights Commission, Halifax, 1969. Oliver believes that legislation is an "indirect form" of education because "it prevents the prejudiced from performing acts of discrimination, and prescribes punishments for those who violate the legislation." Oliver Papers, "The Role of Education in Improving Inter-Group Relations," Address to the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, Halifax, February 1, 1966. He adds that people must be prepared not only to legislate against discriminatory practices that result from prejudice, but must realize that discrimination is a social evil. Oliver Papers, "The University in Society," Convocation Address, King's University, Halifax, November 20, 1964.

97. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 12, 1970.

98. The Mail-Star, October, 1963. Support for Oliver's claim came from Robert Lorne Stanfield, then Premier of the province. See Nova Scotian Information Service, Halifax, October 19, 1962. Further support for Oliver's view came from Allan Borovy, counselfor the Canadian Civil Liberties Association. The Mail-Star, February 24, 1969.

99. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 12, 1970.

100. Ibid., May 20, 1970.

101. Ibid.

102. Letter from George A. Rawlyk to writer, November 1, 1971. Rawlyk claimed that Oliver considered Rev. Charles Coleman of the Cornwallis Church, and him (Rawlyk) to be "reds" in the light of their support for Martin Luther King. Ibid., King, however, was greatly respected by Oliver. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 20, 1970. A large portrait of King hangs in the headquarters of the Black United Front--indicating Oliver's support for King's endeavors. Oliver preached at a memorial service in honor of King. See supra, n. 46, 176-77. When asked if there were differences between himself and Coleman, Oliver replied that Coleman was not in Halifax long enough "to learn the politics of the situation." Letter from W. P. Oliver to writer, November 1, 1971. It seems apparent that Oliver and Coleman did not agree on a number of issues. Coleman did not answer numerous letters relative to

this study.

103. Letter from W. P. Oliver to Ernest Johnson, Yarmouth, February 12, 1965.

104. Dartmouth Free Press, June 6, 1968.

105. Letter from Donald C. Denison to H. A. J. Wedderburn, November 27, 1968. The support given by the NSAACP to the November 26, 1968 "Black Family Meeting" appears to have been a cause of Denison's break with the NSAACP.

106. For example, only ninety-seven individuals attended the 1967 annual NSAACP conference. Oliver Papers, "NSAACP Minutes for 1967," Halifax, 1967. However, the NSAACP membership was higher during the "Wedderburn era." (See Table 4.) "The significant difference between Mr. Wedderburn and the other presidents is that he has spent more time in the 'public-eye' speaking on the areas of human relations." Jules R. Oliver, "NSAACP," 21. Because the NSAACP is a voluntary organization it must rely primarily on contributions from interested individuals and organizations. The bursary monies come from the "Miles for Millions" Walkathon, and other sources. Wedderburn claims that "$30,000 in bursaries has been given to black students in the last three years." H. A. J. Wedderburn, private interview, May 14, 1970.

107. Oliver's contention that the organization has failed to attract many black youths is supported by Wedderburn. H. A. J. Wedderburn, private interview, May 14, 1970. Jules R. Oliver, who acknowledges the accomplishments of Wedderburn's presidency, contrasts the later years with the first years of the NSAACP: "The first seven or eight years saw the Association take an aggressive and vigilant approach to the problems. Although the Association was not representative of the Black population, the people strongly identified with it. This was basically due to the fact that the programs . . . were directed at the historically determined needs of the Black man. . . . " Jules R. Oliver, "NSAACP," 34.

108. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 13, 1970.

109. Ibid.

110. Wedderburn ran in Halifax. The results of that vote

were: R. Stanfield (PC) 18,931; M. G. Tompkins (Lib.) 10,341; H. A. J. Wedderburn (NDP) 1,191. The Star Phoenix, undated press clipping.

111. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 13, 1970.

112. Ibid., May 19, 1970.

113. Ibid., May 27, 1970.

114. The Mail-Star, June 22, 1966.

115. The Black Man in Nova Scotia: Teach-In Report (Antigonish, N.S.: St. Francis Xavier University, January, 1969), 5-6.

116. Ibid., 7.

117. The Mail-Star, November 18, 1968.

118. Ibid.

119. Summarized from Minutes of AUBA, 114th Sessions, Dartmouth, August 19-21, 1967, 18. Winks correctly claims that the Nova Scotian Blacks are one of the most overstudied underprivileged minorities in Canada. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 384.

120. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 25, 1970. Winks suggests that by 1965 Oliver had become more radical in his views. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 457.

121. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 25, 1970. When asked if a concerned, knowledgeable white liberal could relate to Blacks, and be of help to them, Oliver replied: "I think it's humanly possible for people to come very close to the 100 per cent mark. But by in large, there's a great area there of danger of him unintentionally misleading the member of the minority groups and leading them into a fantasy. He has a feeling that all is well when actually the reality is out there. He still has to face up to the issues, the facts of life, you see. Here are two people, 'A' and 'B'; one's black, one's white. They had a period in their life when they had close fellowship, exchange in dialogue and all of that, but 'B' (white) is going his channel. 'A' (black) remains in the same position fifty years later. Mr. B starts talking about his

old school mate: 'Oh I use to go to school up at Joe Howe. I lived on Maynard Street and I knew Fred Allen who is black. What is Fred doing? The last time I saw him he was portering on the train, a great fellow, but I'm Queen's Council now.' Mr. B talks about his black friends as if they were equals. You see, it's a form of subservience. It may be something wrong with me, but to me the thing is inconsistent. It becomes a matter of unintended paternalism." Ibid., May 13, 1970.

122. The Mail-Star, December 8, 1969.

123. The Edmonton Journal, December 8, 1969.

124. BUF officials estimate the 1970 black population to be twenty thousand. Other observers, including the popular press, put the figure closer to sixteen thousand. By 1970 the black population was 10 per cent of the province's total population. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 384. Of the 5,316 Nova Scotian Blacks 45 per cent live in a rural environment. Of this number 8 per cent (382) are farm residents, and 92 per cent (4,934) are rural non-farm residents. Canadian Government, DBS, Census of Canada, 1961, I (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1962), Part 2, Table 36. The 1961 census counted 32,127 Blacks in Canada. Since then the census has ceased to take note of color and unofficial estimates of the black population range as high as eighty thousand. "Black Tiles in the Mosaic," Time, XCIII, No. 9 (Canadian ed.; February 28, 1969), 10. The Toronto Daily Star, February 6, 1967 estimated Canada's black population to be as high as 125,000. In 1969 Oliver estimated Canada's black population to be between fifty and sixty thousand. W. P. Oliver, Submission to Senate, 7. Census data must be interpreted cautiously. For one thing, the figures for total black population in Nova Scotia have always under-represented the black population. Most knowledgeable authorities put the 1961 census figures as being about two thousand under the correct count. Moreover, there are often non-random errors in census data on the Blacks, errors which render comparative analysis dangerous; for example, the 1921 census makes no reference to Blacks in Guysborough Town but all other census counts, before and after this date, indicate that at least two hundred Blacks were there. Moreover, the

precise working of the census' ethnicity has varied over the years. D. G. Hill, "Negroes in Toronto: A Sociological Study of a Minority Group" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1960), 48-52. Hill discusses additional problems with census data including the classification of West Indians (recorded as English in the 1951 census) and the classification of children of mixed marriages.

125. For discussion of the "Black Family Meeting" and the visit of the Black Panthers, see infra, Chap. VI.

126. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 384.

127. Letter from W. P. Oliver to writer, November 1, 1971.

128. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 13, 1970.

129. See Chap. VI, n. 31-32 for comments from Oliver's colleagues in the Adult Education Division.

130. W. P. Oliver, "Programs in Negro Communities," Exodus, IV, No. 1 (Halifax: Adult Education Division, Department of Education, January, 1972), 1.

131. Ibid., 2.

132. See infra, Chap. VI for discussion of the origins and ideology of the Black United Front.

133. W. P. Oliver, "Programs in Negro Communities," Exodus, IV, No. 1 (Halifax: Adult Education Division, Department of Education, January, 1972), 3.

134. Ibid., 3-4.

135. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 12, 1970. It is noted that the Baptist Church and other Christian churches were begun in America by whites. It was the Blacks who adopted the "white" religion.

136. Letter from W. P. Oliver to writer, November 1, 1971.

137. Ibid.

138. W. P. Oliver, "Programs in Negro Communities," Exodus II, No. 1 (Halifax: Adult Education Division,

Department of Education, January, 1971), 1-3.

139. Letter from W. P. Oliver to writer, November 1, 1971.

140. In interviews and in many speeches Oliver used the expression, "escalation of aspirations."

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATION FOR LEADERSHIP

The Black Educator

Oliver on Education for Youth

One can detect little that is startling or unconventional in Oliver's view of the school's role in society. He considers the school to be a socializing agent teaching the academic, vocational, and social skills that maintain society as it is. He believes the school is also an agent for social change; it must teach upward social mobility, human rights, and critical thinking in the search for truth.[1]

Education, says Oliver, must fit children to earn a living, to communicate, to have a desire for freedom, to be willing to accept responsibility, to gain an ability to analyze and to ask questions, and to recognize that all people are different.[2] Schools can give students skills that can earn them money, as well as provide hope.[3] Children are motivated in schools by what they feel will do them the most good: "Children become very practical in their thinking much earlier than we realize."[4]

He believes that the goals of the schools have not been reached by many Nova Scotian black children.

Historically, many have lived and attended schools in geographically segregated "black areas" such as Preston, Africville, and Beechville. Oliver strongly opposes "segregated" schools,[5] whether they are legally or geographically formed:

> Segregated schools are a barrier to good intergroup relations. They are a visible symbol of separation, and a denial of the right 'to belong.' Such schools become a stamp of approval of the mental apartheid that exists in many white minds .[6]

Students attending such schools have limited experiences with the wider community.

Oliver contends that if black adults feel that they are not part of that wider community, their aspirations for themselves and for their children will be limited. Aspiration and inspiration, he claims, partially stem from what one believes to be his community. If one sees himself as part of a rapidly expanding industrial society he will see the need for further education for himself and his children. If the black student and his parents do not see themselves as useful participants in the wider community, and can see themselves only in relation to their small, separated community, then their aspirations are going to be "as simple as the needs and services of that limited community."[7] Oliver adds that when black children are socially segregated, they are denied association with the larger, more complex

community:

> Let it be understood that there is no where established that these children are less intelligent than others. However, many studies have concluded that the attitude of the community and the family background play a large role in determining scholastic aptitude and school achievement.[8]

The question of "segregated" schools has long been Oliver's concern. He acknowledged that there has been considerable success through consolidation to eliminate the de facto school segregation. Consolidation was welcomed by Oliver, who wrote: "Communities that are socially, economically, and culturally uniform, do not provide the motivation to academic achievement."[9]

> Statistics show that Negro children with a broader economic, social and cultural background have made greater academic progress. Our records in Nova Scotia show that practically all students who have graduated from High School or University have mostly been from areas where there has been a broader opportunity for the intermingling of cultures, through schools, education, housing and recreation.[10]

His viewpoint is supported by the following statement: "Blacks who have lived in predominantly white communities where they have been few in number and integrated in most areas of life, have typically been high achievers."[11]

Oliver says that black youths from homes where there has been a record of academic success and obvious occupational gains, usually have a higher degree of achievement. Concrete examples of the advantages of education in

employment become a strong motivation. The success of any education program for Blacks must have the guarantee that society will employ individuals on the basis of merit. Oliver believes that the larger white society is largely responsible for the Blacks' low educational aspirations because, in many past instances the educated, trained Black has not received occupational opportunities consistent with his training and ability.[12] A further difficulty, Oliver states, is that such circumstances can often exist without any apparent law being broken.[13]

Relatively few black students have had the chance to succeed--especially students from "segregated" schools. Such young people, said Oliver, suffer from "verbal awkwardness, poor auditory attention, anti-intellectualism, a fatal weakness in reading . . . which leads to intensified alienation, rebelliousness, and finally, apathy."[14] He stated that part of the blame must be placed on school authorities:

> Probably one of the most injurious factors for children of minorities and depressed groups is the conviction of their principals and teachers that there is a limit to which they can be educated. It has been suggested that this attitude overlooks the fact that many of these children, even from the most outcast of groups, have positive resources in their earliest years on which new kinds of learning can be solidly founded. Due regard must be given to the alienation of those who have suffered poverty and rejection. One educator speaks of his children as having been "subdued by their physical isolation,"

> and having lost the ability to communicate after several years of virtual abandonment by the affluent society.[15]

In the past many black students left school early. In 1948 Oliver claimed that only "fifteen or twenty" from a total of eight thousand black children reached high school.[16] By 1949 the province's black population "could only list nine university graduates in our entire history."[17] In 1949 Oliver's wife further described the difficulty:

> They left school because they were refused outlets for their ambitions right and left, and ambition is killed in many of the youth because they see ahead the walls of prejudice and discrimination. They feel they have not the physical strength to combat these monsters. . . . The majority of our boys go in for portering and the majority of our girls go in for domestic work.[18]

The structure of the school system and of Nova Scotia itself, and the configuration established by historical deprivation, have made it natural for black students to drop out of school.[19]

Oliver concedes that educators alone cannot solve those educational problems facing Blacks; and he calls for a massive, new approach to those problems:

> This is a staggering job, not to be undertaken except by brave and tireless people. Such an attack can only be brought about by an unprecedented combination of powers, a wholehearted working alliance of politicians, schools, redevelopment and renewal agencies, social services, health and welfare officers, churches, business leadership, labour unions, civil rights groups and the whole complex of city

> and federal agencies, all collaborating in a unified plan of action that cuts into all levels of living, yet focuses on the schools. Only through a coalition can job training be fitted to jobs that are really there, can teaching be meshed with the needs of the taught. . . .[20]

Oliver suggests that communities handicapped by racial and geographic isolation, and by parents of a low grade index, require a bold new approach. Blacks who are denied the barest amenities of life, and who are raised in a background of cultural and social disadvantage, must be given an opportunity to develop their potential so they might more favorably compete in the job market. Oliver claims that children from those communities must start school earlier, and stay in school longer than "advantaged children."[21]

> I think of several of our communities where there are over four hundred students in grades primary to six. These are warm, well-equipped buildings. However, these schools are segregated schools, located in the centre of culturally and socially disadvantaged communities. This is not to blame the residents, but it does question the soundness of our approach to the educational needs of these children. These schools have not produced four high school graduates in their entire history of over a hundred years. If education is one key to the solution of economic and social problems, we have to be willing to make a great many innovations in order to make the program more effective.[22]

In spite of some good schools many black students leave the program. Oliver says "the reason is that the parents of those children often do not see the connection between education and better employment opportunities for

their children."[23] He believes that adult education must be provided for those parents so as to raise their aspirations, and in turn raise their childrens' aspirations. Drawing on his long interest in botany, Oliver makes this analogy: "I have always been an admirer of dahlias--always protect the tubers" and the blooms will be healthy. In other words, adult education may produce a healthy outlook by children toward education. The change of black adults' attitudes is a major priority: "Change is impossible in black communities without the acceptance on the part of adults."[24]

> It starts in the home with the adults; they have to realize that more education means better homes, more conveniences. They have to see what education does for their contemporaries. Too often one hears the story: "Fred had a good education but he didn't get any further than I did with Grade IV." When one examines any problem it is usually discovered that the remedy must be applied at some grass root level.[25]

Oliver adds that there is a close relationship between the attitude toward education and the structure of the community.[26] Change must come to those communities and to their homes. For Oliver a vehicle for that change is adult education.

Oliver and Adult Education

Guy Henson, the first Director of the Adult Education

Branch,[27] defined adult education as offering:

> . . . 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.[28]

The aim of the division, begun in 1946, was to provide:

> . . . a steady, growing contribution to provincial life by means of short courses, classes, folk-schools (short-term residential schools), and to aid in the programme planning of other groups, in leadership training, and in projects of Home and School Associations, farm organizations, labour groups, churches and other bodies serving people and communities.[29]

The major tasks of the division were as follows:

> (1) To help communities, and especially rural communities, develop educational programmes suited to their needs and interests
> (2) To serve the needs of special groups, as for instance post-school young people, colored people, remote communities, veterans and homemakers
> (3) To co-operate helpfully with educational institutions, with departments of government, and with voluntary organizations whose purposes are either mainly or partially educational.[30]

"Colored people" were specifically mentioned, and, as will be seen, received special and separate attention in the annual reports of the Department of Education.

When referring to black communities, H. P. Timmins, Director (see Chart 1), wrote that "the general aim of the division is to help the people concerned to recognize their own complex problems and to assist them, through educational measures, to improve their total standard of education and

CHART 1

NOVA SCOTIA DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION - ORGANIZATION STRUCTURE

MINISTER OF EDUCATION - Hon. G. J. Doucet
- DEPUTY MINISTER AND CHIEF DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION - H. M. Nason
  - ASSISTANT CHIEF DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION, EDUCATION PROGRAM - A. S. McDonald
    - DIRECTOR, ADULT EDUCATION - H. P. Timmons
      - ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, ADULT EDUCATION (CONTINUING EDUCATION) - J. T. Chiasson
        - SUPERVISOR, CONTINUING EDUCATION CLASSES - K. C. Langille
        - SUPERVISOR, FINE ARTS AND HANDCRAFTS - D. Wetmore
        - SUPERVISOR, REGIONAL SERVICES - J. H. MacKenzie
          - REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVES - F. G. Barrett
          - E. W. Bishop
          - G. A. Campbell
          - J. R. Doucet
          - W. P. Oliver
          - M. J. Sangster
        - SUPERVISOR, SMALL BUSINESS MANAGEMENT TRAINING - Vacant
        - SUPERVISOR, CORRESPONDENCE STUDY SERVICES - J. Ardenne
      - DIRECTOR, ADULT VOCATIONAL AND APPLIED ARTS AND TECHNOLOGY EDUCATION - W. D. Mills

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Adapted from Nova Scotia Department of Education, Organization Structure, January 1, 1970, (mimeographed copy).

living."[31]

The division appointed six regional representatives, each responsible for a particular region: Sydney, Antigonish, Truro, Halifax, Bridgewater, and Yarmouth.[32] Oliver, assigned to the Halifax region, had a dual function to perform. As a full-time representative he acted as advisor to the Department of Education on educational programs in black communities, and as regional representative of the Adult Education Branch for metropolitan Halifax and West Halifax County. His duties were outlined in 1966 by J. M. Jones, Acting Director of the division:

> (1) To develop effective leadership in the Negro communities of the province
> (2) To become involved in specific programs related to community development in the Negro communities
> (3) To advise the Department of Education on policies and programs that affect Negro people
> (4) To develop adult education programs in the Halifax area.[33]

Already noted was the early cooperation between Oliver's Education Committee of the NSAACP and the Adult Education Division.[34] Oliver stated that "the Negro Community in Nova Scotia through its organizations has . . . unanimously conceded that one of its major handicaps has been under-education."[35]

Oliver, who began his part-time adult education work in 1950, and his full-time work in 1962, continued to stress

the four central themes of the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Colored People: education, housing, employment, and human relations.

> It is obvious that these are four basic needs common to all people. Adult Education works with post school individuals and endeavours to teach people how they can obtain their objectives . . . Discussion and not force is emphasized as the key to the solution of problems. People often become frustrated when they must wait for things to work themselves out in the spirit of democracy. This is especially true if they have not had a sound academic foundation. I say this because we take for granted that our educational program is geared for democratic living. Our children are taught how to live in a democratic society. When this has not been received by adults it is the task of the Adult Educator to lead people back through this experience before they can successfully solve any of today's pressing problems.[36]

Without offering black people some hope of solving critical problems facing them, Oliver says, adult education cannot interest or rally them.[37] Optimistically, he declares:

> This program is based on the premises that there are no people who are not concerned about their own conditions; no people who will not act in their own self-interest; and that, if there are people unable or unwilling to help themselves it is due to a lack in certain skills or knowledge which has balked their efforts for so long they have become disillusioned. Community Development attempts to implant the desire to attain the skills and knowledge which are lacking, and to offer the opportunity to acquire them.[38]

Oliver said that the program for Blacks " . . . has been economically oriented . . . with the objective of preparing post-school individuals for vocational and trade

training."[39] He added that "the portion of the program that we like to think of as functional or fundamental education, is a most challenging aspect of the program."[40] Another of the purposes was to encourage self-help and self-determination:

> Self-confidence and the ability of self-expression can do much to help Blacks help themselves. The outsider is able to see many problems. However, the [black] people involved can only see them as they relate to their immediate needs.[41]

Oliver helped black citizens to develop the skills of working together: "The basic thesis behind all this was that change would not come unless people themselves wished to change."[42] He added that "the basic philosophy . . . was one of self-help, starting at the point of interest of the [black] people. . . . "[43] Basically, the program involved group discussions on community development. In his 1962 report to the African United Baptist Association, Oliver said: "Adult Education helps people to develop the art of discussing problems, how to analyze, how to plan, how to get results."[44] Indeed, Oliver in 1962 faced a tremendous challenge:

> . . . the Negro continued to be caught up in the old, old story of frustration. The vicious cycle of poverty, ignorance, and unemployment had lasted too long. . . . It would not be this generation that would be liberated, but the next.[45]

A year later Oliver stated that the objectives of the program in black communities were to identify specifically what was wanted, as well as noting what was needed. "It is important," he said, "that people be educated to understand their problems."[46]

One of those problems of major proportions, Oliver wrote, was "to overcome the results of racial prejudice and segregation, to develop a citizen who feels he is a first-class citizen who will demand and accept the responsibility of this new status."[47] He added that the program content is based on a recognition of:

> (1) The need for changed attitudes in race relations in approaching problems that face Negroes.
> (2) The validity of a broad community approach to raising overall standards of living and widening opportunities.
> (3) The importance of human, as well as physical resources, in any program aimed at bringing about improvements in community life.
> (4) The need for Negroes to be responsible for those decisions which vitally affect their lives.[48]

Oliver has consistently emphasized that adult education must be a means to overcome black apathy, and to combat prejudice and discrimination.

In a 1966 address to the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, Oliver stressed the role of education in overcoming prejudice and discrimination:

> Because prejudice expresses itself in different

> ways it follows that there must be a variety of approaches to its solution. . . . among the several approaches, education, as it applies to minorities and members of the majority, has been a means of bringing about a measure of equality and understanding.[49]

In that address, and in others, Oliver discussed the interconnected rights: "to belong," "to be," and "to have." He claimed that a prejudiced and discriminatory society denies the rights of some of its members to possess the good things in life. Such a practice denied Blacks the right "to belong" and "to be"; the former is a social dimension, and the latter is a spiritual dimension. The right "to have," he claimed, may lead to the above rights. Education, Oliver believed, was the key: It provided people with the "to have" dimension. Oliver added that the government must provide:

> . . . effective means to confer upon minorities [such as Blacks] the right "to have," to provide them with the education, skills and training that will enable them to become employable, and thus help themselves. This breaks the suppressing chains of misery and poverty. With the right "to have" there develops a sense of pride and self-confidence. . . . As they enjoy the right "to have," they challenge the stereotypes that would deny them the right "to be."[50]

While stating that the Blacks have suffered more from racial prejudice than any other Nova Scotian minority, Oliver acknowledges that the Department of Education has done much through educational programs to guarantee Blacks the right

"to have." He concludes: "To educate a Negro is to unfit him for a servant."[51] To raise the living standards of Blacks helps to improve his image; it challenges the stereotypes. Education, Oliver believes, is a chief tool in the work to be done in improving inter-racial relations. From an economic standpoint, education for Blacks results in savings; it can help to combat prejudice:

> To encourage, motivate, educate and train people makes good sense, not only in the saving of public funds but in view of the inestimable contributions they can make to the good of society. One of the most expensive luxuries of society is prejudice, not only in terms of dollars and cents, but in terms of the waste of human life, the threats to health and the spawning of crime and immorality.[52]

A great deal of money will be necessary to train the disadvantaged Blacks of his province, says Oliver. He makes his point by relating one case, out of many:

> For instance, a young man, 23 years of age, married with 6 children, Grade 7 education, is now unemployed. What is it going to take to put him in the run again? I suggest it is not enough to provide academic classes for four or five years until he gets a grade eleven certificate. He can't wait that long; neither can his wife and children. He has to be put in a resident trade and academic school; his family supported while he is in attendance, and a job ready for him when he completes his course. This will require unprecedented financial outlays. . . . It is well enough to talk about lifting oneself by the bootstraps, but what do you do if you have no boots?[53]

Oliver is inconsistent with his "bootstrap" statements. Two years earlier he said: "He [the Black] has been

pulling himself up by the bootstraps."[54]

Economic improvements are not the only results of the programs. There are also services that contribute to the personal development of the individual, and the efficiency of groups in their programs of community development: "There are training programs offered for leaders and community workers that do not involve certificates but reward the participants in terms of personal satisfaction."[55] Oliver's efforts involve short courses, seminars, and workshops on a local or regional basis, as requested. Many groups want assistance in parliamentary procedure, techniques in community development, leadership training, and other skills that aid people in their efforts of self-determination.[56]

Annual Reports

The Annual Reports of the Department of Education for the years 1946 to 1968 had separate and specific sections dealing with black communities. The reports revealed the intent of the Adult Education Branch, and of Oliver in particular.

Adult education work in black communities began in 1946, the year the division was established, when "it was agreed to foster evening schools in two or three centers in the vicinity of Halifax City."[57] The first adult academic

class of thirty-two individuals was started at Hammonds Plains in 1946.[58] Classes gradually spread to other black communities near Halifax, and in other areas of the province. In 1947, for example, forty people from Preston East formed two classes under the leadership of local teachers.[59] In 1949 it was reported that "a program of fundamental education and group action among adults has been developed in 12 colored communities. . . . "[60] In the following year "the movement for personal and community advancement through education and self-help struck deeper root. . . . "[61] The report used the Hammonds Plains' experience as an example of the work then being accomplished:

> . . . some members have learned to read and write, and others have gained better basic education, but, beyond formal schooling, they have carried through numerous group projects typified by school improvement, land breaking . . .[62]

A year later Oliver reported to the Director that the year's operations had centered in ten communities within a seventeen-mile radius of Halifax. The communities, which had a total of forty thousand people, had twelve education groups in operation: six elementary classes, one leathercraft class, two sewing groups, and three community improvement groups.[63] The 1952 Annual Report stated:

> Gradual progress continued with the educational program of this group of citizens. Contacts were

> maintained with about 20 communities. A number of classes were again active in the three R's, home making, and music. Monthly meetings of leaders and teachers in the Halifax area were held regularly, and about 50 people attended short courses in May at Preston East and Upper Hammonds Plains. The increased number of activities and projects carried through by local leaders independently--in land-clearing, school-improvement, credit union organization, recreation, and home improvement--seems to indicate a wholesome trend.[64]

Over sixty leaders from twenty communities met in April, 1953 to assess the program offered. The following items were part of the year's "curriculum":

> Land-clearing, obtaining deeds for all in a community, school improvement, credit union organization, better training and employment opportunities for young people, a housing survey in Halifax City, provision of scholarships, organized home improvement, better use of land, and recreation, were some of the projects and activities.[65]

The Department of Education reported that by 1954 two definite trends had emerged:

> (1) Grant-aided classes of the past eight years have passed through the successive stages of elementary classes, reading and discussion groups to self supporting community organizations.
> (2) Communities are readily coming together to plan their general programs on a regional rather than on a local basis. Problems of land ownership, housing, employment, and health are being approached in a united effort.[66]

It was decided in that year to invite Dr. William Cooper[67] of Hampton Institute, Virginia, to assess further the needs of the adult education program for Blacks. One of his

significant suggestions, which was implemented, involved the building of a model teacherage at New Roads School. It was felt that a model teacherage would create greater community pride and sense of accomplishment. The same goal was described in the 1955 Minutes of AUBA: "Throughout the province small [adult education] groups are at work seeking to improve not only the mental level of older folk, but also to be a center for Community betterment and action."[68]

By 1956 it could be reported that "the program of adult education is exerting an influence . . . upon 75 per cent of the 13,000 colored people in Nova Scotia."[69] Oliver assessed the work of the division during the previous ten years:

> The program of the past ten years has been a program involving people, an effort to convey ideas to those who lacked them, and an effort to inform the enlightened about the unenlightened. It has involved lectures at schools, service clubs, universities and churches. It has involved conferences with men of government, of industry, and the average, interested citizen. The result has been that a movement has been started in the minds of a people; infant communities that were readily organized into classes to study the 3 R's have in a short time become adolescent communities with all the characteristics of adolescents. . . . Secondly, a genuine interest has been aroused in depressed groups, which must not be allowed to be discouraged because of their lack of knowledge. . . . They must not be led to expecttoo much in too short a time with too little effort.[70]

Oliver reported that by 1956 the initiative for adult

education had shifted from the teachers to local leaders. The 1968 Minutes of AUBA said that increasing urbanization was one reason:

> Teachers along with ministers have long been a source of leadership in the Negro Community. However, teachers . . . no longer live in the community. Transportation and the availability of apartments outside the community has encouraged teachers to spend only their teaching hours in the community.[71]

Oliver welcomed the trend toward "grass-root leadership."[72]

The Annual Report for 1957, while stating that local leadership trend was continuing, added:

> The effort of the entire program has been to assist a group of people to help themselves. A more progressive attitude is apparent in the entire community, and coupled with this is the increased realization of the importance of education. Inevitably the next step will be the formulation of a definite concept of the new life and status. Whether it will centre around the present rural community as in the past or involve a wider national outlook is too early to predict.[73]

The following year's report was less optimistic. Of concern to Oliver and to the Adult Education Branch was the fact that in eight communities near Halifax only four individuals held permanent employment.[74] Oliver's office contacted potential employers in an attempt to improve the situation.

Employment and housing were discussed in the 1959 report which acknowledged Oliver's work with the Nova Scotia Housing Commission. A leadership short course at Preston was attended by representatives from seven black communities.

In those communities containing seven thousand people there were only thirteen individuals, other than teachers and clergymen, who had permanent employment.[75] Oliver made employment the theme for 1959 group discussions. In spite of the division's efforts to improve employment potential for Blacks, G. V. Shand reported in 1961: "It cannot . . . be said that the programme so far has contributed appreciably to raising the employment status of the coloured people."[76]

Leadership growth was stressed by the 1961 report in which Oliver was quoted as saying:

> The work has been slow because of the limitations of staff. . . . It must be recognized that this work goes on within the framework of a social pattern that has existed for many years. It is encouraging to note that this pattern is changing, and gives momentum to the type of program that we endeavor to encourage. Given the opportunity, functional leaders soon develop.[77]

The report added that the general aim of the program "is to help the people concerned to recognize their own complex problems and to assist them through educational measures, to improve their total standard of education and of living."[78] Shand suggested that because of poor communication some Blacks were unaware of the program. She referred to " . . . a disunity of approach to the problems involved . . . . "[79]

In his first year as a full-time adult educator, Oliver reported that the most encouraging feature of the

work was the willingness of the people to cooperate.[80] In an attempt to identify further the needs of the people, Oliver conducted a survey which indicated that educational standards, occupations, wages, and aspirations for vocational and academic training were popular discussion topics in groups which used "the self-analysis approach":

> The self-analysis approach has resulted in consultations with qualified resource persons in the field of rural beautification, Christmas tree propagation, the blueberry industry, land titles and deeds, home construction plans, community planning, and building codes. Projects undertaken during the year included community cemeteries, community gardens, soil testing and liming, community clean-up week, and printing (for sale) of Christmas cards.[81]

Throughout his adult education career Oliver has stressed the importance of black communities analyzing their own problems: "It becomes difficult," he wrote in 1964, "to work with our people when they think somebody else is going to give them something for nothing."[82]

Two years later Oliver reported that three types of courses had evolved: (1) Basic education courses for Grades I-VII; (2) Accelerated Courses for Grades VIII-X; and (3) General courses leading to junior or senior matriculation.[83] He added in another report:

> . . . there were a large number whose grade level was too low to benefit from the program offered in the regional high school . . . so programs of Basic Education were organized. Special teachers and materials are used for grades 0-7 . . . It is a

> part of the total administration . . . [to] hold a general closing [ceremony] when certificates are awarded for the year's work.[84]

During the same year Oliver worked with the East Preston Recreation Association composed of forty young married couples, to begin the Centennial Community Center valued at $27,000.[85] Another centennial project in which Oliver was involved, and which was acknowledged by the 1967 Annual Report, was the William Hall V.C. project. Oliver was chairman of the committee which organized a memorial to the Crimean War hero. The ceremony "in which thousands of Negro citizens from all parts of Nova Scotia participated,"[86] was intended to encourage black pride and awareness.

The 1968 report indicates that the diversity of programs offered by the division had been sustained:

> Fourteen education and community development committees have been organized in Negro communities. Regular discussions by these committees focusing on housing, evening classes, pre-school programs, recreation, drama, music handcrafts, municipal affairs and government have served to create an atmosphere for the successful introduction of projects in these fields. Examples are: housing projects at Beechville, Preston, and Hammonds Plains, and the establishment of four community centers.[87]

Michael Forrestal, Member of Parliament for the area, agreed that such programs were necessary: "The total spectrum of education [for Blacks] must be embraced to include adult studies, retraining programs, and creative outlets such as

arts and crafts."[88]

In 1962 when Oliver began his full-time work, there were thirty-five adults taking courses. In 1970 more than three hundred and fifty certificates were awarded to adults at closing exercises at Halifax's Graham Creighton High School alone,[89] indicating growth and progress in the program.

Education and Leadership

An examination of Oliver's twenty-year career as an adult educator indicates a number of trends and highlights. Shand's 1961 assessment summarizes the intent of Oliver and the division:

> . . . it would appear that the efforts of the Adult Education Division were directed, over the past decade or more, to three objectives: 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.[90]

Other trends can be mentioned: Oliver's coordination with the NSAACP to 1962, his encouragement of local initiative and leadership, his stress on the "three R's" and community development programs, and his call for collective action and for the democratic process of decision making at the local

level, among others. His diversified approach was in answer to the expressed needs of those he served.

Permeating his whole approach was his view of the racial, economic, and social problems that faced Blacks of the province. He has not been satisfied with other attempts to meet those problems:

> I feel that many so-called efforts to understand our problems . . . have been outright slander against the Negro people. Such an approach has done nothing but to humiliate, and foster the sense of inadequacy that handicaps our people.[91]

Oliver looked to black communities for leadership rather than depending on outside help. He stated that many people can be trained for leadership roles:

> . . . any program of community development to be successful must have . . . leadership from the community concerned. This type of leadership takes many forms. The person who calls people together is giving leadership; the carpenter who heads a building project is a leader; the person who chairs a committee is a leader. Further, we must never forget that leaders can be trained and developed. . . . One of the most important functions of a community development is to develop local leadership.[92]

The encouragement of leadership for change was a central purpose of Oliver's adult education work.

Oliver suggested five specific goals in the leadership training program in black communities:

1. To provide the natural leaders in Negro communities with the skills that will enable them to lead their people more effectively in

programs of self-determination.
2. To encourage and to develop local Education and Community Development Committees and Regional Councils.
3. To develop a greater understanding in both Negro and non-Negro groups of the problems facing Negroes, and effective approaches to the solving of these problems.
4. To develop, on the part of those who work with Negroes, a sense of appreciation of their capabilities, needs and desires. That they use a cooperative approach and not one of patronage.
5. To finally see the day when Afro-Canadians will share equally with other Canadians in responsibilities and privileges.[93]

The techniques used by Oliver to achieve those goals involved group discussions and decision making, and "the democratic process which recognizes how humans react and feel under certain conditions and with different people."[94] "The leader must go into the community," said Oliver, "with a spirit of humility and a feeling that he has something to learn from the people he is supposed to be helping."[95]

Oliver acknowledges that all people cannot become leaders: "No sluggard need aspire to leadership. There are passive persons who are content to go through life getting lifts from people. . . . They are not leadership material."[96] He believes that many people can, through a program of continuous training, develop themselves into successful and efficient leaders. He says that the days are gone when Blacks have to look for leadership only from teachers, ministers, and others with special training:

> We are losing the services of many individuals who could be effective leaders were it not for the erroneous ideas that they hold about a leader, such as--a leader should be the best talker; a leader should have all the answers; the leader should have time to do all the things expected of him; a leader must give orders; . . .[97]

Oliver said that the successful leader must not wish to dominate but rather seeks "effective activity with a beneficient purpose."[98] When asked to define leadership, Oliver replied:

> It may be best to say what I don't believe leadership to be. I don't believe the leader is one who does all, performs all the tasks. I think a good leader is one who is able to assign tasks, who is able to involve other people, and who is sensitive to the personal aspirations of other individuals. In this way he is able to motivate people. This takes a considerable amount of development and flexibility on the part of an individual who wants to function as a leader.[99]

Oliver is unclear as to what importance, if any, charisma has in leadership roles. He does say that being placed in a leadership role "gave" him charisma, to a degree. He distrusts charismatic qualities of some leaders because "such qualities force the individual to live up to an expected kind of performance." Oliver claims to rely more on effectiveness than charisma:

> People like President Kennedy and Dr. King were effective organizers, and they were able to relate to people effectively. Now, this whole word, "charisma" is a new word to me. There's an area in it that becomes cloudy. I prefer to be able to function without all of the charisma because

> when one is extending himself to an extreme it creates a great many more demands to maintain. However, if one can keep at the fundamental issues he doesn't meet those demands. The better idea is to transfer whatever is developed in terms of charisma to the multiple of leaders within a program.[100]

As a leader Oliver has attempted to bring about a consensus when group decisions are made. He stated that his concept of leadership has changed very little in the past thirty-five years:

> I've always believed in sharing, and involving people, and assigning tasks. I try to perform as a catalyst or as a coordinator. Yet . . . somebody had to be a mastermind; behind every successful program there has been a design in the mind of the coordinator.[101]

He stated that he has attempted to fade into the background, once an organization was begun: "Actually this has always been my goal--to work myself out of a job and to diminish dependency upon one individual. . . . "[102]

When Oliver goes to a black community in search of local leadership he looks for knowledge and commitment in the potential leaders. When asked if commitment alone were sufficient, Oliver replied:

> It seems to me that my weakness has always been that I have placed more on the genuine concern. As long as concern was there I had the feeling that through the processes [adult education] . . . the knowledge would come afterward.[103]

With commitment and added training the individual may be

capable of providing solid leadership. Unless Blacks are allowed to provide leadership of their own, and receive a large degree of self-determination rather than paternalism, there could be difficulties:

> It becomes a matter of weighing evolution against revolution. It is my feeling that people must feel that they count, and that they can get answers to their problems when they seek them. . . . Any group in society will revolt if they feel that the social structure is against them. They have no other recourse for attention when the normal lines of communications are cut. We have endeavoured to keep these lines open by involving our people in the program of progress and development. . . . [104]

Oliver's efforts reflected the program's purpose as outlined in the 1961 Report of Director which stated that the aim of adult education was " . . . to develop leadership within these [black] communities."[105] Oliver's work with the Black United Front is a continuation of that purpose. He says that BUF grew directly out of the leadership training program sponsored by the Adult Education Branch.[106]

Oliver referred to the connection between education and a new kind of leadership concept in his 1964 convocation address to King's College. Oliver intimated that he was searching for a broader approach to the problems facing Blacks:

> . . . we emphasized education as an instrument to overcome the social retardation of minorities. However, experience has shown that . . . there is something else required, something far more fundamental, if the maximum benefits are to be received through education.[107]

That "more fundamental something" appears to have been BUF which is discussed later in this chapter.

Unanswered Questions

In Oliver's insistence on desegregated schools he has not noted any inherent conflict between the concept of "black community" and integrated schools. If schools, as he has suggested, are vehicles to perpetuate the community's values, then it is probable that desegregated schools with their white majorities would perpetuate white rather than black values. It is apparent that Oliver has not considered the possibility that integrated schools, however valuable, could break down the very black cohesiveness he has sought for thirty-five years.

Although he has consistently insisted that the Blacks' history be included in the school curriculum, such history, by his own admission, would be interwoven with the larger fabric of history. Would black students have become significantly more infused with black pride because of that approach? If Oliver were to demand special black studies programs (assuming money, sources, and trained teachers were available), would he be doing a disservice to those students who might tend to view black history in isolation? These are problems that Oliver must consider. While he has

demanded that public schools be integrated Oliver has, for the most part, dealt with adult education in a different manner. As one field representative of the Adult Education Division he has worked with black adults. His appointment to the division was for that purpose. His efforts and his appointment, however meritorious, represent the view that Blacks are a "special case." The Annual Reports have special sections dealing with the adult education program for Blacks. The following questions come to mind: Why must black school children be integrated while their parents attend adult education classes designed especially by Oliver for black adults? Should ill-educated black adults be treated and trained in a different manner than their white counterparts? Oliver has supplied no answer to these questions.

He has correctly claimed that his people have the right to attend black churches. However, if one were to view the churches of the African United Baptist Association as educational institutions in the broader sense of the term, is there a degree of inconsistency in Oliver's demand for integrated education in the larger sense of that term?

If integrated schools can close the social distance between the races, it is fair to assume that integrated churches can also serve that purpose. If one can equate a successfully integrated school with the concept of the

brotherhood of man, then why could not integrated churches be equated with the concept of the Fatherhood of God? Oliver is no less adamant about separate black church organizations than are those whites who wish to maintain separate worship. Is it not probable that a black youth attending a "white" day school would find inconsistency in separate Sunday Schools? In effect, is not that youth undergoing two kinds of educational experiences that inculcate some opposing purposes and ends? Although Oliver would answer the above questions in terms of white prejudice and geographic separation he is by his own actions and demands, only partially bridging the social distance between the races.

Social distance between the races has not been adequately bridged by Oliver's efforts in the church, the African United Baptist Association, the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Adult Education Division. It is fair to say that one man's efforts could hardly be expected to succeed fully in such a mammoth task. Because Oliver feels that the above organizations' efforts, however well-intentioned, have not adequately met the needs of the province's Blacks, he slowly conceived the concept of the Black United Front.

Perhaps the largest unanswered question facing Oliver involves the possibility that BUF may increase the social

distance between races. In his search for black cohesiveness and racial pride might he not risk white alienation? Might there not develop a "white backlash"? Will BUF promote black racism? If the BUF exercise is to be viewed as an educational endeavor in the largest sense of the word, are the Blacks the only recipients of that "education"? Will any increased black pride necessarily lead to greater white acceptance? Although it is too early to answer fully these questions, among others, the search for answers can begin with an examination of the philosophy, purpose, and structure of BUF--an organization which Oliver considers to be his greatest accomplishment.

The Black United Front

The Beginning

In November, 1968 two Black Panthers,[108] followed by Stokely Carmichael, visited Halifax. The Panthers addressed the "largest gathering of Negroes in memory,"[109] at a "Black Family Meeting" chaired by Oliver. The white community and the press were barred from the meeting which Oliver described as "anti-violent in tone, but wanting a new firmness, dignity, aggressiveness, even militance . . . and wanting action in the immediate future."[110] "The

Panthers," he said, "were the catalyst that got something going that was already there."[111] He reported the following reactions to the meeting:

> 1. Whites became afraid thinking it would mean violence and burning. They advised their Black friends not to talk to the Panthers. Schools, churches and halls were subsequently closed to them. The Police were alerted.
> 2. Many Blacks suffered humiliation when they realized that their social problems had attracted national publicity. Their pride was badly damaged.
> 3. Then there were the Blacks who felt the Panthers should be heard. . . .[112]

Another source stated that "the whole community, Black and White, were really shaken up by the visit of the Panthers."[113]

The meeting resulted in the appointment of an interim committee which was to construct an organization whose purpose was to improve the status of the province's Blacks. Oliver said that under considerable pressure by the committee he accepted the chairmanship of the group which was "assigned the task to study the needs and to recommend a feasible means for Black Nova Scotians to fulfill their economic, political, social and psychological needs through the processes of Self-Determination."[114]

In Exodus, an Adult Education Branch publication, Oliver discussed the objectives of the interim committee:

> The BUF Interim Committee was set up to consider the expressed grievances of the eighteen thousand Black

> People in Nova Scotia; and to recommend a structure whereby these grievances might be met and eliminated in an organized manner. . . . One problem facing the committee was the fact that in spite of all the resources and programs designed to assist in the development of people, change in the socio-economic position of Black People was not very evident. . . . It was on the basis of this general thesis that a program based on self-determination was developed.[115]

Two months after the "Black Family Meeting," the interim committee of eighteen members presented a brief to the Honorable Gerard Pelletier, Secretary of State, and to the Honorable Allen MacEachern, Minister of Manpower and Immigration. Federal financial assistance was requested. Examination of the brief, prepared by Oliver, provides insight into his thinking, The purposes of BUF were listed:

1. An organization to co-ordinate and supplement the programs of all Black Organizations in the province. It will not duplicate or replace any of the activities of these organizations.
2. The BUF is for all Black Communities whether or not there is a Black Organization in existence.
3. It is the conviction of the Front that if the Black People are to acquire pride in themselves, dignity as human beings, a sense of self-worth and respect as a race of people; we must be United as one family. It is impossible to bring about any meaningful and effective change for our race unless we all work together to present a Black Consensus, ie., a United Voice.
4. The BUF is an organization that will promote and assist such programs as (a) Afro-History and Culture, (b) Promotion of businesses and enterprises, (c) Drama, (d) Recreation, (e) Conferences, (f) Rallies as well as (g) Education, (h) Housing and (i) Employment, (j) or any program that is relevant to any problem

that concerns the Black Community.[116]

It was announced that each black community would elect two representatives to the Council which in turn would elect a Board of Directors.[117] That board would hire permanent staff and lay down general policy. Oliver wrote: "The backbone of the BUF is the Council . . . [because] they know the community, the people, the problems, and have shown a keen desire to bring about change."[118] Even before formal representations had been made to black communities, fourteen communities representing 75 per cent of the province's Blacks, made appointments to the Council,[119] which may indicate a degree of popular support for the BUF concept. Nothing was to be done without first securing the consensus of the people in the communities. Oliver reported: "Priorities will be established by the black people . . . according to their needs."[120]

Oliver's brief, as much of his written work, outlined briefly the province's black history with reference to the slavery period, the role of the black church, the socio-economic deprivation of Blacks, and the impact of segregation and discrimination. "The black people," he claimed, "now realize that their problem really grows out of the fact that they have lost their history, and have therefore lost their self-respect."[121]

> Black people now for the first time in the history of the Nova Scotia Negro have collectively realized that their frustration emerges from the subtleties of racism and discrimination by the whites. They realize that they cannot fight the intangible thing called "discrimination" without some power to control it. It is hoped that the Black United Front would be the tool that would assist in the developing of sufficient power to overcome the monotony of anxiety, frustration, poverty and depression caused by overt and insidious discrimination.[122]

The brief called for the Blacks to cast off the "white shackles" that had inhibited their progress. In a careful reference to potential violence, Oliver said: "Clearly, the mood of our young people in particular is a product of Black Power and at this stage it is free from violence."[123]

The conclusion of the brief listed the goals of BUF:

1. To establish a Black Consensus on all matters involving Black People in Nova Scotia.
2. To develop programs that will bring Economic Power.
3. To develop an Improved Self - Image.
4. Development of Black Leadership.
5. To research and document problem areas.
6. To develop Consumer Power.
7. To develop Political Power.
8. To provide an opportunity for Black People to analyze and define their own problems and suggested solutions.
9. Co-operation and more Federal Assistance.[124]

Oliver made clear why he felt the request to Ottawa was necessary:

> The BUF brief was presented . . . because the basic problem facing Negroes in Nova Scotia is one of Citizenship, their dignity, and status as Canadian Citizens. . . . The process of dehumanization and

> stereotyping of Black People is the main issue in our struggle against racism and bigotry. Our present day society fails to realize the extent to which its attitudes are influenced by the patterns of racial relations that were designed during the days of slavery. Black and White people must be prepared to examine today's social attitudes and ensure that they are not fostering the slave-master concept of racial relations.[125]

As noted above, Oliver referred to the Blacks' "status as Canadian citizens." He has retained his pride of Canadian citizenship gained from his earlier experiences in scouting, the chaplaincy, and elsewhere. Although he insists on black pride, he feels that that sentiment is consistent with Canadianism, however ill-defined the latter term is to him and to many other Canadians. Blacks have been in Canada for more than two centuries; the Oliver family has been here since The War of 1812. For those reasons, among others, the BUF brief referred to the Blacks' status as Canadians. In that regard it would be improper and cynical to suggest any insincerity in the BUF brief. Oliver has consistently stated that he wants to function within the framework of Canada and its laws. The response from Ottawa only strengthened his view that Blacks must not think in terms of political, economic, or social separation. For Oliver, black cohesiveness and pride do not mean separation. He and other Blacks convinced Ottawa officials accordingly.

Federal Response

The interim committee formulated organizational plans and corresponded with federal officials until August, 1969 when it was announced by the Honorable John Munro, Minister of Health and Welfare, that BUF would receive a federal grant of $470,000 over the next five years.[126] Munro said the grant would help the new organization "raise hell" with the federal government itself; and the BUF could become an effective pressure bloc for Blacks in Canada. The grant, he said, was an attempt to give the members of an under-privileged group the "means to change and control their own lives," as an alternative to social revolt.[127] Munro said that spokesmen for BUF were "quite open about what they're going to do--they're going to raise hell."[128] He suggested that the poor have acquired a special kind of expertise in what their needs really are. Munro claimed the money was to fight cultural poverty not racism. The grant was for organizational and administrative purposes rather than direct aid to needy families. No "strings" were attached to the grant "so that the organization can be free to engage in political activism."[129]

When asked to assess Oliver's role in the negotiations, Munro replied:

> Dr. Oliver, of course, is a very experienced,

> well-educated and lucid individual. He made a significant impression on federal officials when the case . . . was presented in Ottawa. . . . Certainly his leadership of the Interim Committee, his efforts at bringing together the various factions in the black community, his ability to develop and present the project idea in a logical and coherent manner, his general attitude of cooperation and moderation towards officials . . . were all factors which helped us to satisfactorily conclude negotiations. . . .[130]

Further details of the BUF grant was contained in a letter from the Honorable Robert Stanbury, Minister Without Portfolio (responsible for Citizenship), who wrote:

> The amount of the grant to the Black United Front in Nova Scotia is approximately $500,000 to be given over a period of five years. The Department of National Health and Welfare, through its Demonstration Grants Programme, is contributing approximately $470,000 over the full five years. The Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State, is providing organizational "seed money" for a period of three years, to a total amount of $45,000.[131]

Earlier, Oliver, Wedderburn, and Keith Prevost had met on January 23, 1969 with the Honorable Allen MacEachern, Manpower Minister, Jules Leger, Undersecretary of State to Gerard Pelletier, and with Robert Rabinovitch, special aide to Mr. Pelletier. The National Negro Weekly reported that MacEachern favored the grant to BUF because it would "help start a process of self-esteem" and "make black people aware of their own dignity."[132] Oliver reported that his group was well received by the Ottawa officials:

> . . . the whole exercise was probably one of the most wholesome exchanges in dialogues that I've had for some time. We were received not in a paternalistic manner but as if we were social scientists. Nothing was overdone, but examined carefully. The three of us came back feeling that for once we had been treated as citizens of Canada.[133]

When asked if he considered the Ottawa grant as "conscience money," Oliver replied carefully: "No, I'm not inclined to think that entirely."[134]

The Federal government's grant was the first one given to a citizens' group. The BUF experience should be useful to other minority groups in this nation, as Oliver intimated:

> I feel that there is much that can be transferred to other minority groups once the [BUF] experiment is completed. We had a meeting of BUF Executive and the executive of the Union of Nova Scotia Indians. . . . It was a demonstration of what could be transferred. The result of this meeting was an active coalition in specific areas.[135]

Oliver assessed white reactions to the BUF grant as follows:

> (1) Fear of violence and militancy.
> (2) Ridicule. "They can't help themselves. We've always looked after them."
> (3) It's time the Black people got together.[136]

A more favorable example of white reaction to BUF was offered by Mayor Allan O'Brien of Halifax:

> [BUF] . . . can be a communications vehicle between the Negro and White communities. This provides the Negroes with a vehicle to formulate requests of the community of which they are a part. By clearly identifying and describing their problems to the White community, the Negro can open doors to useful discussions for the possible solutions. . . . Little

> has been done which has been specifically directed at the lot of the Negro. . . .[137]

City officials gave such moral support to Oliver and BUF.

The Purpose

Oliver believes that BUF can contribute to "a transition from the slave-master complex."[138]

> It was not so much a matter of increased incidents of discriminatory acts but the pressure and frustration resulting from institutionalized racism. It becomes obvious that if black people are to be motivated, they must have an opportunity to assume reponsibility for their own future.[139]

He intimates that churches, other organizations, and the government were not solving the difficulties of the Blacks:

> . . . the greatest need and probably one that was not being considered by society was the need of status as far as black people are concerned--the ability to relate the majority in the community on an equal basis requires motivation. The feeling was that the only way we could get this motivation was to bring our black people together and allow them to profit from their experiences and their achievements.[140]

He does not think that BUF will make other organizations such as the NSAACP redundant. However, BUF may become an "umbrella" organization for other black organizations. "Certainly we do have a novel approach to the whole situation, and there are certain basic beliefs that we have that are concerned with the psychology of racism; . . . "[141] If BUF does become an "umbrella organization," its purpose

would be inconsistent with Oliver's 1968 statement to the AUBA:

> Another concern has been the tendency to create 'umbrella organizations' that are inclined to take over the programs carried on by existing organizations. This type of activity when initiated without consultation with residents . . . actually discredits their activities and weakens their leadership structure.[142]

Oliver claims that logic, reason, and disciplined action, rather than emotionalism or anger led him to create BUF: "I've always lived a disciplined life, and have thought before I moved."[143] BUF, he says, should be able to operate in a similar manner:

> The objective of BUF is to operate in an orderly manner and to utilize the resources that are provided through the democratic process. . . . This is the way I feel, but of course the final decision is not with me but what the group does. I simply say because you set an organization up then you don't turn around and tell them what to do.[144]

He considers himself as a practical, pragmatic individual who will use any worthwhile, democratic process to achieve full equality for Blacks.

When reminded that the Baptist faith embraces the brotherhood of man, and the BUF is an all-black organization, he replied:

> I think that BUF is a necessity and expedient because with all of our idealism nothing has accrued. Blacks are practically in the same status and in the same position as they were

> 140-200 years ago. We still are asked to tolerate tokenism. This country has never seen effective and functional Blacks. I don't think that it is prepared really to receive them.[145]

His earlier idealism is partially replaced by historic realities--as he defines them.

Oliver's efforts in creating BUF showed that he was in a greater hurry, and was more demanding than ever before. Yet he used the ideals of Ghandi and King, rather than those of violent men:

> I think in terms of non-violence; I believe in love. We haven't reached the point of demonstrations. That's a strategy that hasn't even been discussed. Dr. Martin Luther King of course is sort of the ideal for BUF. You see his picture mounting the headquarters of BUF. Dr. Martin Luther King is just as much a Nova Scotian as he is an American.[146]

Donald H. Clairmont and Dennis W. Magill supported Oliver's assessment of King's influence: "Martin Luther King was virtually as much an inspiration to the Nova Scotian Blacks as he was to the American Blacks."[147] Oliver said that BUF was not advocating violence: "We want black economic power, black political power, and black social power."[148]

By mid-1970 BUF had begun its own newspaper, Grasp, formed from the words: growth, readiness, advancement, self-determination, and people. The publication stressed black pride and awareness, and featured news items from the various black communities of the province. Typical of the

publication's attempts to publicize the BUF purpose was the following editorial:

> The Black United Front of Nova Scotia is an organization designed by Black people to be controlled by Black people, for the interest of Black people. It is the conviction of the Front that if Black people are to acquire pride in themselves, dignity as human beings, a sense of self-worth and respect, as a race of people, we must be united as one family.
>
> This simply means that Black people are going to analyze the plights that affect them in accordance with their deeply felt needs and determine the solutions to them. Black people recognize that the existing governmental and municipal agencies do not respond appropriately to their needs, consequently the need for Black self-determination. Frustration arising out of the subtle and intangible nature of racism has made Blacks in this province aware of their lack of power. The same lack of power is evidenced in the fact that, prior to BUF, there was little opportunity for self-determination.[149]

BUF officials have also considered the formation of an affiliated group called "Friends of BUF" which would include whites. The structure and purpose of that group have not yet been determined by BUF.

Early Difficulty and Criticism

The birth of BUF was not painless; it brought some condemnation, white and black, on Oliver. Some of the founding "fathers" soon left BUF for reasons that are not yet totally clear. BUF, created for the sake of unity, also sharpened the points of disagreement that had existed previous to its birth. Oliver is aware of these difficulties.

Because his son, Jules, was appointed Director of the organization, allegations have been made that Oliver was "empire-building" when he strove to create BUF. The allegation, which has caused Oliver some embarrassment, appears to be unfair. Oliver stepped down as Chairman of the Interim Committee before the appointment was made, and attempted to dissuade his son from making application. Jules Oliver was asked by the Board to make application but later he withdrew it.[150] His father reported:

> . . . he was commandeered by the entire board which suggested to him that having advertised in Canada and the United States that they had not come up with an applicant that they deemed able to handle the task. They asked that he reconsider and allow his name to stand. After much soul searching he made his own decision.[151]

Other kinds of criticisms are also levelled at Oliver. There are black spokesmen who agree with Robin W. Winks' suggestion that for an earlier time Oliver's leadership was excellent, but that he now restricts himself to ideas associated with an earlier period, and has lost empathy with many of the younger militants.[152] One such young militant is Coleman Burnley "Rocky" Jones,[153] a member of the BUF interim committee who left the organization because he felt it was not taking a more militant stand.

In a letter to Oliver, Jones criticized the BUF interim leader. He professed love and admiration for Oliver and

acknowledged that he (Oliver) " . . . was the person who has it in his power to advance the struggle the furthest in the shortest time."[154] Jones claimed Oliver was not listening to the vocal black minority which wished to see BUF become a more militant organization. In his letter Jones claimed that Oliver "passed over" criticisms, and refused to listen to "open evaluations." Oliver was accused of betraying the trust Blacks had for him: "We must come together but it must be with an element of trust and understanding; this is not possible as long as you refuse to listen to us."[155] Jones added:

> Is the mass media more important to you than your people? Don't you give a damn for us at all? How in hell can we unite if we can't even talk to each other? Please stop playing god [sic] and come down where the masses are. . . . The successful leaders have realized the need for continual communication with the masses and you shouldn't be any exception.[156]

Unity within the black community, Jones said, was hampered by Oliver who was alleged to be out of touch with black youth:

> The BUF is part of the means that we will use to obtain our liberation. We are the ones that will be running it because we are the ones who are the people of tomorrow. . . . Why can't you understand that it is necessary for our future to be part of the real planning--the decision making? Are you blind to the fact that in trying to bring about unity you are creating disunity? . . . Can't you realize that many of our more aggressive young

> people are willing to commit suicide by having a physical confrontation with the police and the powers that be because their own "leaders" will not meet with them and help give guidance and direction? We cannot challenge our "leaders" publicly so the frustration is being spasmodically directed toward the police. This will lead to a blood bath that will hurt black people. Do you want to see kids in the streets fighting a battle that they cannot win at this stage in our development? If you continue to ignore this element in our community then their blood will be on your hands and you cannot escape your guilt. You are in the central leadership position.[157]

Jones said that Oliver must become " . . . sensitive to the minority or you will be guilty of the same crime that this western, racist, imperialist society is."[158] In an earlier press report Jones made clear his view of black power:

> Black Power is here and it's up to the whites to see we never have to use it in a violent manner. If we have to, we will. . . . We will do anything to have it [racial discrimination] eliminated. . . . They [whites] helped to create the situation so let them help to change it.[159]

Although Jones initially gave wholehearted support to BUF,[160] and became a member of the organization's interim committee, he later left BUF because he felt it was not sufficiently militant to achieve goals he felt to be necessary.

Oliver acknowledged the disagreement with Jones (who declined an interview concerning Oliver), but claimed that their disagreement involved tactics rather than purpose. He commented on Jones' point of view and his connection with

the Afro-Canadian Liberation Movement:

> The Afro-Liberation Movement developed when the BUF interim committee meetings were going on. It appeared to me that it was initiated by a small group who felt the interim committee were not militant enough or weren't activist enough. . . . But as I understand the membership is very limited and actually I don't think they have meetings now at all. . . . Rocky made the statement that he couldn't support the structure of the type of organization. He preferred an organization with less structure in which to function.[161]

Councillor Arnold Johnson, a member of the interim committee, also had disagreement with the organization after its birth: "Nobody from BUF has contacted me as councillor of the area [Preston] and asked for my advice. They tell the government what they plan to do and that's it. That is discrimination by the black man against the black man."[162] Johnson, among other Blacks, felt that in the light of John Munro's visit to Preston that BUF was going to concentrate its efforts on that community: "It is my request to Dr. Oliver and his little hell-raising group to stay the hell out of Preston."[163] Oliver replied that "hell raising is such a foreign expression in terms of what we're trying to do that I have no comment. . . . "[164] He added that BUF would distribute its efforts to all black communities, and not concentrate on Preston.

Perhaps black disunity and fragmentation were best exemplified by a large NSAACP meeting in June, 1969. Several

spokesmen, including Oliver and Wedderburn, attempted to explain the BUF concept. Considerable disagreement and anger were displayed. BUF organizers, including Oliver, were dismayed over the meeting.[165]

Ross Kinney, Moderator of the AUBA, and an early supporter of the BUF concept, disassociated that organization from BUF. (The AUBA, with which Oliver had long been associated, later formed a "coalition" with BUF.[166]) Kinney was supported by Rev. W. Bryant, past AUBA Moderator, who said: "There is a top echelon Halifax City group" in control of BUF which would make the AUBA and the NSAACP subservient to the 'super-committee.'"[167] The NSAACP's president, Wedderburn, stated that white reaction to BUF's creation was "by and large supportive."[168]

Rev. J. C. Mack, present minister at Cornwallis Church, has displayed reservations regarding the BUF organization and its leadership. In 1969 Mack and his congregation disallowed BUF meetings to be held in the church hall. He believed that the all-black BUF might alienate the white community.

Mayor Allan O'Brien acknowledged division within black ranks but hoped Ottawa would support BUF.[169] A newspaper editorial added:

> Already there is misunderstanding and friction among

> various factions in the Black community about the worth and meaning of the Front. Some Negroes doubt its potential, others feel it does not represent them. The Front's advocates admit much structuring remains to be done. There is also fear that the Front might interfere with the roles of existing organizations although . . . W. P. Oliver has stated that such groups would retain their autonomy.[170]

Further study may indicate how representative and widespread those disagreements are. In any case, BUF in its first year of operation, seemingly chose a middle road between the more extreme Panthers and the Afro-Canadian Liberation Movement, and the more conservative, integrated NSAACP approach.

BUF's Director and office staff have handsome office space in Halifax's Trade Mart Building from which operate the field representatives for the sections of the province for which they are responsible. The Board of Directors, all Black, meet regularly in the office to plan policy.

On the same floor of the Trade Mart Building are the offices of the Department of Education. There Oliver, the honorary Chairman of BUF, can remain "the power behind the throne" of the BUF organization--a concept that he considers to be his greatest contribution to Nova Scotia.[171]

"BUF," said Oliver, "is the mirror of my life's work."[172] The organization, which he calls a "coordinating and catalytic body,"[173] represents his concept of leadership education

in action. It epitomizes his sense of black pride and awareness, his reaction to the greater white society's values, and his attempts to bring social and economic change to the province's Blacks. "The leadership concept of BUF," he said, "represents the totality of my efforts with the church, the NSAACP and adult education."[174] "It goes without saying the organization and its funding has given me the greatest sense of satisfaction. It was made possible by virtue of the previous years of organization and group training. . . . "[175]

It may be that BUF will have "to win some immediate ball games"[176] to bring unity and cohesiveness to the black community. Perhaps such victories will ignite interest and concern in the larger community which, for over two centuries, has chosen to ignore the "invisible" black Canadians.

Oliver is aware of the challenge ahead of the organization:

> I suppose the future success of the Black United Front concept will depend upon the degree to which members can function with a view to serving the 18,000 black people they represent, without being deterred by concern for their own professional image or prestige.[177]

As BUF's "senior statesman," Oliver wrote:

> I consider my involvement to be important and I particularly like the role they assigned to me. I like it because I can 'plug in' certain experiences and expertise as well as following the

> development of the concept which I mothered. . . . I do not like the role of spokesman; I prefer to be an enabler, or an available resource.[178]

He empathizes with black men facing difficulties in North America, Rhodesia, South Africa, and elsewhere. Perhaps the following statement by Oliver, who considers himself part of a world-wide black brotherhood, best exemplifies his concept of BUF: "I am a black man first and a Nova Scotian second!"[179] Oliver has become a racist (not a racial bigot) only in the sense that he is proud of his blackness, and wants other Blacks to share in that pride.

Oliver and Class Differences

With justification Oliver believes that most Nova Scotian Blacks are on the lowest socio-economic level. His ministerial, educational, and organizational work has, in part, been directed to the economic advancement of his people. It appears difficult, if not impossible, to discuss the socio-economic status of Blacks without fully considering the influence of color difference.

> In Canada . . . ethnic groups are constituent groups; they are part of the basic structure of society. . . . It is unrealistic . . . to speak of Canadian or American lower or higher class without reference to ethnic groups. It is never simply upper or lower class, it is upper or lower "ethclass." . . . It is characteristic of modern pluralistic societies that some ethnic groups . . . fall behind in the general rise in school and occupational attainment.[180]

The Blacks can be considered such an "ethclass" which has not shared socio-economic equality in Nova Scotia. Oliver makes this point clear; his efforts with BUF are directed to the attainment of socio-economic equality for the black "ethclass."

If one were to elevate economically the Blacks of the province they still would not enjoy equality in the full sense of the word. Certainly such new-found economic status would not necessarily lead to social acceptance by whites, given the historically-determined attitudes of both races. Economic equality would only be a very necessary beginning. As Oliver says, "although income will not solve all the problems it is a major prerequisite if individuals are to have a sense of self-respect and dignity."[181] He believes that full employment can only help "to bridge the difficult barrier of colour."[182]

The question of color permeates Oliver's writings, discussions, and speeches. Seldom does he consider in isolation the Blacks' problems in terms of class standing. He believes that structural conditions have forced Blacks, from their first settlement, to the bottom level of the social hierarchy. It is color, Oliver claims, that placed them there.

It has been noted earlier that the marginality,

poverty, and subordination of Blacks have largely been viewed by indifferent whites as part of the ordinary state of affairs. For that reason Oliver equates Blacks' difficulties less with economic differences and more with color difference. This is not to say that he views Blacks' problems as being totally rooted in the color question. As mentioned earlier, he does believe that black economic advancement is necessary. He recognizes that such advancement requires tremendous effort: "To break through the economic . . . barriers will require the cooperation of teams of workers, sharing their experiences and setting as their goal a new standard of living. . . . "[183]

His intent to break the economic barriers led to his adult education efforts which involved what he called community development:

> Community development's purpose is to hasten the pace of changes in underprivileged areas through the cooperation and involvement of the local people with a view to achieving social and economic security. . . . A second characteristic . . . is its willingness to start where the local people are and move in a direction which they themselves chose. . . . We must not limit the goals to the local situation, but the change may involve their relationship to the wider community, the province, region, nation, and the world.[184]

He added that "the concern for the disadvantaged is a universal spirit."[185] For Oliver, at least, there has been an inadequate amount of that concern in Nova Scotia.

Oliver has placed Nova Scotian Blacks in the wider Canadian context. He likened Canadian society to a multi-colored, multi-lingual, multi-cultured mosaic. The Blacks, he claimed, have been placed at the mosaic's bottom; the WASPS have built their nest at the mosaic's top.[186] Oliver's views were supported by the province's Human Rights Coordinator, Marvin Schiff: "Black men are inevitably at the bottom of what has been called the 'vertical social mosaic.'"[187] Further comment came from the black university professor, Howard McCurdy, a prominent spokesman for Canadian Blacks: "Canadians . . . talk of two founding races and a mosaic composed of the other races. It's like a quilt--two big patches in the middle and all others attached on the outside--the blacks on the far outside."[188] In a New York Times article Oliver suggested without elaboration that Canadian Blacks were in the lowest level of a caste system.[189]

Oliver has been partially ambivalent toward the suggestion that economic difficulties lie at the base of the Blacks' problems. In a discussion of the Guysborough Blacks, for example, he said that "the economic situation is basic to the whole problem. . . . "[190] Another source added dimension to the problem:

It is clear that the problem of Black poverty in

> Nova Scotia is part of a larger problem of poverty in an economically depressed region. Since Confederation, Nova Scotia has had to struggle in order to remain economically viable. This has meant that, given the racist character of traditional Nova Scotian society, Blacks have been unable to advance significantly beyond their initial disadvantage. The majority of Nova Scotian Blacks are poor, ill-educated, and engaged in irregular and unskilled employment.[191]

It is suggested here that despite important similarities between poor whites and Blacks, it is incorrect to equate the two groups' socio-economic status, and to assume that general policies directed against poverty would be equally effective for each group. The crucial difference is white racism and its legacy. In spite of his infrequent references to the economic roots of the Blacks' difficulties, it is apparent that Oliver basically agrees with the above opinion.

Oliver's preoccupation with racial issues has brought limited criticism from white spokesmen who incorrectly assume that the black leader does not consider the non-racial difficulties of the Blacks. Dr. M. E. Keating, superintendent of Halifax schools, for example, challenged Oliver:

> There is a lot of misunderstanding that is not to do with color. A lot of things you have mentioned have nothing to do with race. I don't think we, should apply the word 'discrimination' to everything that happens--some of these things happen to whites. There may be cases where color accentuates

> the problem, but it is not the basis of the problem.[192]

Oliver claims that color difference does not "accentuate" the problem; it is the problem. It is suggested here that Blacks would have an easier task if their problems were exclusively economic, rather than largely racial.

For Oliver, the basic problem facing Blacks involves racial prejudice. His creation of BUF is in response to that prejudice.

The Fundamental Reason

"I am prepared to state, without any reserve, that 95 per cent of our problems stem from color and race [differences], resulting in racial discrimination."[193] Those are the sentiments of Oliver, who during the latter part of his long attempt to assist Blacks, is searching for a new answer to an old problem--discrimination. To understand Oliver's rational for BUF and for his other leadership roles, it is necessary to enunciate further his views (which have been discussed in many areas of this study) on racial discrimination and prejudice in Nova Scotia.

Oliver's recent attempt to build black pride through BUF is primarily his reaction to the discrimination and prejudice which have faced his people. Prejudice, he says, is part of the Canadian culture.[194] His attempt may also be

construed as his belief that formal education for Blacks, and work accomplished by the NSAACP and the black church, have not succeeeded in eradicating the fundamental problem of second-class citizenship for Blacks.

Earlier Oliver stated that violence (as a means to gain first-class citizenship) in the United States would not likely spread to Nova Scotia. Rev. Charles Coleman, formerly a black activist in Harlem, and Oliver's successor at Cornwallis Church, disagreed. He believed that violence and unrest could spread throughout the province if given the right leadership. In an apparent disagreement with the province's black leaders, including Oliver, Coleman added: "It would be desirable if it [unrest] did [spread]."[195] Oliver acknowledged that there was a feeling of revolt but was less clear than was Coleman as to possible American influence on potential violence in Nova Scotia. In interviews Oliver claimed to dismiss the use of violence but appeared unsure as to the possibility of future violence.

By 1963 Oliver acknowledged that there was a feeling of revolt among the province's Blacks who had become part of the universal revolution within the ranks of all Blacks:[196]

> Racism has been a diabolical process whereby Black people have been dehumanized, treated as children and denied what was theirs by right. The 38 million Black People on this continent are through accepting

> this type of treatment; they want to be first-class citizens. This new attitude is frightening many White People and they don't know what to do. Some are turning to the police, prepare for law and order; in other words, bring out the Whip - and suppress them, or isolate them [Blacks]. I say . . . , there is only one answer if you wish to restore good will and maintain good order. Replace the former attitude with one of honest respect for every person, regardless of the color of his skin. This is Brotherhood--this confers the supreme and most relevant Right that belongs to man, "The Right To Be."[197]

The "right to be," Oliver believes, cannot be guaranteed through legislation[198] which may alter peoples' actions but not necessarily their attitudes. He says that laws are not the final solution for Blacks who have been "ground down by decades of oppression":[199] "We have lived under a form of racial discrimination that has suppressed personal pride, self-respect, and [which has] robbed us of ambition and aspiration. . . . It has left us hating rather than loving one another."[200] He said in an address to the Beth Israel Synagogue of Halifax that "the law might be able to force you to hire me, but it can't stop you from hating me" because of color difference.[201] Oliver added that laws are of little value to those Blacks whose spirits have been defeated:

> We have been so docile and so obedient that laws were not needed. Nobody needs fences for their cattle when they are content to stay in their own pastures. Discriminatory practices against

> our people have been going on for 200 years. We have reached the point where we have accepted it. . . .[202]

Other black leaders such as Coleman agree with Oliver that laws do not prevent discrimination: "As it is, there is a law to cover it, but it doesn't work."[203] Coleman also acknowledges that many Blacks have become dispirited because of prevailing white attitudes.

Oliver is also aware that there are many Blacks in his province who have been "worn down" by long standing white attitudes:

> In this type of socio-economic climate his [the black man's] very personality has suffered to the point where he has become his own prison warden. Ignored and rejected by the white majority, he has developed a hatred of himself. Where he has been aggressively rejected and suppressed he has rallied around his own kind in the segregated church, lodge or club. Where he has been offered paternalism he has played the role of the mendicant, thus permitting himself to deteriorate to a child. . . . Negroes in Canada suffer from a caste system. . . .[204]

Segregation and discrimination, he states, "strike a devastating blow" at the self-esteem of Blacks.[205] He adds that the black man is not really part of the Canadian society, but is detached from it as a separate caste. Oliver told the Lunenburg Board of Trade in 1969 that the black man may be accepted or rejected, depending on whether he is "useful" to the white man.[206]

To eradicate racial discrimination would be a "useful"

thing to do, says Oliver: "One of the most expensive luxuries in society is prejudice, not only in terms of dollars, but in terms of human life. . . . "[207] Racial discrimination leads to hatred which in turn may lead to crime and immorality; it makes economic sense to eliminate discrimination.[208]

Prejudice is a pre-judgement made without considering the facts; it is a disease as deadly as cancer, and will require the resources of science to cope with it.[209] Oliver adds that "prejudice is something that is learned; it is like measles or mumps--it is contagious."[210]

Discrimination against Blacks, said Oliver, is "part of the white mentality which has built up as a result of events in history, dating from the slave trade."[211] He noted that after three hundred years Canadian Blacks have not been assimilated into the pattern of Canadian life because of subtle and overt brands of racial discrimination.[212] Oliver told the Coady International Institute that color has a permanence that defies time's changes. Slant eyes or a hooked nose may disappear in a few generations but the color of the skin remains a mark of identification.[213] That "identification" by whites, said Oliver, prevents the black man from enjoying first-class citizenship.

I can have a million dollars; I can have 10

> University degrees--but what happens when I try to join a golf club, the yacht squadron, and . . . many churches? Isn't this society's way of saying, "You may escape from servitude, you may wipe out ignorance, but you can never belong to the family of man."[214]

Typical of those whites who, like Oliver, believe their province is racist is Dr. John Savage, a white physician who operates a weekly clinic in Preston, a black settlement. Savage said that "there's a basic question of race bias--and it exists here in Nova Scotia, and as long as it's here, there'll always be a problem."[215] Savage believes that true brotherhood does not exist in Nova Scotia.

Oliver states that Blacks have every reason to be suspicious of the whites' efforts in the cause of brotherhood: "The black man will not argue with the logic of the whites but will seriously question their motives."[216] He suggests that the days are gone when Blacks must look to whites for leadership: "To expect a people who are underrated, stereotyped, classed as inferior, isolated, . . . to respond to mechanical manipulation [by whites] is ridiculous."[217] In his 1964 convocation address Oliver said that Blacks must look to themselves for leadership:

> . . . minority groups have their leaders who must be recognized. Too often members of the majority group endeavour to manipulate the power structure of the Negro community, which serves only to set progress in reverse. In the future all that is

> possible must be done to assist natural leaders. . . . They must be helped to realize that they have a right to expect the good things of this life; that they have no fear when they seek to lead their people into the freedom of equal opportunity.[218]

Coleman, among others, agrees with Oliver that Blacks must supply their own leadership:

> Outside help sterilizes the Negro's manliness. We're expected to sing "praise the white man from whom all blessings flow." Of course the Negro needs help, but the white man should stand behind the scenes, let the Negro do the work and take the credit. As long as you impose a regime, and leadership on a people, no matter how good it is, it will fail.[219]

By the late 1960's the racial situation in Nova Scotia called for a decision by the white majority. Oliver says that the "band-aid" approach is useless; "major-surgery" is required. Paternalism, tokenism, and white liberal attitudes are not required or wanted by black leaders. If love and freedom do not replace past white attitudes then "we will be incensed with [future] racial discrimination and bigotry."[220] He adds that there will have to be a complete change in the attitudes about race which will require whites to admit that they have failed and have been wrong.[221] That is the decision, Oliver says, that the whites must make.

Oliver believes that the black people of the province are at their point of decision. That decision could involve racial strife. "What the future holds will depend upon how

the [white] majority reacts to this natural development" of black self-determination and self-pride[222]--the goals of BUF. Oliver states that the racial situation is not "a so-called black problem; it is a white problem"[223]

It appears that with successful leadership and active support the Blacks involved will, within the context of law, proceed on their own terms. BUF will continue to stress economic, social, educational, and housing improvements for the province's Blacks. The first priority of the organization involves the building of inspired, confident, useful, concerned, and happy citizens--the goal Oliver has sought for thirty-five years--a goal any educator might well seek.

Yet Oliver knows he has not the final answer to the question: "Why do men treat men as they do?" He related an earlier discussion he and his family had in the privacy of their home:

> A few weeks ago my 13 year old son said to his mother, "Mom, wouldn't it be confusing if you were a member of the Ku Klux Klan and you were color blind. Even your own family wouldn't be safe!" The statement then triggered a discussion on the bombing of churches and the recent murders in Birmingham of 4 little Negro girls and 2 Negro boys. Our 17 year old son took time from packing for University to come forth and ask, "Why do white people hate us so?" This question produced a silence and an end to our discussion.[224]

Oliver concluded with the following observation: "Life at its best is a struggle for all, even for those with all the advantages. It is even more of a struggle for those who are haunted with the fears of survival and of social rejection."[225]

This chapter has examined Oliver's work as an adult educator and as a founder of BUF. The two endeavors are closely related. With the adult education program, in addition to emphasis on community development and the "three R's," he strove to create leadership in black communities, especially those in the Halifax region. He also encouraged commitment, concern, and action among Blacks.

The creation of BUF represents a similar motivation. It also indicates that his hardening attitude toward the racial question demanded a new approach and a new outlet. The BUF organization appears to be the apex of his concern and effort. Only time will tell if it will be his finest accomplishment or his greatest defeat. Hopefully, it will not provoke another mistake by the white majority.

FOOTNOTES

1. Summarized from Oliver Papers, "The Significance of Adult Education in a Changing Society," Halifax, ca. 1968.

2. Ibid., "Adult Education in the Negro Communities of Nova Scotia," Halifax, ca. 1964.

3. Ibid., "A New Deal for the Negro in Nova Scotia," Address to Sociology Club Acadia University, Wolfville, ca. 1966.

4. Ibid., "Education and Community Development," Halifax, ca. 1965.

5. See supra, Chap. II for discussion of earlier segregated schools. At a 1964 Human Rights Conference at Dalhousie University, Oliver's viewpoint was supported by Gerald Tynes, the black principal of a 100 per cent de facto segregated school in Preston East: " . . . Negro children were at a marked disadvantage in learning. Their home environments provided little scope for becoming interested and enthusiastic about education." Dartmouth Free Press, December 17, 1964.

6. Oliver Papers, "The Role of Education in Improving Inter-Group Relations," Address to Canadian Council of Christian and Jews, Halifax, February 1, 1966.

7. Ibid., "Education and Community Development," Halifax, ca. 1965.

8. Ibid. For further opinion by Oliver regarding segregation's impact on black children, see ibid., "Convocation Address King's University," Halifax, November 20, 1964.

9. Ibid., "A New Deal for the Negro in Nova Scotia," Address to Sociology Club Acadia University, ca. 1966.

10. Ibid.

11. Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 124.

12. Oliver Papers, "Education and Community Development," Halifax, ca. 1965.

13. Ibid., "Interstaff Newsletter to Adult Education Branch," Halifax, 1963.

14. Ibid., "A New Deal for the Negro in Nova Scotia," Address to Sociology Club Acadia University, ca. 1966.

15. Ibid.

16. W. P. Oliver, News Bulletin, V. No. 5 (November, 1965), 1. The News Bulletin, written by Oliver from 1962 to February, 1969, was replaced by Exodus. Jules R. Oliver reported: "There are 412 Negro students in Junior and Senior high schools throughout the Metro area. Over 71% . . . are in grades 7-9 with the mean age being 18. . . . many of these students are potential drop-outs." Jules R. Oliver, "Final Report on the Problem of Unemployment for the Negro" (report submitted to the Negro Employment Interim Committee, Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission, Halifax, 1969).

17. Oliver Papers, "A New Deal for the Negro in Nova Scotia," Address to Sociology Club Acadia University, ca. 1966.

18. Quoted in Jules R. Oliver, "NSAACP," 25.

19. Summarized from Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 61.

20. Oliver Papers, "A New Deal for the Negro in Nova Scotia," Address to Sociology Club Acadia University, ca. 1966.

21. Ibid., "Conference on Elementary Education," Halifax, January 3-4, 1948.

22. Ibid., "A New Deal for the Negro in Nova Scotia," Address to Sociology Club Acadia University, ca. 1966.

23. Ibid., "Adult Education in the Negro Communities of Nova Scotia," Halifax, ca. 1964.

24. Ibid., "Adult Education and the Colored Communities 1956-1957," Halifax, 1957.

25. Ibid., "Education and Community Development," Halifax, ca. 1965.

26. Ibid. See Appendix C for a black youth's view of society.

27. In official reports references are made to the Adult Education Division, The Division of Adult Education, and The Adult Education Branch, among others. For earlier attempts to educate adults, see Robert S. Patterson,

"Society and Education During the Wars and Their Interlude: 1914-1945," Canadian Education: A History, ed. by J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp, and Louis-Philippe Audet (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1970), 366.

28. Quoted in Shand, "Negro Adult Education," 4.

29. Ibid.

30. Guy Henson, "Report of Director of Adult Education," Annual Report, 1946.

31. Province of Nova Scotia Department of Education: Annual Report of the Director of Adult Education (Halifax: The Queen's Printer, July 31, 1961), 7-8. Cited hereafter as Report of Director. Timmins calls Oliver an articulate, sympathetic, knowledgeable, communicative, concerned man with boundless energy, faith, optimism, and a rare sense of humor. Summarized from H. B. Timmins, private interview, May 11, 1970.

32. J. H. MacKenzie, Supervisor of Field Services, Adult Education Branch, private interview, May 11, 1970. MacKenzie suggests that Oliver's greatest strengths lie in the rapport he has with whites and Blacks and in the stimulation he provides Blacks. Summarized from ibid.

33. Summarized from letter from T. M. Jones, Acting Director of the Adult Education Branch, Halifax, to W. P. Oliver, June 21, 1966.

34. See supra, Chap. V for the NSAACP's efforts in the field of education.

35. Oliver Papers, "Adult Education and the Negro Communities of Nova Scotia," Halifax, April 11, 1966.

36. Ibid., "Adult Education in the Negro Communities of Nova Scotia," Halifax, ca. 1964.

37. Ibid., "Community Development and Human Relations," Halifax, ca. 1967.

38. Ibid., "Community Development Short Course," New Road, May 18-20, 1965.

39. Ibid., "Adult Education and the Negro Communities of Nova Scotia," Halifax, April 11, 1966.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid., "A New Deal for the Negro in Nova Scotia," Address to Sociology Club Acadia University, ca. 1966.

42. Ibid., "Adult Education and the Negro Communities of Nova Scotia," Halifax, April 11, 1966.

43. Ibid., "A New Deal for the Negro in Nova Scotia," Address to Sociology Club Acadia University, ca. 1966.

44. Minutes of AUBA, 109th Sessions, New Glasgow, August 18-20, 1962.

45. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 389.

46. W. P. Oliver, News Bulletin, III, No. 4 (April, 1963).

47. Oliver Papers, "Field Representative's Annual Report August 1, 1963-July 31, 1964," Halifax, 1964.

48. Ibid., "Leadership Education in the Negro Communities of Nova Scotia," Halifax, 1966.

49. Ibid., "The Role of Education in Improving Inter-Group Relations," Address to Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, Halifax, February 1, 1966.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid., "The University in Society," Convocation Address, King's University, Halifax, November 20, 1964.

53. Ibid., "A New Deal for the Negro in Nova Scotia," Address to Sociology Club Acadia University, ca. 1966. In 1963 Oliver reported that a survey of 381 black fathers in Halifax County revealed 50 per cent had completed Grade 6 or less, 17 per cent had less than Grade 4, 3 per cent had gone beyond Grade 12, and the largest group had completed Grades 4 to 6. Ibid., "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Its Significance to the Negro in Nova Scotia," Address to the Coady International Institute, Antigonish, N.S., December 10, 1963. See Henson, The Conditions of Negroes of Halifax City for further discussion of grade levels achieved by various black groups in the Halifax area.

54. The Leader Post, December 14, 1962.

55. Oliver Papers, "Adult Education and the Negro Communities of Nova Scotia," Halifax, April 11, 1966.

56. Ibid.

57. Annual Report, 1946, 96.

58. Oliver Papers, "Development in the Negro Communities of Nova Scotia," Halifax, 1966.

59. Annual Report, 1947, 170.

60. Ibid., 1949, 196.

61. Ibid., 1950, 166.

62. Ibid. Oliver's practical approach to adult education is not unlike the methods advanced by Booker T. Washington, black American educator and writer.

63. Letter from W. P. Oliver to Guy Henson, Director of Division of Adult Education, July 30, 1951.

64. Annual Report. 1951, 84.

65. Ibid., 1953, 102.

66. Ibid., 1954, 7.

67. See supra, Chap. V for further information regarding Cooper's purposes in Nova Scotia.

68. Annual Report, 1956, 78.

69. Minutes of AUBA, 102nd Sessions, Preston East, August 20-22, 1955, 49.

70. Oliver Papers, "Adult Education and the Colored Communities August 1955 - July 30, 1956," Halifax, 1956.

71. Minutes of AUBA, 115th Sessions, Cherrybrook, August 17-19, 1968, 35.

72. Oliver Papers, "Adult Education and the Colored Communities August 1955 - July 30, 1956," Halifax, 1956.

73. Annual Report, 1957, 78.

74. Ibid., 1958, 5.

75. Ibid., 1959, 102. In 1964 Welfare Minister James Harding announced a "New Welfare Program To Concentrate On Negroes." Harding claimed that there were many black communities where more than seventy-five percent of the heads of families had little or no employment. He added: "We must feel a sense of shame when . . . the great majority of our Negro citizens in Nova Scotia are forced by economic circumstances, by lack of employment, and by happenstance of race, to live in substandard housing and exist on the edge of the prosperous life." The Mail-Star, November 16, 1964. George Matthews, Social Development Director for Nova Scotia, said a year later (1965) that if Blacks wanted help from the welfare department they had to "spell out their needs in precise terms." Matthews claimed there was a lack of leadership especially in the male half of the black population. Education, he stated, should have top priority. Ibid., June 5, 1965.

76. Shand, "Negro Adult Education," 13.

77. Annual Report, 1961, 57.

78. Ibid.

79. Shand, "Negro Adult Education," 13.

80. Annual Report, 1962, 42. A Halifax editorial called "The Right Man," commented on Oliver's appointment: "The appointment of the Rev. W. P. Oliver as field representative with the adult education division of the Department of Education is a significant indication that the department regards the colored communities of Nova Scotia as having special needs and problems. . . . He is eminently well qualified for the appointment. With his long pastorate in one of the largest colored settlements, and his work as a part-time adviser to the Department of Education during the last sixteen years, the Wolfville-born and educated (at Acadia University) clergyman probably has a deeper knowledge and understanding of the needs of the 20,000 Nova Scotians of African descent than anyone else in the province. . . . Among the specific tasks with which

Mr. Oliver must deal are the training of leaders, improvement of both academic and vocational adult education, establishment of credit unions and cooperative housing groups, and health training. Generally, his work will be stimulating and directing efforts aimed at self-help and providing a liaison between colored organizations and the various measures of assistance that are open to them." The Mail-Star, ca. February 15, 1962.

81. Annual Report, 1962, 42.

82. Letter from W. P. Oliver to Mrs. Beatrice Johnson, Newport Station, December 1, 1964.

83. Oliver Papers, "Adult Education and the Negro Communities of Nova Scotia," Halifax, April 11, 1966.

84. Ibid. See The Mail-Star, May 9 and 23, 1970 for accounts of typical closing ceremonies.

85. Annual Report, 1966, 44.

86. Ibid., 1967, 9.

87. Ibid., 1968, 10.

88. The Chronicle-Herald, December 6, 1968.

89. The Mail-Star, May 27, 1970. Five schools were represented at the closing ceremony.

90. Shand, "Negro Adult Education," 13.

91. Oliver Papers, "Road to Recovery," Halifax, ca. 1967.

92. Ibid., "Community Development and Human Relations," Halifax, ca. 1967.

93. Ibid., "Leadership Education in the Negro Communities of Nova Scotia," Halifax, 1966.

94. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 26, 1970.

95. Ibid.

96. Oliver Papers, "Training and Developing Leaders,"

Halifax, ca. 1968.

97. Ibid.

98. Ibid.

99. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 26, 1970.

100. Ibid.

101. Ibid.

102. Letter from W. P. Oliver to writer, November 1, 1971.

103. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 26, 1970.

104. Oliver Papers, "Development in the Negro Communities of Nova Scotia," Halifax, 1966.

105. Report of Director, 1961, 7.

106. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 19, 1970.

107. Oliver Papers, "The University in Society," Convocation Address, King's College, Halifax, November 20, 1964. Winks suggests that Oliver's address stressed self-help, gradualism, and Christian patience. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 351.

108. T. D. Pawley, a Panther, claimed his organization had been "mislead" on the province's racial situation which was not as difficult as was reported to him. The Star Phoenix, December 19, 1968. Stokely Carmichael said of the Panther group: "Its symbol is a panther--a bold, beautiful animal, representing the strength and dignity of black demands today." Quoted in Janet Harris and Julius W. Hobson, Black Pride (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969), 125-26. " . . . on June 16, 1966, a new cry was heard. . . . Stokely Carmichael yelled to a crowd of blacks, 'We want black power!' The response came in a chant, 'Black Power! Black Power!' At first this phrase was only rhetoric . . . the movement is now seen in a variety of forms in black communities. . . . " Lyons, Black Leadership in American History, 171. The black power slogan was repudiated by Martin Luther King, a man greatly admired by Oliver: "We must never seek

power exclusively for the Negro, but the sharing of power with white people. Any other course is exchanging one form of tyranny for another. Black supremacy would be equally as evil as white supremacy." New York Times, June 21, 1966. Carmichael and King agreed on black power as a call for black manhood, political strength, and economic development. They disagreed in terms of methods and specific goals. Neither Oliver or King could agree with Carmichael's statement: "The method of struggle for . . . Negroes is guerilla warfare." Ibid., August 2, 1967.

109. The Mail-Star, May 29, 1969. Over four hundred Blacks attended the meeting. W. H. Kelly, RCMP Deputy Commissioner for Operations, noted that the black panthers were being "studied" in light of their visit to Halifax. The Chronicle-Herald, April 7, 1970.

110. The Mail-Star, December 6, 1968.

111. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 19, 1970.

112. W. P. Oliver, "Black United Front," Contrast, II, No. 3 (April 4, 1970).

113. Quoted in Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 139. After discussing the improving situation of the Blacks, a 1969 Halifax editorial called "A Race Problem" stated: " . . . in spite of these advances there is not a real possibiltiy that the black moderate will not be able to maintain the positions of power he has held in his community in the face of the rising militant group. The appearance on the scene of Black Power advocate Stokley Carmichael last October, followed by representatives of the Black Panther group in the United States, indicated that the militant group was on the increase. The presence of these well-known militants caused precipitable jitters throughout the province, jitters which indicated a guilty conscience on the part of the whites. If they had treated black people properly they would have had no cause for alarm; indeed the U.S. militants would not even have bothered to come to Halifax." The Chronicle-Herald, January 2, 1969.

114. W. P. Oliver, "The Black United Front," Exodus, I, No. 3 (Halifax: Department of Education, Adult

Education Division, February, 1969). Oliver used Exodus as an outlet of BUF news. The Adult Education Branch considered his BUF efforts as a legitimate part of his duties as an adult educator.

115. W. P. Oliver, "The Objectives of the Black United Front," ibid., I, No. 2, July, 1969.

116. Brief to Honorable Gerard Pelletier, Secretary of State, and to Honorable Allen MacEachern, Minister of Manpower and Immigration, Halifax, January 20, 1969, 3. Cited hereafter as BUF Brief.

117. See "BUF Elects Board of Directors," The Mail-Star, September 8, 1969.

118. BUF Brief, iv.

119. The Mail-Star, August 15, 1969.

120. W. P. Oliver, "The Objectives of the Black United Front," Exodus, I, No. 1 (Halifax: Department of Education, Adult Education Division, February, 1969).

121. BUF Brief, 4.

122. Ibid. A 1969 Halifax editorial entitled "Human Rights Declaration Urges Fair and Equal Employment Practices" noted that the civic leaders were becoming increasingly aware of local racial issues: "Halifax this fall adopted a human rights declaration, asking all employers to practice fair and equal employment practices. The declaration was officially signed and proclaimed Dec. 5. The declaration reads: 'The Corporation of the City of Halifax declares that it is public policy of the city of Halifax that every person be free and equal in dignity and rights, and that in keeping with the Human Rights Act and the spirit of genuine brotherhood, the City of Halifax opposes all forms of discrimination, in public accommodation, and services, employment and housing policies which recognize the human rights of all persons, and the city calls upon all its citizens to actively co-operate in the elimination from our community of all forms of discrimination.' Copies of the declaration have been prepared by the city for distribution to all employers and businesses,

who are asked to display the declaration in their window, as an indication of their adherent to its aims and purposes." The Chronicle-Herald, January 2, 1969.

123. BUF Brief, 4.

124. Ibid.

125. W. P. Oliver, "The Objectives of the Black United Front," Exodus, I, No. 2 (Halifax: Department of Education, Adult Education Division, July, 1969).

126. The Star-Phoenix, August 16, 1969. An additional $3000 was given to BUF by the province's Human Rights Commission. A further donation of $100 was made by the Quakers. Oliver claims that the Ottawa grant was the first made by the federal government to a citizens' group.

127. Toronto Daily Star, June 11, 1969.

128. Ibid.

129. Ibid.

130. Letter from the Honorable John Munro, Minister of Health and Welfare, Ottawa, to writer, June 1, 1970. Wedderburn was chairman of the black delegation. Norman Peterson of Ottawa and Frank Glasgow of Halifax, both attached to the Department of Citizenship which negotiated with BUF officials, had high praise for Oliver's role in the birth of BUF. Norman Peterson, private interview, May 22, 1970, and Frank Glasgow, private interview, May 12, 1970.

131. Letter from the Honorable Robert Stanbury, Minister Without Portfolio, Ottawa, to writer, June 10, 1970.

132. The National Negro Weekly, April, 1969.

133. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 22, 1970.

134. Ibid., May 13, 1970.

135. Letter from W. P. Oliver to writer, November 1, 1971.

Prime Minister Trudeau announced in late 1971 a new policy of federal support to all cultures in Canada. The policy is designed to support and encourage the various ethnic groups that have given structure and vitality to Canadian society. Cultural groups will be encouraged to share their cultural expression and values with other Canadians. The Citizenship Branch will be responsible for such programs. Trudeau suggested that if national unity is to have personal sense to individuals, it must be founded on confidence in one's own individual identity. Out of this confidence can grow respect for others, and a willingness to share, attitudes, and assumptions. The plan will also serve to break down the arbitrary and divisive barriers in Canadian society. The focus of the policy is to promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups in the interest of national unity. Summarized from Kainai News, November 15, 1971. The BUF grant from Ottawa established a precedent. It is not known if the editor of the Kainai News is aware of the BUF grant. In any case, it appears that the BUF experience should, at a later date, be examined in the context of other minorities who will have received direct federal aid.

136. W. P. Oliver, "Black United Front," Contrast, April 4, 1970.

137. The Chronicle-Herald, December 6, 1968.

138. The Star-Phoenix, December 19, 1969.

139. W. P. Oliver, "The Black United Front," Exodus, I. No. 1 (Halifax: Department of Education, Adult Education Division, February, 1969), 3.

140. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 19, 1970.

141. Ibid. "Racism . . . means very simply that one or more races have innate superiority over other races. This must be distinguished from ethnocentrism, the belief that one's own group is the best or superior to all others. While the latter is a seemingly universal phenomenon, dating back to the dimmest frontiers of time, racism is a product of the modern world of the last three or four centuries." Max

Ascoli, "Of Black and White," The Reporter, March 21, 1968, quoted in Roger Daniels and Harry H. L. Kitano, American Racism (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1970), 2. The following statement concerning racism can be applied to the Nova Scotian scene: "It is our thesis that institutional racism is deeply embedded in American society. Slavery was only the earliest and most blatant practice. Political, economic, educational, and religious policies cooperated with slaveholders to 'keep the nigger in his place.' Emancipation changed little. Jim Crow laws as well as residential and employment discrimination guaranteed that black citizens remained under control of white citizens. Second-class citizenship quickly became a social fact. . . . " Knowles and Prewitt, Institutional Racism in America, 6.

142. Minutes of AUBA, 115th Sessions, Cherrybrook, August 17-19, 1968, 36.

143. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 19, 1970.

144. Ibid.

145. Ibid.

146. Ibid. Oliver has a considerable newspaper file on King. When King was murdered Oliver spoke at a memorial service in his honor. He says the approach of Eldridge Cleaver and H. Rapp Brown is "so much further ahead of where we are." Ibid.

147. Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 138.

148. The Mail-Star, January 23, 1969. Oliver is against any thought of violence. "Besides," he said, "for a relatively few Blacks to think of winning by violence is ridiculous." W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 26, 1970.

149. Grasp, December, 1970. The BUF office has also formed BUMM (Blacks Unite for More Money) which is a Welfare-Rights group involved in efforts to procure better housing and health care. It acts as a liaison between the Welfare Department and black welfare recipients. For objectives of BUMM, see ibid., March, 1971.

150. Jules Oliver, among the twelve applicants, was considered by the Board to be best qualified for the position. He graduated from Acadia University with B.A. and M.S.W. degrees, worked with the Human Rights Commission, and has studied black history. His Acadia thesis which dealt with the NSAACP called for a new black organization in the province. A BUF news release said: "A five-month search across North America has culminated in the appointment of Halifax native Jules R. Oliver as executive director of the Black United Front of Nova Scotia. Oliver's appointment, along with that of Cynthia Crick of Montreal as BUF's senior secretary, was made public today by Carlyle Warner, Chairman of the Black United Front. A social worker specializing in community organizing, group dynamics and sensitivity training, Mr. Oliver holds a Master's degree from Acadia University and is a graduate of Dalhousie's Maritime School of Social Work. He comes to the Black United Front from the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission, where he has been the chief human rights officer for the past year. A member of the National Council of Health and Welfare Mr. Oliver has also served as a management-labour consultant to the federal Department of Labour, a consultant to the Company of Young Canadians on a Halifax youth project, executive director of the 1968 Black Student Employment Program in Halifax, and was instrumental in the formation of the Halifax Tenants' Protective Association while working for the Halifax Neighbourhood Centre. He has been associated with BUF since its inception late in 1968, first as a member of the organizing committee and later as a member of the Board of Directors. Miss Crick is from St. Kitts, West Indies and is currently pursuing a Bachelor of Arts at Sir George Williams University in Montreal while working as an executive secretary in the engineering department of Canadian Pacific Railways. She has held secretarial positions at McGill University and the Information Office of the Government of Barbados, and prepared Hansard for the Legislative Council in St. Vincent, West Indies. Mr. Oliver and Miss Crick will take up their new positions in mid-April." "BUF News Release," Halifax, April 2, 1970.

151. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 19, 1970.

152. Winks, The Blacks in Canada, 350-51.

153. See M. O'Malley, "Rocky the Revolutionary," The Globe Magazine, February 15, 1969, 24-25; "In Search of a Sense of Community," Time, special issue (Canadian ed.; April 6, 1970), 10 and The Black Man in Nova Scotia: Teach-In Report (Antigonish, N.S.: St. Francis Xavier University, January, 1969), 14-21.

154. Letter from C. B. Jones to W. P. Oliver, March 17, 1969.

155. Ibid.

156. Ibid.

157. Ibid.

158. Ibid.

159. The Mail-Star, October 28, 1968.

160. The Casket, June 30, 1969. Jones agrees with Oliver's view that whites have caused Blacks to experience self-hatred. Ibid. Both men agreed on the need for relief for war-torn Biafra, and pressured Ottawa to give aid. The Mail-Star, January 3, 1970.

161. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 13, 1970. By 1970 Jones was operating a business in Halifax's new business area. His store and merchandise catered to those people who preferred Afro-style clothing and jewellry. His Afro-Canadian Liberation Movement has not held regular meetings, nor has it had a wide membership or publicity.

162. The Mail-Star, June 11, 1969.

163. Ibid., June 16, 1969.

164. Ibid.

165. See ibid., June 24, 1969 for account of the meeting.

166. Grasp, March 8, 1971. "In August of 1970, the Black United Front and the African United Baptist Association

formed a coalition because of the understanding that there was a need for the development of strategies to deal with the plight of racial oppression. BUF was responsible for the social, economic and political development of Black communities while the AUBA put its emphasis on the spiritual growth." Ibid., 2. The AUBA disassociated itself from any view expressed by the Panthers.

167. The Star-Phoenix, December 19, 1968. Bryant's remarks are difficult to interpret. In the same year he called for a coordinating committee which would remove "the duplication of functions" as performed by the NSAACP, the AUBA, and others. The Mail-Star. December 6, 1968.

168. The Chronicle-Herald, January 23, 1969.

169. The Mail-Star, June 25, 1969.

170. The Chronicle-Herald, December 6, 1968.

171. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 19, 1970.

172. Ibid.

173. The Star-Phoenix, December 19, 1968.

174. W. P. Oliver private interview, May 19, 1970.

175. Letter from W. P. Oliver to writer, November 1, 1971.

176. W. P. Oliver private interview, May 19, 1970.

177. W. P. Oliver, "Black United Front," Contrast, April 4, 1970.

178. Letter from W. P. Oliver to writer, November 1, 1971.

179. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 22, 1970. Of the many letters to Nova Scotian newspapers, the following best expresses the cry for black pride: "I am Black (with a capital B) and . . . I harbor no inferiority complexes about my beautiful Blackness. 'Negro' is a polite way of saying 'nigger.' I am no Negro, nor am I colored; for Black is an absence of color. I am a Black Canadian; I'm Black and I'm proud."

Letter from Pte. E. Perry of Shearwater to editor, The Chronicle-Herald, December 16, 1968.

180. Wsevolod W. Isajiw, "The Process of Social Integration: The Canadian Example," Dalhousie Review, XLVIII (1968), 511-12.

181. Oliver Papers, "Breaking Through the Economic Barrier," Halifax, ca. 1962.

182. Ibid., "Maximum Exploitation of Resources in Programs with the Underprivileged," Halifax, ca. 1964.

183. Ibid., "Breaking Through the Economic Barrier," Halifax, ca. 1962.

184. Ibid., "What is Community Development?" Halifax, ca. 1958.

185. Ibid., "Breaking Through the Economic Barrier," Halifax, ca. 1962.

186. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 13, 1970. Blacks are concentrated in or around Halifax, Montreal, Toronto and Windsor, and Vancouver. Toronto has far and away the largest black contingent, with approximately 35,000 Blacks; while Montreal, Halifax, and Windsor are closely arrayed with about 15,000, 12,000 and 11,000 respectively. "Canada's Negroes: An Untold Story," U.S. News and World Report, May 16, 1970, 46-48. "For the most part, Negroes are urban dwellers; the exception is Nova Scotia where almost half the Negro population lives in rural areas quite removed from the larger cities." Davis and Krauter, The Other Canadians: Profiles of Six Minorities, 40.

187. The Mail-Star, February 4, 1969.

188. The Montreal Star, May 31, 1969.

189. The New York Times, May 26, 1969.

190. Oliver Papers, "Problems in Coloured Communities," Halifax, ca. 1956. See Rawlyk, "Guysborough Negroes," for the economic difficulties which have faced Blacks since their early settlement in the province.

191. Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 79-81.

192. The Mail-Star, October 17, 1963. In Nova Scotia the term "four hundred" has commonly been used in the black community. That group of Blacks enjoys better socio-economic conditions than other Blacks. Clairmont and Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks, 120. Clearly Oliver is a member of the "four hundred."

193. Oliver Papers, "Address to Rural and Urban Life Committee of AUBA," Weymouth Falls, August, 1963.

194. Ibid., "The Abundant Life," Address to Acadia University Students, Wolfville, March 8, 1970. In 1960 Carl T. Rowan, the distinguished black American newspaperman, made a cross-country tour to evaluate the "racial sophistication" of Canadians. Rowan reported that "the Negro is better off in Canada--but not as much as Canadians like to think." The Star-Phoenix, August 6, 1960. Nine years later Attorney-General Victor Grant of Jamaica commented on this nation's immigration policies: "I cry shame on Canada because it practises color discimination." Ibid., January 20, 1969.

195. Homewood, "The Maritimes' Race Problem," 16.

196. The Mail-Star, September 23, 1963.

197. Oliver Papers, "Racism or Brotherhood," Halifax, February, 1969.

198. See supra, Chap. V regarding legislation.

199. W. P. Oliver, private interview, May 19, 1970.

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205. Ibid., "The University in Society," Convocation Address, King's University, Halifax, November 20, 1964.

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207. Oliver Papers, "The University in Society," Convocation Address, King's University, Halifax, November 20, 1964.

208. Ibid.

209. Ibid. "Race Relations," Address to Allied Youth Camp, Halifax, August 10, 1966.

210. Ibid., "Some Facts About Race Relation," Halifax, ca. 1967.

211. Progress Enterprise, February 26, 1969.

212. Oliver Papers, "Canada's Racial Problem," Halifax, ca. 1961. It appears that in some instances Oliver has not distinguished between discrimination and prejudice, and uses the words interchangeably. Simpson and Yinger define prejudice as "an emotional, rigid attitude (a predisposition to respond to a certain stimulus in a certain way) toward a group of people. . . . Prejudices are thus attitudes, but not all attitudes are prejudices. They both contain the element of prejudgment. . . . " They define discrimination as "the differential treatment of individuals considered to belong to a particular social group. . . . There is good evidence, however, that prejudice is in part the result of discrimination. . . . " George E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities (3rd ed.; New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 10-14..

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CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Oliver in Perspective

Although the black man has emerged in the last decade as a dominant figure on the North American scene, Canadian black leaders are not well known. By examining the lives of Canadian black leaders scholars may be more able to develop valid generalizations about black leadership, recognize the strengths and limitations of alternative strategies for change, and envision leadership styles which may result in black socio-economic advancement.

W. P. Oliver may be considered an exception to the following statement: In many Nova Scotian Blacks white society has ingrained deep feelings of inferiority complemented until recently by equally pronounced feelings of inadequacy. Oliver has correctly claimed that whites and their institutions have created racism, maintained it, and largely condoned it. The result of this psychology of white racial "supremacy" has been a corresponding psychology of black inferiority. Few Blacks have managed to escape it; Oliver is one who has.

There are those Blacks who believe that total integration reinforces the idea that white is automatically better

than black. Those same people would suggest that integration is a subterfuge for the maintenance of white supremacy. Such arguments must be met and answered by black moderates and integrationists such as Oliver. He might also consider the probability that the separate, black church organization, the African United Baptist Association, leads to social distance between the Blacks and whites.

Immigrants to "white" Canada may differ in their desire to assimilate or to retain their ethnic identity. If they wish to assimilate their success is often related to their visibility. Nova Scotian Blacks find race to be the one insurmountable barrier to complete assimilation. Cultural assimilation may partially take place but structural assimilation is greatly impeded by racial visibility. Oliver provides an example to those Blacks who desire assimilation, cultural and structural.

Viewed in extreme and color aside, minority leaders may attempt to achieve one of two incompatible goals--survival as a distinct ethnic group, or admittance into the mainstream of Canadian life. The belief in Canadian cultural pluralism may make possible this choice. Oliver seemingly wants the best of the two goals.

Oliver and other Blacks are in the midst of an identity crisis (Oliver's unclear references to self-identity,

self-esteem, and black consciousness is a case in point) whose origins are in the historically determined division among Blacks. That identity, or a "we-groupness," cannot be established by either ignoring white racism or by withdrawing into any kind of isolation. The racial situation calls for black-white dialogue and confrontation which can serve to undercut those who would legitimatize violence. Non-violent confrontation by Blacks, as recently practised by Oliver, can be an attempt to educate the general public directly, to solicit support from the mass media, to inform the power structures of their demands, and to build morale among their own ranks. The definition of demands and problems may lead to clearer self-identity.

By focusing their attention on themselves, as Oliver now encourages them to do, and by using the Black United Front's introverted lenses, the Blacks are provided with a possible means for reflection, examination of their roots, and their place in Nova Scotian society. Perhaps Oliver's chief concern should not be one of tolerance or intolerance but rather one of respect or contempt by the majority whites. The search for civil rights must end with self-respect, not equality, if the latter term means sameness. It appears that Oliver has not given considerable thought to any "sameness" quality in equality.

Oliver and other Blacks have noted the errors in white society but still maintain that they want and deserve a part of that society's wealth. It would be an over-simplification to suggest that their reason lies in the long-standing view that respectability was possible for Blacks only if they emphasized those characteristics that were non-black. Quite naturally Oliver wants part of the good life for other Blacks.

The black man need neither emulate nor disassociate himself from Nova Scotian society. Oliver does neither. To withdraw oneself in the presence of social injustice is to feed that injustice. To emulate the unfavorable facets of white society is to destroy oneself as a black man.

Blacks like Oliver might well reconsider what they share with whites. Black may be beautiful, but that slogan scarcely contributes to the understanding of non-Blacks. It appears that while Oliver sanctions such slogans he recognizes that black power advocates of the extreme variety confuse notoriety with success, and equate confusion with progress and change. It must be added that change is especially difficult in Nova Scotia where blackness and social class position are strongly correlated.

The Blacks' status perhaps more closely resembles the defining properties of caste rather than class. Blacks tend to retain throughout their life the lowly position in the

social structure into which they were born--their social mobility blocked by the whites' commitment to the status quo.

If power is construed in a quasi-political sense that extends beyond the formal structure of government and recognizes the great influence of other large organizations, one can see that the power of Oliver, or other black leaders, is greatly constricted.

Oliver's calmer definition of black power seemingly takes into account the possibility that intensity can become violence when it has no tradition to channel it into constructive paths of behavior. The historic powerlessness of the Blacks has been maintained by their exclusion from positions of authority in white-controlled institutions, and by narrowly hemming in black institutions such as the church and the school.

For those few Blacks who have reached positions of authority the pressures are great to conform to the established norm of second-class treatment of other Blacks. It seems clear that Oliver is withstanding such pressure. It also appears that the bonds of race are so strong in Nova Scotia that Oliver, because of color, empathy, and character, and regardless of any personal prestige, cannot successfully disassociate himself from his less fortunate black brethren. Oliver does not try. Indeed, his life is a refutation of

the very idea. This refutation causes hardships in terms of his tremendous investment of time, energy, and commitment. His middle-class background and sound education have not decreased his concern for other Blacks.

Oliver's life, until recent years, represents a study in gradualism. That approach was met by white tokenism. It took him a considerable time to equate white tokenism and black gradualism. If the equation can be considered valid, then Oliver is an author of the equation. Gradualism, in Oliver's case, did not eliminate prejudice.

The white man, it is suggested, may be the greater victim of the very discrimination and prejudice he practises. Oliver understandably has stressed the victimization of Blacks in this regard, but has spent insufficient time in an examination of the deleterious effects on the whites.

While Oliver has called for more black history and literature in schools, he has done so because he believes that Blacks must become aware of their own cultural heritage. What Oliver might also consider is the potentially positive effect of black history on white students. It is here where a "black bill of educational goods" may be sold to the white educational establishment, i.e., white children may have their perspectives widened by studying black history and literature. It appears that such leverage or strategy has

not been considered by Oliver--a member of that "white" educational establishment.

Perhaps the more effective type of education necessary to reduce prejudice and discrimination is not the formal, didactic instruction. It may be said that cooperative equal-status contact is the better "education." Equal-status contact, such as that experienced by Oliver in his youthful sporting days, is interaction that takes place between occupants of the same position in the social structure, i.e., black and white boys on the same sports team. In Nova Scotia, however, because of prejudice and discrimination, few Blacks have had Oliver's opportunity to interact on an equal-status basis. Another strategy used increasingly by Nova Scotian Blacks such as Oliver is confrontation, as mentioned earlier.

A strategy for change which would reduce prejudice and discrimination in Nova Scotia should be linked to a theory of why they exist in the first place. An economic theory may suggest that the minority Blacks and the majority non-Blacks must compete for scarce resources. If the economic theory has credibility, it follows that the method to reduce prejudice and discrimination would be either by redistributing the resources, or by integrating minority Blacks into Nova Scotian society where better economic conditions

prevail. The theory fails to take into account the relatively weak economic position of the province, and the long-standing reticence of many whites to accept Blacks as social equals. It is suggested here that a guaranteed annual income would be an important step--a plan to which Oliver has given limited attention.

A question facing Canadians, black and white, involves the issue of special compensation for Blacks which would involve expensive crash programs to improve their health, educational, and living standards. Those who favor special compensation or preferential treatment for Blacks would argue that the scales of equal opportunity are now heavily weighted against poor Blacks, and cannot be corrected in a technological society simply by applying equal weights. Such an argument calls for an immediate dollar injection into depressed black communities of the province. Perhaps Oliver might examine the consequences of such a plan.

It is suggested that compensation must be rejected as an equalizer between Blacks and whites. Compensation is a subtle but pernicious form of racism. It means that people are treated by society on the basis of race rather than on the basis of humanity. In effect, compensation would deepen and perpetuate the racial cleavage. It is probable that such patronizing treatment would inevitably destroy in

Blacks the initiative and enterprise required of a minority group in a very competitive society. Special equalization grants to depressed regions of Canada might better serve the needs of special groups within those regions.

In any case, Oliver has given far more attention to education as a solution. Although he has never considered education as a panacea for all ills, it does appear that the educational cure, in itself, will not suffice. While some educated Blacks leave the province, others are often not hired by white institutions and companies--at least in numbers and responsibilities commensurate with the training of many Blacks.

In many instances Oliver's educational and other endeavors have been defined largely in terms of his reactions to the wider, white society. Indeed, if black culture and personality have been depicted one-sidedly in terms of oppression's scars, then Oliver, at least until recent years, has often so depicted the lives of his people.

Oliver's later stress on black self-identity indicates that he thinks less in terms of white expectations and more in terms of black aspirations and needs.

Critics of Oliver's educational work may suggest that his approach creates black "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Perhaps those critics miss the real point of Oliver's

method. He believes in starting where his "students" are--and then encouraging them to raise their levels of aspiration and expectation. Because Oliver emphasizes "practical" education does not mean that he expects less in the end from such people. Such an idea would be totally inconsistent with his insistence on black pride and his belief in the equality of men.

It does appear that Oliver's educational priorities lie with immediate problems rather than with long-range goals. He is not in Montaigne's tower viewing the distant educational horizon while underestimating the daily problems which must be solved. The practical thrust of Oliver's educational efforts often appear to lead to seemingly small successes. Such successes must be viewed in the context of the local community--the starting point of his educational-organizational efforts. For an "isolated" black community to build its own school, credit union, or recreational hall is an accomplishment of considerable magnitude to the people involved. It must be noted that involvement is central to Oliver's approach to educational or other improvement.

Another key word in Oliver's educational planning is merit. His writings indicate that he wants Blacks to succeed on a merit basis rather than on the wings of white tokenism.

Oliver's thirty-five years as an educator display a sometimes successful attempt to reshape the black and white image of the submissive, obsequious, imitative black man. He is an educator who continually forges new social instruments (organizations and committees) to strengthen and to redefine the Blacks' self-concept. Certainly he has used education, in the broad sense of the term, to achieve that goal.

Oliver may find that the Blacks' greatest difficulty lies in an "over there" type of thinking. If mid-city Blacks are better off than were Africville residents, and if Preston Blacks are better off than Guysborough Blacks, then, it may be felt, the province's Blacks are in a more favorable position than are the Blacks of Alabama. The "over there" type of thinking, which may lessen the hurt from bigotry, can develop a kind of apathy--the very thing Oliver has been trying to eradicate.

Somewhat paradoxically, Nova Scotian Blacks must go "over there," i.e., the United States, to unite with the Blacks of that nation. They must unite in cause if they are to gain substantial political, economic, and social power. Given the present Canadian nationalism (perhaps better described as anti-Americanism), and given the reticence of Canadian Blacks such as Oliver to embrace

continentalism, it seems unlikely that Nova Scotian Blacks will go "over there" to reach their goals. Any immediate gains will have to use local, provincial, and federal means.

Those means need not include the use of white liberals whose nineteenth century forefathers, it seems, were whites who believed in the white man's burden and the "color problem." Oliver has just reason to distrust the sanguine liberal view of black progress: Patience and persistence will in the end perform the miracle.

Meanwhile the Nova Scotian whites must find out why it is necessary for Oliver and other Blacks to identify themselves as men, not as black men. Because of color the day is far distant when Oliver and other outstanding black Canadians will be identified simply as Canadians.

Oliver's career has not been one of outstanding victories, climactic events, and happy endings. His life has been a mixture of gradual change, hard work, considerable personal acceptance, and frequent disappointments. Oliver's actions may be described as a disciplined and sincere attempt with beneficient purpose.

For Oliver the definition and limitation of the Blacks' problems are not a matter of cold, objective reality in spite of his insistence that he is a practical man using practical means to achieve desired ends. There is a

personal, visceral, and emotional aspect to his motivation and reactions.

Like other leaders Oliver is faced with a perceptual difficulty. His perception of the problems is colored by lenses ground over a period of history which he knows well. It appears difficult, if not impossible, for a victim of racism to be objective about the victimization.

The frame of reference for Oliver was largely Nova Scotian rather than other parts of the world. Perhaps he and other Blacks have failed to recognize the revolutionary spirit which exists among many "oppressed" peoples. The province's Blacks, at least a generation behind their American counterparts, have been too inward-looking to adopt radical strategies for social change. Their perception of the problems' solutions has been too narrow.

In Nova Scotia Oliver's role has been one of a catalyst who has differentiated between head-ship and leadership. He has been an initiator and an improver rather than a leader in the traditional sense of that word. He has distrusted charismatic qualities and has tended to use a rational, step-by-step approach to leadership problems. If leadership is the art of the possible then Oliver has shown himself to be a good leader. It appears that he has approached any use of power from the point of view of

potentiality to exert influence. Persuasion and persistence have been his strongest tools.

Oliver is self-motivated and often succeeds in motivating others. His enthusiasm, quiet humor, energy, and commitment are contagious. He fully understands the value of good publicity and uses the news media to good advantage. He has considerable technical, human, and conceptual skills which are necessary for the successful leader. He knows himself; he assesses the physical, intellectual, emotional, and spiritual aspects of his own capacity. He makes few, if any, snap decisions. His definition of a problem takes longer than the implementation of his proposed solution.

It may be said that most men of action have a strong sense of pride, egotism, and hardness. Oliver has pride--in his accomplishments and in his family. He displays more humility than egotism, and more firmness and consistency than hardness. He is at once a staunch moralist and a hard-driving political man. Oliver is a complex man, a curious mixture of principle and pragmatism, restiveness and patience. There exists little dichotomy between his beliefs and his exercise of power. Oliver, the private citizen, is more malleable than is Oliver, the minority leader. Positions of responsibility place him in roles where he appears more demanding than he would like to be.

Oliver wears well. His sincerity and his mixture of pride and humility are acceptable to his black brethren and to the white community. To the latter group he appears to be God-fearing, unassuming, cooperative, dynamic, but not an outspoken man. In recent years the white community has experienced a tougher, more determined Oliver whose preoccupation with the history of slavery and white racism is increasingly evident as time progresses.

Oliver's leadership is distingusihed by consistency and diligence in the face of white and black lethargy. For one-third of a century Oliver used the same tools of gradualism, teaching, prodding, and example. Perhaps his consistency, in terms of goals and methods, is his greatest weakness. Times and circumstances call for reclassification and reassessment of leadership strategies. Oliver's consistency partially negates these strategy changes within the black community.

Oliver provides a low profile. It is probable that his leadership style would not be useful to red power advocates, French Canadian separatists, or any minority group which demands immediate and significant social change. If a minority group has long-standing grievances but wants changes made through process rather than revolution, then that minority group could well use the dedication,

thoroughness, and sincerity exemplified by Oliver's leadership style.

Certainly Oliver's organizational skills at the grass roots level have applicability to any democratic leader's plans. Those leaders can learn much from Oliver's insistence on local initiative and participation. They can also learn from Oliver's humility, enthusiasm, and doggedness.

It is totally unfair to compare or contrast Oliver's leadership with that provided by men whose leadership role is a full-time occupation. It is not patronizing or condescending to say that much of his minority group leadership is in addition to his daily professional work. This obvious point cannot be overlooked.

It is probable that future historians will examine Oliver's career in the context of the success or failure of the Black United Front. That organization, perhaps overdue, nonetheless is the keystone to Oliver's thirty-five years of thought and hard work. It is too early to assess fully the impact of the BUF. Similarily, the results of his ministry, his secular activities, and his adult education efforts will be more realistically seen in the next generation.

It seems clear that Oliver's work has not liberated the present generation of Blacks. The next generation will

be the real benefactors of the endeavors of this remarkable Canadian.

Oliver's life and work raise the following questions: Do Blacks of Nova Scotia need a more ruthless leader who will sacrifice the means to achieve successful ends? Have the Blacks, including Oliver, failed to understand fully the present revolutionary spirit of the world's oppressed people? Is Oliver's penchant toward evolution rather than revolution useful to other minority leaders? What must be the role of educators in the eradication of discrimination and prejudice? What, if any role should municipal, provincial and federal governments play in the guaranteeing of minority rights? Are Canadian minority leaders who rely on gradualism and accommodation with the present power structure doomed to defeat or to limited change at best?

This study of Oliver's life as an educator may also serve a negative function. It stresses the differences rather than the similarities that exist among Canadian citizens. All Canadians are minorities in the broadest sense of the term. Each group whether it be the aged, the young, the poor, the non-whites, the Anglo-Saxons, and others, need leadership. Each group has its special needs and demands. Perhaps by examining those differences among groups the scholar underemphasizes any common traits. Canadian unity

may not necessarily be served by such studies as the present one. But, then, must the price of unity be the kind of discrimination and prejudice which Oliver has worked against all his life?

Recommendations for Further Study

Studies related to the subject of this investigation might be:

(1) an account of the history of Nova Scotian black educational history.

(2) an account of the role of Nova Scotian black churches other than those associated with the African United Baptist Association.

(3) an account of the history of the AUBA.

(4) biographical studies of Nova Scotian black leaders such as David George, Richard Preston, Wellington N. States, William A. White, and H. A. J. Wedderburn, among others.

(5) a comparative analysis of black and white support for the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Black United Front.

(6) a study of W. P. Oliver's career using economic and/or class differences as the main point of reference.

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A P P E N D I X A

Abolition of the Negro Slave Trade 1807

, . . . the African slave trade, and all 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 utterly abolished, prohibited, and declared to be unlawful; and also that all and all manner dealing, either by 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 part of America, not being in the dominion, possession, or place whatever, is hereby in like manner utterly abolished, prohibited, and declared to be unlawful; . . .

G. B. Adams and H. M. Stephens, "Abolition of the Negro Slave Trade," (1807, March 25. 47 George III. c. 36. 47 S. L. 140.), Selected Documents of English Constitutional History (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920), 506-07.

A P P E N D I X B

Abolition of Negro Slavery 1833

WHEREAS divers Persons are holden in Slavery within divers of His Majesty's Colonies, and it is just and expedient that all such Persons should be manumitted and set free, and that a reasonable Compensation should be made to the Persons hitherto entitled to the Services of such Slaves for Services: And whereas it is also expedient that Provision should be made for promoting the Industry and securing the good Conduct of the Persons so to be manumitted, for a limited Period after such their Manumission: And whereas it is necessary that the Laws now in force in the said several Colonies should forthwith be adapted to the new State and Relations of Society therein which will follow upon such general Manumission as aforesaid of the said Slaves; and that, in order to afford the necessary Time for such Adaptation of the said Laws, a short Interval should elapse before such Manumission should take effect. . . .

G. B. Adams and H. M. Stephens, "Abolition of Negro Slavery," (1833, August 28. 3 & 4 William IV. c. 73.), Selected Documents of English Constitutional History (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920), 527.

A P P E N D I X C

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 t'would be
If you had to exist from the beginning of time without
A NEGRO LIKE ME?

Jim Patterson, "A Negro Like Me," Nova Scotia Scene, IV, June, 1966, 16.