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AFRO-CANADIAN COMMUNITIES IN HALIFAX COUNTY, NOVA SCOTIA

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A Preliminary Sociological Survey

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July, 1949

Thesis, Univ. Toronto masters.

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PREFACE

The work contained in the following pages constitutes the sum and substance of a field study conducted in the month of July, 1949. The main area of investigation is limited to Halifax County, Nova Scotia, although much of the general material involves the total province. Actual time in the field comprised two weeks of concentrated effort, and all preparations possible were made beforehand in order to make maximum use of the field-study period. Maps, charts and any written materials that were collected in the field received little more than cursory consideration at the time; these were developed or enlarged from sketch form, as in the case of the maps, at a later date. The two weeks in the field were divided among several communities, but most time was spent in the settlement of Upper Hammond's Plains. Other areas in which several days were spent include Preston, Lucasville and Halifax. It will be seen that most of the detailed information concerns the localities to which most field time was devoted; detail gives way to generality as the frame of reference extends to the community as a whole and ultimately to the province.

Information was obtained from a variety of sources, including historical materials, maps, charts and personal note-books as well as intensive interviews, observation of behaviour and close association with the people.

The initial contact with the Afro-Canadian population was made through Mr. Guy Henson, Director of the Adult Education Division of the Department of Education for the Province of Nova Scotia. Rev. W. Oliver made the arrangements for my first sojourn in an Afro-Canadian home in Upper Hammond's Plains, and from there further arrangements developed as I gained acceptance.

This study is intended to be a preliminary sociological survey. Field-work preparation included a general review of material concerned with the Negro in various parts of North America. In the light of inadequate information on the communities to be investigated, it was predetermined that the study should be allowed to develop itself more or less, and that every possible method of obtaining information and material be utilized. No initial hypothesis was entertained; rather

it was hoped that out of this attempt to accumulate sociological information, a number of possible hypotheses which could serve as bases for further research, would develop. This study might then be useful as background data. The absence of preconceptions may have been helpful in terms of objectivity, but on the other hand, lack of time in the area made it more necessary to rely heavily upon the general knowledge of the Negro minority group referred to above, in order that generalizations could take shape. As it developed, the significant social institutions provided the best points of departure to further information, especially in the individual settlements. The Field Notes found in the Appendix were not written, for the most part, in the presence of the people under observation. The notes were made whenever there was an opportunity for solitude, so that behaviour would not be inhibited. While this method of recording did not sacrifice too much in the way of detail so long as the notes were made at frequent intervals it did produce a mass of written material devoid of much continuity or logical arrangement.

Three factors come to mind that may be worth consideration in the event of future studies. In the first place, a sufficient amount of time in the field is vital if the data collected are to be checked to a degree that will ensure validity. And all preparations possible should be carried out in advance if the most economical use is to be made of the field-study period. Another great advantage can be achieved by living in the communities under investigation; not only is observation time thereby increased, but the process of acceptance by the people is also accelerated and the patterns of social behaviour are affected to a much less degree by the presence of the observer. Finally, there are several men who may be of service in the event that contacts have to be re-established; these include Mr. Guy Henson, Adult Education Division, Department of Education, Dennis Building, Halifax, N.S.: Rev. W. P. Oliver, 49 Cornwallis Street, Halifax, N.S.: Mr. A. W. Evans, Preston East, Halifax Co., N.S.: Mrs. G. Symonds, Upper Hammond's Plains, Halifax Co., N.S.: (Montreal) Mr. Harold Potter, Sir George Williams College, 1441 Drummond Street, Montreal 25, Quebec.

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GEOGRAPHICAL AND CULTURAL FACTORS

Halifax County

It has already been mentioned that the material in the following pages constitutes a preliminary sociological survey. And yet it will be necessary, in the beginning, to devote some space to a brief and general description of the geographical and cultural background of Halifax County. A great many factors which would seem to have a bearing on the socio-economic and cultural development of Afro-Canadians, from 1812 to the present, would otherwise be lost to the reader.

The city of Halifax, the focal point today for Halifax county, has never been the center of an agricultural hinterland like Toronto and most other Canadian cities. Founded in 1749 as a British military garrison, it has remained steeped in British historical tradition from that day to this, just as much as Quebec city has maintained the French historical tradition. Although its influence may not extend very far into the province, since it has not grown out of the latter but was rather superimposed, it is still, as the largest urban area in Nova Scotia, the base for many provincial organizations, both white and coloured. That fact that St. Paul's, the oldest Anglican church in Canada, and the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People both attempt to radiate a provincial influence with Halifax as the operational springboard seems to be pertinent and will be discussed at greater length in another section. Another factor of importance to this study is that of the gradual development of industry in Halifax, encouraged by many prominent Haligonians. This may have profound implications for Nova Scotians, including coloured, in the years to come, especially if Montreal's star as a port for seagoing ships continues to rise while that of Halifax declines. This latter is a major point of present concern.

Finally, the population of Halifax mushroomed, during the war, from about 90,000 to an estimated 120,000, and there has been little

if any decline since 1945. On the peninsula which comprises the site of the city proper, there is still considerable room for expansion in residential dwellings and industry. In spite of present overcrowded conditions, immediate emphasis appears to be on industrial development, and slum areas which stand in the way of such a process are proving a source of annoyance if not actual concern. The implications for coloured Haligonians will be developed in later pages.

So much for the city of Halifax, except to say that its influence over the County of the same name is not to be denied. Any large metropolitan area is certain to have at least an economic influence over its immediate hinterland, regardless of its effect beyond that area. This may be even more true in the case of Halifax, since there is little opportunity to set up an independent life or economy based on the scrub land offered, for the most part, by the remainder of the County. To one accustomed to farms consisting of relatively level, clear land, dotted at frequent intervals with large barns and substantial brick or frame houses, as in Ontario, the hilly, stone-studded contours of Halifax County, covered as they are by scrub brush and small trees, can hardly be considered farm land. Most of the farms or "lots" on which Negroes in the County reside consist of about ten acres; in most cases one, and perhaps two, of these acres is clear. The vast majority of dwellings in Nova Scotia are frame, of course, but large barns and sturdy houses in good repair and condition are in a definite minority among the Negroes of Halifax County.

The most important influx of Negroes into the province of Nova Scotia occurred around the year 1812. However, it is estimated that prior to the summer of 1784, 1232 Negro slaves had been brought into the area*. The province has never had a legal colour-bar, and this small overflow of slaves from colonies to the South achieved their freedom twenty-five years before the abolition of slavery in the British Parliament, and more than fifty years before it was abolished in the United States. But while steady progress

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* The Establishment of the Negroes in Nova Scotia - C. B. Fergusson
Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1948.

was made in the establishment of legal rights for Negroes during this period, there was also official concern regarding their settlement on an independent and productive basis. In 1792 and 1800, there were large expeditions of coloured people from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone, even though many attempts to interest the Negroes in such ventures met with failure. From the legal and governmental point of view, the position of the black man was steadily improving in the province, but the more pressing problem, in my opinion, was the maintenance and disposition into the life of the community of the newly-freed immigrants. The fine points of responsibility, and the ability to act logically and independently in a free situation, cannot be acquired legally and almost overnight as can freedom. The northern United States were to experience many of the same problems, on a much larger scale, in the later years of the Civil War. This has been one of the main difficulties surrounding the lack of adjustment between whites and coloureds in America, and it is my feeling that the Negroes of Nova Scotia are even today in the latter stages of a long process towards responsibility and independence. These factors have an important bearing upon social relationships in the province today, and in the earlier period the much larger influx of coloured people around 1812 caused a greater concern than the previous one.

Let us consider this problem as it might have been considered by officials of the time. The military importance of Halifax had been confirmed once again as a result of the American Revolution and the events leading up to 1812. Simultaneously, the poor agricultural qualities of Nova Scotian terrain, together with its ruggedness and inaccessibility, was no doubt recognized. What to do, then, with coloured immigrants, some of whom had helped to build or repair the fortifications of Halifax? Why not place some of them, at least, on land adjacent to the city, where they might be able to do enough market gardening to eke out a living? There would be a market for their produce in Halifax, of course, since a mili-

tary garrison would be in constant need of supplies. Certainly such an arrangement would appear to be an intelligent solution to the problem, but not quite adequate, as was to be discovered.

The offer of freedom and new opportunities by Nova Scotian officials to all Americans remaining loyal to the Crown and not in accord with the revolutionary ideas of their countrymen, did not fall upon the ears of whites alone. Some of the motives of United Empire Loyalists who entered the province around 1812 are questionable; they had been a propertied and conservative group in the United States and they were once again offered property and conservatism. In addition, their influence, or that of their descendants is still strongly felt in the province, a fact which should not be disregarded in a consideration of the total situation today. There was no question, however, about the motives of the Negroes who also found their way into the province. They were on their way to freedom, and reports have it that about 2000 of them arrived in Nova Scotia between 1813 and 1816. The unfortunate conditions in the province at the time of their coming probably had a bearing upon their initial adjustment problems. It has been noted that*

> "these immigrants had been brought to Nova Scotia at one of the most unfavourable moments in its history. The last years of the war of 1812 were a period of great extremes in wealth and poverty, foreshadowing a period of depression. The year 1816 was 'the year without a summer', followed by heavy expenditures... for relief of the rural population in flour and meal and seed grain. This year also saw a heavy influx of.....'cast-off fishermen' from Newfoundland, and the beginning of a heavy immigration of poor people from the British Isles."

Historical accounts of the period relate in detail about the large amounts of support, both public and private, that was necessary to maintain the coloured communities for many years after their establishment. Although market gardening of a sort was developed in areas such as Hammond's Plains and Preston, the unfavourable land and adverse weather circumstances made it almost impossible, at most times, for them to raise enough food to maintain life in themselves.

*Preface - Establishment of the Negroes in Nova Scotia - C.B.Fergusson Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1948.

While they worked out their economic problems in various ways as the years passed, many provisions for them in the way of food, clothing and medical supplies were necessary to make their hardships bearable. It would appear that this established social patterns between whites and blacks that are still in some evidence in the province. There is still a certain expectation and encouragement of patronage by coloured people in Halifax county, a fact which is of interest in the light of more complete social relationships between coloureds and whites to be discussed in a later section.

With the Abolition of Slavery Act in 1833, all parts of the British Empire were rid of slavery. The effect of this development upon Nova Scotia, a territory already free, was to cause a fear that additional Negroes might contemplate emigration from the West Indies, Bermuda and the Bahamas to the province. It is plain that events between the years 1812 and 1833 had somewhat dulled the ardour of the public and the government with respect to the Negro element in the population, so much so that in 1834 the following resolution was passed in the Assembly of Nova Scotia:

> "Whereas, it is feared that upon the Negroes being emancipated from their slavery in the West Indies, and the Bermudas and Bahama Islands, numbers of them may be brought into this Province, and prove a great burthen upon the Community.
> "Resolved that a Select Committee be appointed to consider the best method of preventing the introduction of Paupers into this Province."

The Committee of Council for Trade raised a protest against an Act which followed, designed to prevent the clandestine landing of liberated slaves, claiming that new disabilities would be placed upon people newly freed from the disability of slavery. Expected migrations did not follow, however, and Fergusson* has pointed out that this is probably due to the fact that most coloured people entering the province had done so along with their masters or on occasions of warfare, and not on their own initiative. Nevertheless, the event serves to indicate a change in attitude towards the Negroes already there and lays another foundation for social patterns of

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* p. 57, The Establishment of the Negroes in Nova Scotia.

of the present day.

Since the majority of Negro refugees between 1815-18 had been slaves, few of them possessed even an elementary education. Those in Nova Scotia before 1812 had found some provision for the education of their children, but this was before compulsory assessment for the support of free schools. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel provided a considerable number of teachers, and there were also free-lance schools, commercial enterprises of individuals. Itinerant schoolmasters also went from place to place, teaching for a small fee. It is notable that during this period "coloured children might attend either the same schools as the whites or others specially provided for themselves*". By 1811, it was recognized by statute that it was right and necessary for all youth in the province to be educated. Special steps were taken to bring this about, and it was the basis for education by the time of the arrival of coloured refugees in 1812.

In the gradual transition from private to public support of the schools, from "reading, writing and arithmetic" to secondary education, two trends are worth special mention. The Negroes, who were in such great difficulty through disease, cold and starvation at the time, could hardly be called upon to contribute much in a financial way to the education of their children. They did, indeed, along with others in poor economic circumstances, receive additional aid for education from the government; this same pattern, through adult education, is in evidence today. Secondly, there appears to be a gradual but increasing separation of whites and coloureds in the schools from 1812 on. It is due, in part, to the fact that actual Negro communities began to appear after that date, but amongst people of both colours, it appears to be a trend which is accepted favourably. When the Negroes, formerly without educational leadership within their own group, were able to produce people capable of accepting teaching responsibilities, the subtle process of segregation was aided. This development, together with the contemporary situation, will receive detailed attention in a later section.

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* p.58 - Establishment of the Negroes in Nova Scotia.

Whereas it might be said that the Negro refugee of 1812 had literally no educational background, the same statement could not be made with respect to religion. The role which religion played in the lives of American Negro slaves was an important one*, as is indicated by a large amount of documentary evidence. Consequently, there is little doubt that the majority of refugees to Nova Scotia carried with them a background of Protestant evangelism originally** acquired in the southern United States. This they brought into a province which had (as a whole) rejected Anglicanism, thrived for a period on Congregationalism#, and was at that time experiencing a great upsurge of Baptist influence. Both Anglican and Baptist churches played a part in the religious lives of these people during the first quarter of the 19th Century, but it is not surprising that the Baptist denomination should emerge with the greatest influence over them; today, an estimated ninety percent of the Negroes in the province are either adherents or members of the Baptist church##. Although white leaders were again in evidence in the early days, as with education, the religious field was one in which coloured people found an early status. It was one with which they were fairly familiar, and it provided for them the same medium for the release of frustration, the same opportunity for leadership and self-expression as it had for the Negro slaves of the Deep South. Churches were organized as early as 1812, but it was in 1832 that Richard Preston, an escaped slave educated and ordained in England, organized the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church for Negroes in Halifax and opened the way for other men of colour to find leadership and influence in the

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*Dissertation on "The Social Dev. of the Negro in N. America"- C. R. Brookbank-1948.

**Rev. W.P. Oliver, present pastor of Cornwallis St. Baptist Church, with whom I had an interview, had just returned from a tour of southern U.S. churches. He expressed surprise with regard to the similarities in speech, mannerisms and general behaviour in religious services between Nova Scotia and the southern States; congregations in all cases were Negro.

#NB early chapters of "Church and Sect in Canada" - S.D. Clark - 1948.

##From a paper presented to the Adult Education Division, Govt. of Nova Scotia, by Rev. W. P. Oliver - 1949.

field.

One more point should be made before we leave religious background. When the present-day religious situation is discussed later, the same trend towards the separation of Negroes and whites will become apparent, not only in practice but in attitudes also. With the appearance of larger groups of Negroes after 1812, and with the rise of Negro leadership, people of colour began to worship in their own churches separately from whites. Doubtless the Negroes felt a sense of accomplishment in the erection of their own churches and the production of their own ordained ministers, but the wisdom of these moves, in the long view, is questionable. There was no hesitation in soliciting white patronage to bring about this separation; there still is none, as shall be seen. They received encouragement from the white community, although the only motive may have been a desire to see the people of colour become independent and manage their own affairs. In any event, here is a development directly in contrast to theories that small, isolated, minority groups eventually and inevitably become assimilated into the surrounding, larger culture.

The province of Nova Scotia, and Halifax County in particular, is steeped in a pride based on the British historical tradition. The Church of England, along with political figures and governmental officials, has kept this tradition in a prominent place for the past two hundred years, in the same way that similar institutions have kept alive the French tradition in Quebec. Negroes in the province also have a history of considerable length, and they have taken a cue from the white group in attempting to gain status through it. All Nova Scotian Negroes know of William Hall, son of a slave and the first Canadian to win the Victoria Cross; they are also proud of the international singing fame of Portia White. This allows them a considerable amount of identification with the majority group and also has a bearing on their attitudes and relationships in general. While some stability, caution and conservatism is evident as a result of this pride, the trend towards increasing urbanization is

introducing other factors which will merit detailed discussion in later pages. In any event, it is important to keep in mind this emphasis on historical background, since it aids in understanding much of the social behaviour of today.

By way of summary, there are several points that should be retained as we go on to consider modern social organization in the Negro communities of Halifax County. The first of these is the dire economic circumstances with which these people have been faced for so many years, and the subtle attitudes of paternalism and superiority which have arisen in the white population as a result. Then too, it is important to remember that the social responsibilities which accompany freedom had to be learned; the capacity for them to make their own decisions and guide their own destinies had to be acquired under difficulties. It is important to remember also that the majority of upper-class whites in the province after 1812 were possessed of a United Empire Loyalist background, not conducive to equality and fraternity with Negroes; many of the descendants of these people are still in positions of control and influence. In a class analysis based on Max Weber's economic status, social status and power, the majority of Nova Scotian Negroes would undoubtedly be found in the lower class. Weber's three factors are closely correlated; for example, an increase or rise in economic status might bring more social prestige and perhaps more influence. At the present time, the Negroes are seeking social prestige through history, in the hope that it will bring them more economic opportunities. Will the upper group make any really important response to this approach? For one thing, their background stands in the way of such a response; for another, there are a number of developments within the Negro communities working against it.

One of these is the gradual separation between the two groups in schools and churches. This fits in with the Negro attempt to foster a pride in their own historical background and it is natural enough when there are enough coloured people in an area to merit separate

institutions. But it helps to make differences more apparent and to lessen opportunities for better understanding based on school relationships among the children. And while coloured people hope to make economic progress through pride in their history, their present economic position separates the majority of them socially from influential whites. In the poorer sections of Halifax, Negroes and whites live side by side, but even in these areas I saw little fraternization between members of the two groups. Negro prestige based on history depends upon a voluntary acceptance of it by the white group; it is an appeal to the whites, which the latter must recognize and foster. Under these circumstances, the Negro position is actually dependent upon the whites. It is precarious, to say the least, especially when we remember that Nova Scotia was not anxious, after 1833, to receive additional Negroes into its borders. While this attitude did not crystallize into law, the attempts to make it do so indicate that the attitude was not unimportant and confined to a few.

Finally, there is the influence of Halifax over its immediate hinterland to be considered. The full implications of this will become apparent in later pages; it should merely be remembered here that great transportational improvements over the last fifty years, plus a trend in Halifax towards increasing industrialization, has placed adjacent Negro communities in positions similar to those of small, French-Canadian hamlets suddenly surrounded by good roads and mushrooming industry. The analogy is not identical by any means, but many of the same sociological factors appear in both cases, affecting not only the basic social organization of the communities but also the degree of influence maintained by Negro leaders in the fields of education and religion.

MAPS AND ECOLOGY.

Upper Hammond's plains, Preston, New Road, Cherrybrook, Lucasville, Africville, Halifax. (Institutional aspects).

From that humble beginning made in the opening years of the 19th Century, the first coloured immigrants of any importance (numbering over 2000) spread themselves and their children throughout the province of Nova Scotia, until today there are in the neighbourhood of 24 coloured communities*. The Negro population also increased considerably: Fergusson cites the following figures from documents and the Dominion Census:

1851	-	4,908
1871	-	6,212
1881	-	7,062
1901	-	5,984
1911	-	6,452
1921	-	6,175
1931	-	7,361
1941	-	8,817

Rev. W. Oliver, in his document on "The Cultural Progress of the Negro in Nova Scotia", estimates that in 1945 the Negro population was approximately 13,000 of a total population of 621,000; in percentage terms, this is slightly more than 2%. In conversation, he adds that his figure includes "all people with Negro blood, those who admit it and those who do not". He also includes a rural-urban ratio for the present day:

> "The trend of the population has followed the general pattern of the province in that there has been a general decline of the rural population, with an increase in the urban centres, until today.....the rural-urban ration stands at about 5 to 8."

It is interesting to note that between 1881 and 1931 there is relatively little increase. Did the population not increase in these 50 years, or did the surplus population leave the province? It is my belief that there is a fairly substantial number of emigrants each year, aside from the time in question, but it might be profitable to check industrial trends with population figures for that particular

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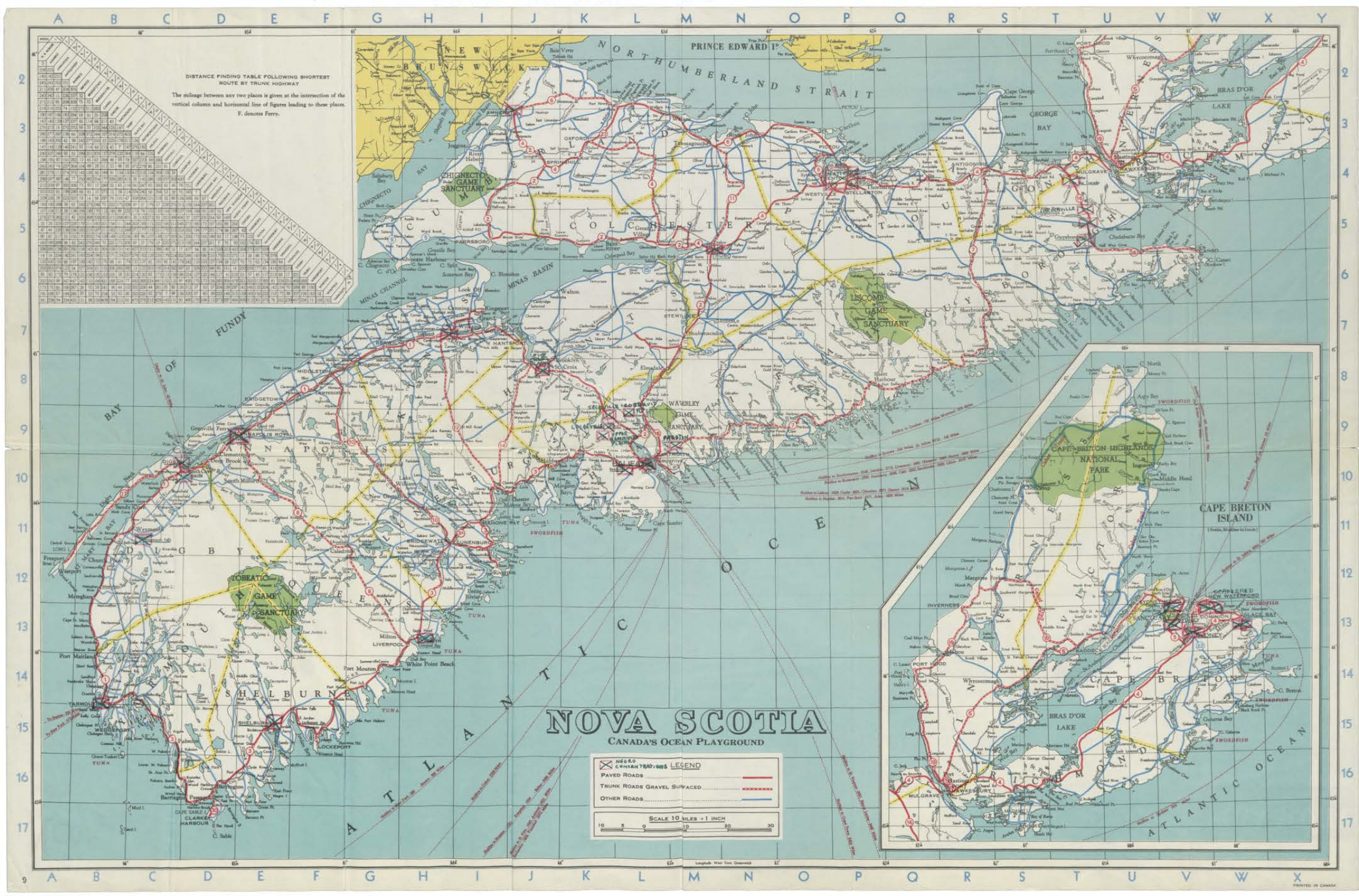
* This information, and that concerning the communities on the base map which follows, was obtained by consultation with a number of people and with the Ass'n. for Adult Education. Main contributions were made by Mr. A. Evans, respected resident of long standing in the community of Preston.

BASE MAP OF NOVA SCOTIA - Showing, to the best of my knowledge, coloured settlements. The term "coloured settlement" is meant to imply that the group has developed its own social institutions, -churches, schools, etc.,- and that there are not less than 25 families in each community. Rev. Oliver based his population calculations on 17 distinct Negro communities and thirteen urban centres with Negro groupings. The map includes 28, counting two Halifax concentrations as one. These would probably coincide with those of Rev. Oliver, although no such check has been made.

July, 1949.

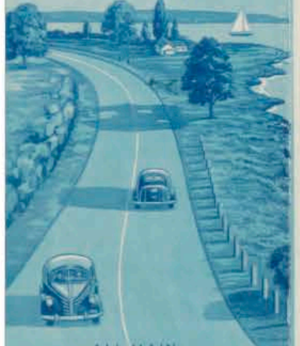

DISTANCE FINDING TABLE FOLLOWING SHORTEST ROUTE BY TRUNK HIGHWAY
The mileage between any two places is given at the intersection of the vertical column and horizontal line of figures leading to these places.
F. denotes Ferry.
NOVA SCOTIA
CANADA'S OCEAN PLAYGROUND
LEGEND
PAVED ROADS
TRUNK ROADS GRAVEL SURFACED
OTHER ROADS
SCALE 10 MILES = 1 INCH
CAPE BRETON ISLAND
PRINCE EDWARD I.
NEW BRUNSWICK
NORTHUMBERLAND STRAIT
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BAY OF FUNDY
MINAS BASIN
MINAS CHANNEL
ANNAPOLIS VALLEY
SOUTH SHORE
EASTERN SHORE
CUMBERLAND
COLCHESTER
PICTOU
ANTIGONISH
GUYSBOROUGH
HALIFAX
KINGS
ANNAPOLIS
DIGBY
QUEENS
SHELBURNE
LUNENBURG
YARMOUTH
CLARE
INVERNESS
VICTORIA
RICHMOND
CAPE BRETON HIGHLANDS NATIONAL PARK
BRAS D'OR LAKE
CHIGNECTO GAME SANCTUARY
LISCOMB GAME SANCTUARY
TORY CREEK GAME SANCTUARY
WAVERLEY GAME SANCTUARY
NEGRO CONSERVATIONS
PRINTED IN CANADA

OFFICIAL HIGHWAY MAP

PROVINCE OF

Nova Scotia

Canada's Ocean Playground



ALL MAIN HIGHWAYS ARE PAVED

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Highway 1
Halifax to Yarmouth
Via Annapolis Valley

Miles from Halifax		Intermediate Mileage	Miles from Yarmouth
0.0	**Halifax** (Jct. 1, 2 & 3, Quinpool Rd. & Robie St.)	0.0	212.3
9.1	Bedford (Jct. 1 & 2)	9.1	[illegible]
24.2	Mount Uniacke	15.1	[illegible]
37.2	St. Croix	13.0	175.0
[illegible]	Junction 1 & 14	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	Windsor	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	Hantsport	7.1	[illegible]
[illegible]	Wolfville	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	Kentville (Jct. 1 & 12)	7.2	[illegible]
[illegible]	Cambridge	7.3	[illegible]
[illegible]	Waterville	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	Berwick (Outskirts)	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	Aylesford	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	Kingston	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	Middleton (Jct. 1 & 10)	7.2	111.7
[illegible]	Lawrencetown	6.0	[illegible]
[illegible]	Paradise	2.5	[illegible]
[illegible]	Bridgetown	4.7	[illegible]
[illegible]	Junction (1 & 8)	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	Annapolis	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	Clementsport	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	Victoria Bridge	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	Digby (Outskirts)	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	Weymouth	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	Meteghan River	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	Meteghan	2.7	[illegible]
[illegible]	Port Maitland	[illegible]	[illegible]
212.3	**Yarmouth** (Jct. 1 & 3, Parade & Main Sts.)	11.4	0.0

Highway 2
Halifax to New Brunswick Border

Miles from Halifax		Intermediate Mileage	Miles from N.B. Border
0.0	**Halifax** (Jct. 1, 2 & 3, Quinpool Rd. & Robie St.)	0.0	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Highway 3
Halifax to Yarmouth
Via South Shore

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Highway 4
New Brunswick Border to Glace Bay
Via Truro

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Highway 5
Port Hawkesbury to Sydney
Via Baddeck and Whycocomagh

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Highway 6
New Brunswick Border to New Glasgow
The Sunrise Trail

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Highway 7
Dartmouth to Antigonish
Via Sherbrooke

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Highway 8
Annapolis to Liverpool

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Highway 9
Parrsboro to Apple River

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Highway 10
Bridgewater to Middleton

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Highway 11
Truro to Tatamagouche

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Highway 12
Chester to Kentville

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Highway 14
Windsor to Chester

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Highway 15
Shubenacadie to Windsor

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Highway 16
Monastery to Canso

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Highway 17
Digby to Westport

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Highway 18
Dartmouth to Waverly

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Highway 19
Port Hawkesbury to Baddeck
Via Inverness

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Highway 21
Oxford to Port Philip

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Highway 22
Sydney to Louisburg

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Highway 24
Shubenacadie to Sheet Harbour

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Highway 28
Sydney to New Waterford

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Highway 30
Barrington Passage to Clark Harbour

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

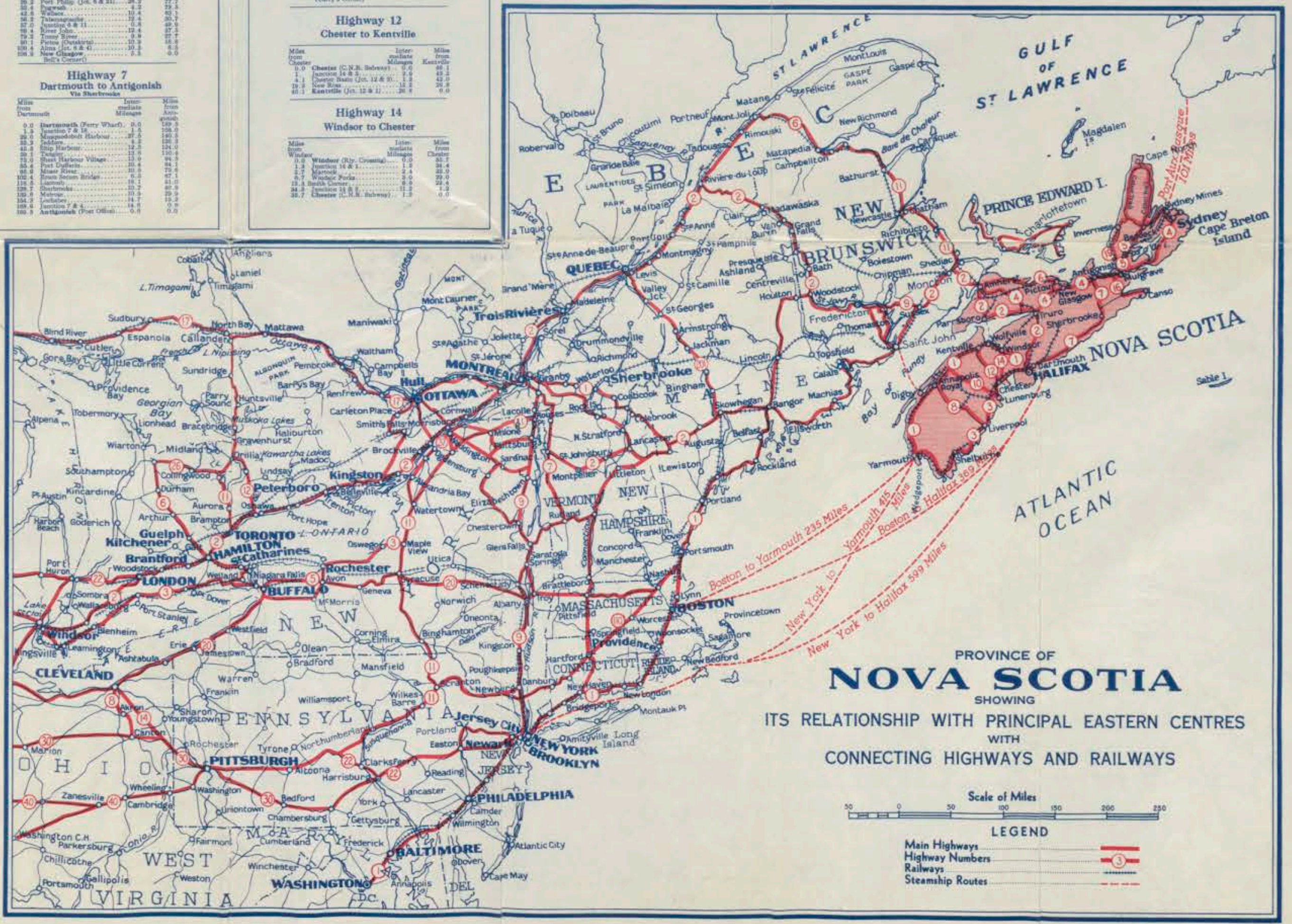
The Cabot Trail

From Baddeck to Baddeck passing through the Margarees, Cheticamp, Pleasant Bay, Cape North and Ingonish, 184.4 miles.

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Distances from Various Points to Nova Scotia Border

	Miles
AKRON, Ohio	1231
ALBANY, N. Y.	798
ALTOONA, Penna	1135
ANNAPOLIS, Md.	1038
ARNPRIOR, Ont.	861
AUGUSTA, Maine	430
AURORA, Ont.	1066
BALTIMORE, Md.	1012
BANGOR, Me.	372
BARRIE, Ont.	1098
BATTLE CREEK, Mich.	1397
BELLEVILLE, Ont.	927
BINGHAMTON, N. Y.	869
BOSTON, Mass.	622
BOWMANVILLE, Ont.	998
BRADFORD, Ont.	1077
BRAMPTON, Ont.	1066
BRANTFORD, Ont.	1107
BRIDGEPORT, Conn.	763
BROCKVILLE, Ont.	827
BUFFALO, N. Y.	1093
BURLINGTON, Vt.	647
CALAIS, Me.	219
CHATHAM, Ont.	1230
CAMDEN, N. J.	917
CHARLESTON, W. Va.	1481
CHICAGO, Ill. (Via Toronto and Quebec)	1580
CHICAGO, Ill. (Via Montreal and Maine)	1620
CINCINNATI, O. (Via Cleveland and Buffalo)	1530
CLEVELAND, O. (Via Albany and Rutland Vt.)	1286
COBURG, ONT.	971
COLLINGWOOD, Ont.	1134
COLUMBUS, O. (Via Cleveland and Buffalo)	1421
CONCORD, New Hampshire	578
CORNWALL, Ont.	766
DETROIT, Mich. (Via Quebec)	1307
DUNDAS, Ont.	1089
EDMUNDSTON, N. B.	331
ELMIRA, N. Y.	928
ERIE, Pa.	1185
FERGUS, Ont.	1126
FORT WAYNE, Ind. (Via Toledo and Detroit)	1470
FREDERICTON, N. B.	157
GALT, Ont.	1100
GANANOQUE, Ont.	958
GLENNS FALLS, N. Y.	726
GLOUCESTER, Mass.	605
GOODERICH, Ont.	1191
GRIMSBY, Ont.	1101
GUELPH, Ont.	1112
HAMILTON, Ont.	1084
HARRISBURG, Pa.	1007
HARTFORD, Conn.	741
INDIANAPOLIS, Ind. (Via Sandusky and Buffalo)	1594
INGERSOLL, Ont.	1143
JERSEY CITY, N. J.	831
KINGSTON, Ont.	876
KITCHENER, Ont.	1112
KNOXVILLE, Tenn. (Via Roanoke and Washington)	1620
LONDON, Ont.	1164
LOUISVILLE, Ky. (Via Cincinnati)	1637
LOWELL, Mass.	578
LYNN, Mass.	590
MANCHESTER, New Hampshire	585
MILWAUKEE, Wis. (Via Chicago and Quebec)	1679
MONCTON, N. B.	37
MONTPELIER, Vt.	609
MONTREAL, P. Q. (Via Quebec)	710
MONTREAL, P. Q. (Via Newry and Bangor)	694
NEWARK, N. J. (Via Stamford Conn.)	861
NEWBURYPORT, Mass.	544
NEWHAVEN, Conn.	776
NEW LONDON, Conn.	728
NEW YORK, N. Y.	830
NIAGARA FALLS, Ont.	1133
NIAGARA FALLS, N. Y.	1033
NORTH BAY, Ontario	1042
OSHAWA, Ont.	1007
OGDENSBURG, N. Y.	822
OSWEGO, N. Y.	951
OTTAWA, Ont. (Via Montreal and Bangor)	820
OTTAWA, Ont. (Via Montreal and Quebec)	836
OWEN SOUND, Ont.	1196
PARIS, Ont.	1105
PAWTUCKET, R. I.	637
PERTH, Ont.	946
PETERBOROUGH, Ont.	1008
PHILADELPHIA, Pa.	944
PITTSBURGH, Pa.	1313
PITTSFIELD, Mass.	727
PLATTSBURG, N. Y.	667
PORT HOPE, Ont.	979
PORTLAND, Maine	515
PORTSMOUTH, N. H.	527
PRESCOTT, Ont.	815
PROVIDENCE, R. I.	667
QUEBEC, P. Q.	531
RICHMOND, Va. (Via Washington D. C.)	1197
RIVIERE DU LOUP, P. Q.	409
ROCHESTER, N. Y.	950
RUTLAND, Vt.	676
SAINT JOHN, N. B.	132
SANDUSKY, N. Y.	1344
SARNIA, Ont.	1239
SAULT STE. MARIE, Ont.	1330
SCHENECTADY, N. Y.	783
ST. CATHERINES, Ont.	1119
ST. JOHNSBURY, Vt.	583
STRATFORD, Ont.	1146
ST. THOMAS, Ont.	1182
SUSSEX, N. B.	87
SYRACUSE, N. Y.	936
THREE RIVERS, Que.	614
TILLSONBURG, Ont.	1060
TOLEDO, Ohio	1308
TORONTO, Ont. (Via Quebec	1060
TORONTO, Ont. (Via Montreal and Bangor)	1041
TRENTON, N. J.	887
UTICA, N. Y.	821
WALKERVILLE, Ont.	1281
WALTHAM, Mass.	648
WASHINGTON, D. C.	1087
WATERBURY, Conn.	725
WATERTOWN, N. Y.	842
WHITBY, Ontario	1013
WILKES-BARRE, Pa.	924
WILMINGTON, Del.	969
WINDSOR, Ontario	1281
WOODSTOCK, Ont.	1134
WORCESTER, Mass. (Via Lowell)	621



PROVINCE OF

NOVA SCOTIA

CANADA'S OCEAN PLAYGROUND

IN addition to this highway map, the Nova Scotia Bureau of Information publishes a series of booklets designed to provide prospective visitors with as much information as possible about the vacation attractions of Nova Scotia. These include:

"NOVA SCOTIA, CANADA'S OCEAN PLAYGROUND"

"WHERE TO STAY IN NOVA SCOTIA"

"NOVA SCOTIA TOUR BOOK"

"HISTORIC NOVA SCOTIA"

"NOVA SCOTIA'S HIGHLAND CAPE BRETON"

"NOVA SCOTIA FISH AND GAME"

"NOVA SCOTIA SALT WATER ANGLING"

"NOVA SCOTIA— CANADA'S OCEAN PLAYGROUND" is a 64-page full color presentation of the scenic and recreational attractions of the Province. In addition to being a pictorial description of Nova Scotia the booklet provides considerable information about the holiday seasons, climate, geographical location, areas and special features.

"WHERE TO STAY IN NOVA SCOTIA" contains a listing of the places of accommodation within the province. Names, descriptions, rates and opening and closing dates of hotels, inns, resorts and cottages.

"NOVA SCOTIA TOUR BOOK" A 124-page guide for the motorist. The highway routes are given in order through the book, with mileages. There are paragraphs dealing with every county, thumbnail sketches of every incorporated town, and stories of every point of interest. The book also contains chapters on Nova Scotia place names with pronunciation and meaning, Nova Scotia books, museums, golf courses, fruits, trees, flowers, birds, animals, customs regulations, government, etc.

"HISTORIC NOVA SCOTIA." This book gives, in condensed form, the history of the province. It is written in story form and deals with every outstanding event from the first coming of Champlain in 1605 to the arrival of the Highland Scottish settlers in the 19th century. Chapters deal with the Flag and Arms of Nova Scotia, with the Sagas of the Norsemen, the Voyage of the Cabots, the Micmac Indians, the Order of the Good Time, and the Mayflower. A complete account is given of the Port Royal Habitation, and the National Historic Sites in the province are listed.

"NOVA SCOTIA'S HIGHLAND CAPE BRETON" An illustrated story of Cape Breton Island. Contains description of Cape Breton Highlands National Park, the Cabot Trail, Louisbourg National Historic Park, the Bras d'Or Lakes, historic St. Ann's, Baddeck and the Margaree Valley.

"NOVA SCOTIA FISH AND GAME" This booklet deals with fresh water angling, telling the story of Nova Scotia's speckled trout, sea trout, rainbow trout, atlantic salmon, landlocked salmon, brown and grey trout. Trout and salmon flies most successful in Nova Scotia waters are named. The best salmon streams are listed, with the average annual catch over a five-year period. Angling regulations are included, with a list of fishery officers from whom fishing permits may be purchased. The wild life of the province is described, the moose, deer and other animals, also birds, ducks, geese, ruffed grouse, woodcock, and others. Game laws are listed, with rates for guides, etc.

"NOVA SCOTIA SALT WATER ANGLING." An illustrated story of blue fin tuna and broadbill swordfishing in Nova Scotia's coastal waters. A description is given of the "hot spots" where the big tuna are taken, and many records are listed. Rates for guides and tuna boats are given, with addresses of the various Tuna Guides Associations. Methods of angling are given in detail. The same treatment is given to the sport fishing of broadbill swordfish. Light tackle angling, and handlining in Nova Scotia waters are described.

Free copies of any of the above may be had by writing—

The Nova Scotia Bureau of Information,
Provincial Building,
Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada.

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We maintain government-operated information bureaus at all points of entry to the Province, and for last minute information on any subject we suggest you visit the bureau located at the place where you enter Nova Scotia.

period to determine any possible correlation between industrial development and emigration. In this instance, the French-Canadian situation has a bearing; during the same period, a large amount of that surplus farm population moved out of the province. The small farms and large families in the Negro communities probably forced the same kind of development; if so, how many remained in shipping, fishing and industry within the province and how many departed for urban and industrial areas outside provincial boundaries? Up-to-date information of a statistical nature, like the following*, would help to answer some questions:

> "From 1871 to 1921, the Negro population of Canada decreased from .62% to .21% of the total; this is partly explained by the increase in other immigration, but there has been a decline in Canadian-born Negroes also."

And again:

> "Although mortality, emigration, inter-marriage or a combination of these must all be included in a consideration of the decreasing number of Negroes in Canada, it would seem that emigration is the chief cause of the decline. The records show that it is not due to mortality, for the birth rate is higher than the death rate."

But until more detailed information is available on Negro population movements in Nova Scotia, a part of the story of Afro-Canadians in the province must remain hidden.

Upper Hammond's Plains.

This Negro community, the one in which most time was spent, has a name which is spelled three different ways (Hammonds, Hammond's, Hammond). It lies about 12 miles north-west of Halifax and is part of a larger area called Hammond's Plains, inhabited by both Negroes and whites. Lower Hammond's Plains, the white area, lies on the Halifax side of the Negro community, and the division between Upper and Lower is recognized by both groups. Differences between the two communities are notable; the Upper area is higher in altitude, has

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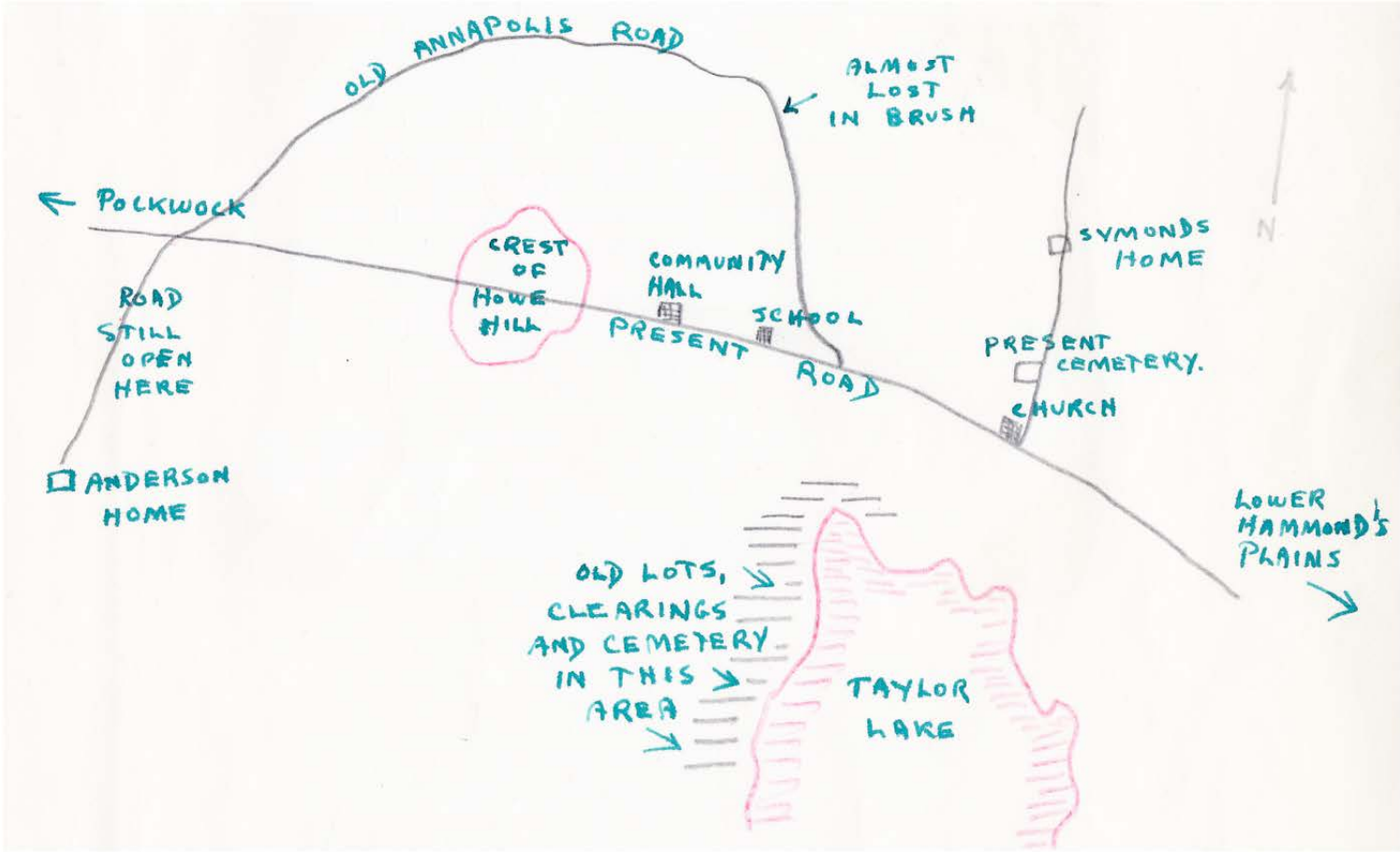
* p. 67 - The Social Development of the Negro in N. America - Brookbank. Statistical information from "The Negro in Canada" - Ida C. Greaves, 1931.

considerably less clear land, is hillier, has more scrub brush and rocks and a road in poorer condition, than Lower Hammond's Plains. The Upper area is approximately three miles in length, following the road, and very rarely extends beyond half a mile on either side of it. A glance at Map No. 1 indicates the way in which the houses are situated close to the road, even on the side-road leading to Little Pockwock. The church, school and recreation hall are quite close to one another, at the base of Howe Hill, about one mile into the community from Lower Hammond's Plains.

There has been some shifting of location of buildings during the past fifty to seventy-five years*, and the establishment of a better road has been largely responsible. Years ago, buildings were



constructed around Taylor Lake, and it appears that the community was originally established there. Most of the old clearings are now grown over with trees and brush; the old cemetery is impossible to find unless one knows its exact location. The main road passing

* These conclusions reached as a result of interviews with Mrs. Johnson, a very old resident of the community who can remember the old clearings, etc.

through the settlement is not the Old Annapolis Road in its original form; the old road, which circled Howe Hill, has been almost completely reclaimed by the bush. The area now called Pockwock was formerly known as Moosetown because of a natural "yard" there in which the moose gathered. The school of eighty years ago consisted of a log cabin somewhere near Taylor Lake; it was taught by Mr. Taylor, after whom the lake is named, and was a part of the old settlement, whereas the new (most recent) school is located on the main road. There is one house-store in the community, situated almost on the border between the Upper and Lower settlements and operated by a coloured man. The house-store pattern is notable in most of the settlements and will be discussed at length in following pages.

Upper Hammond's Plains, showing the road leading up Howe Hill in the distance, to Pockwock. Note the numerous stones in the cleared area and the denseness of the scrub brush. The house in the centre is one of the few with two storeys. Behind it, the church can be seen, but the school and community hall farther on are obscured by trees. The gravel-surfaced road in the picture is the main road on the map.

The community hall (see map on previous page) is the only other building designed for community activity and is therefore the only focal point aside from the church, school or store. The hall was originally built as a Temperance Lodge about eighty years ago, and

attempts are now being made to repair and reclaim it from ruin. Although the second storey is uninhabitable because the floor is unsafe, the building is used for picnics, dances, political speeches and the like. All rehabilitation work done to date (and there is still lots to do) has been accomplished on the basis of community action and cooperation. It has been a slow process, since there has been no organization under committees or boards, as far as I know, as is the case with the church and school.

The Community Hall. The small wooden addition on the right is a kitchen, recently added by men of the community. It contains a stove and a few utensils. The main floor of the hall has a rough board floor and a small, crudely-constructed stage. The building is lighted by one or two electric bulbs.

The school, which has just been built recently, contains one large room and a cloak-room; the latter has been converted into a domestic science laboratory, with sink, cupboards and other equipment, including a Singer sewing machine. The building is heated by means of a wood-burning furnace in the basement; these furnaces are logical in an area where coal is scarce and expensive and wood is plentiful. At present, there are eighty children enrolled in the school, including all grades, which means that the school was overcrowded even before its construction was complete. Under the system

now in effect, children of the Fourth grade and below attend school in the afternoon and those above Fourth grade receive instruction in the morning. The one room is large and sunny, and the double desks are removable. Since the school building itself is of brick construction, it is the best building in the settlement and the pride of the community.

The school. Note especially the rocky ground in front of it, a good example of the terrain in the settlement.

Churches in all of the Negro communities under observation are much the same, and the church in Upper Hammond's Plains is typical of the others. Emmanuel Baptist Church is a neat, white, frame building about thirty years old. A basement has recently been constructed under it to allow the installation of a wood-burning furnace. The building itself consists of one storey, plus balcony, and is in much poorer condition inside than outside. The records reveal a membership of 45, which surprised me when I estimated the total settlement population at about 400*. Apparently the statement that 90% of Nova Scotian Negroes are "members or adherents" of the Baptist church is used rather loosely, with adherents comprising a much larger section than one is led to believe; this will merit

* It is difficult to obtain an accurate population count. In white communities, Mr. B.C.Silver, Superintendent of Schools, takes the school attendance and multiplies by 4½. Since Negro families are somewhat larger than white, I have multiplied by 5 in allcases. My population figures for Negro settlements are based on this method of calculation.

further discussion in a later section.

In any event, the church is still the basis for the main social organization of the community, outside of the family. In addition to two services and a Sunday school class each Sunday, a weekly prayer meeting is held. Important organizations in the church, and therefore in the community, include the Baptist Young People's Union, the Men's Brotherhood and the Ladies' Auxiliary. The Board of Trustees for the school and the Adult Education Committee are the only other key groups.

Emmanuel Baptist Church, situated on the widest, clearest corner of the settlement. Although it is not the geographical center of the community, there is a "central feeling" about the corner.

Behind the church lies the cemetery, a wild and unkempt area. There were some remarks indicating concern that the cemetery was not in better condition, and it is surprising that more emphasis is not placed on "status in death". Not having witnessed a funeral, my knowledge is extremely limited in this respect. There is a sort of triumphant pride in old age (over eighty), but this seems to be of little importance in terms of status, as shall be seen later.

Other buildings in the settlement consist of the houses, a number of cooperage shops, and the odd saw-mill, all fairly close to the

main road. Most houses are much like the Symonds home, where I stayed. All are frame, but several are of two storeys, especially those built most recently. Houses are shabby on the outside for the most part, and little paint is in evidence. There is, however, a general concern regarding cleanliness. In most cases, toilet facilities are outside but new houses include bathrooms and other modern conveniences such as running water. As a rule, new houses are also much larger and have cement foundations; I visited one which had twelve rooms.

This is the clearest area in the cemetery of Upper Hammond's Plains. It is almost impossible to find graves without headstones; the latter are few and simple. Note the large rocks and rough ground. No attempt is made to maintain plots in good condition; too much time and energy is needed to earn a livelihood.

From the photographs, it is not difficult to understand why there is little agriculture in the community. Most of the lots include ten acres of land, all of which is covered with rocks and little of which is clear. And clearing is a constant process, for "suckers", small trees and bushes, grow up within a year if they are not cut down. It would take more than "pioneering qualities" to make this an agricultural community. Ploughs and other farming equipment could not be used even if they had been available in the early days. As

Front view of the Symonds house. The wood stove may be seen in the kitchen. Six small rooms, fairly clean but shabby. No screens.

Other buildings, with Symonds house on the left. On the right, a garage; in the background, a pig-pen and shed. Note lack of paint.

a result, the early settlers had to find some means other than agriculture of utilizing their Crown grants of land. All have small gardens even today, in which vegetables are grown for their own use, but natural resources other than the soil had to be considered when the question was one of making a living.

Preston.

The area generally referred to as Preston by Haligonians is further subdivided into three main areas; Preston East, or the main settlement, Preston North, or the New Road settlement, and Cherry Brook. They are all adjacent to one another, and together comprise the larg-

est Negro community of this nature in Canada. A main highway passes through Preston East, the settlement which is popularly known as Preston (see detailed map). It is the most stable and perhaps the oldest of these three communities, and has an estimated population of 680. The land in general is somewhat clearer and not so hilly as in Upper Hammond's Plains. Consequently, agricultural activities and farming of a kind are more in evidence. Historical background here is much the same also; government grants of land were made around the beginning of the 19th Century. There has been a greater evidence in past years, however, of market gardening and mixed farming. It has long been the custom for Preston residents to travel at least twice a week to the Halifax market, where they sold the produce of their land. Although there are not so many engaged in this pursuit now as there were at one time, it is apparent that the settlement has been geared to agriculture to a much greater degree than the Plains.

There are not many new houses going up, since Preston is composed mainly of older people, who give it the stability. Most houses are in fair condition; the big difference in buildings between this and other settlements is the size and condition of barns and other outbuildings. There are quite a few barns of considerable size, and more of the equipment and facilities necessary to farms. The home at which I stayed was probably the most prosperous; it is owned by Mr. A. W. Evans, a member of the County Council and the most important man in the settlement. His farm is not unduly large for this community; he has fifteen acres under cultivation and considerable other acreage in forest. He works hard and the effects are evident; he has a good stock of milk cows, three horses, many geese, turkeys and chickens and a large piggery. There are several buildings on the property,, two trucks, a 1948 car and a large house.

Other key centres like the school and church are quite similar to those previously described and need not be discussed further here. The Eastern Star Lodge has a hall in Preston but it is my belief that the organization itself is defunct. The hall is used mainly for dances and the like. The church and school are off the paved highway, but

not far. The settlement has its share of decrepit homes and these seem to be inhabited by the men who work as labourers in Halifax or Dartmouth. The Old Stag Inn, which can be seen on the detailed map, is an ancient building, still inhabited and ready to fall apart.

A view of some of the out-buildings on the Evans farm. The low building in the centre is the piggery. Note the white picket fence, and the level, fairly clear land in the background. The barn on the left even has an eaves-trough.

Preston has its own police force, an institution conspicuously absent from the other settlements in this study. It consists of one full-time constable and five municipal councillors who are qualified to act as police. The latter serve on special occasions and are on call in the event of special emergencies. They take the job seriously; as one man in Upper Hammond's Plains put it, "They would arrest their own grandmother". I heard of one case of a white who drove across a bridge during a baptism, against the orders of a Negro policeman. He was later apprehended and fined fifty dollars. This is worth noting from the point of view of "impartial British justice", characteristic of governmental organizations towards the coloured people in Nova Scotia. The other settlements settle any differences or offences on their own, if possible. If a serious case arises, the R.C.M.P.

are summoned. This would lead the outsider to believe that the settlements are relatively law-abiding, but there is reason to doubt this, as shall be seen.

There are only two telephones in Preston, one of which is in the Evans home. To the best of my knowledge, there are none in either the New Road or the Cherrybrook areas. Mr. Evans is a member of the Loyal Wilberforce Lodge (Masonic) in Halifax. He was reluctant to speak of the Eastern Star Lodge in the community, which is a women's section of the Masonic organization; this may indicate disapproval of women's organizations not relevant to the home. Aside from the church, which has the Ladies Aid or Auxiliary, women's organizations are non-existant. All of the schools in these settlements, new and otherwise, are over-crowded; there seems to be no consideration for future expansion. The thought occurred to me that this might not be just lack of foresight, but that they might not expect any great increase in pupils. If this latter is the case, it would certainly be true to form, since there has been little increase in the past hundred years. But with average families of fourteen, fifteen or sixteen children, as is the case with the New Road settlement, there must be a considerable population increase. It can only follow that the children do not stay, and have not done so for many, many years, for the most part. If this kind of expectancy can be found in Mr. Evans, a man of foresight and meticulous detail and one who plays an important part in the acquisition of new schools, then it might be a key to the population movements of these people for the past century.

Preston North, or the New Road Settlement, is the largest, in terms of population, of these three. My estimate, based on school attendance multiplied by five, is 900, but this may be high because families are characteristically so large, as has been mentioned. Economically, it is a poor community with most of the land covered by scrub brush. The younger families are found here and new houses of a poor nature are much in evidence. The North Preston Baptist United church is much the same as the other churches. The school here has three rooms and is still over-crowded. All schools have

wood furnaces because wood is the cheapest and handiest fuel. While Preston has a Post Office (contained in a private house), New Road and most of the other settlements have none; in addition, there is no electricity in New Road as yet. There are two house-stores in the area, one of which keeps a good and extensive stock of supplies due to the isolation of the settlement in winter.

The Cherrybrook* settlement, with a population of about 470, is smaller than the other two in this area. Its homes are much like those in Upper Hammond's Plains, but the land is not even as clear. The church and school are also poorer than their Plains counterparts, and their community hall burned down recently. These buildings also serve a tiny off-shoot nearby called the Lake Loon settlement, which I did not have an opportunity to see. Plans are underway to build a new school and then the old one will be used as a community hall. The basic characteristics of these centers and the social organization which develops around them are much the same; consequently, little detail is given here. The "left arm" of the Cherrybrook community (the one containing the church and school) is the poorest with respect to houses and uncleared land. New houses that are being built by younger families are closer to the road, and even in winter there is little wood cut. The great majority of the men, here and in New Road, have steady jobs as labourers in Halifax or Dartmouth.

Another major institution, the Nova Scotia Home for Coloured Children, is also located in this general area. Situated almost at the cross-roads leading to Cherrybrook and Preston East, this three-storey building stands on land owned and administered by the institution and extending for 212 acres. It accommodates approximately 70 boys and girls up to age 18, and is operated in conjunction with the Children's Aid Society. The original president and founder was Mr. Henry G. Bauld, a white man, and the present president is Dr. Cummings, also white. The Home is self-contained to a considerable extent, with its own two-roomed school and a visiting Baptist minister from Dartmouth once a month; Sunday school is a weekly occurrence. Of economic importance is the well-stocked farm, on which the boys

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* Two spellings - Cherry Brook and Cherrybrook.

who are old enough help to do much of the work. The home itself is exceptionally clean and tidy, with the older girls carrying a large part of the household duties. My visit was in the early morning, entirely unexpected, and all were busy scrubbing and cleaning.

The Nova Scotia Home for Coloured Children.

There are two points in connection with the home which should be made here and mentioned later. One is the number of lighter-skinned children with brown hair: one boy was blonde. These children are in the minority in comparison to those with more Negroid features, but when questions were raised about them, the answer was "all are coloured here". Nevertheless, this would indicate that sexual relationships between whites and coloured are not unknown. Then too, the children in the Home must be orphans or illegitimates, and where a white strain is evident, illegitimacy is the almost obvious cause. The point is important only on the question of morality in these settlements, a question which is not easily answered. The other observation hinges on a remark made about Mr. Bauld, founder of the Home; it was stated that "he was just like a father to us". This is worth noting in a consideration of Negro-white relationships on a non-legal and non-governmental level. The idea of "benevolent

paternalism" is, in my opinion, well-founded in these relationships, and more evidence will be brought to bear on this in a later section.

The children at the Home are the same as children anywhere; in fact, in some ways they are more fortunate than other children in the settlements. Toys and other play facilities at the Home are first-class, clothing is clean and in good condition and above all, these children have the advantage of a normal year's education, with five full days of schooling each week. Regular and proper food, as well

Play facilities at the Home.

A sand box. Note the features of the boy just to the right of the post, and compare them with those of the boys to the left of it.

as adequate medical attention, are other factors in their favour.

Lucasville

Although this settlement follows the same general pattern as the others that have been described, there are some notable differences. One is the fact that the general standard of living seems to be higher, even though it is not actually a community of "older people". The houses are in better condition and of greater value.

Home of Roy Oliver, Lucasville. This is perhaps the best house in the settlement--not typical. The owner is close to forty years of age, has no children.

There is nothing special about the church, school or community hall, but the land is quite level and fairly clear. There is a fair amount of land under cultivation also, but not very much of it is utilized as the basis for a livelihood. Several people living in Halifax own homes or plots of land in this settlement; in some respects, it is considered a sort of summer resort by them, or a "place to get away from the city". Mr. Porter Lucas, an old resident, claims the land is "better for crops than hay", and large gardens are common whereas abnormally large families are not. The settlement is a fairly small one, consisting of about 190 people. Doubtless there are reasons more valid than those presented here for the unique characteristics of this area, but my stay was not lengthy enough to detect them. For

one thing, again the majority of the men work in Halifax, but a closer investigation of occupations might have revealed some specialising; for example, Mr. Roy Oliver was a stonemason, a craftsman. W. Oliver, who has a summer home here, is a clergyman. Porter Lucas is a farmer, more or less retired. There are several cars in the settlement, too, although some are owned by young, single men. It was here also that I came across the closest approximation to a playboy, son of a respected farmer. In any event, there seemed to be more of a "middle-class" atmosphere, real or imagined. Rev. Oliver main-

Land and buildings adjacent to the home of Roy Oliver in Lucasville. Clear, level and absent of rocks, although the road contains many large stones.

tained that he would live here in preference to Halifax were it not for the fact that his children would not get a proper education.

Some mention has been made previously of stores and house-stores

in these settlements. This differentiation is my own, for a store to settlement people usually means a shed attached to a house or one room in the house. Articles for sale usually consist of cigarettes, candy and the like. As a rule, stores which handle groceries, meat and so on are operated by white people, as is the case in Upper Hammond's Plains. This is not so much due to the fact that Negroes do

A store in Lucasville, not the house-store variety. Lucasville has two of these, each with a fairly extensive stock. If Lucasville is really more middle-class, it seems logical that proprietors would not run as great a "credit" risk here.

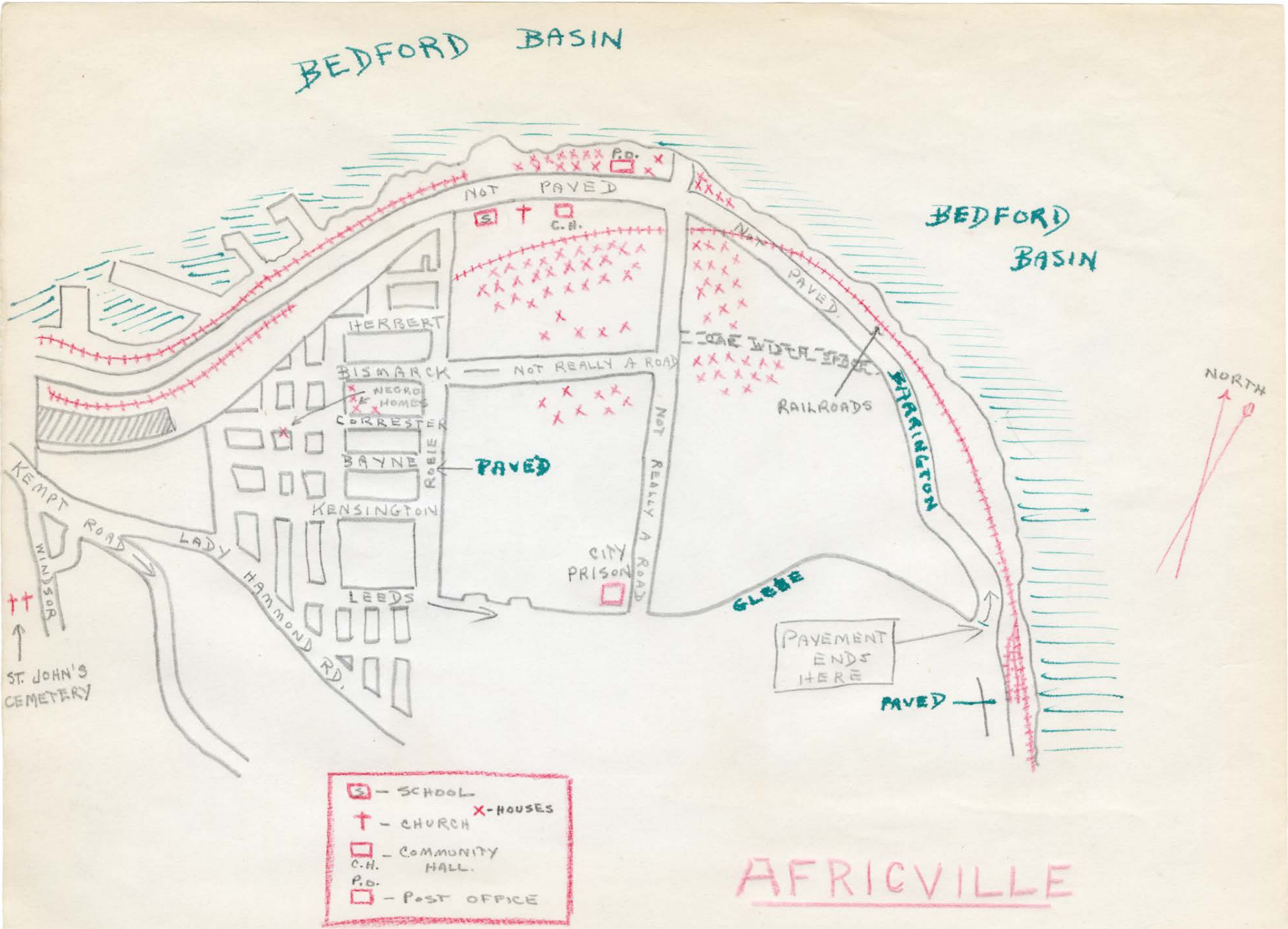
not make good businessmen but rather to the fact that Negroes would be expected to carry the majority of the neighbours on credit, which they could not do and maintain their stock. In addition, there would always be a substantial number of relatives expecting goods gratis, which is not a business ethic. Under these circumstances, the impartial and unrelated white has a distinct advantage. Not only that, but if the large Negro family becomes dependent on the white storekeeper for food on credit (which is often the case), then the latter can exert a real influence. Few settlements have full-fledged stores operated by coloured people, but Lucasville has two in its own small

area, both operated by Negroes. This leads one to believe once again that there must be more money and less credit in this particular community. The larger store (not pictured) is quite substantial, and the owner has a car, so that there must not be as great a dependence upon him in terms of credit. This situation tends to support the view that Lucasville is more of a middle-class settlement, but further investigation would be essential before any more definite statements could be made.

Africville.

The city of Halifax is situated on a small peninsula, joined to the mainland on the north-west and bordered on the north by Bedford Basin, on the east and south by Halifax harbour, and on the west by the North-west Arm. At the north-eastern end overlooking Bedford Basin, there lies the Negro community of Africville, with a population of 420. From the scenic point of view, the location is beautiful but surrounding large warehouses and railroad tracks passing through the community label the area as industrial. North beyond the city prison (see map), the land is rough and sloping down to the Basin; there are no decent roads in the immediate neighbourhood and no street lay-out. For the

Some Africville houses. Note the goat in left centre, and the rocks and refuse. Also a good view of Bedford Basin.


BEDFORD BASIN
P.O.
NOT PAVED
S
C.H.
HERBERT
BISMARCK
NOT REALLY A ROAD
NEGRO HOMES
CORBESTER
BAYNE
ROBIE
PAVED
KENSINGTON
KEMPT ROAD
WINDSOR
LADY HAMMOND RD.
LEEDS
ST. JOHN'S CEMETERY
CITY PRISON
NOT REALLY A ROAD
RAILROADS
BRAINGTON
GLEBE
PAVEMENT ENDS HERE
PAVED
BEDFORD BASIN
NORTH
S - SCHOOL
† - CHURCH
X - HOUSES
C.H. - COMMUNITY HALL.
P.O. - POST OFFICE
AFRICVILLE

most part, the families are squatters; I understand that about twenty of them actually own their land. They have their own school of two rooms, the inevitable Baptist church and a post office. There is also a community hall but a family has been living in it for the past few years as a result of a fire.

Although the community has electricity, there are no water or sewage disposal facilities and the population is more or less transient. The pattern of Crown grants of land handed down from generation to generation absent. There is a mild concern registered by the

Teen-age boys playing baseball on the one level spot in Africville. The indiscriminate layout of the houses can be seen in the background. The railroad tracks pass right through the community.

city over this area. The City Council is an official body, and officially at least, Nova Scotia is noted for its fair and liberal attitude towards its people of colour. However, it is difficult to make any tangible improvement in water and sewage disposal facilities in a slum area with a population composed mainly of transients who do not pay taxes. If Halifax expands industrially in the future, Africville may be swept away in the process. There are no roots here; it is almost a community in suspension, a stepping-stone in the pattern of a population movement from the rural settlements to the larger cities

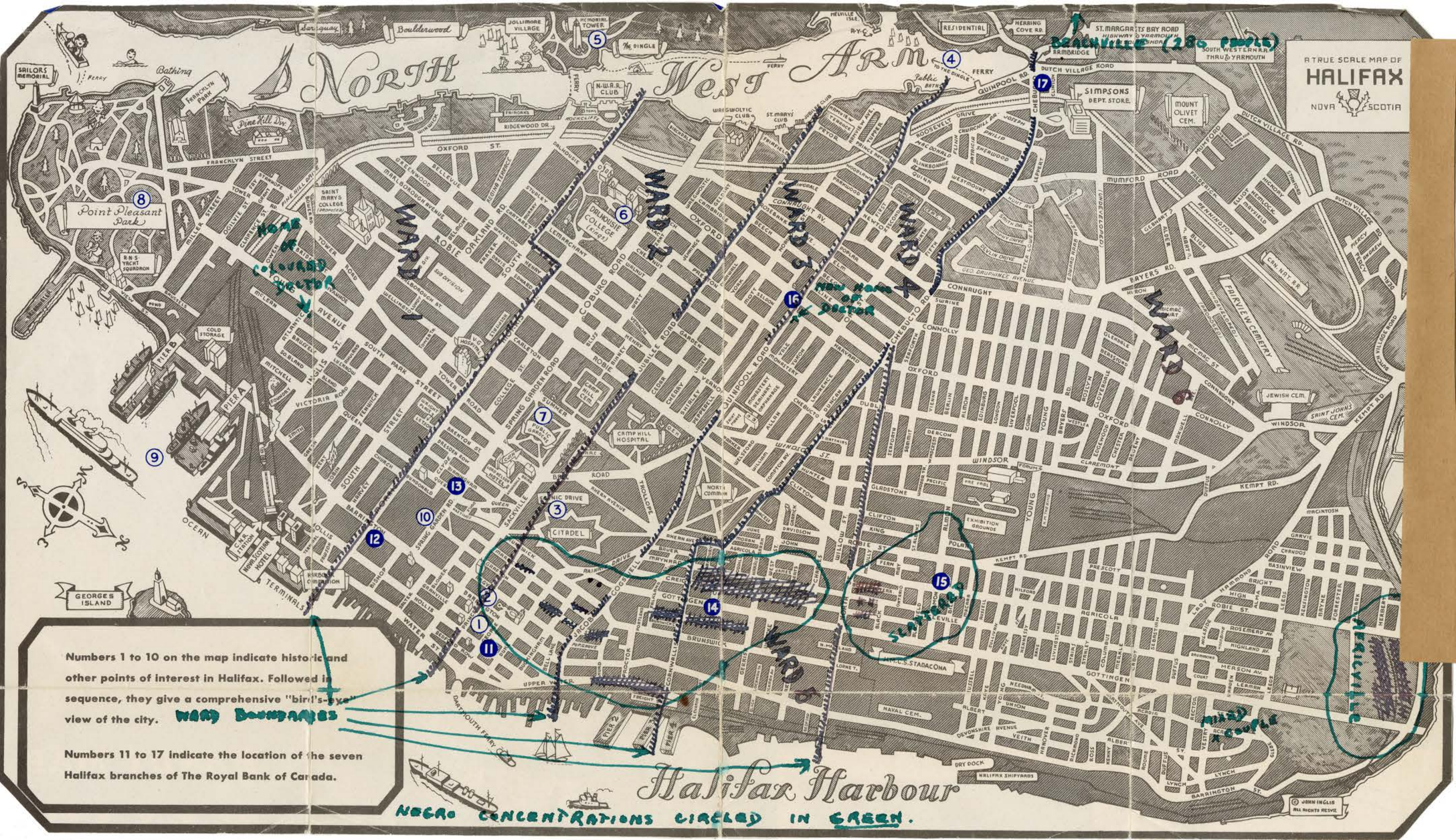
of Montreal and Boston. Although some residents feel that there might be records of an original grant of land to Negroes on the Africville site, this would appear to be wishful thinking.

Halifax proper.

Roughly, the industrial areas of Halifax extend from the southern end, Piers A and B in Ward One (see map following) around the eastern shore and up to Africville. Shaw's ecological pattern for city development as applied to Halifax would probably consist of a series of oblong circles with a nucleus somewhere around Barrington and Morris Sts. at the edge of Ward One. The elongations of the circles would then extend lengthily north and south. This would bring the concentrations of Negro homes, with the exception of Africville, into either the area of deterioration or the area of working-men's homes. The homes, from the standpoint of value, upkeep and general environment, follow the pattern laid down by Shaw for either of these areas; Halifax is such an old city that it would be more difficult to distinguish between the two, aside from the number of residents and the number of families.

The residential areas of the city lie to the south-west and along the north-west arm (see map). It is notable that the only Negro doctor, a West Indian, lived formerly on Atlantic Avenue and has recently moved to the corner of Harvard and Quinpool Road; both of these sections are in the residential area. It is also notable that this man does not associate with other people of colour, has a practice that is eighty percent white, and is not a Baptist. To my knowledge, he is the only Negro living in a completely residential area. As can be seen by the map, the main concentrations of Negroes are in Wards Five and Six, with a considerable number in Ward Four. All are on the east side of the city, roughly in the commercial and industrial sections and away from the residential areas. They are not totally isolated; there are many white families in the neighbourhood with very little fraternization between whites and coloured as far as I could make out. For a clearer picture of the circumstances surrounding Negro housing in Halifax, the reader is asked to check, at this

Map of Halifax showing concentrations of Negro families. My estimate, based on information from a Mr. Carter, life-long resident of Halifax, is that there are about 5000 Afro-Canadians in the concentrated areas, including octoroons, as well as others scattered. At least half of these are probably in Wards Four and Five. There must be about 2000 around Creighton and Maynard Streets, the main concentration. This is a very low-level area, with streets and houses in very poor condition. The house at which I stayed on Creighton Street, probably one of the best, had the kitchen in the cellar.


A TRUE SCALE MAP OF
HALIFAX
NOVA SCOTIA
North West Arm
Halifax Harbour
Numbers 1 to 10 on the map indicate historic and other points of interest in Halifax. Followed in sequence, they give a comprehensive "bird's-eye" view of the city.
Numbers 11 to 17 indicate the location of the seven Halifax branches of The Royal Bank of Canada.
WARD BOUNDARIES
NEGRO CONCENTRATIONS CIRCLED IN GREEN.
WARD 1
WARD 2
WARD 3
WARD 4
WARD 5
WARD 6
HOME OF COLOURED DOCTOR
NEW HOME OF DOCTOR
BEACHVILLE (280 PEOPLE)
SLATERSY
AFRICVILLE
MIXED A COUPLE
Point Pleasant Park
DALHOUSIE COLLEGE
SAINT MARY'S COLLEGE
CITADEL
CAMP HILL HOSPITAL
SIMPSONS DEPT. STORE
MOUNT OLIVET CEM.
JEWISH CEM.
SAINT JOHN'S CEM.
FAIRVIEW CEMETERY
NAVAL CEM.
GEORGES ISLAND
SAILORS MEMORIAL
MEMORIAL TOWER
JOLLIMORE VILLAGE
Boulderwood
ARMBRIDGE
DUTCH VILLAGE ROAD
QUINPOOL RD.
OXFORD ST.
ROBIE ST.
KEMPT RD.
WINDSOR
AGRICOLA
GOTTINGEN
BARRINGTON ST.
CONNAUGHT
MUMFORD ROAD
DRY DOCK
HALIFAX SHIPYARDS
H.M.C.S. STADACONA
EXHIBITION GROUNDS
NOVA SCOTIAN HOTEL
C.N.R. STATION
PIER A
PIER B
COLD STORAGE
DARTMOUTH FERRY
N.W.A.R. CLUB
R.N.S. YACHT SQUADRON
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point, the Housing Atlas map which follows. The Negro concentrations have been superimposed so that the regular information on housing in relation to incomes, crowded areas and so on, can be compared with them. The maps are based on the 1941 census and are therefore the most valid and recent obtainable.

A glance at these maps reveals a high degree of correlation between the Negro areas of concentration in Halifax and the following:

(a) The commercial and industrial areas of the city.

(b) The densely populated areas.

(c) The households containing a high proportion of wage-earners.

(d) The highly overcrowded households.

(e) The "doubled-up" families.

(f) Family earnings averaging less than $1,000.00 per person yearly.

(g) The lowest level of housing and conveniences.

(h) The lowest rental areas.

(i) The lowest percentages of home owners.

Thus it is plain to see that, by accident or design, the vast majority of Negroes find themselves in unfavourable ecological circumstances.

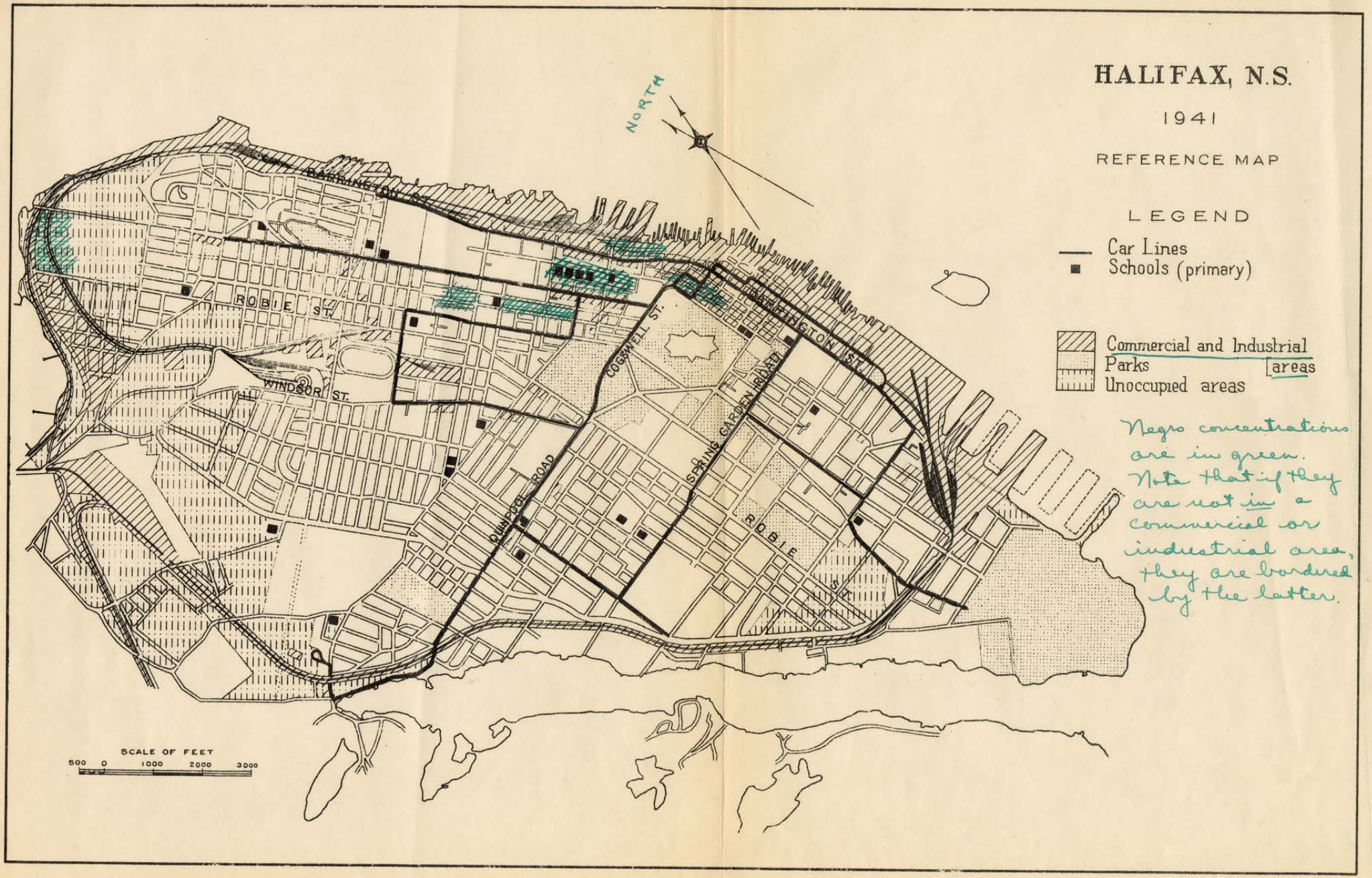
One of my informants maintains that more Negroes have purchased homes in the past ten years than in all the years before. This of course would not be indicated on the map outlining home ownership; however, if such is the case, the homes are in the poorest areas of the city, most probably those in which Negro concentrations are found. Many Negroes in Halifax lost their homes during depression years, and some prior to that. It is my understanding that new plans for commercial enterprises in Halifax include considerable developments on Grafton and Maynard Streets. It is also my understanding that a good many of the homes now being purchased by Negroes are being disposed of by Jewish people for the aforementioned reasons. Unfortunately, time was too short for a further investigation of these points. And incidentally, there is nothing in the new plans for the improvement of Africville.

There seemed to be considerable concern on the part of city leaders with regard to the present precarious position of Halifax as a sea-going port in competition with Montreal; the events of the winter of 1948-49

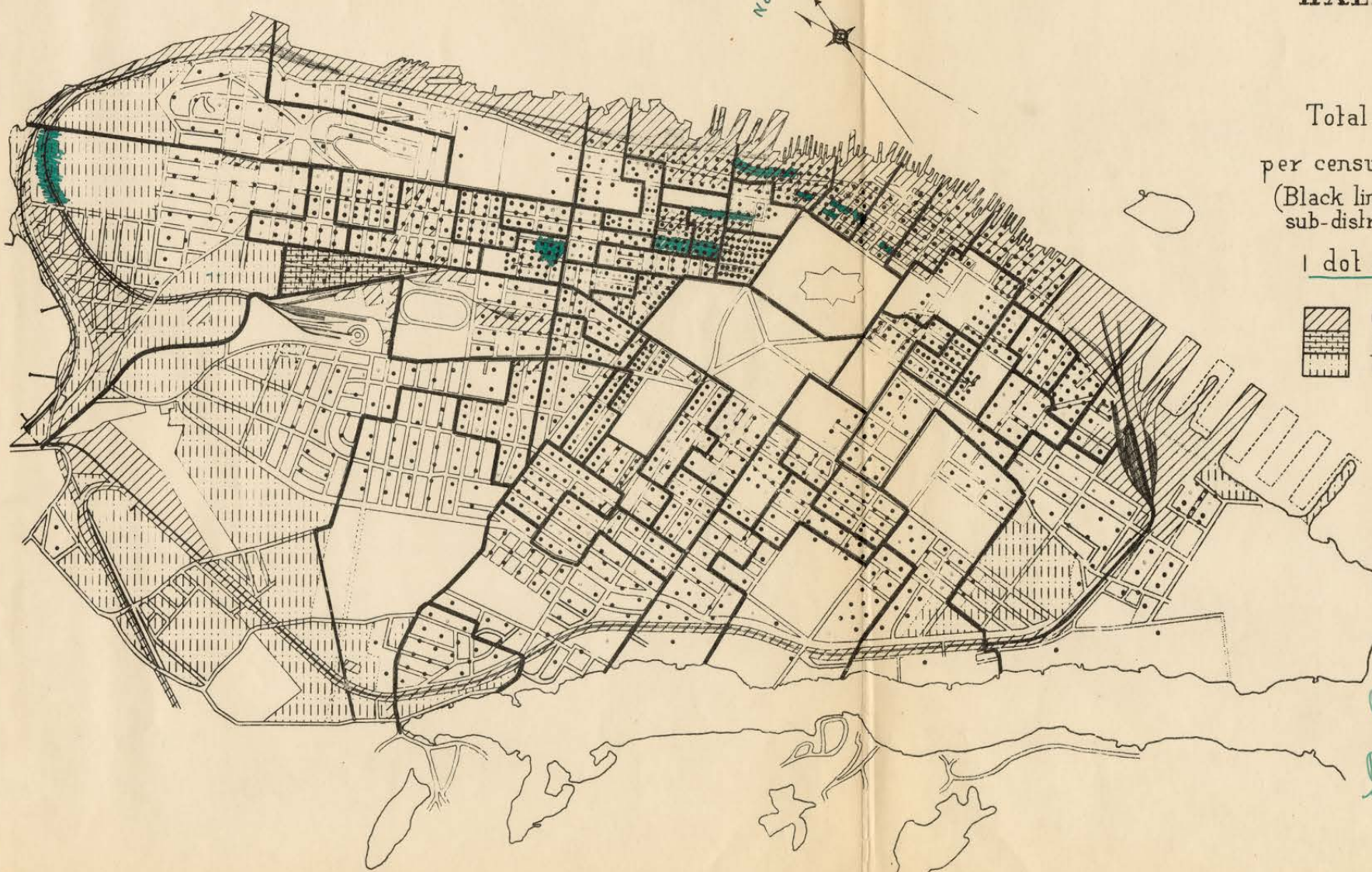
when Montreal took over a considerable portion of the sea-going trade, have accentuated this concern. Consequently, it would not surprise me if the city fathers were making some preparations for the develppment of Halifax as an industrial centre, especially if the St. Lawrence seaway project goes through.

The Cornwallis Street Baptist Church, of which Rev. Oliver is the minister, is one of the main social centres for coloured people of the city. Other organizations include the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, to which most of the Negro leaders belong. On the same lines there is the Coloured Citizens Improvement League which operates under the direction of a Mr. B. A. Husbands, who has been elected president for about the past fifteen years. For the past ten years the League has been raising money to send coloured children to Sunshine Camp, but as yet there has been no camp and no financial statement. In all, the League has a rather shady history and is not supported by the majority of coloured people.

Two points should be made here in connection with future development in Halifax. One is that if the coloured people are buying homes in areas earmarked for commercial development, environmental conditions in general will become steadily worse for them. The second point is that Halifax, situated on a small peninsula, can become a veritable trap of slums and deterioration in the event of any large industrial expansion. Those people in the residential areas along the North West Arm could move across from the peninsula without too much difficulty. As a matter of fact there is a considerable amount of this at present. But for the Negros this would be practically impossible, and yet there is an almost steady flow of the latter from the rural settlements into Halifax, a trend which would probably be stepped up by further demands for unskilled labour. Even now, Africville almost assumes the position of having to accommodate the overflow of this influx; if future extensions of Negro homes in the city must take place in Africville, the results can only be disastrous. These particular points will merit development in a later section.



Negro concentrations are in green. Note that if they are not in a commercial or industrial area, they are bordered by the latter.



HALIFAX, N.S.
1941

Total Population
per census sub-district
(Black lines mark census sub-district boundaries)
1 dot = 50 persons

Commercial and Industrial
Sparsely populated areas
Unoccupied areas

It can be seen that the Negro concentrations, with the exception of Africville of course, are in some of the most densely populated areas. Population is probably denser still by now.

HALIFAX, N.S.

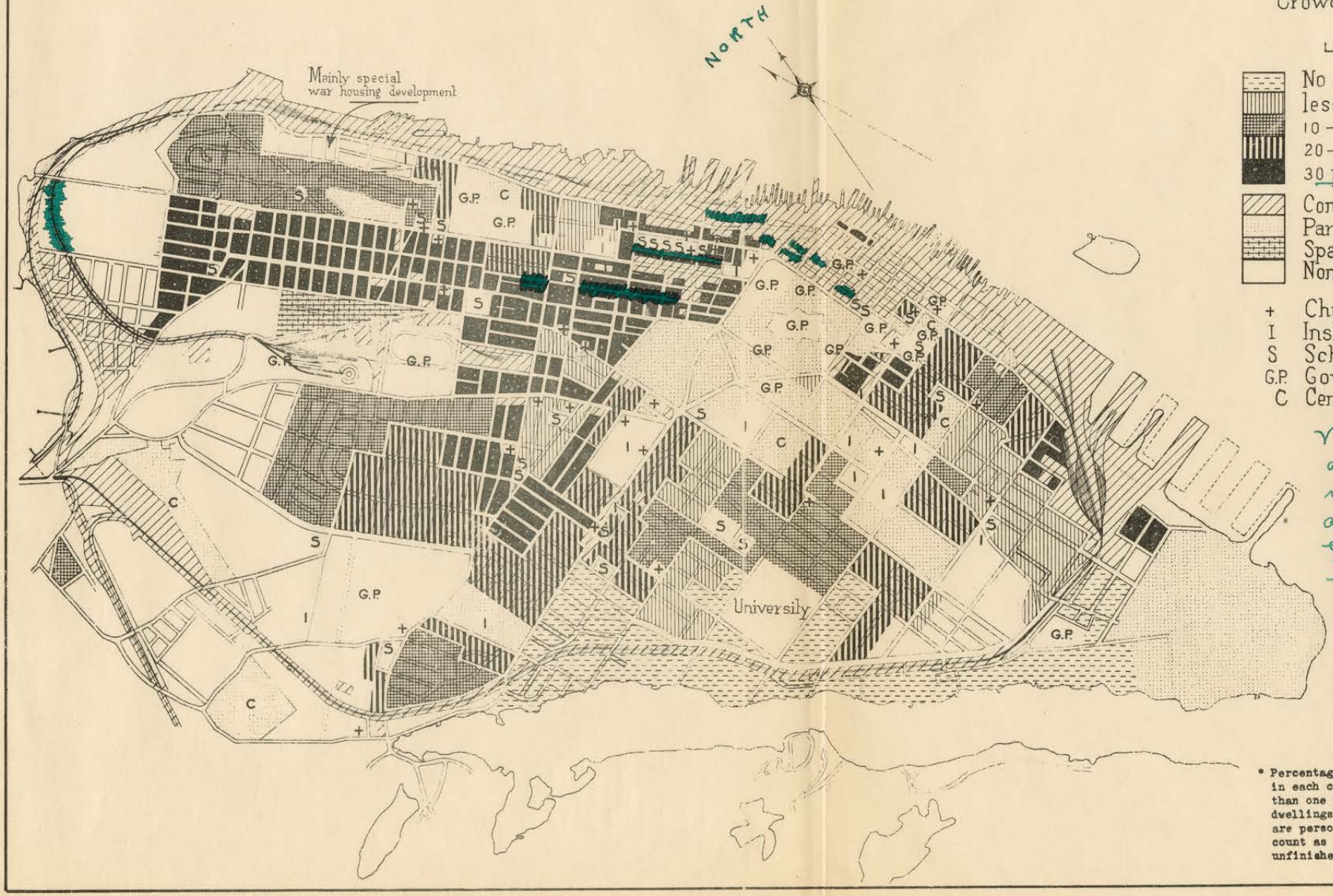
1941

Proportions of wage-earner* households

It is interesting that Africville is not considered on these maps, altho it was in existence at the time.

* Wage-earner households as a percentage of all households in each census sub-district. The chief bread-winner in these households is a wage-earner, i.e., any person who works for salary, wages, commission, or on piece rates. Sixty-eight per cent of all Halifax households were of this type in 1941.

HALIFAX, N.S.
1941
Crowded households*



LEGEND

- No p.c.
- less than 10 p.c.
- 10 - 19 p.c.
- 20 - 29 p.c.
- 30 p.c and over
- Commercial and Industrial areas
- Parks
- Sparsely populated areas
- Non-occupied areas
- \+ Churches
- I Institutions
- S Schools
- G.P. Government properties
- C Cemeteries

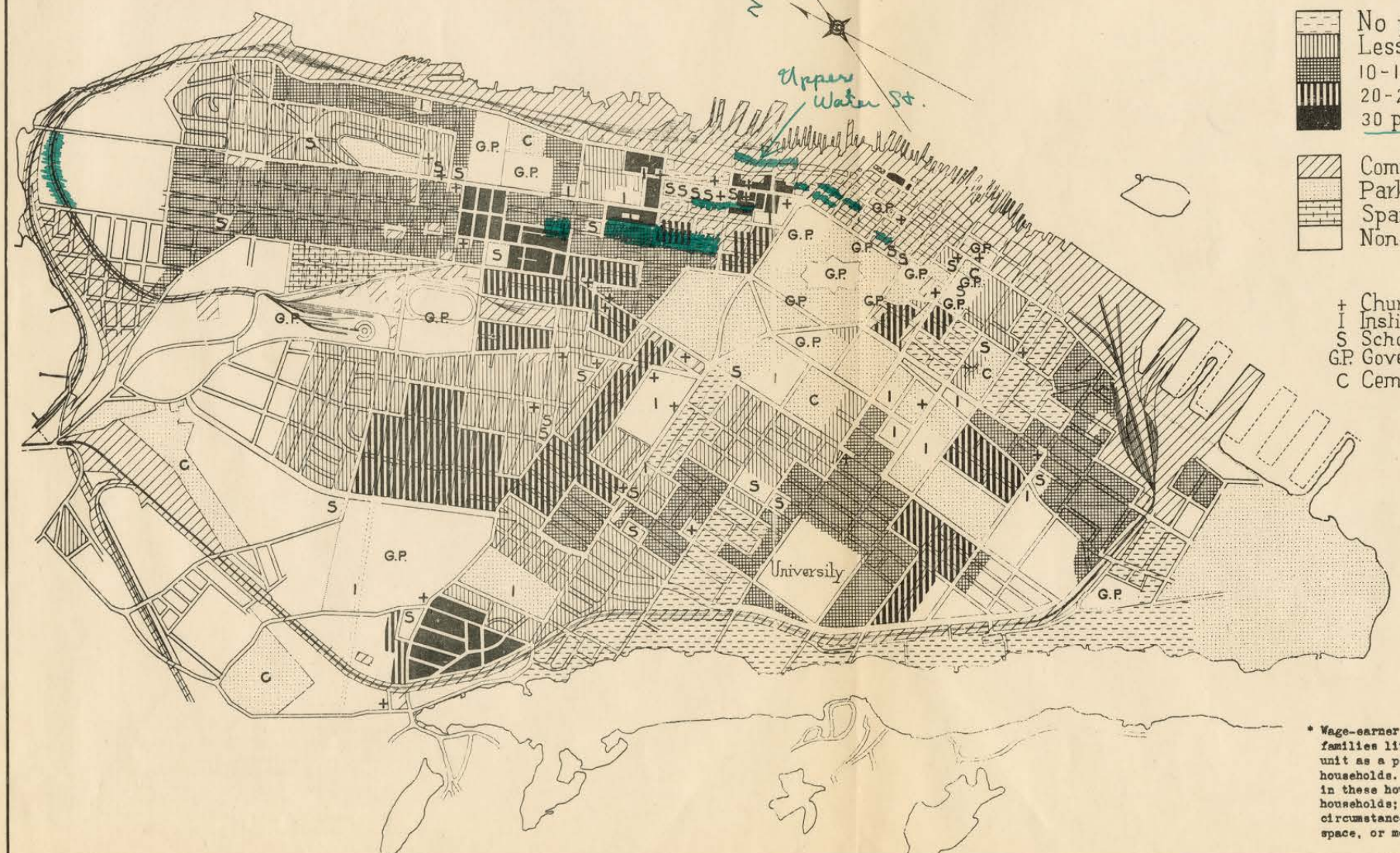
Negro concentrations are found, for the most part, in areas with greatly overcrowded households.

* Percentages of wage-earner households in each census sub-district with less than one room person, i.e., living in dwellings with fewer rooms than there are persons in the household. Kitchens count as rooms, but bathrooms, hallways, unfinished cellars and attics do not.

It should also be noted that Upper Water St. is an extremely low-level area, definitely in Shaw's "deterioration" category. It was the location of the MacDonald murder case in 1948 (see section on "Attitudes, Values and Behaviour").

HALIFAX, N.S.

1941 "Doubled-up" families*



LEGEND

- No p.c.
- Less than 10 p.c.
- 10-19 p.c.
- 20-29 p.c.
- 30 p.c. and over

- Commercial and Industrial areas
- Parks
- Sparsely populated areas
- Non-occupied areas

- + Churches
- I Institutions
- S Schools
- G.P. Government properties
- C Cemeteries

* Wage-earner households with two or more families living together in one dwelling unit as a percentage of all wage-earner households. Crowding is found more often in these households than in one-family households; it may be due to economic circumstances of the families, to lack of space, or more commonly to both.

HALIFAX, N.S.

1941

Family earnings*

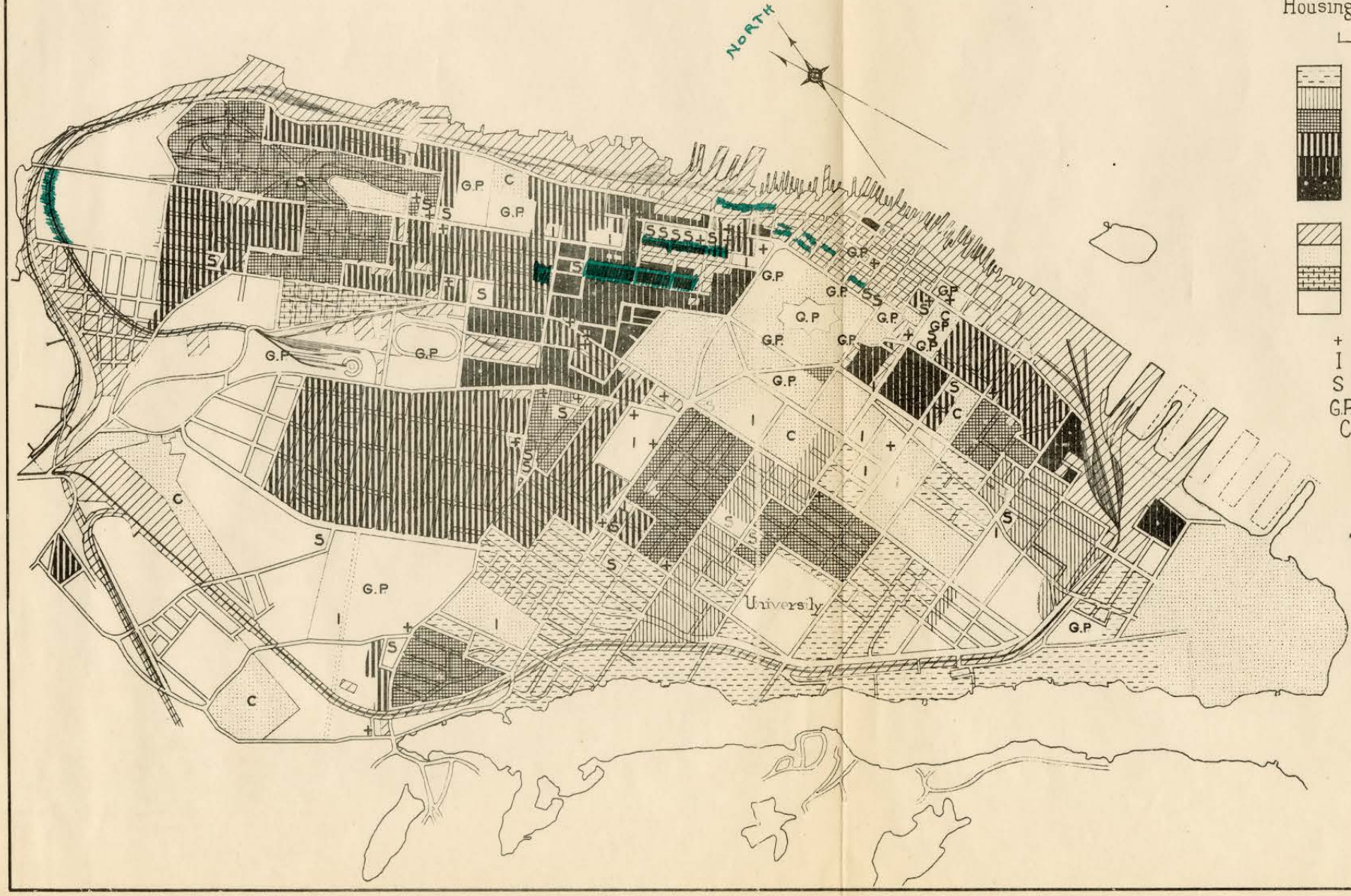
* Prevailing level of wage-earner family annual earnings. Includes wages earned by chief bread-winner and other family members, but not earnings of lodgers, domestics, or sub-tenants.

A close correlation between the lowest level and Negro concentrations also.

HALIFAX, N.S.

1941

Prevailing levels of Housing and Conveniences*



LEGEND

- Group 6
- " 5
- " 4
- " 3
- " 2
- " 1

- Commercial and Industrial Parks [areas
- Sparsely populated areas
- Non-occupied areas
- + Churches
- I Institutions
- S Schools
- G.P Government properties
- C Cemeteries

* Six levels of housing and conveniences have been arbitrarily selected, No.1 being the lowest and No.6 the highest.

Level 1 - Requiring external repair, or lacking private toilet and bath, or lacking electric light and having none of the following: gas or electric stoves, refrigerator, vacuum cleaner, telephone or automobile.

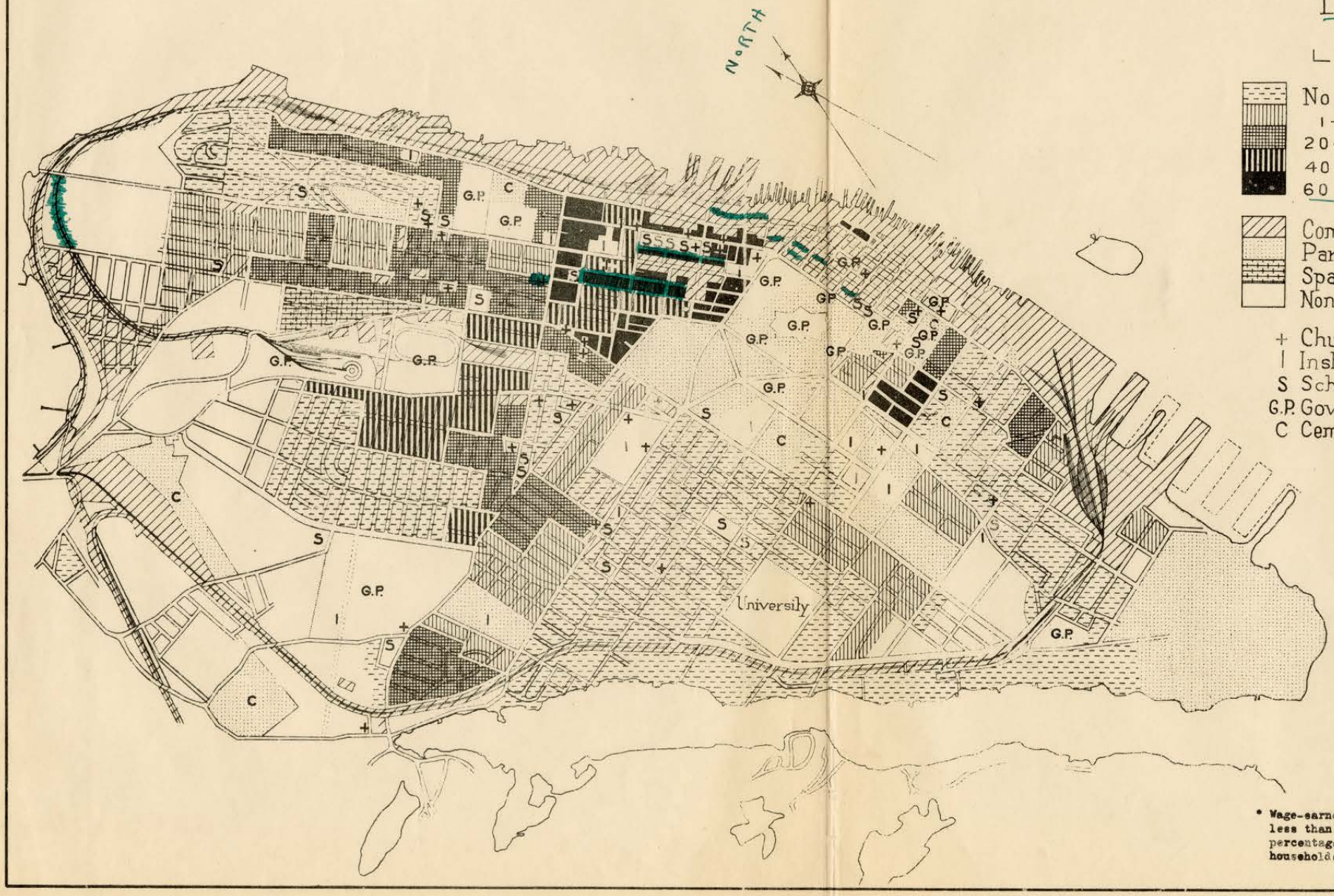
Level 6 - These households live in homes in good repair, with private toilet, bath and electric light and have all the conveniences listed above.

Levels 2-5 - Represent progressive gradations between one and six which are accompanied by steps upward in average earnings levels.

HALIFAX, N.S.

1941

Low rents*



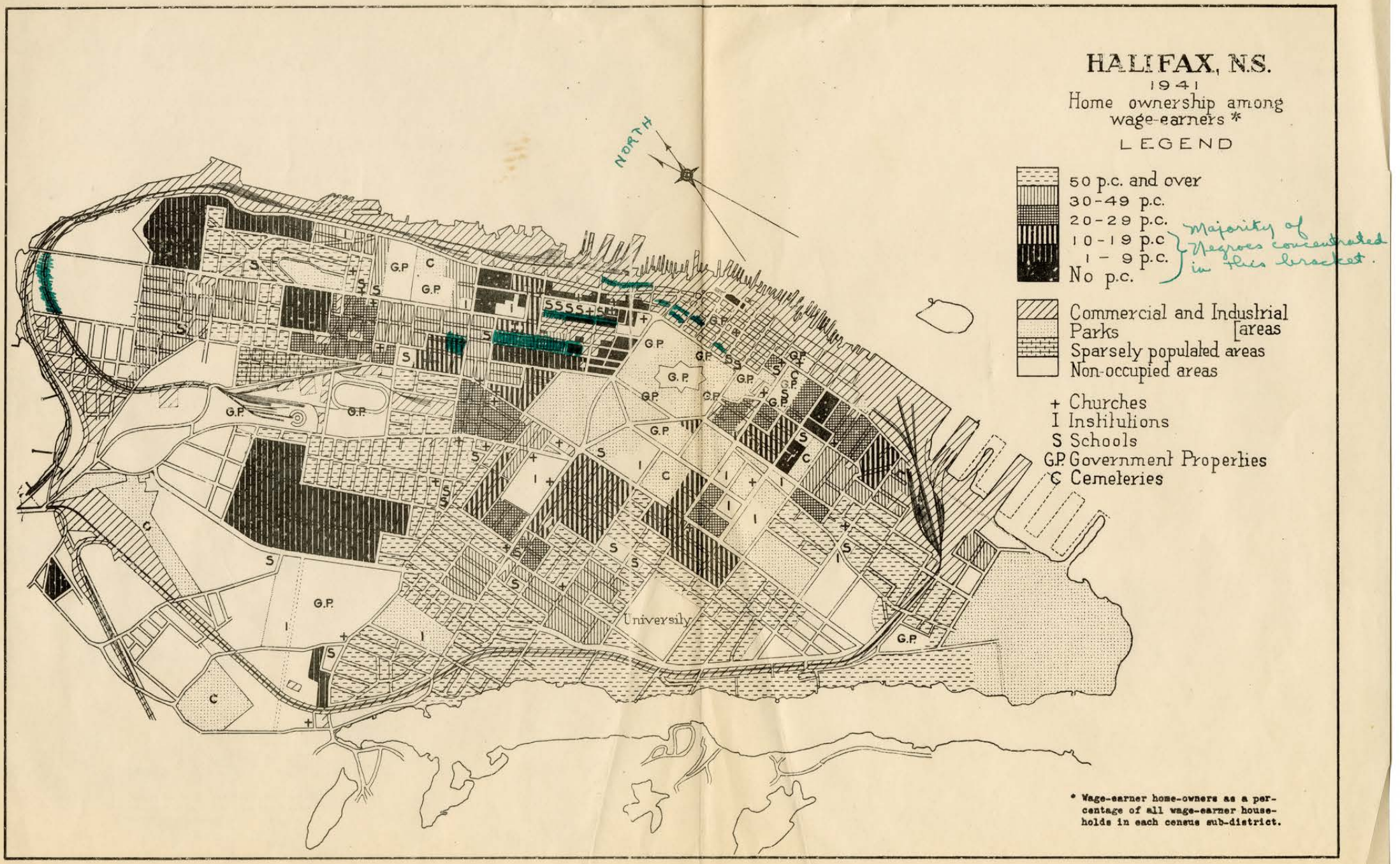
LEGEND

- No p.c.
- 1-19 p.c.
- 20-39 p.c.
- 40-59 p.c.
- 60 p.c. and over

- Commercial and Industrial areas
- Parks
- Sparsely populated areas
- Non-occupied areas

- + Churches
- I Institutions
- S Schools
- G.P. Government properties
- C Cemeteries

* Wage-earner tenant households paying less than $20 a month for rent, as a percentage of all wage-earner tenant households in each census sub-district.


HALIFAX, N.S.
1941
Home ownership among wage-earners *
LEGEND
50 p.c. and over
30-49 p.c.
20-29 p.c.
10-19 p.c
1 - 9 p.c.
No p.c.
Majority of Negroes concentrated in this bracket.
Commercial and Industrial Parks areas
Sparsely populated areas
Non-occupied areas
+ Churches
I Institutions
S Schools
G.P. Government Properties
C Cemeteries
NORTH
University
* Wage-earner home-owners as a percentage of all wage-earner households in each census sub-district.

GENERAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Occupations, education, religion, and the family

Occupations

The average Canadian, especially in Ontario, is often prone to divide life in Canada into two parts; life in the country and life in the city. In keeping with this rather glib attitude, life in the country is likewise assumed to be agricultural in all cases. The province of Nova Scotia is primarily a province of rural areas, but to say the rural life in this province centred around agriculture would constitute a grave misstatement.

It has already been noted that Halifax County, even though it embraces the large urban centre of Halifax itself, is rocky, uneven and covered with bush. It is difficult for the "Upper Canadian" to conceive of such a problem as deer eating the garden in a region fifteen miles from a large metropolitan centre, but such is the case in Upper Hammond's Plains. While these people may have been originally settled by the Crown on this land in order to develop the province, provide the military garrison of Halifax with fresh vegetables, and to provide the Negroes themselves with a base for their livelihood it would have been next to impossible, even with modern equipment, to clear, keep clear, and cultivate an area of this nature. Add to this the circumstances of poverty, malnutrition, disease and inexperience with freedom, and you have some idea of the problems which faced the original settlers there.

The market of Halifax was not too far away, however, and while the people could scarcely produce enough agriculturally to maintain life in themselves, they made use of other natural resources. For example, most settlers began to fashion elementary wood products for sale in the city, things like skivers used in roasts of meat, wooden tubs and even kegs for molasses. Possibly out of this developed the occupation of coopering, which is the main one in the settlement today.

A cooper is one who makes and fashions barrels, and it is not hard to conceive of settlers steadily improving in skilled work with wood turning to coopering to meet the increasing demand for fish barrels as

a result of an expanding fishing industry. Mr. Anderson, an old resident, is of the opinion that white and coloured men, originally fishermen, turned to coopering because of the necessity to meet this demand, but there is little evidence to support the belief that these Negro settlers ever turned to fishing as their main economic endeavour. In the same vein, it is generally felt by the old timers that the art of coopering was not brought into the community; the people were not originally coopers. Skills were developed on the spot for the most part; some of the coloured people undoubtedly came from places like Virginia, and may have brought some technical knowledge with them, perhaps as a result of experience in making rum casks and the like. Hard and intricate work with the hands results in skilled hands, and some old residents* can remember staves and heads for barrels being hewn right out of the trees, and the barrels "raised on the stump " as they say, with an axe the only implement used. Some small-scale farming was done also, in spite of the tremendous problem in keeping "suckers" (young trees) from reclaiming cleared land, and in spite of an almost complete lack of implements aside from hoes.

In any event, coopering became the main occupation, and it is interesting to note how this developed, given the economic base peculiar to this region and the demand for barrels to contain salt pickerel, dried codfish, apples from the Annapolis Valley, and potatoes.

Coopering is an art, and the pickerel barrel, which must be watertight, is the most difficult to make. Other products such as dried codfish can be packed in boxes or drums, and barrels for apples or potatoes are more roughly made. The following is the procedure used by these coloured people in fashioning a fish barrel.

(1) The barrel is "raised on the floor", by placing the staves around the inside of a top hoop, which holds them upright. The hoop must be properly filled out and staves must be uniform in length and fit tightly together. This is an extremely difficult part of the total process.

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*Information obtained from Mrs. Johnson, 77 years of age and a life-long resident of Upper Hammond's Plains.

(2) The barrel is "trussed", by dropping an iron hoop down around the staves and holding them together more closely.

(3) The next task is to "willis" it, or draw the staves together at the very end by means of a wire cable and pulley. The staves are then caught with a bigger hoop and placed over a small wood stove to heat.

(4) The heating process occupies five to ten minutes, and care must be taken to insure that the wood does not burn.

(5) "Willis" the barrel-to-be again, catching it with a "catch hoop". The heating period before this prevents the staves from breaking as they are bent to take the hoops on each end.

(6) When the end hoops are both on, the barrel is heated again.

(7) Next, loose knotholes in the staves are knocked out, and the barrel is inspected for broken staves.

(8) The barrel is now "double-trussed" and the end hoops are removed one at a time in order to prepare the ends of the staves to receive the "heads".

(9) The ends of the staves are "champed" with a "crummer" knife; this process consists of cutting around the inside of the staves at the top. The cut is on a slant, as follows:  This is the beginning of what is called the "forging" process.

(10) The ends of the staves are levelled with a "top" plane (a round plane).

(11) A "rhining " plane must then be used to bring all the staves to one thickness at the heads.

(12) Next a "treed" or "crose" is used to cut the rings or grooves into which the head of the barrel must fit.

(13) The heads are inserted in both ends.

(14) The "bilge" hoops are placed on the ends, and these hold the staves ends tightly against the heads. One complete end of the barrel is done at one time. The hoops thus are made to fit as they are needed; that is to say the hoops are measured for circumference, punched and riveted for each individual barrel . This is called "ribbing".

(15) When one end of the barrel is completed, the knotholes are plugged with good wood. This is done byknocking plugs tightly into the

holes and sawing them off.

(16) The knotholes and plugs are then waxed with melted wax on the inside to make them watertight. The mixture is one of clear wax with resin.

(17) The other end is completed.

(18) The barrel is stamped with the man's name, and a "bung" or hole is drilled in the side. This is done with pickerel barrels so that the "pickle" may be drained off if necessary.

One man working by himself can usually make 18 to 20 barrels a day; two men working together will probably make less. These men are very proud of their craft. They speak of white barrel makers in Chester Basin with scorn because they use "jacks" to pull the staves together in the initial steps, and do not know how to raise the barrels on the floor. The "jacks " of course speed up the barrel making process. Many more barrels for apples and potatoes or drums for dried codfish can be made by one man during a day's work than can pickerel barrels because the latter require the extra attention to make them watertight and so on. However, all barrels have to be heated in order to make the heads fit properly. Spruce is the wood commonly used in pickerel barrels, and pine, which is less suitable as a watertight material, is used for potato barrels and boxes. During the war, pickerel barrels sold at the door for $2.25; they now sell for $2.00. Boxes, of which many are also made to carry bottles, sell for anywhere from .10¢ to $1.00 depending upon the box and its use. The average young cooper working for a wage makes between $25.00 and $30.00 a week at his trade.

Most of the wooden parts of the various tools are made right in the community; indeed, the fact that a fair supply of wood, from saplings to large trees, is available in this region, was, in my opinion, of prime importance to the economic developments now being discussed. Barrel heads and staves are manufactured in the settlement's saw-mills. With the exception of one or two large mills situated at one extreme end of the settlement (Pock Wock) all are owned and operated by Negroes. Large white mills have rotary saws, which enable them to cut planks; the Negro mills are unable to turn these out, but they do manufacture the barrel staves, barrel heads and box slats. To the best of my knowledge, there are five mills owned by coloured men, and invariably these men

Charlie Symonds, a cooper of Upper Hammond's Plains. Behind him is the cooperage shop in which the barrel was made. It is a pickerel barrel; Charlie made it in half and hour and will receive 30¢ for his labour. When the "bung" was bored in the side, he blew into it; the breath coming back in his face told him that the barrel was watertight. Charlie says "a well-made barrel is a beautiful thing", indicating the pride that these people take in their craft.

also own at least one cooperage shop, where the barrels are manufactured. The mills are located beside water whenever possible, and water power is used extensively. When the water fails, gas engines are brought into use. The large wheels which house the heavy straps operating the machinery are always the old wooden type, like the following:

This wheel was a part of a mill which has now fallen into ruin, as can be seen. The site is quite close to the centre of the settlement. Mrs. Symond's father was killed in the mill about 55 years ago, and if the mill was then reasonably close to large timber (a fair assumption), some idea is obtained of the large amount of big trees cut in the last half-century.

Note also how the center of the wheel is fashioned to receive the axle. This kind of "fix-it" or "make-do" application of intelligence is characteristic of the people and noticeable throughout the community. In many cases, considerable ingenuity is exhibited. For example, gates are kept shut by means of a heavy rock suspended in the middle of a piece of rope. One end of the rope is tied to the gate and the other is fastened in the ground on the side away from which the gate swings. Consequently when the gate is opened, the weight of the rock in the middle of the rope always brings it closed again.

In the beginning, when the logs are brought into the mill from the woods, they are sawed into "junks", pieces from two to three feet in length. To become a stave, a log goes through four sawing processes; to become a barrel head, it goes through three sawing and one planing process. Pine wood is often used for heads but never for staves. Of all buildings in the settlement, the mills are usually the most inaccessible. While there is not much clear land in the settlement, most of the trees are saplings or slightly larger; the large timber has been cut back a considerable distance and little in the way of reforestation has been attempted. Consequently, the mills must be as close as possible to the timber. The particular mill with which I am most familiar was constructed only sixteen years ago, and it is necessary to traverse an extremely rough and rocky road in order to reach it from the settlement.

Going back still farther, the timber has to be cut before it can be made into barrel parts and the like. This work is done mostly in the late winter months when coopering activities are at a minimum. Fish stay fresh in the winter time, so there is little need for barrels. Thus the main winter activity is cutting logs, and the average pay for this is about $4:00 a day. Oxen are often used for hauling out the logs, although this particular practice is declining. Oxen are far superior to horses in the woods, but they can no longer be used for hauling barrels and other produce to market as they once were. When all of these occupations are considered together, it can be seen that they arise directly out of the economic background of the region; in addition, the mode of production and the extent of occupational activities are limited by economic factors. For example, there are no Negro truckers even though trucking the barrels to market is essential; there are just no coloured men in a position to purchase and maintain the large trucks that are necessary. With the disappearance of oxen from the roads, white truckers took over. Then too, the large part of the demand for barrels today is met by the white coopers of Chester Basin and of Lower Hammond's Plains, since they have the machinery and financial backing to step up production. To the coloured people, the

The Anderson saw mill and a pile of finished barrel staves behind the young boy. The horse and wagon are also owned by Mr. Anderson. On the other side of the mill there is a lake, the source of water power.

Cutting chunks. Note the mechanism for moving the circular saw back and forth; the young man in the center is operating it as Mr. Anderson moves the log forward. Note the roller under the log also, in order to move it forward easily.

general demand of the market means nothing so long as they can sell their own barrels at a fair price.

The "yearly round" of the average young cooper in Upper Hammond's Plains would be somewhat as follows:

January and February - cutting timber in the woods.
March, April and May - sawing logs in the mills. The wood will still be too wet to cooper.
June through to December - Coopering and making boxes.

Because of the occupational changes, work is not always steady; Charlie Symonds worked only six weeks out of three months during last winter. He says "a man is supposed to make $1000 a year, but I don't know a single one that does". The mills operate fairly continuously, but it seems that all the coopers cannot be occupied in the woods during the slack coopering season. So it is not surprising that many have turned to labouring jobs in Halifax and are then reluctant to return to coopering.

If Upper Hammond's Plains became a coopering settlement, why not Preston also? Part of the answer is found in the fact that Preston is located generally in a more heavily-populated area and lies on either side of a now-paved road that has undoubtedly been a main artery for many years; this means greater accessibility to Halifax and Dartmouth markets. Finally, the land in Preston is much smoother and less rocky, which makes it possible to work it for mixed or market farming. Of all the settlements in the County, Preston probably comes closest to fulfilling the original idea of having these settlers use Dartmouth and Halifax as a market for agricultural produce--if that was the original idea. And this community brings to mind some of the problems faced by the habitant farmers in Miner's St. Denis. With large families on small grants of land, most of the children must move away eventually. And with little room to expand and no money to purchase more land, the growing children must gravitate to the city and become unskilled labourers. This is a pattern which I would consider as characteristic of the total County. Most of the men owning farms in Preston are at least of middle age, just as most of those owning saw-mills and cooperage

shops in the Plains are also. There are a number of young men in Preston working as "hired hands" but more and more are looking to Halifax. Mr. Evans' farm, mentioned earlier, is probably typical of the type of farming that is done; eggs, pork, fowl, all kinds of fresh vegetables and the like are prepared for market, and no opportunity for a new method for making the farm produce is overlooked. Another part of the pattern is apparent when the New Road and Cherry Brook settlements are considered. In these areas, a number of young families are building new homes close to the roads. The great majority of men here work in Dartmouth and Halifax, and there is little concern for keeping the land clear. These people are intricately related to those in Preston; possibly they are part of the surplus who, having found jobs fairly close to home, are making their own homes and remaining in the settlements when they can.

Lucasville seems to present a slightly different pattern. The older men still work the farms for the area is perhaps the best of any for this. But there seems to be a larger number of young men still living with their parents. They work in the cities before mentioned, and several have cars. One man of 50 complained about his two sons, stating that they spent their money on liquor and when they were sick, he had to pay the bills. As an isolated case, this may not be indicative, but the relationships between parents and youth in this settlement seem considerably different from those in Upper Hammond's Plains. The parent above disapproved strongly of his sons' conduct but seemed unable to control the situation; in the Plains, such would seldom be the case.

The men in Africville, that "suspension" community, are employed in a variety of jobs. A large number find work as unskilled labourers in the city proper, of course, and there are a number of railroad porters and men who work on the waterfront, as well as several who work in a bone mill not too far away, which manufactures fertilizer. I do not know of any skilled workers residing in Africville; perhaps these people are inclined to be a little more stable and more prosperous financially, with the result that they take up residence in

the more permanent concentration areas in Halifax. Their work, too, would be more inclined towards permanency. On the whole, there has been a considerable decline in the number of skilled labourers in the city during the past thirty years. At the conclusion of the first World War, the coloured community in Halifax could boast of tinsmiths, shoemakers, a restaurant operator, a candy business, a fruit store, a livery stable, ship's riggers, some trucking businesses, chimney sweeps and others, but most of this was altered during the depression. For instance, the candymaker is now a blind old man selling newspapers on the streets, and the livery stable operator was unable to get the capital to change over from horses to trucks. The general feeling among Negroes is that their men today do not have the respect, nor the businesses, boarding houses and homes, that they used to have, even though there still is a shoe repair shop, a barber shop, three sign painters, and about five civil servants. At least two men work in the baggage department at the station, and one young fellow is employed in a drugstore. Here is what the Rev. W. P. Oliver has to say with respect to occupations:*

> "The economic status of the Negroes is extremely low and they have always been considered the source of servants, and for one hundred and thirty-five years they have largely been held to this status. It has been a slow process for the Negro to change this status because of the lack of education and skilled training. Tradesmen among the early slaves was not uncommon, as early as 1751 an advertisement appeared in the Boston Evening Post offering for sale slaves who were described as "ten strong, hearty Negro men, mostly tradesmen, such as caulkers, carpenters, sailmakers and rope makers." The sailing vessels have disappeared and with them the related trades. I, personally, can remember my childhood visits to Halifax and listening to the sea yarns related to me by my maternal grandfather, who, thirty-five years ago, was carrying on a prosperous business as a ship's rigger at that time, and how long before I know not. I am often amused when I think of the petty jangling between my grandfather and the next door neighbour, who was a chimney sweep. Both were considered as West Indians but they came from different islands; it is a well known fact that the Jamaican and the Barbajan have no dealings, but here they were each with his own independent business, owners of

*from his paper on "The Cultural Progress of the Negro in Nova Scotia.

several homes, sending their children to school and giving them musical and other cultural training.

There is definitely a decline in trades among the Negro; the cooper, the blacksmith, the basket maker and broom maker have disappeared with the changing times. The Negro today is employed in the major industries of the Province, in the heaviest and lowest paid jobs, agriculture, mining, lumbering, steel, the railway and shipping industries, form the basis of Negro economy. The following represents the various trades and occupations in which there is at least one member of the race, in most cases they are unable to support themselves wholly from this trade, nor in most cases are they members of the Union representing their trade. I shall list twenty-two; carpenters, painters, plasterers, electricians, bricklayers, auto mechanics, cement finishers, sign painters, chimney sweeps, blacksmith, shoe-maker, barber, tailor, printer, hair-dresser, cooper, interior decorator, cook, acetylene welding, tin-smith and roofer. Prior to the last war, girls were limited to teaching school or domestic work, during the war many were employed as stenographers, while the nursing field was opened when two girls graduated in 1949 as registered nurses. One Negro boy has taken the course in pharmacy at Dalhousie University and is serving very capably in a Halifax drug store, two other young men are employed as office clerks in government departments, several others are employed in the Postal service. Attempts at business are limited to barber shops, beauty parlors, taxi business, trucking, shoe-making, a newspaper and one co-operative store. In the professional field there are two doctors, two lawyers, all of whom came directly from the West Indies, received their education here and remained here to practise, which indicates that they are not truly products of the local culture. The same might be said of the two nurses, although the barrier was removed by the efforts of the slave descendants, it was children of West Indian parentage who took advantage of it. I point out this fact because it has been so evident throughout the history of our people in Nova Scotia and the United States, and raises a question which cannot be opened in this paper, yet it is evident that the answer to the difference between the West Indian Negro and the Nova Scotian Negro in cultural development should reveal much that would help to understand our local problem. The professional field is completed with six ordained ministers and two or three dozen teachers, either active or retired."

There was also a Negro undertaker in Halifax about forty years ago, but there is none now. The opinion has been voiced that coloured people will not take risks, but if this is so, their hesitation is possibly due to the fact that they are reluctant to borrow money to start businesses and then have to take a double chance on being successful --

the chance involved in a normal business operation plus the risk they face in many areas of business because of their colour.

The material which I have been able to gather on the occupations of Afro-Canadians in Halifax County has led me to a general awareness of two important trends. The first of these is the increasing inclination for men in the rural settlements to search out jobs as unskilled labourers in Halifax or Dartmouth instead of registering a concern about the future development of their land and placing any emphasis upon the latter as their means of livelihood. In my opinion, this land represents their main hope for any future economic security; if it is not important to them, they will probably be relieved of most of it for a fraction of its potential value. For example, there is a white man, a high government official, who is considered a great friend of the people in Lucasville. I heard of one instance of his friendship --- towards an old coloured man recently deceased. It would appear that a year or two ago, the old man was beset by many of the ills of the aged, and having no close relatives and no money, he approached the government official for assistance. The white man gave him the needed money in return for a lien on his land, an act which was considered friendly and paternal. The fact that the old coloured man is now dead, and the white man owns his land, for of course the Negro could not hope to pay the money back, does not seem to be a source of concern to other residents. The second general trend referred to above is the one which shows the gradual disappearance of businesses owned or operated by Negroes and all skilled craftsmen. These hypotheses seem worthy of future investigation for they pose some important questions. Fifty years from now, are the majority of Negro men in Halifax County to be landless, unskilled labourers? And if they are, what effect will this have upon a standard of living and a consequent pattern of social behaviour which already leaves much to be desired?

Before turning from occupations, some note should be taken of the occupations in which women find themselves. Those who are married, especially the ones in the rural settlements, usually find more than their share of the work around the home, but this does not prevent many

of them from commuting to white homes at least once or twice a week to do house cleaning and the like. Again in rural settlements, there are very few young single women between the ages of sixteen and twenty-two years, for most of these find their way into white homes as housekeepers, cooks and so on. There are a few who find outlets in teaching and nursing, but the percentage is really insignificant. In urban areas like Halifax and Dartmouth, similar occupations are engaged in by Negro women, as well as a few others such as washroom supervisors in department stores. An important point here is that many coloured women have at least a part-time job outside the home; this fact tends to support Rev. Oliver's thesis that a great many men cannot maintain their homes on the incomes which they receive.

Education

Considerable space has been devoted, in an earlier section, to the historical background of educational development in the Negro settlements. One of the points stressed there was the segregation that developed between whites and Negroes as educational facilities and opportunities increased. As the Rev. Oliver again points out in his paper:

> "It was not until 1864-65 that common schools were made legally free and assessment for their support made compulsory. This marked THE ACTUAL BEGINNING OF NEGRO SCHOOLS, (capitals mine) yet in many instances the teachers were poorly trained and rarely paid. The succession of educational legislation, such as free school books, the municipal school unit, and loans for capital expenditure, all of which has taken place within the past ten years, has given a tremendous impetus to the educational development of Negroes. Family allowances have also shown their effects in better attendance and better clothed children. Yet, with all these advantages, educational progress has not been too encouraging. There has always been the difficulty to obtain teachers for the Negro school, for years the teachers were barely literate and it has only been in recent years that we have had teachers with high school matriculation. It is interesting to note that eighty per cent of the teachers who have taken advantage of Normal School training were children of ministers of the African Baptist churches."

Since teachers are still not adequately trained, the great majority of the children do not get formal education beyond Grade Eight if they get that far. The following chart gives an indication of teacher

qualifications for the Halifax County settlements. The teachers' grades are based on records supplied by the inspector of schools.

Settlement	No. of Pupils	No. of Teachers	Teachers' Ratings
Upper Hammond's Plains	80	2	B and C
Lucasville	38	1	C (white)
Preston East	136	3	A, B and temporary C
New Road and Loon Lake	180	2	2 permanent C
Cherry Brook	94	2	B and permanent C
Africville	84	2	1 high school 1 A
Beechville	56	1	A
Maroon Hill	19	1	Temporary C
Nova Scotia Home for Coloured Children	64	2	Temporary C Permanent C
Cobequid Road	27	1	A

Two additional comments should be made on the above chart. It is worth noting that the Lucasville teacher is white; she was well received and they would like to retain her for another year. This seems to tie in with several other unique factors that have been mentioned about Lucasville, and would tend to mark this settlement as the nucleus for another possible type of future development, perhaps with respect to class and status. The teacher in Africville who is graded as competent to instruct in high school is a man by the name of Mr. Jemmet, a bachelor of arts, who left the study of law to take up teaching. From the chart also it is evident that even today, a greater quality and greater quantity of teachers is necessary to the basic education of settlement children.

According to Mr. B. C. Silver, superintendent of schools, all of these schools were on the Department of Education "assisted" list when that Department used to assist schools. But on the credit side $2,200.00 of a $10,000.00 debenture necessary for the building of a school were raised by community efforts; this indicates real incentive towards self-improvement. Several key people in these communities place a great emphasis on education

as a solution to the problems of Afro-Canadians, but it would be dangerous to assume that this feeling is generally retained. Again quoting from Rev. Oliver's paper:

> "Life in the distinct Negro community has not created a desire for education on the part of the people and the attendance of children at school was not considered an essential, the school has never been associated with the child's post-school life. The chief consideration has been the ability of the boys to go to work to bring in extra money, and the ability of the girls to assist in the duties of the home. There is no record of a Negro student from any of the Nova Scotia settlements, either entering or graduating from any of the universities of the Province. During the one hundred and thirty-five year period of their settlement here there is a record of only nine Negro university graduates, and of these nine only three can really be called direct descendants of the early settlers, for one was born in the United States and brought here for his education, while the remaining five were children of West Indian families who came to this country since 1900. It might be well to observe that the three described as direct descendants of the early settlers, were educated in urban mixed schools and all three were in close contact with white culture, in that the education of two of them was sponsored by wealthy white individuals, while the third was practically born on a university campus."

The general problem of poor educational standards is not lessened by overcrowding nor by the fact that in most cases the children can only attend classes for five half-days a week. One begins to wonder whether, in the long run, the increasing segregation of white and coloured children in schools will be advantageous or otherwise for the Negroes. It is doubtful that similar problems to those mentioned above exist in white schools in Halifax County, at least to the same degree, although this is merely an opinion. But aside from purely educational factors, what will happen to race relationships? The story is told about the number of children in the Maroon Hill settlement declining to the extent that a separate school could not be maintained; the attempt to have the coloured children accompany the whites brought some violent objections from the neighbouring white community. It is Mr. Silver's claim, and he should be in a position to know, that the main fear of whites about mixed schools is that sexual relationships between the children might result. Similar relationships are apparently permissible if all the youngsters are white.

In spite of all this, improvements are still taking place. Next year two coloured teachers with home economics experience will travel around the settlements; most of the schools are equipped for home economics classes. There will also be a shopmobile, in charge of a coloured teacher, which is equipped to teach the boys manual training. New Road, Preston East and Upper Hammond's Plains all look after the debentures on their own schools. The school in Africville is municipal and the teachers' salaries are paid by the municipality. No doubt in Halifax proper the coloured children are mixed with whites, but since my visit took place in mid-summer, I was unable to observe these schools or to obtain information on them. In order to finance a new school in one of the settlements, the usual process now is to borrow the amount for the basic expenditure from the government; this is repaid, with interest, in the form of higher taxes. "Extras" around the school, such as grading, beautifying, domestic science equipment and so on, are paid for by money raised in community enterprises.

In 1946, the Adult Education Division of the Department of Education began to organize educational groups for adults in the settlements. Following the fair and objective pattern which is characteristic of all governmental organizations and particularly noticeable between the government of Nova Scotia and Negroes in the province, Adult Education officials claim justifiably that their work in the settlements is not due to the fact that the people are coloured but because of the evident need. While this is the "official" approach, the problems of these people are recognized. I would feel that governmental concern is mainly toward getting them to recognize the potential of their land and the need for reforestation and development. Then too, education in general is geared to any possible practical application of knowledge, in the homes and on the land, in order to make adjustments to local situations more effective. Rev. Oliver recognizes the value of this approach, but there are some inclined to regard adult education almost as "conspicuous consumption", to use a Veblen phrase, or from the point of view that it will enhance their social status and cultural background. I am thinking of Upper Hammond's Plains in particular, which was the

first coloured settlement to have classes for adults. In 1948, there were sixteen people enrolled to take instruction in this class; it is true that great things often stem from small beginnings, and it is likewise true that a number of the Plains leaders and leader-aspirants are included in the class, but one wonders whether this many out of a community of 400 will be able to accomplish much that will off-set the other trends that are developing in the opposite direction. The term "leader-aspirants" and the reference to the cultural attitude towards adult education held by some,are used to suggest that a few members of the class may have additional extraneous motives for belonging. In my opinion the people involved are the same in both instances.

Even so, this in no way detracts from the effectiveness of the classes upon those who attend. Take the case of Mr. Aubrey Whiley, a man about 35 years of age with a fairly large family. Until two years ago, Mr. Whiley was unable to read or write and yet he is the owner and operator of a saw-mill and also a cooperage shop, and employs several men. As a result of the adult education classes, he is now literate, and this will undoubtedly be to his advantage as an up-and-coming leader in the community. Some Plains residents feel that the average working man is too tired at night to do much in the way of education.

The classes are held in the community schools, and the teachers come from the settlement; usually they are the regular school teachers. A season's class runs for about six months, from September until March, and various social events and seasonal activities are held from time to time. The stress placed by many of these people on the formal aspects of religion is evident in the classes, which all begin with a hymn, reading or prayer and end with a prayer. Aside from learning the three R's, other sessions designed to broaden the general educational scope are utilized; these include such things as discussions on current events, essays on reforestation, gardens and the like. In this connection, it is interesting to note the powers of expression of people like these, who lack all but the simplest words. Consider the following on the subject of gravity*:

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*from the notebook of Mrs. Gertrude Symonds.

"Gravity is somethings that pulls down. If a ball is thrown up in the air, gravity will bring it down again. We cannot coast uphill, but we can coast down because gravity brings us down. Swinging up, gravity brings the swing back. No matter how high we go up gravity will pull us back to the ground again. We sometimes see a star falling but as it gets closer to earth gravity is the cause of it leaving space. Gravity is the cause of rain, snow and also hail. The river would not flow over a cliff if gravity did not help it. If it was not for gravity we would be swinging in space but gravity keeps us in place."

Then the answer to a question about how gravity helps to make a cool room warm:*

"Gravity pushes the cool air into the furnace and pushes the warm air out."

Undoubtedly, these classes assist these people in the formulation of their own general attitudes and often provide opportunities for self-expression. Here are some excerpts from compositions which serve to point up some of their aspirations:*

"The people have caught the vision of their forefathers and are looking forward to a much better place in which their boys and girls will live. First however, to do these things we must seek God. And his righteousness and all other things will be added. Then good things will be done. If we do all we can to help ourselves others will be willing to help us. So as we continue on the road of life, let us put God first, then there will be better citizens, better education. And we will be able to fit ourselves for better positions in life. Then we too will make the vision of our forefathers a reality and their faith will be ours."

And again:*

"With better education they (the youth) can fit themselves for a better future; to become better citizens. Then they will become leaders of our race, because we as a people lack leadership in our communities and we must not feel ourselves too advanced to be taught by those who are able to lead. The boys and girls of today should have a Grade IX education at least; but we as older people are trying to encourage the youth to a higher standard of living and a higher grade in school. Then when we have passed from this stage of action the youth of tomorrow will say, 'They have done what they could for the race and for the glory of God'."

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*from the notebook of Mrs. Gertrude Symonds.
*ibid.
*ibid.

Contrary to popular opinion, relationships between the whites of Lower Hammond's Plains and the Negroes of Upper Hammond's Plains are extremely strained; much more will be said about this in a later section. If one has never experienced prejudice as these people have continually to do, it might be difficult to appreciate the kind of mental strain which it places upon one. I submit the following composition, entitled "If", as an example of unconscious defense attitudes which arise. If no other information were available, it would seem to me that the feelings of the coloured people towards their white neighbours could be determined by this article:*

> "If, to my mind, means something to be done. And being able to keep calm when people all around are fighting. And trying to say it is our fault. Being able to trust oneself. We must trust God and then we will be able to forgive those that don't trust us. By being patient we will gain much by waiting. If someone should lie on us nothing will be gained by us lying. We must love those who hate us. We must not try to put on, or think that we know it all. One may dream but then go on to reality. One may think; but still go on to do things and make a great success of one's life. We may meet with drawbacks and troubles as we go through life. But we meet them as if they did not matter. When we have spoken the truth many there are who may laugh it to scorn. Things that matter much to us in life are broken by these lies, but we go forward to build again with such material as we have left. We may have great riches. And may lose them all at once but start all over again; and we never speak of our loss to anyone. When we are downhearted, and we have no spirit to go on, we take courage. And still say to ourselves we must go on. We can meet many classes of people and still keep our respect. We may meet with the richest of people and not think too much of ourselves. No matter what our enemies or friends may do to us it will not matter. One may think well of everyone, but still that is not everything in life we must do. If by using one minute of our lives well, we may have done sixty second's worth of good for someone. We will have accomplished much through life. And we will make great women as well as men."

In the main, educators are primarily interested in equipping the people in these Negro settlements to help themselves. It would be my opinion that there are many in Nova Scotia who actually do not feel them capable of this; they reflect this attitude in their relationships with Negroes, and they would have all the evidence of past "assistance" given to coloured communities to support their views if they expressed them openly. On the other hand, a glance at the tremendous adaptations

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* From the note-book of Mrs. G. Symonds.

that have been made in the past one hundred years by the people in Upper Hammond's Plains, coupled with some knowledge of the overwhelming obstacles which they have had to overcome, serves as assurance that their development towards becoming capable and self-sufficient individuals has been successful to a considerable degree. Indeed, it would be difficult to appreciate the handicaps faced by a group of newly freed slaves, dumped into a geographical area like Upper Hammond's Plains, as they attempted to stay alive. Certainly these people are not lacking in basic intelligence and ability. It is true that the latter have not found outlets through formal education, but the evidences of them are apparent throughout the settlements. The mechanism for keeping gates closed is one example, but the same practical approach to problems and the same "conceptions of efficient and often ingenious methods" of approach to other tasks could be seen in the way they handle logs, set up work in the saw-mills and make barrels. Wherever a problem can be solved through tangible action, they are not often wanting. The almost insoluble problems for them are the ones such as providing a greater number of leaders for the communities, since there is no practical way in which any great number of these can begin to acquire an advanced education: in the same vein lies the problem of race relationships, which frustrates them, as can be seen by the previous quotation, because they are at a loss to know how to make tangible impressions upon the majority group. One can conquer the forest by chopping down the trees; how does one conquer racial prejudices?

Religion.

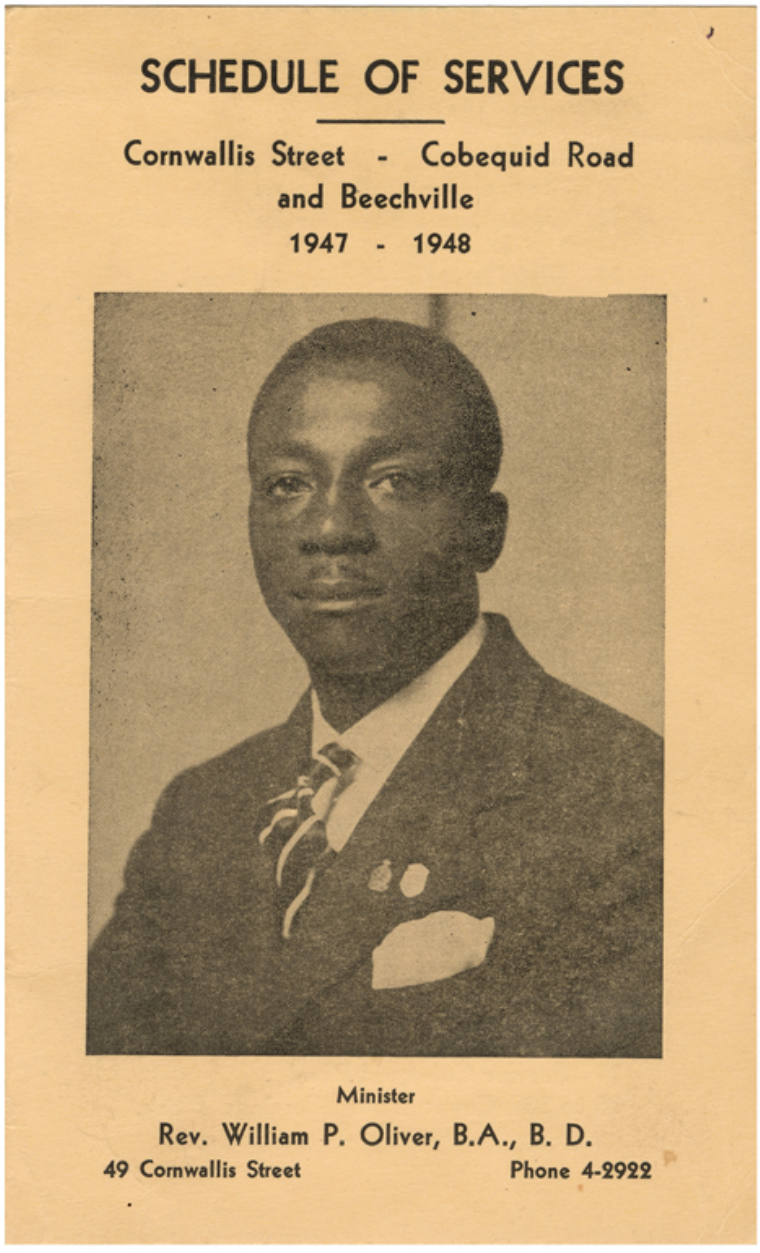
The United African Baptist Association of Nova Scotia embraces 22 churches throughout the various settlements in the province. Cornwallis St. Baptist is the "mother" church, and in a material way it is somewhat better than the others in Halifax County. The average church has three services on a Sunday, consisting of Sunday school in the afternoon and adult sessions in the morning and evening. The usual church organizations are in evidence; in this respect Cornwallis St., with the following, is the most highly organized:

B.Y.P.U. (Young People's group)
C.G.I.T. (Two groups of girls, Intermediate and Senior).

Ladies Auxiliary (most churches have this)
Young Married Couples Club
Mission Band
Prayer Service (all churches have this)
Men's Brotherhood (most have this)
Boy Scouts
Choir Rehearsal (all have this)
Helping Hand Society.

On occasions, the men's and women's groups or a Ledge such as the Odd-fellows will be responsible for the services, as may be seen by the attached folder. Like Rev. Oliver, most of the ordained clergymen have two or three churches to lead, with the result that most of the services are conducted by deacons and other laymen, while the minister is in attendance for one Sunday each month. This allows for real opportunities for leadership among the people themselves, providing them with outlets for their own self-expression and keeping them actively interested.

It has already been noted that the church is the main center for social organization in every rural settlement, so that it is not surprising that the majority of Negro leaders have appeared through it as a medium. However, the amount of actual influence which it has upon settlement people, and the degree to which it exercises social control in the communities, is open to question. In Upper Hammond's Plains, the most "rural" of all communities in this paper, the church has a member-



SCHEDULE OF SERVICES

Cornwallis Street - Cobequid Road and Beechville

1947 - 1948

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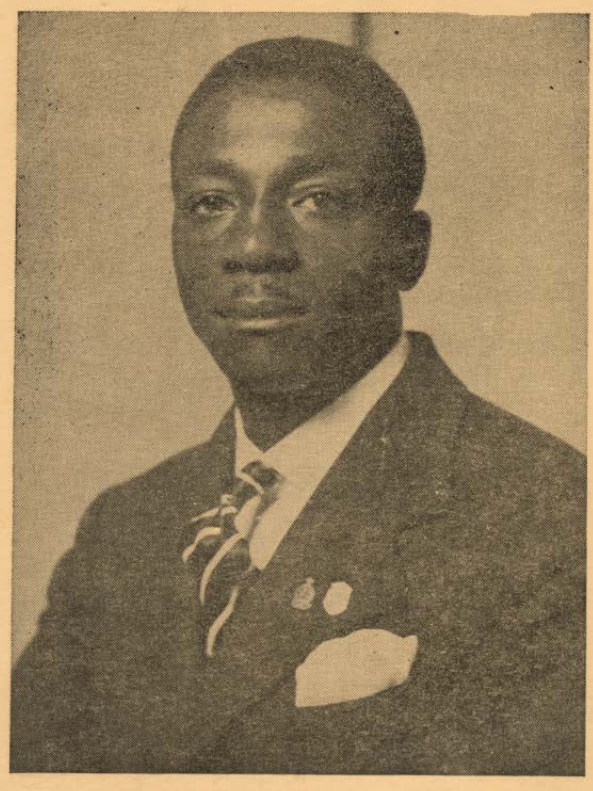

Minister

Rev. William P. Oliver, B.A., B. D.

49 Cornwallis Street **Phone 4-2922**

September, 1947—

14 WOMEN'S DAY—Cobequid Road. Service, Beechville, 3 p.m.
21 Oddfellows Divine Service, Cornwallis St., 3 p.m.
28 MEN'S DAY—Cobequid Road.

October, 1947—

5 Fall Rally, Cornwallis St.
12 Beechville Harvest
19 Cobequid Road Harvest
26 Cornwallis St. Harvest

November, 1947—

2 District No. 1 Quarterly
9 District No. 2 Quarterly
16 Service Cobequid Road
16 Women's Day, Cornwallis St.
23 Service Beechville

December, 1947—

14 Service Beechville
21 Service Cobequid Road

January, 1948—

11 Service Beechville
18 Service Cobequid Road
18 to 22 Count Your Blessings Week, Cornwallis St.

February, 1948—

1 Quarterly, District No. 1
8 Quarterly, District No. 2
15 Service Cobequid Road
22 Service Beechville
29 Men's Day, Cornwallis St.

March, 1948—

21 Service Cobequid Road
Special Service, Cornwallis St., two weeks.
28 Service Beechville

April, 1948—

18 Service Cobequid Road
25 Service Beechville
Anniversary of Beechville Church

May, 1948—

2 Quarterly, District No. 1
9 Quarterly, District No. 2
16 Service Cobequid Road
23 Service Beechville

June, 1948—

13 Service Cobequid Road
20 Service Beechville

July, 1948

1 Cornwallis St. Sunday School Picnic
5 Beechville Annual Business Meeting
6 Cobequid Road Annual Business Meeting
7 Cornwallis St. Annual Business Meeting.
9 to 16 Boys' Camp
16 to 20 Girls' Camp
18 Vacation Cobequid Road
25 Vacation Beechville

August, 1948—

15 Association Sunday
22 Service Cobequid Road
29 Service Beechville

WEEKLY PROGRAM

Cornwallis St.

Sunday, 8.15—B.Y.P.U.
Monday, Int. C.G.I.T.—7.30 - 9.00.
Tuesday, Sen. C.G.I.T.—7.30 - 9.00
2nd and 4th Tuesdays—Ladies Auxiliary
1st and 3rd Tuesdays—Young Married Couples Club.
Wednesday, 3.45—Mission Band
Wednesday, 8 p.m.—Prayer Service
2nd and 4th Thursdays—Men's Brotherhood
Friday, 7.15—Boy Scouts
Friday, 8.30—Choir Rehearsal.

Helping Hand Society Meetings by Announcement.

Is there anyone sick in your home?

Is there a stranger in your midst?

Is there someone anxious to serve Christ?

NOTIFY YOUR MINISTER

ship of 45 out of an estimated population of 400. The average service attracts about 25, and the most at one time is perhaps 45 or 50; usually only a few attend prayer service on Tuesday nights. In Lucasville, with a population of 190, there are 18 or 19 on the church roll and 15 or 16 are regular attenders. At a service which I attended in Cornwallis St. church in Halifax the total number of people was about 30, although this figure must be considered in the light of the fact that it was mid-summer and that the regular minister was away. The statement that "90% of Negroes in Nova Scotia are members or adherents of the Baptist church" may be valid enough, but it would appear that a considerable allowance must be made for "adherents", and adherents could extend from active non-members to all those who are not opposed to the Baptist church or not members of any other.

*Symonds X	David X	Johnson
Allison	Jones X	Clayton
Marsman X	Williams	Sims ✓
Anderson	Jackson	Gough
Whiley	Barton	Lynch ✓
	Emerson ✓	

X -the biggest families.
✓ -families who are not church members.

Above is a list of all the family surnames in Upper Hammond's Plains, to the best of my knowledge. Out of the sixteen, three or roughly 20% are not church members, but the four largest families are affiliated with the church. Then too, these people are all intricately related to one another in some way, so that if the Johnsons have active members listed on the church role, one might say that the rest of the Johnsons are adherents and thereby take in a considerable portion of the whole settlement. At every turn, one is given the impression by whites and coloured alike that the Negroes in Halifax County are God-fearing, Baptist churchgoers. Undoubtedly this is true for many, but the aforementioned factors, coupled with other behaviour patterns yet to be discussed, take the edge from any general statement of this nature.

Attendance is always greater when the minister pays his monthly visit. Weddings and funerals also require his presence, as do baptisms. The latter are real occasions in both the religious and social life of

*I have no actual facts to support these statements. Information obtained through informants and checked through some others.

the people since it is symbolic of a cleansing from sin and desire to hold to the tenets of the church. In many ways, it is also an advancement in social status. With the exception of Cornwallis St. church which has a baptismal pool within it, there are few facilities for baptism other than the natural lakes or rivers, and these are used in most cases for the enactment of the ceremonies. Church services in general

This is an out-door baptismal pool in Cherry Brook. Water is available from a small stream nearby, and a mechanism has been constructed by which a controlled amount of water is always available, regardless of the water height in the stream. Residents are quite proud of the pool and the mechanism alike.

vary in the degree in which they appeal to the emotions, with the rural services generally more evangelical than the urban. The Cornwallis St. service is quite conservative; I am told that those in Africville are more evangelical. Mr. Vern Upshaw, with whom I stayed in Halifax, likes a minister that can be heard and who sticks to the point; preaching from notes is no good. Stories should be told afterwards and not during the sermon, which should be preached from the Bible. His claim is that there is more real preaching in the country; city people are too timid. Mr. Upshaw also feels that men who enter the ministry have to make concessions. He cites the example of one man, now attending university, whom he considers to be a good preacher but who wants to "have his fun" as well. In

this respect, religion seems to be concerned with just a certain part of life, unrelated to the other parts, and ministers much more than deacons (Mr. Upshaw is a deacon) must be above reproach.

Mr. Upshaw also mentioned Rev. Wise as one of his favourite preachers. Rev. A.A. Wise is 87 years of age, has been in the ministry for 35 years, and boasts of the fact that he can read and write with only four days of formal education. Rev. Oliver is another favourite of Mr. Upshaw 's but he was not mentioned among the favourite ministers. Undoubtedly Rev. Oliver, a university graduate, is more conventional in his sermons--measured by outside standards, that is---but Rev. Wise is strongly evangelical. Two trends are possibly apparent here, the one towards conservatism in services coincident with increasing educational backgrounds for clergymen, the other also towards conservatism as the people move from rural to urban areas. My observance of religious behaviour was too limited for even general conclusions in connection with rural-urban trends, but to assume that the two aforementioned clergymen reflect the attitudes and behaviour of their contemporaries would not be stretching a point. As an example, "prayer period" practices prior to baptismal services are becoming shorter, less extreme and less complicated, but in the New Road and Preston East settlements where Rev. Wise is pastor, they follow old patterns to a marked degree. In these areas people must go through special travail to get into the church. Services leading up to this often begin around the New Year, and then those who are approaching baptism are put by themselves to pray and "commune with God". It is not unconventional at this time for children to wander the fields for days at a time, and the whole process is compulsory. They are supposed to see visions of white horses and the like; if they see no visions, back to the fields they go. Children are faced with this usually when they reach age 8 or 9, and after a sojourn in the fields they are asked "Did you have any travels?". The average prayer period lasts five or six weeks and culminates in baptism for the convert. Compare this with Halifax proper, where Rev. Oliver is minister. Here revival services begin in March and last for about two weeks, leading to baptisms around Easter. Often they begin later than this in Preston and finish in July

when open water is warm enough for immersions. Reactions to this type of behaviour in its extreme form are varied. For instance, Mrs. Upshaw of Halifax thinks it is "all bosh", but her husband says people must get a change of heart somehow. In any event it seems that the children who are required to conjure up visions often feel that they have to lie to get into the church.

The general context of Baptist religious doctrine seems to suit admirably to the life situations of these people and to the adjustments which they have to make. Apparently members of the Jehovah Witness sect visit the settlement of Upper Hammond's Plains every summer; one young girl visited a cooperage shop while I was there and sold a dollar's worth of books to Charlie Symonds. Charlie purchased the books under pressure, but settlement people are weak when confronted with fast sales talk. Even so, he disagrees with the Witness philosophy; for one thing, he dislikes their idea of considering Sunday just another day. People in the settlement do not work on Sunday, and so on. In the realm of world politics, the Jehovah Witness says that God did not mean men to fight, but the coloured Baptists in the settlement say there can be no peace for man, ever. "Man must suffer because of his sin." This opinion was voiced in my presence more than once; man must suffer until Christ comes again, or until he gets to Heaven. A philosophy of this kind might well serve as a rationalization for the type of life which these people have to lead.

The service which I attended in Cornwallis St. Baptist church in Halifax began slightly late; people generally in Nova Scotia are not such slaves to time as those in Toronto. There were the usual hymns and the usual announcements, one about a rehearsal for the coloured Bicentenary choir, one in connection with a Deacon's meeting and one concerning a meeting of Sunday school teachers. There were two Bible readings from which I took the following implications:

> Concerning the story of the scouts who spied on the promised land of Canaan for the Jews, the lesson seemed to imply "Don't take a stand on anything if the Lord disapproves, or when He is not with you. Do it through the church and thus gain the Lord's sanction".

> Concerning the parable of the son slain when he went to collect the rent from his father's vineyard, the implication was that "even the son was slain when peacably trying to collect his rightful dues, but slayers will pay for their sins against the righteous; God will punish them".

The prayer stressed "Love thy neighbour as thyself; treat enemies kindly, for this is how to gain victory over them". The sermon suggested that the people should not be like grasshoppers, which are insignificant. They should make themselves significant or people will regard them as grasshoppers. They were urged to assert themselves by amounting to something, and to show that they were capable of amounting to something. These implications seem designed to link the people with the church in pursuit of the policy put forth by the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People. This organization takes the stand generally that coloured people in the province have a long history of which they can be proud. Any progress they make towards more equal opportunities with whites must be slow, solid and on the basis of this good reputation which has been built up. There must be no violence or strong demands which might only invoke the ire of the majority group and make the latter feel that the Negroes are uncouth and unworthy. Nova Scotian history proves that they are worthy, and they must bear the brunt of any injustices like Christians, calling attention to them in the manner of a people with pride and culture. This is the impression gathered from fairly extensive interviews and observation, and I would feel reasonably secure regarding its validity.

Under the leadership of intelligent and worldly young men like Rev. W. P. Oliver, the church is awakening to the task which lies before it if it is to remain an effective force in the future. This clergyman feels that a real attempt must be made to re-establish the rural settlements and turn the people back to the land if the church is to be saved, and few of those who recognize settlement problems fully would disagree. At present the church is the only real nucleus for social organization in the settlements, and the clergy is coming to feel that a main responsibility of the church will be to take the lead in helping people

to improve and develop their land. The conviction that the church must encourage rural development is not ill-founded. The fate of the church in an increasingly urban situation can be seen by means of a glance at Montreal*. Here the largest number of coloured people are affiliated with the Church of England, but this may be due to the large West Indian element. The Baptists are not strong; the United church is the only coloured church in Montreal, and the young people, if any, are more often found here. The most active and important Negro institution is still the church but there are few young people connected with it, aside from those between 4 and 13 years of age who attend Sunday school. Teen-agers mix more with whites and become more cosmopolitan. Older people who have not grown up in Montreal tend to stay close together and remain in the church. According to my informant, "For them, it serves as a rallying point on racial attitudes. It soothes their ego, and they get rallied". An attempt has already been made in this paper to illustrate this function of the church in Halifax County. Whether or not it could survive and be effective with this its only justification for existence is open to question.

The Family.

Some time ago, George Bernard Shaw remarked that marriage was a state of existence quite unnatural to man. The inference here is that man must succumb to the bonds of civilization to a great degree before he can become a vital cog in any stable family unit. The institution of slavery, which plagued the Negroes in North America for so many years placed little emphasis on the importance of marriage; indeed, families were often broken up. In the United States generally, since the days of slavery, Negro families have suffered from the instability of fathers, and progress towards a stable family unit has been relatively slow. Whether this is due primarily to the difficulty in sloughing off habits conditioned by slavery, or whether time and a combination of other factors have also had an important effect, it is difficult to say. But this whole area of social organization is one to which a considerable amount of importance might be attached when measuring the progress that

*Information on Montreal obtained in interview with Mr. Harold Potter, coloured professor at Sir George Williams College.

has been made by the Negroes in Halifax County since the days when the first of them came from out of slavery.

In terms of blood relationships, a settlement like Upper Hammonds Plains is closely knit. With the exception of those who were not born in the community but have come in as a result of marriage and the like, all people are inextricably related to one another. Doubtless many of the actual relationships are not important or observed, but for those which are, the status is held and the observance to an amazing degree. People are continually referring to "Aunt Mary", "Cousin Isaiah", "Brother Charles", and even godparents are addressed as such by those with whom they have that status. Charlie Symonds, twenty-five years of age, still calls his father's brother uncle, and the latter cannot be more than fifteen years his senior. As for the individual families, I know of no cases where the husband has deserted the wife and children, a practise which seems to be fairly frequent in the southern United States. In Preston and Upper Hammond's Plains especially, the father plays a very important role; as a rule, he is the autocratic head of the household. He gives the orders, makes decisions on important issues, and is addressed as "sir" by the children when the conversation is serious. With young children, relationships are quite permissive, especially between mother and child. A mother may discipline children other than her own, now and then; for example, Mrs. Symonds of Upper Hammond's Plains caught a group of younger children swimming when they had been told not to. She chastised them all severely, including her own son. For the fathers there is real respect and status in work situations. At his saw-mill in the Plains settlement, Mr. Anderson is in complete charge, and to him any young fellow is addressed as "boy". On his farm in Preston, Mr. Evans has the same role; he keeps the younger men hustling and they must complete tasks in detail as he outlines. This kind of relationship is important in terms of social control. The young men in Upper Hammond's Plains all learn the coopering trade from their seniors; consequently, the older men still have the respect of the younger and are able to influence and control them to a considerable extent.

As with most families in like circumstances, the control pattern between grandparent and grandchild is weaker and more permissive. There is a fair amount of status attached to old age, but this may be an extension of the aforementioned father-son relationships. Certainly old people have no hesitation in telling their age; they do it with a considerable amount of pride, as if it were really something to have survived this life for so many years. There was no opportunity to observe a funeral, although it seems doubtful that as much importance is attached to burials in the settlements, due to economic circumstances, as is often the case in other parts of North America. A death in the family of one person enrolled for adult education caused the cancellation of a class. This might indicate respect for the dead, but it is not carried through to the upkeep of graves and adequate maintenance of the cemetery. The absence of any great display in connection with death might be a real sign of dire economic circumstances, since it is contrary to the pattern in rural French Canada and any other areas of the continent populated by Negores.

Another evidence of homogenity is given by the dialect into which the people of Hammond's Plains fall in informal situations. An average, unguarded conversation is replete with words like "mawnin'", "heah", "boy", "man", and so on. It is quite possible that this accent has been preserved through the generations, for it is also peculiar to the southern United States. Other characteristics include the use of the term "belong to"; for example, it is said that he belongs to Lucasville, and not that he is from Lucasville. "Settlements" are always called by that name and none other.

Of important bearing in a later connection is the fact that few if any wills are made by settlement people. Perhaps they are not familiar enough with legal procedure, and perhaps they just can not afford it, but apparently it has not been the practise in the past. Upon the death of the original settlers, grants of land simply passed on to the children, probably on a catch-as-catch-can basis. It can be readily understood that this might lead to strained relations between siblings from the time they became aware of the situation until a final arrangement had been made, for certainly all must

leave the land except one. Again the similarity between these settlements and the parish of St. Denis becomes apparent. What factors finally decide who stays and who goes are obscure, but apparently the ones who go do not formally release any claim they have on the Crown grant. Given this situation through five or six generations of people, with no wills and the close kinship of all in the community, not to mention those outside the community, there is no end to the confusion that can arise. Many of the present families are not even sure where the boundaries of their grants are, since many of them have not been surveyed in years. In one sense, this development should tend to bring people more closely together, almost in a communal economic pattern. But then again, the insecurity that is bound to arise around this method of inheritances of property could produce trends in the opposite direction.

In an earlier section, it was mentioned that the majority of young girls leave the rural settlements by the time they are sixteen years of age and take jobs in the city or in homes in white communities. Coupled with the fact that the majority of the boys remain behind, especially in Upper Hammond's Plains, this does not augur well for the future creation of rural families. Girls who have spent five or six years in an urban area are bound to become more cosmopolitan and more accustomed to conveniences and higher living standards. They are not anxious to return to the rural settlements to marry men who have not had these advantages. I had opportunities to observe the real difficulties, in terms of attitudes and personality, which grow up between the sexes as a result of these years of different standards. In the New Road settlement, young families are setting a new pattern of relationships that might serve as a solution to the Plains situation. While their residence is again in a rural area the signs and effects of urban life are evident. Most of the men work outside the settlement, a fact which contributes to this. But the attitudes of the younger generation towards the older generation also are different; there is not as much of the old rapport as in Upper Hammond's Plains, and yet the suggestions of older men who watch over community developments

are taken seriously. Perhaps it is simply a case of advice rather than orders given by the older generation, but it is accompanied by a subtle change in the whole pattern of social behaviour.

The young and old of Upper Hammond's Plains. In the picture on the left is Mrs. Johnson, 77 years of age, who supplied much valuable information about the past.

The number of children in a family may vary from six to sixteen; in the New Road settlement especially, families with over ten are the general rule. It is hard to understand how any man who works as an unskilled labourer in Halifax can manage to maintain a family of this size. Certainly without family allowances, it would be next to impossible. Incidentally, there are a number of fine oxen in this settlement which are used to haul "pit-props" out of the bush, mostly

in spring and fall. These are used as props in mines and many are sent to England. This represents, along with a few small gardens, the only

Upper Hammond's Plains. The ladies are dressed for choir rehearsal and the children are dressed for play.

opportunities for earning extra money or for work in slack periods. As things are, the standard of living is very low; one coloured girl who taught in the New Road settlement and boarded there had to give up her position because she could not eat the food. I stood in one kitchen, stooped over because of the low ceiling, where the odour from food cooking on the stove was almost nauseating. Thus the average young

coloured girl who has spent a few years in a white home or working in the city is not anxious to marry and establish such a home. And yet the average wages of the men, in the settlements and in Halifax, are not sufficient to cause any higher expectation. Under such discouraging marital conditions, morals can hardly be expected to remain at a high level. Families do not seem to be as well integrated, and it would not be surprising if this area had a higher delinquency rate than the others. There are many children here not yet in their teens. There are not many cases of common-law marriage. Religious ceremonies in marriage are the practise at least, but whether or not they are adhered to is another story.

Again in the realm of community relationships, it is interesting to note the status of leaders. Five men have been mentioned as the owners of the saw-mills and most of the cooperage shops in Upper Hammond's Plains. Of these, Mr. Anderson is secretary of the school board, and Mr. Marsman and Mr. Whiley are trustees. Mr. Anderson is known as "S.S." in the community and Mr. Marsman is "W.K.", which might signify that they are considered "big men". Mr. Allison is the only one of the five who is not active in community affairs, and he is considered by the people as a "good business man but no good to the community". There are some of the older people who do not show an interest in the younger people and support their activities; Mr. Allison is one of these.

All community activities, such as picnics, dances, concerts and the like, find their initiation in the church or school groups in the settlements, and every such occasion provides an opportunity for raising money to benefit the community. Any proceeds are used to put lights in the school, to buy a piano for the community hall, to finance some redecoration in the church and in other similar ways. An interesting form of raising money in the church is the "Pew Rally", worthy of a service-club brain. A Sunday is designated as pew rally Sunday and several church members are each made responsible for a pew, for which they sell pew tickets. On the special day, these pew captains stand beside their respective pews as people file into the church. Consequently, if a pew fills up, considerable prestige may be enjoyed by the standing captain. On the other hand, if the pew is almost empty, the captain

must stand there in shame. Tickets are sold to anyone, not just the coloured residents of the settlement. Another method, not quite so unique, is the tag day that might be held to raise money for a new school. For two weeks prior to the day notices are placed in Dartmouth and Halifax papers, and when the day arives tags are sold to all and sundry. Other ways of raising money include socials, recitals and plays, and they are very effective.

For younger settlement boys, recreational pastimes include hunting, fishing and swimming. There is a real desire for activities but forms of recreation are usually simple and often beset with difficulties. In Upper Hammond's Plains, the older boys were trying to lay out a baseball diamond on a fairly level but rock-strewn field. They knew almost nothing about baseball but were hoping that a young minister who was coming in for the summer might teach them; the regular minister for this settlement died a short time ago. In Africville, the boys had the best of baseball equipment but were playing across railroad tracks as was shown in a previous picture. They said their plans included getting into a league; chances of this were slim since this was near the end of July. In winter, skating and sleighing are popular with the children, while books and radios especially pass the time for adults. Most of the settlements now have electricity so that they can use regular radios, and the few books that are available are well read. At dances, about three out of every four tunes is a "jitterbug" number. The young people display an amazing amount of energy, many of them jitterbugging continually from 9:00 p.m. to 1:00 a.m. on a rough, uneven floor. Apparently some square dancing used to take place but not so now. Music for the dances is provided by local boys; Leo, a son of Mrs. Symonds, taught himself to play the guitar and has now purchased a trumpet. Time and interest enable them to attain a high degree of efficiency. A dance which I attended had two electric guitars supplying the music, and they were almost sufficient to take the place of an orchestra. Old Mrs. Johnson says the young people of today are all for pleasure, while the young people of her day were all for work. They had little time for fun then because all young people had so many chores to do.

Politically speaking, Upper Hammond's Plains has been traditionally Conservative for a number of years, although a Liberal is presently in office. Most Plains people, including Mr. Symonds, voted Liberal in the last election because of the fact that a number of coloured men were working on roads in the region. They thought that if the same government remained in, their men would continue to hold the jobs. It is their claim that several were laid off the day after elections, but I saw several Negroes on road construction work in my travels so I doubt any possible connection. Nevertheless, coming elections are often the occasion for special visits by certain whites in Lower Hammond's Plains. Mr. Symonds once worked for a white man, now deceased, in Lower Hammond's Plains, and Mr. Symonds always voted Conservative then because this man wanted him to. When one white man from the Lower settlement drove his big car back to the Symonds home (over a very rough side-road) to solicit their votes, Mrs. Symonds told him "You only come back here and offer us rides before election time. Other times, you wouldn't put your car over that rough road". Both Liberals and Conservatives in the Lower settlement exhibited considerable discontent over the fact that Bill White, a Negro native of Halifax now in Toronto, was running in a Toronto riding under a C.C.F. banner. The displeasure may have been due to Mr. White's political affiliation or possibly to his racial background, but their indiscreet comments on the subject did not make the Negroes any happier.

There were several C.C.F. posters on telephone poles in the community, together with others, but it is my understanding that the C.C.F. is not very strong. Prior to elections, all political parties send speakers to the Community Hall. Mr. Symonds regards the C.C.F. as "agitators", and it is plain that the majority of settlement people have no adequate understanding of the political theories behind the various parties. If they make their own decisions on how they are going to cast their ballots, it is usually done in the face of some down-to-earth advantage such as the road-workers retaining their jobs. On the other hand, if a vote cast can give them a more advantageous or favourable position in relation to a white employer, the vote is apparently used for this purpose. It would seem, throughout the rural settlements

in general, that little faith is placed in politics as a means of improving the coloured people's lot. Mr. Symonds says he does not pay much attention to politics any more, and I heard from several sources that the government had been promising to fix the roads for years but with few results. As the situation stands now, little real attention is paid to campaign speeches and little is expected from the party that might be helped to form a government through their political support. For these people, any value that the vote might have lies in what it might do for them in a smaller but more tangible way.

ATTITUDES, VALUES AND BEHAVIOUR.

The province of Nova Scotia is justifiably proud of its liberal background. Without difficulty, one can discover that slavery was never a legally-sanctioned institution within its borders, and that it opened its doors to newly-freed slaves long before the abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire in 1833. The large amount of assistance offered to Afro-Canadians in dire circumstances through governmental agencies has continued, to a decreasing degree, up to the present day, and it signifies an official recognition of the many problems which people of colour have had to overcome. In addition, relationships between whites and coloured on a legal level have remained fair and impartial in keeping with British attitudes regarding justice. A recent example of this was the trial of Victor Robart, a Negro charged with the murder of a white woman named Maureen MacDonald on June 2nd, 1948. Robart is generally regarded by other Negroes as a shady character, and the MacDonald woman, wife of a naval officer, had the same sort of reputation among whites. Robart was on trial from October 12th to October 14th, 1948, and in all the Halifax newspaper publicity about the case there was no mention made of the fact that he was Negro, although his picture did appear. About thirty witnesses were called and there was considerable confusion and contradiction in the evidence; it also appears that the Crown did not follow through sufficiently to obtain definite proof of its points. It may simply have been a good verbal duel between lawyers; counsel for the defence was a Jewish man named Abraham Sheffman and the Crown Prosecutor was R. M. Fielding. In any event, Robart was acquitted for lack of <u>definite proof</u> against him. In talking with both whites and coloured about this case, my general impression was that the whites felt the verdict to be fair while the Negroes would have considered "guilty" a just decision. This may have been due to the personalities involved on both sides, but it serves to indicate fairness and impartiality on official levels.

In spite of all this, it is my opinion that the lengthy pattern of

"assistance", coupled with the handicaps which have had to be overcome by the Negroes as a result of their slave background, has created an unofficial and perhaps unconscious attitude of "benevolent paternalism" on the part of whites towards the people of colour.

Attitudes of both whites and Negroes reflect this; the following examples indicate the kinds of behaviour which support my contentions. Midway through the church service which I attended at Cornwallis Street Baptist Church I was called to the pulpit to be introduced and to say a few words. Having sat in the minister's pew throughout the sermon, I was then called upon to shake the hands of the people as they left the church. While at the home of a white man in Halifax, I was expecting a telephone call from Rev. Oliver. The man of the house was acquainted with the latter and when the phone rang, he picked it up saying "Hello, is that you Billie?" Then again, when leaving Negro homes at which I stayed, I always offered to make payment; it was never refused and in most cases seemed to be expected, which did not signify an attitude of "hospitality of equality". In Lucasville, youngsters along the road-side asked me for money. Mr. Symonds of Upper Hammond's Plains spoke of how his previous white employer was "good to him". All of these examples reveal an expectancy or acceptance of benevolence in some form or another by Negroes from whites. Some of them also illustrate a subtle belief held by whites that Negroes cannot be expected to reach accepted standards of living and conduct but must be looked upon as children. It might be worth noting that the same attitudes between the two groups are characteristic of relationships in the southern United States.

A possible correlation between attitudes of this type and class categories, as laid down by Warner or Weber, should be worthy of further study. Generally, predominantly rural societies have not produced a large middle class; this has been true until recent years of the southern United States, and I would feel it to be true of Nova Scotia. It seems that this paternal attitude of whites towards Negroes is characteristic of upper-class whites, and in areas where the middle class is relatively insignificant it seems to be predominant. It is not characteristic of middle-class attitudes such as those in the northern United States, which

involve actual hatred between the two groups. It would be interesting, and perhaps beneficial to the whole study of race relationships, to confirm or deny this hypothesis through further research.

Mr. B. C. Silver, superintendent of schools, reflects the benevolent paternal attitude. In his words, the policy of his department towards the Negroes "is to make them think like white people". In other words, he wants to move them away from the "assistance" pattern and make them self-sustaining. This does not only apply to payment for education, since this has already been achieved. Mr. Silver also confesses that he will take food when he visits coloured communities* but only choice tidbits, and he does not sit with the family. Without knowing the facts, I would imagine Mr. Silver to be in the Nova Scotian upper class, with a United Empire Loyalist or British background. His attitudes, extended throughout his total circle, seem characteristic to me of the paternal benevolence relationship, and because of this group's connection with social, leadership and power positions, such attitudes play an important role in Negro life. I sense this but merely assume it for the most part.

Mr. Silver also informed me, among others, that relationships between the Negroes in Upper Hammond's Plains and the whites in Lower Hammond's Plains were good; however, the opposite is actually true. Most of the Negroes in Halifax County are congenial and friendly but there is a considerable number in Upper Hammond's Plains who have "little use for white people". Negro residents claim that years ago coloured men were hired to clear land for Lower Hammond's Plains at .25¢ a day. One old resident spoke of two white men in the Lower settlement who used to beat Negroes as they passed through to and from Halifax. In those days also, if Negroes took meals in white homes, they did so in the kitchen; nowadays, it appears that any Negroes working in the Lower settlement take their lunches with them and thus avoid any possible embarrasment. Mrs. Symonds recalls an occasion ten years ago when the Baptist minister (white) of Lower Hammond's Plains invited a truckload of coloured people down to a revival service. The Negroes were seated in the front of the church while the whites sat behind them, laughing and snickering. One boy taunted them with names, and after the

*During the interview, Mr. Silver was unaware of the fact that I had been living in the Negro settlement.

service no one spoke to them; this is very vivid in Mrs. Symonds' mind. The Negroes also state that the whites in the Lower settlement will befriend coloured people "on the road" or when the whites are by themselves, but they do not seem to want people to know that they are acquainted with coloured people. Whites sometimes come by invitation to special activities in the church or school of Upper Hammond's Plains, but there are no invitations in the reverse direction. The white storekeeper, who operates a large store at the edge of the settlement which is patronized by Negroes, has a big trade becasue he will deliver groceries right to the door. His business is called a "nigger" store by people in Lower Hammond's Plains, and they prefer to deal by the month in Halifax rather than there. Apparently the storekeeper himself was overheard telling his son that he had bought a bicycle for him from "money he got from niggers". He was very embarrassed and full of apologies when faced with this.

There are other situations which the Negroes claim result from prejudices. For example, when the road was being fixed through both settlements, large rocks were removed in the Lower area whereas they were merely tossed off the road into the fields in the Upper region. The three white families that live in Pock Wock, at the other end of the coloured settlement, do not come in for as much criticism by the Negroes. These are "better people but still not as good as they could be". One family, the Smiths, is highly regarded, and "no one can say anything against them". The whole community of Upper Hammond's Plains feels that there is much less prejudice in Halifax although the West End (the residential area) is just as bad. While Mrs. Symonds was working here, she was taunted by fifteen-year-olds on their way home from school. Again in the settlement proper, Sundays in summer bring a large number of white people to Taylor Lake for fishing and swimming. It is said that they park their cars in the clearing around the church and disturb services with their shouts and horns. The Negroes have tried to stop this but with little effect. Maroon Hill is another case in point, where there have been definite attempts to exclude coloured people from school sessions and church services; the Negro settlement here is too small to maintain its own buildings.

As for Lower Hammond's Plains, the Negroes claim they are "the people with the money". This is corroborated by Mr. Silver who states that "anyone can write a cheque for $2,000.00". In speaking of Mr. Symonds' former employer, Mrs. Symonds claims that "he was alright in his way, but people who don't belong to Hammond's Plains are better. Those born there are the worst". Another comment made by Mrs. Symonds in connection with education for Negroes was that "white men cannot cheat coloured boys who work for them now". The latter are now able to cope with simple reading and arithmetic. Old Mrs. Johnson says that "people here just like white people to be sociable, that is all they want". She refers to such things as attending funerals, visiting sick people and speaking on the road. The coloured people claim they are at a loss to know why the whites in Lower Hammond's Plains dislike them; in this connection suffice it to say that Lower Hammond's Plains is a well-to-do, conservative, Baptist community. There is not even rapport between the churches in the two settlements. It seems that a white minister in the Lower settlement was once released when he attempted to establish relations with the coloured church, exchange ministers and so on, even though both churches are of the same denomination.

If a Negro calls upon a white resident of the Lower settlement, even on business, he will not be invited in but will have to carry on his conversation outside. Again referring to Lower Hammond's Plains, Mrs. Symonds feels that "these people are probably the worst in Nova Scotia" (with respect to prejudice) and this appears to be the general feeling in the community. Few people from the Upper settlement, men and women included, now work in the Lower. Mrs. Symonds notes that one lady walks from Lucasville to Lower Hammond's Plain (six miles) and works from eight to five p.m. for $2.50 a day; last year Mrs. Symonds worked in Halifax for $4.00 a day. Says Mrs. Symonds "people in Lucasville will take more than we will". There are two telephones in Upper Hammond's Plains, but no more can be obtained because the white man in the Lower settlement who owns the telephone line says the people up there do not need phones. Apparently the Upper settlement also had difficulty in getting electricity and books for their library due to hindrances set up by people in the Lower settlement.

The general opinion was also voiced that Lower settlement whites seemed less prejudiced if they had spent some time outside of their own community. This might indicate that a good part of the attitudes in the Lower settlement are due to their limited experiences. In Montreal, Mr. Potter felt that those coloured people who were concentrated in certain communities and lived mostly to themselves seemed to be more aware of any discrimination against them. As they became more dispersed, there was not as much talk or concern about racial differences. Any closer associations between coloured people in the settlements and whites are often not of the best. According to Mrs. Symonds, most whites who come to Upper Hammond's Plains are "bums". The people there befriend them until they get on their feet and then they move on. There is one white man who lives in Upper Hammond's Plains; the story goes that he came about eight years ago along with an older man, to build a house for someone. He remained and built a shack for himself but the older man departed. The man who stayed is known as Ted; apparently he associates with a number of the coloured men, who frequently attend liquor parties at his shack. Doubtless he is an alcoholic for I encountered him early one morning and could detect the smell of liquor on his breath. He was also the first one in the settlement that I heard use profane language. Africville has also been the setting for some low-level associations; due to its proximity to Halifax they are probably quite frequent. But as one man expressed it, "whenever whites want to go on a bat they come to Africville". Then too there was the relationship between Victor Robart and Maureen MacDonald which ended in murder. This was another relationship of this type, reaching an abrupt climax on Upper Water Street, one of the worst sections of Halifax in which Negroes are found.

Mr. C. Topshee, of the Adult Education Division of the government, says that coloured people in Nova Scotia have been neglected and exploited, and he supported the theory of benevolent paternalism. Returning to the strained relations between the people in Upper and Lower Hammond's Plains, Rev. Oliver claims "there is no doubt that the whites of Lower Hammond's Plains are getting richer off the coloured people in Upper Hammond's Plains". Certainly the Upper settlement people have been used frequently in the past as a source of cheap labour. There is also a story

about a Christmas season when trees for decoration were selling in the county for about thirty cents a bundle at the roadside, a bundle consisting of half a dozen trees. A man from Lower Hammond's Plains went to the Upper settlement and bought a large amount of trees as they stood on the land for ten or fifteen cents a bundle; he then hired coloured men at a daily wage to cut them and put them at the roadside and consequently made a tidy profit. Doubtless there are many other instances, but I submit the following as one of the main methods of exploitation and as one of the prime reasons for the present ill feeling between the two settlements.

The original pattern of issuing Crown grants of land, usually consisting of ten acres, to each man of the original settlers is now a familiar one. But in Upper Hammond's Plains there were two other grants made as well. The first of these is called the Melvin Grant, a tract of land in two separate pieces named "Big Melvin" and "Little Melvin" (see base map for Upper Hammond's Plains). This grant comprises an area of one thousand acres more or less and was originally alloted to several families together and all their descendants, as I understand it only the males. The original number of families is undetermined, so that actually it would not be unreasonable for any male in the community to suggest that he had a share in the claim, but people marrying into the families do not get a share. With the lack of will-making and the pattern of inheritance that was discussed earlier in connection with individual land grants consider the confusion that must surround the ownership of this one. It is now really communal, so that anyone can go in and bring out logs <u>if</u> he has the equipment. The situation has become much like that with fishermen; one gets a bigger catch than another but there is no animosity, at least outwardly. The necessity for the proper equipment means, of course, that only a few men, namely the "big" men in the community are able to take advantage of the opportunity. Twenty years ago, there was a good stand of timber on this property, but some of the settlement people who lacked equipment to bring out logs but who were determined not to be outdone, cut logs themselves and sold them to residents of Lower Hammond's Plains. While the Lower settlement residents do not actually cut the timber nor

infringe upon the rights of those in the Upper settlement, they did use their equipment to bring the logs out. Needless to say, this caused a great deal of ill feeling between the Upper Hammond's Plains people themselves, but especially so when the historical development which gave this timber its importance is considered. Before coopering became known to the community, importance was placed upon clearing the land for agriculture. At this time, people in the Lower settlement hired the Negroes to clear their land at extremely low wages. The Negroes claim that coopering developed in the Upper settlement and the knowledge was passed on to Lower Settlement people (it should be explained here that considerable coopering is done in Lower Hammond's Plains). Before long, Lower settlement people began to get the main portion of the coopering business from Halifax, and they set about developing a policy whereby they gave orders for barrels to the Negroes when they could not handle it all themselves and thus made a profit on the labour of the coloured men. White mills were built in Pock Wock, but I do not know how this land came into white hands or where much of the lumber comes from to feed the mills. In any event, there is not much good timber left on the Melvin Grant today due to the indiscreet cutting and selling that has gone on not only by those who have a right to do so, but also by those without one. For the most part, trees have been cut indiscriminately and the timber sold for next to nothing. Mr. Anderson calls the men who do this "wood slayers" and the thought that the money has been used merely to live on and not invest is intolerable to him. The whole affair has caused the coloured people a great deal of money and trouble and certain people in Lower Hammond's Plains have again reaped the profit. However, the land was surveyed about fifteen years ago, so that the boundaries are known and the deeds are available in order to prevent any actual infringement by outsiders.

There is another piece of land, about seven or eight hundred acres in size, called Lunn's and Sheffer's* property. There is not so much confusion about this tract since it is owned by about nine men only. In addition there is a good stand of spruce on it whereas the Melvin

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*not certain of this spelling

Grant has been cut almost bare. Recent activities on this land have produced some real conflict; in the first place, an Upper settlement man named Jones who has no claim on the land whatever has been cutting timber from it and selling the logs in the Lower settlement. This man was also the main offender on the Melvin Grant where he likewise had no claim. He is not very popular in Upper Hammond's Plains. In the second place, the Haverstocks from Lower Hammond's Plains, who own the big mills in Pock Wock, have actually been cutting on the Lunn's and Sheffer's property, and they have been stopped by the Upper settlement men who own it. Thus it is plain to see that all the land with a timber potential, owned by Upper settlement people, is in danger now that timber vital to the coopering industry is becoming scarcer. The majority of Negroes do not recognize this; they look to Halifax as the best area for future employment and neglect even their own tracts of land. Even if they understand the possibility of the Melvin Grant, they have no way of bringing out lumber themselves, and if they follow the Jones pattern they are bound to meet with violent disapproval. And then it must not be forgotten that a good many of them are uncertain of the boundaries of their own land or of their right to it, not to mention the Melvin Grant. There are a few very good reasons why any strong reaction to white infringement or counter measures against it might not have complete support. For example many Negroes have considerable accounts outstanding at the main store, which is operated by a white man. This represents an element of control by the white community, for if the storekeeper were to demand immediate payment, it might present some real problems for the unskilled labourer trying to maintain a family of small children. Then again, there are no large trucks in Upper Hammond's Plains; the trucking of barrels to Halifax is done by the people from the Lower settlement. If the Negroes create a conflict, it is quite possible that the whites might refuse to make their trucks available and thereby make it extremely difficult for the Negroes to get their barrels to market.

All in all, this is quite a complicated situation, but in the light of these facts it is not difficult to see why there are strained relationships between Upper and Lower Hammond's Plains and to see how

the economic factors in the case play such an important part ultimately in those relations. For some time, the Adult Education Division of the Department of Education has been trying to interest the coloured people in reforestation plans but there has been considerable difficulty in getting co-operation from everyone involved, and it is not to be wondered at. Last year, several men expressed an interest in the care and reforestation of a large woodlot and to the best of my knowledge, about five hundred young trees were planted. The interested men felt that the whole community would benefit from their labour, and in order to insure this the Adult Education Division is trying to suggest the formation of a Credit Union or Co-operative as an organizational base, so far without success.

Aside from the tensions between whites and coloured around this whole problem, there must be some strained relationships between the Negroes themselves, not only in terms of how profits from the Melvin Grant are to be shared and who brings out the lumber but also because of the confusion about inheritance and ownership in the settlement. On this point, the behaviour of Mr. and Mrs. Symonds is worth consideration; there were few others that I was able to observe as closely. To begin with, the land that the Symonds family now occupies was owned previously by an old woman who was cared for by Mr. Symonds until her death. Whether or not she willed the land to him legally is not known to me, but at best his connection with the community would not involve a large amount of status. And yet of the men who expressed an interest in reforestation, his name is found along with Mr. Anderson, Whiley and Marsman who represent the community's "big" men. Mr. Symonds is insecure in several areas; off guard, he wears a worried expression. A small man, fidgety and nervous, he frets about his family, is concerned about prejudice and the lack of opportunity for Negroes. He is also a Deacon of the church, a member of the Brotherhood and I believe he is also choir-leader. No doubt he considered the possibility that having a white (myself) stay at his home might increase his status. Both he and his wife, a large, cheerful woman, are members of the Adult Education class; Mrs. Symonds is Madame Chairman and one of those who

might look upon Adult Education in terms of its prestige value. In spite of his apparent interest in the settlement, Mr. Symonds prefers to work in Halifax as a plasterer's helper. He is a cooper by trade but coopering is too hard work for less money; he claims he will never go back to coopering. The ultimate aim of this couple is to have a "piggery" in their old age; they both recognize the value of education and want their two youngest sons to continue to Grade 10 at least. There is little doubt in my mind that they understand the implications, for them, of the Melvin Grant, although they never mentioned it once. There is also land in Upper Hammond's Plains owned by an older brother of Mr. Symonds who now lives in Halifax; it appears as though Mr. Symonds, as a younger brother, lost out on any inheritance within his own family.

Another possible evidence of insecurity among Negro settlement people is the great amount of complaining that is done about ill health, real or imagined. Mr. Evans of Preston had certain things he could eat, certain things he could and could not do and had a variety of medicines for stomach trouble and the like. Before bed-time, he insisted that I drink a glass of what seemed to be bitter, discoloured water. He claimed it was an herb mixture with a secret formula know only to an old Negro woman. He had been buying gallons of it from her for years and taking it nightly, with the result that he was in the best of condition. Complaints of headache, back-ache and the like were also frequent in the Symonds family; Charlie would not feel like working because his back was sore, or Mrs. Symonds had to lie down in the afternoon before she contracted a head-ache. All of these people work hard, and their illnesses may be real and justifiable, but these observations are worth mention in passing.

In Halifax itself, there is little open friction of any kind between whites and Negroes. In general, the attitudes of coloured people reveal that they are prepared for a slow assimilation and are willing to tolerate present inequalities in order to build a solid foundation of relationships with the majority group. They will raise objection, through the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, to serious cases of discrimination, but because of pride in their historical status they are really unwilling to put test cases to the test in most

instances. For example, if a barber refuses to cut a Negro's hair an issue might be made of the incident, but from then on other coloured men will not venture to the same shop. They know the restaurants that will accept them and these are the ones they patronize. This keeps the peace and maintains their status in their own eyes but does nothing to prove it to the community as a whole. The N.S.A.A.C.P. has its share of white patrons, and advancement must be made in conjunction with whites and in ways that are not offensive to them. At the same time, there are definite evidences of prejudice. Mrs. Upshaw recalls a coloured family that purchased a house in a residential area and met resistance in occupying it. She also feels that whites would raise real objections if Negroes tried to rent in better sections of the city, but "it does not matter because the coloured people could not afford the high rentals!" The line is drawn even after death; in fourteen years of funerals, Rev. Oliver has buried all coloured people in one section of Camp Hill Cemetery. There was once an exception when a Negro man was placed away at the rear of another cemetery, in a pauper's plot.

The white patrons of the N.S.A.A.C.P. are not active but they provide financial support for legal actions and the like. They did so in connection with the case of the coloured girl who caused a disturbance and refused to sit in the balcony of a New Glasgow theatre. It was difficult for Nova Scotians to live down the wide, adverse publicity from this incident. The struggle for social status on the part of the Negroes was evident at a banquet of the N.S.A.A.C.P. which I attended. Dress, manners, behaviour, language and gestures were all lifted from the book of etiquette, but they were not forced. Throughout the meal, which consisted of four courses, one man waxed eloquently on Negro history for my benefit, concluding with the observation that the coloured people in Nova Scotia were "all partners, poor but proud, all for one and one for all". This man also told a story which seems to me indicative of the Association's subtle approach to the racial problem; the story is as follows:

> A man from Upper Hammond's Plains was standing on a Halifax street corner one day, when he was approached

by another man of colour. He knew the latter did not belong to any of the nearby settlements for he did not know his name.

"How me get Maynard St.?" asked the stranger, in such jumbled language that the Plains man could not understand him.

"Go away, go away," replied the Plains man, obviously embarrassed and confused.

"Me African, how get Maynard St.?" persisted the stranger.

"Go on back to Africa, man," replied the other in exasperation, "We don't allow foreigners around here".

To try to impress upon people who feel generally that they are liberal and unprejudiced that injustices do exist, and that Negroes are worthy of equal status and opportunity, is a big task. But it is the task which lies ahead of the N.S.A.A.C.P.

If any doubt still remains as to the fact that prejudice does exist against the Negroes in Nova Scotia, the following letter written by a coloured girl to Rev. Oliver should eliminate it:

Dear Mr. Oliver:

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

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

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

Yours truly,

It is my own contention that economic factors, the like of which are found in the above letter, are of prime importance in determining the kinds of relationships that will develop between racial or cultural groups. Rev. Oliver feels that much of racial discrimination arises from fear and is both economic and social, but in his writing the economic factors are given first consideration*:

It is the business of us all to preserve our own

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* From his paper on "The Cultural Progress of the Negro in Nova Scotia".

> lives and to reproduce new life and it is when one group threatens the efforts of another, in these basic things, that friction arises and the majority group begins to suppress the minority. Thus, as long as Negro men marry Negro women and do not threaten the economic security of whites, or still further do not attempt to storm the subtle barriers of self-preservation, there will be no trouble in Nova Scotia.

As a final point on Negro-white relationships, mention should be made of the high esteem in which coloured people in Nova Scotia hold the province of Prince Edward Island. Probably only a small percentage of the Negro group has ever visited the island, but several informants remarked on the lack of prejudice and the liberal attitudes of people there*. I am told also that the province is predominantly Roman Catholic; if true, this fact is of extreme interest to me in the light of other minority group studies which have seemed to indicate a connection between religion and the extent of assimilation. Attitudes towards people of colour in France are one example; the Metis civilization which developed for a time in the Canadian west is another. Certainly any further study of Negroes in the Maritimes should include an investigation into the Prince Edward Island situation and perhaps a comparison with the circumstances in Nova Scotia. Possibly this is a good time to consider briefly the differences between Afro-Canadians and West-Indian Negroes in the province also. It may be recalled that the majority of Negroes from the West Indies came to Nova Scotia around 1912 to work in the Sydney mines; the main concentrations are still in that area. Afro-Canadians maintain that the West Indians are usually in a better financial position than themselves but are not on as high a level morally. They also say that West Indians do not want to assimilate with whites and even look down upon coloured people who are native to the province. No evidence to support or reject these claims can be provided here, except to say that this follows the pattern between the two groups in the United States, but a further study comparing the one with the other in Nova Scotia might provide enlightening information. Why should the West Indians have a higher standard of living and how, if atall, does their relationship to whites differ from the Negro-white

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*Prominent among these were Mr. Evans of Preston and Mr. Oliver.

relationships that have been discussed here? I understand that a study of this group was being carried on at the time that my own field work was in progress, but further information about it was unobtainable.

The casual conversations and secondary interests of the people in Upper Hammond's Plains signify a wide variety of beliefs and aspirations. Here are some statements gleaned from the talk of older women:

> Buzzing bees in the house mean visitors.
>
> A dog howling means a death.
>
> In case of bee sting, rub the spot with the bottom side of a rock and put the rock back the same way as you found it.

If challenged, the women will insist that these suggestions are sound in practise. In Lucasville, the women believe in the theory that rain sweetens clothes, and they purposely put the clothes out in it. From young to old, everyone likes to talk or to listen to a story; two young men were in conversation about cars one evening, wagering on how fast certain cars would go and so on. One statement would build upon another until they moved out of the realm of reason; both knew this, but they thoroughly enjoyed the talk as they might a game. In the Symonds family, the parents and Charlie all have scrap-books. Mr. Symonds' scrap-book contains pictures that interest him, from ships to singers. Mrs. Symonds' has one that features social announcements and functions. The highlights in Charlie's scrap-book are those showing the accomplishments of coloured young people; there are many pictures on sports, especially prize fighters from Joe Louis to local men. Daily problems for settlement people are hard and practical, and it seems only natural that they find amusement in wishful thinking in various forms, exaggerated talk and interesting anecdotes. Many of the superstitions probably arise in conjunction with old practises that are still employed. The backwardness of the community is evident in the fact that doctors at childbirth were unknown twenty-five years ago; midwives always presided over births. Today most of the women go to the hospital in Halifax to have children. In the old days, people generally remained healthy on herb medicine and without the aid of doctors.

Radios have done much to relieve monotony; the most popular programs range from soap operas and murder dramas to hillbilly music. In the

Symonds' home the radio played almost constantly but this is not necessarily the case with the people as a whole. Unique colour schemes are often used in homes. In one which I visited, the lady of the house was busily painting the kitchen bright blue with a white trim. Apparently settlement people are not inclined to subscribe to magazines although they will buy individual issues which catch their fancy and they will always purchase those published by Negroes for Negroes. On the other hand they are very susceptible to salesmen, and all types of agents canvass the community selling articles from medicine to washing machines. One day Mr. Symonds brought a book-seller home to dinner. The man claimed to be a world traveller and actually was part Hindu. In the evening he canvassed the community, sponsored by Mr. Symonds, and sold two sets of books; a set consisted of three, two religious and one cook book, and the price per set was $35.00 cash. Almost all agents offer easy payment plans on larger commodities and it seems that the people will readily buy articles "on time". For example, Leo Symonds bought a trumpet at a total cost of $125.00, but he paid $15.00 down and will make payments of $2.00 a month until the instrument is paid for.

In both urban and rural areas the people do not retire early in spite of the fact that they might have to be up with the dawn to face a day of heavy work. Time is forgotten when anything of interest is taking place. A number of the men find additional interests in lodges and the like. A kind of prestige attached to membership in organizations like this is expressed by Mr. Upshaw of Halifax, who belongs to both the Oddfellows and Freemasons. A big convention which brought people all the way from Los Angeles was very impressive in his estimation. His other comments include "the king sends an invitation", "something to be in", "nothing to be ashamed of", "all brothers -- treated well", and "when you're travelling, you know you have a friend". The last statement implies some apprehension about the kind of treatment that Negroes away from home might receive because of their skin colour. Skin colours, incidentally, range from very light to dark, but there was no evidence that any one particular colour was preferred over another by Afro-Canadians.

Reactions to my presence in the various settlements varied with

different age groups. The older people were mainly concerned with being polite and with leaving a good impression, particularly if the meetings were only occasional. Younger people seemed mostly concerned about whether or not I was enjoying myself and having a good time, especially at the dance. One of the main tasks was to prod beneath the outward layers of social behaviour whenever possible, especially in the areas of neighbourliness, morality and delinquency. This was not easily done at the best of times but was most difficult before they had become accustomed to having me around. In Upper Hammond's Plains, friendly relations between the people are very noticeable, but at the same time cooperage shops, mills and other buildings are always kept locked when not in use and the same applies to homes when the occupants are absent. On one occasion Mrs. Symonds returned to the house to put the family kitten inside under lock and key; she was afraid it would be stolen while she was away. It is my opinion that breaches of conduct are handled and settled by the residents themselves whenever possible, and the absence of a police force in most areas is not necessarily an indication that there is no need for one. Judge E. Hudson of the Halifax Juvenile Court estimates roughly that in a year six out of three hundred children that come before him in Court are coloured; most of these are from one particular family group in Africville. However, I do not take this to be any indication of the amount of delinquency in the rural settlements nor even of the urban areas. There seems to be a concerted effort by the Negro group to hide anti-social behaviour of any kind. This might well be due to the possible racial stigma that might be involved. This assumption is not made completely without foundation. Shortly after my arrival in Preston, Mr. Evans became engaged in conversation with two other people about what appeared to be some kind of disturbance in the New Road settlement on the previous evening. I tried unsuccessfully to get further information from Mr. Evans about this.

The dance in Lucasville offered a real opportunity to observe the behaviour of young people in a fairly inconspicuous way. My whiteness was forgotten along with the disappearance of the stiltedness which always graces the beginning of a dance. Perhaps a straight excerpt

from my field notes will best serve to highlight the essential factors:

> The dance was held to raise money for lights in the school. Two brothers there had big cars (saved their money, said Charlie). Dancing mostly jitterbug (four or five to one). Cigarettes, chocolate bars, hot dogs and soft drinks were sold. Music provided by two electric guitars. About three drunks, and several others had been drinking. Chris Oliver (from Lucasville) tried to get chummy with me by offering drinks. Two minor fights through the evening. Lots of children there -- doorman was an older man. People very friendly and concerned that I have a good time. Danced. They danced hard and steadily until 1:30 a.m. Dance ended with fight in hall; looked as if it might become a free-for-all (Lucasville vs. Upper Hammond Plains). Someone caused confusion by turning out lights. Fighting happens fairly often, it seems, but not the actual pattern. Through the evening heard fair amount of profanity -- girls as well as fellows. Met some Hammond's Plains girls who work in Halifax. They are very worldly wise. No signs or proof of immorality, but talk of it. Drunkards displayed bottles in open on dance floor -- much tomfoolery. These people really get excited about music. Noted odd dialogue -- often could not understand them, e.g. they say "pawst , fawst, nawth and heah". Girls often tried to intervene in fights. Men used fists but saw one knife displayed by young fellow, I would think more as an impressionistic or sensationalist gesture. He was well away from fracas, and was <u>reprimanded</u> by older girl.

People at the dance ranged in age from ten to forty years, with a big majority between twenty and thirty. One woman suggested to me that it was not the custom for dances to end in fights. On the way back to Upper Hammond's Plains, the boys eagerly and enthusiastically reviewed the details of the skirmish, but the subject was never raised in the presence of the older people. If nothing else, this shows that the behaviour patterns of young adults in the settlement are considerably different with and without the presence of authority.

The young adults are not the only ones who give reason to suspect that behaviour always complies with the suggested pattern. It was not long before Mrs. Upshaw of Halifax began to smoke in my presence and Rev. Oliver did so constantly, although not in front of the others. Apparently Mrs. Upshaw, as the wife of a deacon, would meet with disapproval if she smoked in public; Mrs. Upshaw's comment is "what the deacons don't know won't hurt them". It also came to my attention that many of the Lucasville women smoke although few did so in front

of me. In Africville, the people gather scraps of coal and wood from the railway tracks and even from the cars if necessary, but it seems that this is not considered unlawful or sinful.

On the subject of morality, there is reason to suspect considerable deviation from accepted standards. Judge Hudson of Halifax believes there is no more illegitimacy in coloured communities than there is in white. Out of 150 neglected children last year, 50 to 75 were illegitimate, and there were only one or two Negroes in this group. In Montreal, the juvenile morality squad claims that immorality is higher in low Anglo-Saxon and French economic areas than in the coloured areas. The Negro illegitimates in Judge Hudson's figures, in proportion to the percentage of Negroes in the total population, would not be out of the way. At the same time, there is reason to suspect that the high degree of integration in Negro settlement families, plus their desire to avoid publicity that whites might use against them, might enable and encourage them to hold as many illegitimates as possible within their own group. This would not be at all difficult for new family relationships are easily established; as an example, Mr. Bundy of Cherry Brook, a widower with a family of seven, married a widow with a family of six, and they all live happily together as if the group had been an original family unit. This assumption will have to be proven, but there are too many grandmothers collecting family allowances for it to be lightly discarded. It has already been noted that several youngsters at the Nova Scotia Home for Coloured Children were quite light in colour, which would indicate a degree of miscegenation and possibly label them as illegitimate. There are few mixed marriages. Old Mrs. Johnson cannot recall any unions of this kind within her experience. Mrs. Upshaw can think of two such cases and observes that there were criticisms by whites on their account. She also knows of some white girls and coloured men who are living together. At one house in Preston where there are a number of children in the family, I noted two that were quite light in colour and one which was almost certainly Afro-Chinese. Then again, Mrs. Symonds confesses that her only daughter strayed from the straight and narrow and is now "separated from her husband". It is doubtful that the six year old boy in the

~~in the~~ Symonds' home is really the youngest son but so it is claimed.

From one informant* comes sufficient information to justify these suspisions in conjunction with morality. According to him, a good many of the girls in all communities experience motherhood by the age of fourteen; this accounts for the many grandmothers who are raising children and for the odd family relationships that exist in a good many families. And if many become mothers at fourteen, it possibly means that premarital sexual relationships are fairly wide-spread. Beechville and the New Road settlement are perhaps worst but Upper Hammond's Plains, Lucasville and Africville are not far behind. In Lucasville I could hear young people shouting outside as late as eleven p.m. It would appear that fewer illegitimate children in Africville and Halifax are due to a greater knowledge about birth control on the part of the girls; my informant feels this to be true also of Upper Hammond's Plains. On the whole, the girls are more worldly wise than the boys; one boy, when confronted with the fact that he was a prospective father, said "I did not know that was how babies are made".

Adultery is not uncommon either, although it would be difficult to measure. In Upper Hammond's Plains a younger brother of Mr. Symonds, who has a grown son and daughter, is estranged from his wife and living with another woman. He was with her at the dance and in an advanced stage of inebriation, which to some might seem to be conduct unbecoming the brother of a deacon. Basil, a brother of Charlie Symonds, also accompanied us to the dance while his wife remained at home. Common-law marriages are known but not too common. Religious marital ceremonies are encouraged by the church but "marriage vows don't mean very much". From a socially scientific point of view, a high degree of amoral sexual behaviour on the part of these people is not surprising in view of their economic and social circumstances. But a great deal of further study along these lines will be necessary before any definite statements can be made in this regard. Much more field work and observation would be required in order to gauge adequately behaviour involving self-expression or the outward manifestation of insecurities. Leading relatively simple

*Rev. Oliver, whom I really pinned down on this issue towards the end of my stay.

and sometimes monotonous lives, especially in the rural settlements, the Negroes of Halifax County show a tendency towards spontaneous emotionalism. At the dance everyone felt the rythym of the music. The dancers varied in their ability but there were few who did not hold to the rythym at least. During most of the evening younger boys would dance by themselves at the edge of the floor, slapping their knees to keep time, shaking their heads and executing simple but rythymic steps like the Charleston. Curiously enough, any church singing that I heard seemed to lack this kind of emotional content and would never have supported the popular conception that coloured people are all musically inclined. However, I had occasion to visit with the family of the famous Portia White in Halifax. They were rehearsing for a coming radio program and they sang the old Negro songs beautifully and expressively. The White's are "culturally" superior to most Haligonian Negroes but it is doubtful if they are superior financially. Mrs. White has remarried since her husband's death several years ago, and her children are all full-grown and well-educated. Apparently sacrifices have been made so that the children might obtain educational advantages. Whereas the majority of coloured people in the province would regard successful completion of Grade X a good education, the term would imply university training to the White's. Whereas Mr. Evans of Preston is a good example of economic success among the coloured people, the White's are a like example of cultural success.

With most minority groups, dress is often used as a medium of self-expression, but this does not seem to be the case with the coloured people in these communities. Again referring to the dance, most of the girls were wearing dresses with the "new look" and the fellows wore anything from suits to overalls or their work clothes. At a church rehearsal in Upper Hammond's Plains, many of the clothes worn by older women would be considered old-fashioned, while those younger were wearing clothes that were simple, plain and neat. In general, there is no great showiness in clothes in any area and even in Halifax no gaudy suits, long watch chains or broad-brimmed hats. The people in Africville dress well when they are leaving the community but this may

be a compensation of some kind.

Church services provide another outlet for emotionalism. It is my understanding that the most emotional services are held in Africville and the least emotional at Cornwallis Street, with the rural settlements falling in between. If this is true, it is another point in favour of the selection of Africville as the main area of social unrest and disorganization.

There is little in the general behaviour of these people to indicate apathy or lack of interest in the world about them. On the contrary, they seem anxious to learn about new things and to talk on subjects with which they are familiar. With the exception of Africville, there is a general attempt in all settlements to improve the appearance and facilities of homes, in spite of the fact that there is not much interest in the land. Basic abilities are there also; most of the women are exceptionally capable at sewing and dressmaking. In the mills, motors, saws and the like, with their several gears and mechanisms, demand a basic knowledge of mechanics. Mill work and coopering both require skill and the use of sound judgment, but it is odd that not many people have hobbies. If future opportunities depended upon their natural abilities and interests, there are many who would use them to advantage. But if present indications are at all valid, this will not be the case to any great extent.

SOCIAL CHANGE
and
AREAS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Since a preliminary investigation of this kind covers a broad general field and is mainly descriptive, the phase which becomes most interesting to the student sociologist is that of social change. The first part of this section is designed to draw together those elements in this area that may or may not have come to light in previous sections, and that are considered most important in the study. The first of these is the trend from a rural to an urban way of life, a development which is not confined to the coloured population. Within the Negro group itself, the number of vacant houses in rural settlements, coupled with the housing shortage in areas like Halifax, are sufficient in themselves to make the situation apparent. At the same time, there is a reciprocal process among Afro-Canadians that should be given consideration. A fair number of young men are returning to the rural settlements to build homes; this may be due to their inability to find housing accommodation in Halifax proper, since they do work in the city, but it may give rise to a totally new set of behaviour patterns and status relationships in the rural areas. The New Road settlement is probably the best example of this trend.

Closely connected with this is the interesting question of population movements among coloured people. The picture here seems to be as follows: an ever-increasing flow of young people from the rural settlements to Halifax, consisting of young girls leaving to work in white homes and young men seeking steady employment at wages that will enable them to marry and create homes of their own. For the most part, it appears that those stopping in Africville do not long remain, but continue on to such metropolitan areas as Montreal, Toronto, Boston and New York. Africville has been referred to previously as a "suspension" community; in support of this, it is worth noting the differences between Africville and other rural or urban Negro areas from the viewpoint of the care and beautification of homes. In all except Africville, there are generally attempts to improve the condition and appearance of dwellings;

a fact which would once again indicate the high degree of instability in Africville. Professor Potter confirms the suspicion that a great many of the Negroes in Montreal moved there from the Maritimes. Almost any Negro family in Nova Scotia has relatives or friends now living in at least one of the urban areas mentioned. Those Afro-Canadians who do not go beyond Halifax can be divided into two main sections; the ones who take jobs in Halifax and live in the city proper (seemingly the ones fortunate enough to possess or acquire skills) and those who find jobs in the city and continue to live in rural settlements close by, or ultimately return to the latter to build homes for their own families. It appears that the big majority of those who continue to reside in the rural sections are unskilled labourers, and one of the reasons for this may be the lower financial requirements for building homes or raising families there. At this stage, practically all of the young girls leave the rural settlements, at least temporarily, and the number of young men who are leaving is on the increase. If anything, this will probably help boy-girl relationships because the members of both sexes will then be exposed to urban influences. The importance here is found in increased marriage compatibility, and its effects can be seen in a settlement like New Road. The general behaviour and family pattern of a young couple in New Road may not be too different from that of a young couple in Upper Hammond's Plains, but over-all community behaviour shows the contrast. Upper Hammond's Plains is still under the supervision of older people; the New Road settlement is also given guidance, but control is in the hands of younger family groups.

Also within this general trend, the movement away from the land should be noted. All of my aged informants, especially in the Plains, see great changes over the past half-century. When Mrs. Johnson was a girl, everybody coopered in the Plains; Friday nights were noisy with the sounds of people loading barrels for transportation to market in Halifax on the following morning, but such activity has disappeared. The decline in coopering may be due to the increasing urban interests of young people, but also perhaps to the new methods devised for the shipment of fish, with the advent of speedier delivery, cold storage and the like. Technological developments in the making of barrels by whites, too,

have probably taken much of the trade. In any event, changes in this respect are great and rapid; the relative insecurity of employment for a young cooper, plus his lack of opportunity to marry and establish his own family (by inheritance or otherwise) in a rural community*, seems to justify the present trend.

At the other end of the employment scene there is the problem of low wages for unskilled labourers and the increasing Afro-Canadian "proletariat". It has been pointed out that while many coloured Haligonians are purchasing homes, the transactions involve dwellings in low economic areas and in regions of the city which are about to become commercial or industrial districts. The same development is evident in Montreal** This may be due to actual discrimination but low incomes may also be responsible. According to Professor Potter, the incomes of coloured people in Montreal are very low, so that they "really can't live normally". Social institutions are bound to be affected, and there are few who can hope to buy or even rent homes in better districts. Nor is the trend towards unskilled labour confined to the rural settlements; the decline in trades within Halifax itself has also been mentioned. Thus from all sides, indications are that Afro-Canadians are losing ground in the occupational sphere, and consequently in the economic sphere.

Closely allied to the other developments is that of the increasing concentration of coloured people, educationally, religiously, economically, socially and regionally. The trend in Halifax towards an increasing collection of Negroes in the low economic areas is duplicated in Montreal. In connection with churches and schools, it has been noted that the Negroes themselves are largely responsible for the segregation. Actually, it sprouts from a philosophy that proceeds in a circle, which might be put into words as follows, "Let us set up our own institutions to prove that we are capable of self-government and self-improvement. When this has been revealed to whites, they will accept us into their circles on an equal basis". So far it has not worked out, and the evidence of discrimination in the Maroon Hill settlement seems to indicate

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* Note the similarity to the situation in French Canada, as outlined by Miner in "St. Denis".
** Information from an interview with Prof. Potter.

that this trend will be more likely to produce attitudes of anti-assimilation. Those who believe that a progressive and inevitable process of assimilation takes place when two cultural groups live side by side would not find support for their views in Nova Scotia.

With changes underway in so many areas of life, it seems almost inevitable that the attitudes and values of Nova Scotian Negroes will alter considerably, and there is evidence to show that such is the case. Increasing formal education coupled with broader outlooks as more young Afro-Canadians become exposed to urban influences will produce a new set of behaviour patterns and an approach to life that will be markedly different from that of two generations past. Much of the material in this study has revealed, among other things, some real discrepancies between what is valued as desirable behaviour and what constitutes the actual behaviour patterns of the majority. It may be that the discrepancies arise because of the desire to reflect, outwardly at least, what would be considered "good behaviour" and in keeping with their history in the province; this is the kind of influence which the N.S.A.A.C.P. tries to exert. But at the same time, one wonders whether much of this is not just a more or less normal "lag" of behaviour ideology behind behaviour patterns that are changing. Slackening family ties have brought about an increasing independence on the part of younger coloured people, together with a more straight-forward approach to their relationships with whites. But while they seem to expect less in the way of "benevolent paternalism" from whites, they remain friendly in the face of inequalities on the basis of colour which they undoubtedly know exist. There was more evidence of antagonism on the part of Mr. Anderson and Mr. Evans, two men of the "old school", possibly because of their longer experience and broader understanding* than from any of the younger group. Even so, it would be difficult to hazard a guess as to the relationships that might develop in the event of severe economic tensions, such

*The term "broader understanding" is used here ~~as used here~~ in terms of their relationships with whites and is not meant to mean, as with the younger group, a wider general knowledge of life under urban as well as rural conditions.

as might be produced by a depression or a dearth of jobs requiring unskilled labour. In this connection, two quotations from Rev. Oliver's paper are worthy of note: "Negro philosophy has been changing; for 135 years he has more or less followed the idea that there were only certain things in the local life that he could expect, but today with more education and encouragement from white leaders, he is beginning to see the fallacy of this idea." Referring to the search by young Afro-Canadians for expanding opportunities, the following statement is made: "This is no wild movement filled with emotion and kindled by agitation, but purely the natural phenomena of the cultural development of any people."

Any consideration of areas for further study must involve, in the first instance, a collection of additional data to further verify or negate the generalities made in this study. If this should ever be done, a good starting point would be Lower Hammond's Plains, the white community adjacent to the Upper Hammond's Plains settlement. All of the information I was able to gather about the difficult relationships between these two communities was from coloured people, although the problem was discussed with several whites away from either of the settlements. Consequently, the review of the relationships outlined in this paper are one-sided, and any substantiation of claims would have to involve much more information from people in the lower settlement. It might even be profitable to do an intensive study of both Upper and Lower Hammond's Plains together, beginning with one or more of several hypotheses which come to mind. For example, one might begin with the assumption that the prejudice between these two racial groups stems from economic factors, specifically the whole area of coopering. Then again, the initial hypothesis might be one indicating a connection of the poor relationships with social class. An investigation of historical background in general might also be productive, or even a synthesis of all these suggestions. In any event, it is my feeling that this situation might be used to develop some new insights into the causes of prejudice. Since both of the communities are strongly Baptist in religious affiliation, this field might also be worth investigation, for it would appear that denominational similarities are not helping the situation and may

even be hindering it.

If the period for field work had been longer this time, the question of morality and delinquency would have received a great deal more attention. There is little doubt that church activities serve as the main media for social interaction in all of the Negro settlements, and yet it appears that a surprisingly small number of people are actively connected with the church. If much of the support which the church receives is merely nominal, what are the factors that make for social control and how effective are they? To all appearances, here is a community in which the church has, for over a hundred years, shared responsibility for social control with no other institution aside from the family. In the face of present limited evidence, the only alteration in this situation in recent years that might possibly affect it is the weakening of the family structure. If so, the obvious assumption is that the family and not the church has been the effective medium for social control. Now that family solidarity is disintegrating, the relative ineffectiveness of the church is becoming apparent. For that matter, wherever religion has appeared in this investigation of relationships between Upper and Lower Hammond's Plains, it has done so in an unfavourable light. A further, more intensive investigation of this phase of the study would probably receive support from progressive Negro churchmen like Rev. W. Oliver, and might be beneficial to the Negro communities in any consideration of a more positive approach to their subtle struggle for equality of opportunity. As for morality and delinquency as such, this research has done little more than place a question mark on those standards which receive rather glib acceptance at present. Further information in these areas will be extremely difficult to accumulate; birth and marriage records, family allowance dispensations, school rosters, court listings and the like could be used to advantage in an extension study.

In many ways, it is unfortunate that a larger amount of time could not have been spent in Lucasville. With its seemingly higher standard of living, better homes, cars and land, its somewhat different bahaviour patterns and relationships between family members, this settlement is impressive because of its dissimilarity. The reactions of the two older

men here with whom I had interviews were not positive like those of many older Plains and Preston men; all indications are that in Lucasville, the oldsters who still work the land do not have much status. Church membership is very low, and here is the one settlement I encountered in which there were not enough interested men to form a Men's Brotherhood in the church. The younger people, on the other hand, are imbued with big ideas and do not seem to lack for cars, clothes and worldly interest. At the same time, some of the Negro leaders in Halifax seem to regard Lucasville as their "summer resort" and own homes in the settlement. How this community fits into the general pattern is uncertain, but it would be my feeling that its role is unique enough to merit further investigation.

If there is even a remote possibility of any kind of open conflict between Negroes and whites in Halifax County within the next twenty-five years, it is likely to happen in Halifax proper. When all the developments that are taking place here are considered together, they tend to suggest that a clash is not altogether out of the question. For instance, Halifax can expect a steady influx of coloured people from the settlements, and this should increase the Negro population even though many will move on to larger cities. If there is as much decline in Negro business and skilled jobs in the next twenty-five years as there was in the last, the large majority of Haligonian Negroes may be unskilled labourers. City officials are presently working on plans for the extension of commercial and industrial areas; it appears that these will leave the coloured people in even more difficult circumstances with regard to housing and slum environment than those indicated in an earlier section. The growing "cosmopolitanism" of Negroes in Halifax County must also be considered, and the new attitudes towards life and awareness of its potentialities, which it is claimed by Rev. Oliver that these people possess, may not bring a meek and mild reaction to such possible injustices as unfair labour practices and the like. There is a rough analogy in this situation with trends in South Africa in recent years.* All of these things must be examined,

*See "Cry, the Beloved Country" - Alan Paton, Scribner's Sons, New York, 1948.

keeping in mind the fact that this "peninsula" city may shortly be reshifting its economic emphasis and becoming primarily an industrial metropolis instead of an ocean-going port. In terms of immediate need for racial understanding, perhaps this area should receive prior attention.

In previous pages it has been noted that Nova Scotian Negroes who have visited Prince Edward Island have nothing but the highest words of praise for the liberal attitudes which they claim to have found there. It would be interesting to discover whether or not these impressions of the island province are justified. And if they are, what are the variables that make for greater freedom and better relationships than in Nova Scotia? In addition, are there any Negroes living in Prince Edward Island, and if the region is as pleasant for people of colour as it is made out to be, why are there not more of them living there? Once again, a lack of time prevented even a short trip to the Island for a quick investigation, but it would be worth checking in future.

However basic and elementary this investigation has been, it has led to several potential research opportunities which might prove interesting when subjected to a more isolated and intensive study. For example, the whole area of minority group population movements in Eastern Canada should include an investigation of Nova Scotian Negroes. The statistics on page 11 show the loss of over 1,000 coloured people to the province at the turn of the century; indeed this loss is not regained until 1931. Since the birth rate has been higher than the death rate, what happened to these people? Where do these coloured people go and why do they go?

Another project that might prove enlightening is a comparative study outlining major similarities and differences between coloured people in Nova Scotia with a North American cultural background and those of West Indian stock. Some work along this line has been done in the Unites States.* A further study could easily develop out of this, when the question arises as to why differences between the two groups should exist (since each grew out of an inferior status position). It would also be interesting to investigate the kinds of

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*The Negro Immigrant - I. D. Reid.

relationships that exist between whites and the West Indian element in Nova Scotia and to learn if and how they vary from those of whites and Afro-Canadians.

If the trend in Halifax County is towards expanding industrialization, and if the trend within the coloured group is towards an increasing "proletariat", what are the implications for future relationships between whites and Negroes? In the southern United States the advent of industry brought with it a large increase in middle-class population; it also saw this class eventually rise to power over the old southern aristocracy. Accompanying these changes, which are still in progress, came alterations in relationships between whites and coloureds. The traditional kindly paternalism which the Southern gentleman was accustomed to display towards the Negro began to be replaced by attitudes more akin to the race hatred characteristic of northern regions with large Negro concentrations. If coming generations of Afro-Canadians in Halifax County are discarding the benevolently paternalistic relationship with whites, as seems to be the case, what will replace it? So far, there are no signs of race hatred to my knowledge; I did not encounter one case of overt conflict between the two racial groups, even on a minor scale. What the next twenty-five years will have in store for these relationships in the light of changing behaviour patterns should be of real interest to the social scientist. And it is my feeling that sociological studies in the total field of contacts between racial and cultural groups, insofar as they investigate the factors that make for the kinds of relationships that develop, can be of great value not only to the advancement of the science of group behaviour, but also to a world increasingly in need of such information.

APPENDIX

ıe Appendix to this study (unattached) contains the following ıpplementary material:

The field notes.

Base maps for the settlements.

The constitution of the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People.

The Establishment of the Negroes in Nova Scotia - C. B. Fergusson - 1948.

The Social Development of the Negro in North America, a Pilot Study - C. R. Brookbank.