



## *For your reference: Timeline (1492–2000)*

*Due to widespread interest at home and abroad, and the seriousness of the question, we have comprehensively revised and enlarged our chronology recording the history of the Black Refugees and Black Loyalists who came to Nova Scotia in 1783-1815, as well as those of more recent immigrants. The aim of our historical map is to inform, to provide a tool for framing further questions and to assist all those seeking solutions for today and tomorrow. A key theme is the development of racism and the demand for the recognition of the rights of all. We have also aimed to put the Black Nova Scotian experience in a broad historical context, avoiding a narrow interpretation of Black history. In this edition we have brought forward more features of Mi'kmaq, Acadian, Scottish and Gaelic, Irish and British colonial history. Various national and world events are incorporated, events too often viewed as separate and disconnected. We therefore present this brief timeline of black Nova Scotians, those whose voices, in the words of George Elliott Clarke, are "tinged with salt-water and rum, gypsum dust and honey, anger and desire. They are voices which, despite their debt to West Africa, have also adopted the timbre of Elizabethan English, Mi'kmaq, Gaelic, and French – the other tongues of the 'Latin' country of Nova Scotia." —Isaac Saney and Tony Seed*

### *1498–1600s: The slave trade*

*1492 — Christoforo Colombo (Christopher Columbus), with three small ships, lands at the Canary Islands, Watling Islands and other islands in the neighbourhood. Colombo sights Cuba and eventually reached Hispaniola (the large island now shared by Haiti and the Dominican Republic) where he establishes headquarters. When finished, eight million Arawaks – virtually the entire native population of Hispaniola – are exterminated by torture, murder, forced labour, starvation, disease and despair. (David E. Stannard, *American Holocaust; Columbus and the Conquest of the New World*, 1992). More than 100 million natives fell under European rule. Their extermination would follow. As the natives die out, they are replaced by slaves brought from Africa.*

*Long before Colombo arrived on shores of the Americas, the First Nations had contacts with Europeans, such as those with the Norse in Newfoundland (circa 1000). Evidence indicates that Africans had already travelled to the Americas, and that the Mi'kmaq themselves had reached Europe and Africa.*

*1497 — Giovanni Caboto (John Cabot), lands in Newfoundland, on June 21 or 22, believing it to be an island off the coast of Asia, and names it by its present name. He also lands in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. He returns to England on August 6 and takes three Mi'kmaq natives with him, thereby introducing slavery into British North America. They may be responsible for his disappearance when he returns to Newfoundland with five ships in 1498. Caboto, sailing from Bristol, a port notorious for its strategic role in the slave trade, represents the trading, commercial and merchant shipping houses – such as Lloyds of London and Barclays Bank – that amassed their wealth from the slave trade. Only one ship returns to England. In 1500, Caspar de Corte-Real, a slave trader, captures several Mi'kmaq. His ship is lost at sea, although two of his ships did return to Portugal. By 1823 only 1800 Mi'kmaq remain from an estimated 20,000 in 1497.*

*1500–1800s — Repeated revolt of slaves in the West Indies. Resistance and rebellion to slavery is a constant feature, and played a crucial role in its eventual abolition.*

*1534 — "Arrival" of Jacques Cartier heralds the European invasion of the Maritimes and Quebec. Cartier takes native prisoners to France.*

*1588 — Defeat of the Spanish Armada off the coast of England. The American continent is open to all other European powers.*

*1600s — British free trade in human flesh begins. Economically, this initiates the Triangular Trade on the Atlantic Ocean – human merchandise, raw materials and manufactured goods – a trade that changes in form and shape over time, but whose substance is consistent.*

*Labour, in the form of kidnapped Africans, is transported – through the Middle Passage – to the colonial Americas. There, these slaves produce the sugar, molasses, rum, cotton, rice, silver, gold, tobacco, tar and timber which were taken to England. In England, these goods are traded for textiles, guns, iron, alcohol and other manufactured goods which are taken to Africa to exchange for slaves. This triangle generates tremendous profits and leads to capitalist development and the formation and consolidation of national states in Europe.*

*"In addition to building up a fleet for the carrying trade as well as for the support of the navy and to serving as a nursery for seamen it provided specie by which England and New England were able to build a money economy and a highly integrated trading and industrial community" (Harold Innis, Economic History of the Maritimes).*

*Another triangle involves trading rum and other cargo for dried cod, especially the poorer grades, from the Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and New England fisheries, as a cheap source of protein for the slave population (known as "salt fish"). By 1620, the cod fleet was 1,000 vessels making two voyages annually; by 1783, 1,500 ships. The expansion of the New England fishery is indicated in the capture of Louisbourg, Cape Breton in 1745, its penetration of Nova Scotia and the inevitable isolation of France.*

*The greatest number of slaves came from Western Africa, especially the Congo-Angola region. By 1870, when the commerce ended, some 15 million African men, women and children had been uprooted from their homes and taken to the Americas. The number who died enroute is an estimated 40 million people.*

*With the rise of the slave trade, a eurocentric outlook is developed. Eurocentrism is a specific manifestation of ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism is: "(1) the belief in the inherent superiority of one's own group and culture accompanied by a feeling of contempt for other groups and cultures; (2) a tendency to view alien groups or cultures in terms of one's own."*

*The eurocentric outlook looks down on all persons of African descent as subhuman, a people without history, destined for servitude. Before the European slave trade emerges, there exists no uniform or universal racist ideology.*

*Slavery is an ancient institution. For most of world history slavery is not a condition associated with skin colour. Ancient Greece and Rome were slave-owning states. The Irish are bought and sold as slaves in English markets in the Middle Ages. Indeed the first people bought and sold as slaves in the West Indies are Irish (Eric Williams, Capitalism and Slavery). But the biological concept of race – the division of human beings into "biological distinct categories" where phenological characteristics (especially skin colour) is an identifier – is a 19th century construct, developed to justify African bondage, and – later – with the growth of the modern*

state, both the colonial and imperial project. As a global historical phenomena – infecting all strata of society – racism also serves to target specific sections of people out for attack and to divert the struggles of working people into the cul-de-sac of chauvinism (bellicose defence of the nation). The object of attack also shifts, according to specific needs of the rulers of the day: Amerindians; Blacks; Acadians, Quebecois, even Newfoundlanders (who are white); East and West Indians; or, in the form of anti-semitism, Arabic and Jewish communities.

## 1605–1762: Slavery in Nova Scotia

1605 — Matthew da Costa, translator and guide with the de Monts expedition, is reportedly the first known Black man to set foot in Nova Scotia. Since he was hired as a guide, he must have travelled here and, as a translator for contact with the Native people, he must already have made contact and learnt Mi'kmaq – perhaps as a crew member with one of the Portuguese ships fishing cod each spring on the Grand Banks. What places him in the historical record was a fortuitous combination of skill and availability. Even in pre-British North America outside the Thirteen Colonies (early Acadia or New France), the principal introductory experience for Black Africans was chattel slavery (see 1689).

1607 — British arrive in Jamestown, Virginia. By 1610 the extermination of the Native population is well along, from Virginia northward, with even less tolerance for the indigenous peoples. "From the beginning, the Spaniards saw the native Americans as natural slaves, beasts of burden, part of the loot. When working them to death was more economical than treating them somewhat humanely, they worked them to death. The English, on the other hand, had no use for the native peoples. They saw them as devil worshippers, savages who were beyond salvation by the church, and exterminating them became accepted policy." (Hans Konig, *The Conquest of America*). George Washington compares them to wolves, "beasts of prey" and called for their total destruction.

1623 — King James I of England gives Acadia to Sir William Alexander who renames it New Scotland or Nova Scotia.

1632 — The Treaty of St.-Germaine-en-Laye restores the Maritimes and Quebec to France.

1689 — The colony of New France always suffered from a shortage of labour. By 1688 the French settlers conclude that the solution to the labour shortage lay in the importation of enslaved Africans. Official recognition and encouragement for slavery in Canada begins with Louis XIV. He issues a royal mandate, the Code Noir; promulgated in France it applies equally to its possessions in North America. This code stipulates that slaves would be understood in law as chattel, or personal household goods which belong to their masters. Though rarely mentioned, wealthy French officers and settlers in Fortress Louisbourg possessed slaves.

Slavery never becomes a large-scale institution, as there is no plantation system. The early Nova Scotian economy is based on trade, not production. The Maritime climate is not conducive to a plantation-based economy, with the cost of maintaining slaves (food and clothing) during wintertime being high. Many slaves are abandoned in winter, left to die of exposure and starvation.

In the spring, the owners would recapture and re-enslave those left alive. The differences between the two forms of slavery – chattel and plantation – are a matter of degree, not kind.

1712 — The Treaty of Utrecht ends the second great European war between England-Holland-Austria and France-Spain-Bavaria. Britain acquires Nova Scotia, the Hudson Bay Territory, Gibraltar and Minorca, and the monopoly of supplying Spanish America with slaves. Between 1680 and 1786 an average number of 20,000 slaves were shipped from Africa each year.

1745 — The Jacobite rebellion in Scotland – followed by the United Irish rebellion of 1798 – threatens the consolidation of the imperial British state. The uprising is defeated in the famous Battle of Culloden (16 April 1746) and followed by the terrible "great slaughter" – to use the Duke of Cumberland's words (son of King George II, nicknamed the "Butcher") – of thousands of Highland Scots, including women and children. Allan MacInnes describes the post-Culloden depredations, including a "scorched earth" policy extending to the destruction of Catholic meeting houses and episcopal chapels, the burning of cottages and the arrests of 3,000 prisoners, as "systematic state terrorism, characterized by a genocidal intent that verged on ethnic cleansing." The devastation and extreme suffering of the masses is in part due to the corruption of the Scottish lords, and the forced transition of the society in a few generations from the tribal to a bourgeois stage. Tribal courts of justice, tribal costume and even bagpipes are suppressed. Lackey chiefs are installed,

and chiefs are turned into landowner-lairds. Forced clearances of the crofters leads to 40,000 Highlanders emigrating to North America, along with Glasgow and the new industrial towns. Others are press ganged into British armies, such as that of General Wolfe which overran Canada in 1758-1760; chiefs are rewarded with military positions and land grants; a warrior caste is created, and recreated in the British North American colonies such as Nova Scotia. In Nova Scotia, suppression of the Gaelic language continued such that today it is spoken by less than 5,000 people.

1655-1738 — War between the British and the Jamaican Maroons (runaway slaves, from the Spanish "Cimarron"). As in Haiti, Cuba and other territories, the Maroons formed independent communities in the interior – known as the "cockpits." Their very existence is viewed as a threat to plantation slavery, and the British seek to re-establish their control over the escaped slave population (see 1796). (In Palmares, Brazil, the first independent Black state is established in 1695 by slaves).

## 1749: Establishment of Halifax

(June 21) On traditional Mi'kmaq camping grounds, led by Colonel Edward Cornwallis, fresh from ravaging the Scottish Highlands. The Board of Trade and Plantations brings 2,544 British settlers to Nova Scotia; this also begins the encroachment on the Acadian land following the English conquest of Fortress Louisbourg in 1745. The ranks of the founding population of Halifax include some 100 African slaves. One Bloss, a naval captain, maintains a staff of 16 slaves. Joshua Mauger (Mauger's Beach on McNab's Island), who reaped a fortune as a West Indian slave trader and victualler to His Majesty's fleet, "manned his ships with faithful blacks." The avaricious Mauger "conducted a busy slave trade (and) regularly sold Negro men, women and children at Major Lockman's store and elsewhere." Other slave owners include the first Presbyterian minister in Halifax. Slaves could be beaten, chained and whipped.

An estimated three-quarters of the Mi'kmaq population had been recently exterminated by typhus introduced by the French. Cornwallis offers £10 for every Mi'kmaq, living or dead, "or his scalp as is the custom of America" and dispatches an expedition with 100 men to hunt down and kill Mi'kmaq. A New England merchant, Capt. John Gorham, is the chief bounty hunter, and is reputed to have collected scalps of Acadians too. According to Mi'kmaq historian Daniel Paul, "at least one of his ships was built with slave labour ... I have no doubt that he was capable of using humans as work animals." He is presented to King George II. British cheapness and virtuous Protestantism did not belie itself: in 1750 the price of scalps is raised from £10 to £50, providing the incentive for the formation of two new ranger companies. The British Parliament proclaimed bloodhounds and scalping as "means that God and Nature had given into its hands."

There are a number of free Blacks in the local population – skilled tradesmen whose services are in high demand. However, when these are no longer required, some are taken to the American colonies and sold. A 1751 advertisement in the Boston Evening Post reads: "Just received from Halifax, and to be sold, ten strong hearty, Negro men, mostly tradesmen, such caulkers, carpenters, sailmakers and ropemakers."

According to a census return for Nova Scotia on January 1, 1767, eighteen years after the establishment of Halifax, there are 104 free residents of African origin (out of a total population of 13,374).

1755 — Expulsion. Governor Charles Lawrence, who replaces Cornwallis in 1754, expels 7,000 Acadians who refuse to take the oath of loyalty to Britain. More than one-third are lost at sea or died of disease. Those destined for Philadelphia are greeted by a governor whose first thought is to sell them as slaves. British settlers take over their land; either those arriving from England or 12,000 American colonists who soon arrive from New England, many with slaves. Many Acadians "went into the bush" and fight a guerilla war beside the Mi'kmaq against the British.

1756 — (May 14) Lawrence issues a proclamation putting a bounty of £30 for every male prisoner above the age of 16 brought in alive and £25 for every living Indian woman and child. Unlike Cornwallis' two previous bounties of 1749 and 1750, it is never repealed. This law still exists in Nova Scotia – 242 years later.

1756-1763 — Anglo-French Seven Years' War assumes the character of the first world war: a struggle for the spoils of empire, conducted from Canada through the West Indies to the plains of India.

1757 — British defeat the French at the Battle of Plessy, establishing its hegemony over India. The looting of India begins; this is epitomized by the Bengal plunder. The transfer of wealth, together with the profits from slavery, fertilize the entire productive forces of Britain and enable the transition to industrial capitalism. The result is disaster for the Indian people. Until British rule, India had never suffered from famine. In the second

half of the 19th century there are 24 famines in which over 20 million people lost their lives.

## 1763–1867: The Black migrations

1763 — Treaty of Paris ends the Seven Year's War. France surrenders New France to Britain, who return Guadelope in exchange; fur and fish for sugar. Any Blacks and Indians enslaved under the French continue to be slaves under the British; an estimated 1200 black slaves reside in New France. Britain also acquires Senegal in Western Africa, the bastion of the slave trade, a vast National Debt and heavy taxation to finance vast colonial conquests and the consolidation of the British state.

1775 — American War of Independence. Britain issues its first proclamation offering Blacks throughout the 13 Colonies freedom, land and economic security in exchange for joining the British side. The u.s. side is led by a coalition of slave-owning Virginia planters and New England merchants, provoked by the Stamp Act and the tightening of the Navigation Laws restricting trade. Defenders of the colonists are dubbed anti-English and disloyal.

1779 — In *Watson v. Proud* the courts decide in favour of an action brought by a Halifax butcher claiming a free Black woman is still a slave. This woman lost her freedom. In 1781, the government of pei declares that a conversion to Christianity did not render a slave free. While later cases put up procedural blocks against slavery, they aim at promoting the end of an unprofitable practice, rather than advancing the wellbeing of African Nova Scotians.

### The Black Loyalists; hollow promises

1782–84 — Arrival of 3,548 free Black United Empire Loyalists, the first wave of the migration of people of African origin to Nova Scotia, including a large number of skilled artisans, craftsmen and military. Alexander Howe, a member of the colonial Legislative Assembly, describes them – not as tradesmen – but rather as “the principal source of labour and improvement” in an expanding colony, i.e., a source of cheap labour. The promise of land – an average 500-600 acres per family – turns out to contain much smaller acreages than promised. The land is filled with scrub, stone and other non-arable margins rejected by British Loyalist settlers. Using delays and other tricks, the colonial administration legally swindles the Black Loyalists out of receiving grants and the acreages promised. In Shelburne, only 164 of 1,521 actually receive the land grant, and it averages a mere 35 acres (13.6 hectares).

The Black Loyalists were segregated and settled as follows:

#### Land Grants to Black Loyalists

Locale	Year	No.	No.	Size (avg.)
Birchtown (Shelburne)	1784	1,521	184	35 acres
Halifax	1780s	400	—	—
Preston	1780s	300	51	50 acres
Chedabucto	1785	350	—	—
Little Tracadie	1787	172	74	40 acres
	1788	50		
Brindley Town	1784	211	76	1 acre
McNutt's Island	1787	12	—	—
Saint John (NB)	1784	184	n/a	
Annapolis	1780s	100	—	—

The white Loyalist settlers brought another 1,232 enslaved blacks (of whom 26 went to PEI and 441 to New Brunswick).

1784 — (July 26) North America's first recorded race riot occurs in the port of Shelburne (see p .5) – spontaneously, yet not by accident. Free Black labourers within the local work force are being paid below scale. Employers incite disbanded British soldiers to see the low-wage workers as a threat. They beat up Black workers, burn their homes and drive them out of town. The incident becomes a precedent for local dusk-to-dawn curfews imposed against Black people in towns and villages across Nova Scotia.

## Slavery in New Brunswick

(By Dan Soucoup) Slavery exists in New Brunswick well before the arrival of the Black Loyalist "servants" in 1783, but the Loyalists are the first to attempt to institute a legalized system of enslavement. By 1784, a large number of Black Loyalists, both freemen and slaves, had arrived at Saint John harbour.

While one muster roll reports 1232 servants on vessels, estimates usually claim that about 1000 Blacks arrive in New Brunswick during the Loyalist migration with at least 500 enslaved. They receive marginal land. Some Blacks arrive as indentured servants which involved working for a specific period of time whereby a master would be served in order to pay off a debt.

Most prominent white Loyalists including Edward Winslow, Reverend Jonathan Odell, and Gabriel G. Ludlow, bring Black slaves with them to New Brunswick. Despite Britain's decision to discontinue slavery at home, many Loyalists are interested in continuing the institution of slave labour in British North America. The only known clear exception to universal slavery in early Loyalist New Brunswick is at Beaver Harbour, Charlotte County, where a Quaker settlement prohibited slave owners. The Fundy Bay settlement posts the following sign: "No Slave Masters Admitted." All Blacks, including those set free in return for fighting for the British during the American Revolution, could not vote in early New Brunswick elections, nor could they become freemen of the new City of Saint John. Only freemen could practise a trade or sell goods within the city; this restriction is a important setback to acquiring a livelihood in Loyalist Saint John. While there is considerable public opinion against slavery and no laws that actually recognized slavery, many Blacks are still enslaved by 1800. This advertisement in the March 7, 1786 edition of the Royal Gazette is typical of the era: For Sale twelve hundred acres of land... Also, a Negro man and woman, slaves, and three good milk cows... enquire Capt. Stewart. Auction sales of cattle and household goods often include sales of slaves. While many slaves attempt to escape, if caught prior to 1800, the law always supports the white master over the runaway. (excerpted from Soucoup, "Slavery and neglect in New Brunswick 1534-1900").

1787 — The US Constitution legalizes slavery in the states where it already exists; it allows these states to freely import slaves for a period of twenty years after its adoption. The importation of slaves actually increases in the years preceding the Civil War.

1789 — (July 14, Bastille Day) The French Revolution results in a state which vests sovereignty in the citizens for the first time in history. The slogans of *liberté, égalité* and *fraternité* resonate throughout Europe and the French colonies. The *sans culotte* (the risen peasants of France) make common cause with the slave uprising in Haiti.

1791-1802 — The successful revolt of the enslaved Africans of Haiti. Initiated by the Voodoo priest Boukman, led by Toussaint L' Overture and culminating in Dessalines' declaration of Haitian independence, the Haitian Revolution sounds the death knell of French imperial ambitions in the Americas and leads to the eventual demise of plantation slavery. The European powers – Britain, Spain and France – seek to destroy it by invasion. The Haitians emerge victorious with the first independent Black Republic, only to face a savage policy of diplomatic and economic isolation.

1792 — The first bill to abolish slavery is brought before the first Legislative Council of Lower Canada (Quebec). This Act is never voted on. Seven years later, Joseph Papineau, the father of Louis Joseph Papineau, leader of the 1837 Rebellion, brings forward a citizen's petition demanding the abolition of slavery. In the following years many abolitionist bills are brought before the this Council. Although these bills were also never voted on, they show the anti-slavery sentiment among the population of the Canadas.

1798 — United Irish Rebellion. The United Irishmen, who came into existence under the influence of the French revolution and aimed to form an independent Irish Republic, declared in their manifesto of 1791: "When the aristocracy come forward the people fall backward; when the people come forward the aristocracy,

*fearful of being left behind, insinuate themselves into our ranks and rise into timid leaders or treacherous auxiliaries." The scale of death and destruction preceding, during and after the Irish uprising in 1798 far surpassed the horrors in Scotland following Culloden (1746). Charles Cornwallis, Viceroy of Ireland, former British commander in America (defeated at Yorktown in 1781) and Governor-General of India (1786-93), stated that "any man in a brown coat who is found within several miles of the field of action is butchered without discrimination." In 1801 Ireland is incorporated into England and the Irish Parliament is dissolved. As with India, the consolidation of British domination brings Ireland to utter impoverishment and ruin through landlord rule. During the Irish Famine (1845-46), English and Irish landlords hoarded and exported potatoes and grain even as the Irish population starved; over a million Irishmen died of hunger, and the cholera epidemic of 1849. Thousands are forced to emigrate to the Canadas and the U.S. Those who survive inhuman passages across the Atlantic and cholera are employed building canals, roads and other transport infrastructure, such as the Shubenacadie and Rideau canals, the first railways, etc.*

*1792-1815 — Reaction in France and the rise and fall of Napoleon.*

## **1792: A reverse exodus**

*1792 — (Jan) 1,196 Black Loyalists, some 540 families, "vote with their feet" against broken promises of land and freedom, and set sail for Sierra Leone aboard 15 ships out of Halifax. Every obstacle is put in their path: Thomas Peters, the chief organizer of the emigration, is beaten; disinformation is spread that people would be re-enslaved in Africa, and proof is demanded that each emigrant is free of debt and not a slave. In extreme cases, the documents are falsified to ensure people could not leave. This reflects the colonial concern to retain the services of skilled labourers at the lowest possible wage level. In Sierra Leone, they help found the port city of Freetown (above).*

*Many Nova Scotians have family links with Sierra Leone. Family names such as Hamilton and Wyse reside on both sides of the Atlantic. The Cotton Tree Project is formed to maintain these living links between Sierra Leone and Nova Scotia, by encouraging cultural and intellectual contacts and exchanges.*

## **1796: The Maroons**

*1796 — (July) Arrival at Halifax of 550 Trelawny Town Maroons from Jamaica. They are employed under near starvation conditions to work on major modifications of the Citadel. It stands as living proof of how external dictate is coordinated with local interests. The fortress is the bastion of the most strategic base of the British empire on the western Atlantic rim at the start of the 1800s, and the single most important infrastructure in Halifax at that time.*

*The Maroons had freed themselves from slavery and British rule in Jamaica after waging a long guerilla war, establishing independent communes. They are offered passage to Sierra Leone. The ships land in Halifax, where the Maroons are forced to work on the Citadel. The ships proceed to Sierra Leone only after its completion; the Maroons reject a British offer to remain under conditions of deprivation and subjugation. Not all the Maroons leave; some remain behind in Preston, while others settled in Boydville, known as Maroon Hill in Middle Sackville.*

*1800 — Protected by the Citadel's presence, local merchants start to engage in large-scale privateering (the organizing of pirate expeditions against us and French shipping off the coast, under a licence from the Royal Navy). The British Admiralty transport the Maroons to Sierra Leone.*

*(Sep) Attempted slave insurrection in Richmond, Virginia.*

*1801 — The n.s. government establishes ten Mi'kmaq reserves.*

*1807 — Abolition of the British slave trade.*

## **Segregated education; separate and unequal**

*1811 — The Legislative Assembly establishes severe financial barriers against Black communities attempting*

to organize public education. In the name of providing a single standard for "all", the first Education Act provides that the government subsidize construction of a community schoolhouse and employment of a teacher in any community able to raise between £50 and £200 a year towards the cost. Many Black communities, unable to raise these amounts, are effectively left without public education facilities. This is to be the first in a series of measures over the next 143 years which erect first de facto and later de jure segregation – separate and always unequal education.

The racial attitude toward educating Black people prevailing in official circles, is best expressed by Lord Dalhousie, Governor of the colony at the time of the next major wave of Black immigration to Nova Scotia. He is later instrumental in establishing Dalhousie University. He declares: "[T]hese people... slaves by habit as well as education, no longer live under the dread of the lash. Their idea of freedom is idleness and they are therefore quite incapable of industry." Education becomes available in the Black communities, principally through philanthropic efforts such as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The emphasis is on imparting only the barest essentials of reading and writing – no arithmetic or computational training – and obedience. This and subsequent legislation become the building blocks for that enormous wall of prejudice and indifference which confronts generations of Black youth.

1813–1816 – War of 1812. Geopolitically, Halifax is in the middle of a 'war within a war.' For the second time in 40 years, Britain is in military conflict with the u.s. It strives to contain Yankee ambitions to expand trade at British expense, using its status as a neutral (vis-a-vis the alliance of world powers against Napoleon). Privateering from Halifax thrives due in part to wartime conditions, creating a shortage of skilled labourers needed for ship building for the Royal Navy, and driving up wage levels. With trade and manufacturing throughout Nova Scotia over-stimulated; even the road system is seriously overtaxed. Cheap Black labour is sought for repairing existing roads and building new ones. In a letter to Charles Morris, the Surveyor-General for Nova Scotia, T. Chamberlain, a member of the Legislative Assembly, explains that a further influx of Black labourers "would afford assistance to us towards repairing the roads, but likewise furnish us with labourers of whom we stand too much in need to make any tolerable progress in our improvement."

In the Chesapeake Bay area (Maryland and Virginia), thousands of slaves courageously liberated themselves from plantation owners, and seek escape with British troops during mopping up operations in the dying days of the War of 1812. The British purchase their passage with a £250,000 payment to the u.s. Treasury. Streams of refugees flow to Bermuda and Halifax (in September 1814), where they are placed under the commissioners of the poor.

After the British defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo, much of Halifax's prosperity – and with it much of the drive to import cheap Black labourers – collapses. The British gambled a second time – as with the Black Loyalists before – on being able to assemble a pool of cheap labour for its various colonies. This fans a backlash.

On April 1, 1815, one week after the Governor in Halifax is advised that colonial authorities in Bermuda are holding between 1,500–2,000 freed slaves for removal to Nova Scotia, the Legislative Assembly at Halifax passes a Resolution stating that

...the proportions of Africans already in this country is productive of many inconveniences; and that the introduction of more must tend to the discouragement of white labourers and servants as well as to the establishment of a separate and marked class of people unfitted to this climate or to an association with the rest of His Majesty's colonists.

The British segregate this large group, later known as the "Black Refugees" or "Chesapeake Blacks," in the rural approaches to Halifax: on the Windsor and Colchester Roads (59), Refugee Hill (80), Porter's Lake (44), Dartmouth (94, between the ferry landing and Lake Loon), Preston (838), Hammonds Plains (293), Poett's Route (131), Frog Lake Route (113), Gardiner's Route (190), Partridge River Route (36), Cole Harbour Route (139), Crane's Route (46), Bundy's Route (45), the Cobequid Road, the Shubenacadie Road, Prospect Road, Fletcher's Lake, Beaver Bank and Beech Hill. This is the basis for geographic marginalization.

The settlements are on the outskirts of the city, but are close enough to provide a steady supply of cheap labour to the city. Like the Black Loyalists, the Black refugees receive less land than their white counterparts, ranging from 8–10 acres. Coupled with this small size is the poor quality of the soil. Sustaining a family on such meagre resources becomes a difficult struggle.

1821 – (Jan 6) Colonial government deports 95 African residents of Beech Hill to Trinidad, as part of an effort to depopulate the Black Community, in response to the general economic depression in Nova Scotia. Government assistance to Black Communities is minimal, yet Blacks are made a scapegoat for the economic crisis of the British Empire.

1822 — (June) Attempted slave rebellion in South Carolina. Led by Denmark Vesey, it involves thousands of Blacks.

1829 — Shanawdithit, last surviving member of the Beothuk tribe, Newfoundland, dies in St. John's of tuberculosis.

1831 — (Aug 21) Nat Turner's Insurrection, in Virginia.

1833–38 — British Parliament passes a law prohibiting slavery in the colonies (1834). A sum of £20 million is assigned as compensation to slave-owning planters. Abolition is not the prime result of British anti-slavery conscience; it is the product of the growing unprofitability of plantation slavery, their diminishing productivity, and the slave uprisings. Economically, the plantation system had provided the raw materials necessary for the Industrial Revolution. As industrial capitalism – based on the factory system – supplanted commercial capitalism, the slave plantations lost their importance and even became a liability as Britain increasingly needed new markets to export its surplus goods. As slaves earn no wages, they could provide no such market, and would be more profitable by being converted into wage earners, or wage slaves. This forms the economic engine for the conflict between the Northern and Southern slave states in the American Civil War of 1861-65, a struggle of "two social systems – the system of slavery and the system of free labour." (Karl Marx)

## 1837–1841: Responsible government

Armed uprising and the struggle of the people of the Canadas to end British rule and win democratic freedoms. This period – culminating in the Act of Union, 1841, creating a United Assembly for Upper and Lower Canada (known today as Ontario and Quebec), with English the official language – lays the foundation for what is known as responsible government in Canada.

This is a system whereby the monarch is to live in harmony with the Assembly. It means that the governor, the Queen's representative, should take into account the views of the Assembly. It creates an Assembly that, no matter which Party controls it, is firmly in British hands. The governor has the right of veto, and the monarch has the right to block a bill for two years. The Assembly of Lower Canada had no say in this process as it had been suspended in 1837. It is the Upper Canadian government which became the basis of the Canadian state in 1867, and the saga of Nova Scotia as the birthplace of "responsible government" is as congenial as the related myth of Joseph Howe winning "freedom of the press."

In Nova Scotia rule is exercised by the British governor and the Committee of 12 based in the Halifax Banking Company. Nova Scotian mercantilists and shipbuilders had also been hard hit by the decline of the slave and triangular trade. Their key demand is for general-purpose banking (the new Bank of Nova Scotia) unfettered by British controls, along with liberalization of shipping, the incorporation of Halifax as a city, etc., for which Joseph Howe is a typical representative.

The rebellion is no small affair in Canadian history. More than 2000 people are arrested and jailed, charged with treason and a variety of their crimes. Thirty two are executed and 150 deported to Australia and Tasmania.

1854 — Founding of African Baptist Association which later becomes the African United Baptist Association (AUBA) and the key institution of Black Nova Scotian life. The church is the source of spiritual succour, and the focus of educational, cultural, social and political activities throughout all the Black communities. In 1976, Pearleen Oliver, historian and community activist from New Glasgow, becomes first female moderator of the AUBA, epitomizing the crucial role of women in the community.

1855 — The N.S. government enacts legislation for the purpose of taking title to all lands reserved for the exclusive use of the Mi'kmaq and to hold it in trust for them. In 1857, it introduces the Act for the Emancipation of Indian Tribes, offering 20 hectares of land as a bribe. Natives reject it. In 1859 it passes an Act allowing squatters to buy the land on which they were trespassing. This allows immigrant settlers to obtain land set aside for the Mi'kmaq.

Joseph Howe conducts a racist attack against Irish labourers. Irish immigrants are compelled to camp or settle outside the city.

1857 — William Hall, the son of escaped slaves from the Chesapeake, a sailor from Horton's Bluff, n.s., who

had joined the Royal Navy at Halifax as a gunner, receives the Victoria Cross for his bravery in breaching a fortress wall in Lucknow for the British Army during the Indian National Rebellion. Hall is the second Canadian recipient of the VC. Hall embodies a central contradiction of any colonial subject. Transfixed between the British command behind him, and the Indian freedom fighters in front of him, Hall stays at his post, repeatedly firing his cannon until a fortress wall is breached, allowing the British troops to enter. While rewarded at the time for his heroism, Hall eventually dies penniless and forgotten, although a street in Halifax's South End is named after British Lucknow. What is often ignored in accounts of Hall's life is the striking and sad irony of one subject people being used against another.

1859 — (Dec 2) Execution of John Brown, organizer of the Harper's Ferry raid of armed slaves (Oct 17), entrance to the Great Black Way. The raid, launched from Canada, starts the Civil War.

## 1861–65: Nova Scotia, Britain and the Civil War

*Much has been written about the Underground Railroad bringing slaves to Canada, less about its terminus in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, but virtually nothing about the participation of Nova Scotians, white and black, in the blood spilled in the war against slavery (1861-65).*

*In Nova Scotia general public opinions sympathized with the North, but the society was divided, with part of the aristocracy supporting Britain and the slavocracy.*

*"One 'Highland' regiment raised in Boston in 1861 consisted almost wholly of Nova Scotians, some of whom were members of the Halifax militia; and their tales of battle appearing in letters to home newspapers were followed with all the avidity of a people at war," writes author Thomas H. Raddall in Halifax: Warden of the North.*

*On May 13, 1861 in response to the blockade of the Confederate ports declared by the United States in April of that year, Queen Victoria issued a proclamation of neutrality in the war between the Northern and the Southern states. It stated that blockade of the South would be approved only if it were effective. At the same time the proclamation recognized the right of the Confederates to seize Federal ships on the high seas. Thus Britain in fact recognized the belligerent status of the Confederacy. Transports packed with troops and war materials were rushed to Canada (the ports of Halifax, Saint John and Rimouski); 5,000 British troops swarmed Halifax, the old defence works of the port were recast and, by 1865, some 60,000 Nova Scotians had been trained for the militia.*

*"Thus, there was a little War between the States in Halifax itself, each with its own ardent group of Haligonian supporters."*

*"It was said that by the war's end not less than 10,000 Nova Scotians had fought in the blue ranks of the North," including Blacks. "The general sentiment against slavery gave a majority for the North..."*

*Similarly, various anti-slavery societies had appeared in Upper and Lower Canada with the goal of aiding escaped slaves from the United States who sought refuge in Canada – the Underground Railroad.*

*The war is fought mainly by the small farmers and fishermen, traders and artisans but its benefits went to "Haligonian South Enders." War is an enormous source of profit. "By 1862 one third of the ships entering the port of Boston were windjammers from Nova Scotia ... Halifax was as prosperous as never before in all her boom and bust history. The city was glutted with money."*

*However, an important element of the aristocracy, including descendents of slave-owning Loyalists, such as the Ritchie family, Keiths and others, sided with the South, providing new ships, smuggling and the new business of blockade-running, hospitality to Confederate agents and legal support to captains of captured naval ships.*

*"In Halifax, the pro-South sentiment was strong." Said one eyewitness... "The town was filled with Southern agents ... (who) with the official classes and the military and the navy to win over, put no restraint on their lavishness."*

*In the American South, at the War's end, Reconstruction is launched. Although cut short by reaction in 1877, including the formation of the Ku Klux Klan as a secret terrorist organization of the plantation owners, it enfranchises African Americans for the first time – nominally – in many of the oldest slave-states.*

*Publication of Darwin's Origins of Species leads to a changed attitude of science towards human beings. With his work on the Industrial Revolution, Karl Marx easily demolishes the attempt to justify the doctrine of race superiority as a logical deduction from the doctrine of evolution.*

*1865 — The Legislative Assembly in Halifax authorizes separate black and white schools, thereby introducing segregated education as a matter of law.*

*Revolt in Jamaica and Sepoy Mutiny in India against British rule.*

## **1867: "Keep Canada White"**

*1868 — The new federal government creates the Indian Act based largely on earlier legislation of the colony of Upper Canada. In 1869, further legislation is passed which entrenches the policy of assimilation into the "European way of life" and lays the basis for the genocidal treatment of the Native people for the next century. The Act provides for "enfranchisement" whereby any indigenous person who applied for citizenship lost their Indian status. This leads to 20,000 people "losing" their Indian identity, in legal terms, between 1876 and 1974. Measures are taken to have Natives adopt European agricultural methods, and educate them in missionary schools away from their families and tribes so that they would lose their language, culture and traditions. All "Indian policy" is made by the federal government up to the time the Indian Act of 1876 was revised in 1951 by the federal government, without consulting the Native Indians.*

*During the 1870s, the new Canadian government adopts measures "to keep blacks out or in their place."*

*In 1885, an immigration head tax of \$50 which rapidly increased to \$500 by the early 1900s, targets Chinese people. The tax is exclusionary, keeps people out, and also breaks up the families of those who came. The Asiatic Exclusion League, 1907–1908 Report by MacKenzie King, then Deputy Minister of Labour and later Prime Minister, blatantly states:*

*That Canada should desire to restrict immigration from the orient is regarded as natural – That Canada should remain a White man's country is believed to be not only desirable for economic and social reasons, but highly necessary on political and national grounds.*

*1883 — With the auba as the major organizing force, the Black community formally challenges the Education Act. A petition is sent to the Legislative Assembly from the Black residents of Halifax that states*

*That they are coloured citizens and ratepayers of the city of Halifax, that by a minute of the Council of Public Instruction passed on December 1876 all coloured children henceforth were excluded for common school, and separate schools were established for their use, which are of an inferior grade, and in which they do not receive equal advantages with white children attending common schools, for which and other reasons as detailed in the petition; they pray that such minutes of Council be repealed.*

*This sparks a heated debate in the Legislative Assembly the next year, and culminates in an amendment to reinforce the Act of 1865. It stipulates a minimum criteria of community numbers ("... where numbers warrant..."). It removes these communities even further from access to proper facilities and resources.*

*1884 — Berlin Conference on the division of Africa among the European powers initiates a new phase of imperial colonialism. The Scramble for Africa redraws boundaries and reduces whole peoples and nations into objects of brutal exploitation.*

*1890s — Black workers emigrate from the eastern Caribbean (Barbados), Alabama and other points to work in steel-coal in Cape Breton, forming communities in Whitney Pier, Glace Bay and New Waterford. A number are skilled exemplars of the iron worker craft. Over the preceding years, this craft had undergone extensive evolution, especially amongst American Black workers.*

*1898 — James Robinson Johnstone graduates from Dalhousie University, becoming the first Black Nova Scotian lawyer. A superb criminal lawyer, he is actively involved in the struggles of the community, and initiates the founding of the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children. He is murdered in 1915.*

*1898 — The U.S. intervenes in the second Cuban War of Independence just as the Cuban patriots are on the verge of defeating Spain. U.S. domination of Cuba does not end until 1959. The U.S. seize Puerto Rico and the Philippines, and reduce many Latin American countries to political and economic vassalage.*

1900 — A proclamation prohibits the immigration of criminals or "paupers" to Canada.

1910 — The Immigration Act of 1910 gives the cabinet unlimited power to prohibit immigration to Canada based on ethnicity or occupational skills and the right to deport any immigrants on the grounds of immorality or political beliefs.

1911 — (Aug 11) The Edmonton Board of Trade protests the settlement of a group of African-Americans in Alberta. The federal government orders all African-Americans at the u.s. border be rejected for medical reasons.

1914-1918 — Canadian Navy bans Blacks from enlisting. Denied equal status by military recruiters, Black participation is restricted to menial tasks (ditch-digging, construction, etc.) in the No. 2 Negro Construction Battalion. Their contribution is forgotten until 1945, when a plaque is erected in Pictou, n.s., their home base. Some 150 Mi'kmaq also signed up during ww1.



Noel Johnstone  
teaching in a  
segregated school,  
1946

At the beginning of the war, 110 million Africans are under European domination. As the war runs its course, Germany loses all its African colonies, leading to "reapportionment" of 13.5 million people between the remaining colonial powers. This "reallocation," in the face of African aspirations for independence, sparks the Pan African movement.

1917 — October Revolution brings the Bolsheviks to power in Russia. This Revolution reverberates amongst oppressed peoples and nationalities in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas; a vigorous upsurge of working class movement, as in Cape Breton.

Blacks participate in the formation of industrial labour organizations and the radical labour struggles in the 1920s and 1930s, especially against the British Empire Steel Corporation.

In 1920 Marcus Garvey (see p. 4-5) visits Nova Scotia. He is the proponent of Black nationalism and founder of the largest Black organization of modern times, the United Negro Improvement Association (unia). In 1921 a demonstration under a banner calling for "Africa for Africans" takes place in Whitney Pier. Residents establish a unia branch. j.b. MacLaughlin, the famous Communist coal miners' leader (who himself had emigrated from Scotland), speaks to the members of the unia in Glace Bay in the fall of 1932. He had just returned from visiting the Soviet Union the previous winter. On a return visit in 1937, Garvey speaks in both Halifax and Sydney on the conditions of the Black Communities in the province. In the 1970s, workers elect Winston Ruck secretary of the steelworkers' local and, in 1989, he becomes executive director of the Black United Front. Ruck was born in Sydney and his parents were from Barbados.

1918 — N.S. Legislature strengthens the segregationist and discriminatory provisions of the Education Acts of 1865 and 1884. The new Nova Scotia Act comes into effect. There is little change. The power to create separate schools is taken from School Board commissions and given to the inspectors of the Department of Education. In 1918 all children near Annapolis and Digby had access to public schools, with the exception of Blacks in Fundy.

A plan to combine or centralize all 19 Nova Scotian Mi'kmaq reserves into two locations is also introduced in 1918.

1921 — From 1880, the abuse and neglect of minors was the legal mandate of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. From 1888 the newly-formed Children's Aid Society practised a policy of segregation, along with Catholic and Protestant orphanages, industrial schools, the Poor House and county 'work farms'. "A black child in need who could not be cared for by relatives within the community faced the grim options of homelessness or placement in a poorhouse or adult mental asylum ... most of them were unfit for human habitation, let alone the care and shelter of neglected children." Faced with the choice of "separate or nothing," the community builds, literally with its own hands, the Nova Scotia Home for Coloured Children — the only one of its kind in Canada — on the Preston Road, Dartmouth. Some 3,000 people attend the opening on June 6. (Charles Saunders, Share & Care: the Story of the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children)

1923 — (Jan 23) Chinese Immigration Act excludes Chinese from admission to Canada. Some Chinese-Canadians still refer to Canada Day as "humiliation day."

1929 — (Oct 18) The Imperial Privy Council declares Canadian women are legally "persons."

1930 — *The Indian Residential School in Shubenacadie opens to intensify assimilation. "Mi'kmaq children were stolen from their homes and placed in this school, where they were abused physically, emotionally, mentally and sexually. Everything possible was done to beat the Mi'kmaq language and culture out of these children. The results of this were devastating, as Mi'kmaq that formerly attended this school resorted to drinking, drugs, family abuse and suicide to rid the pain. The effects of this school are still felt today within Mi'kmaq society." (Mi'kmaq NewsNet) It is closed in 1967.*

1931 — *The Statute of Westminster, an act of the British parliament, grants Canada and other Dominions autonomy in domestic and foreign affairs. Establishment of British Commonwealth.*

*Rise of fascism in Europe. Two salient features are overlooked about this period. The U.S. pours \$12 billion in investments into financing Nazi Germany, while the Nazis confess great indebtedness to the U.S. for having provided them with a model for their own racist legislation (Heinrich Krieger, *Das Rassenrecht in den Vereinigten Staaten*, Berlin, 1936). Prime Minister King, in a 1937 private meeting with Hitler in Berlin, blesses his "internal programme." In 1938 Canada increases the amount of capital required by Jewish immigrants to \$20,000 from \$5,000, hindering their entry. On June 7, 1939 the liner *St. Louis*, carrying 907 German-Jewish refugees, is turned back from Canadian and American shores. Most of its passengers gain temporary sanctuary in Western Europe until the Nazi takeover of 1940, when they became victims of the Holocaust. The government makes it illegal for Canadian volunteers to fight against Franco in Spain, who enjoys the armed backing of Germany and Italy. Despite this, Canada has the highest per capita participation of any nation (the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, named after leaders of the 1837 rebellions). The government discourages efforts to admit any of the 200,000 Spanish republican exiles located in French refuge camps. After the war, both governments import Nazi war criminals (Operation Paper Clip), including to Nova Scotia.*

1942 — *The Indian Affairs Branch introduces centralization programs in Nova Scotia. It aims to relocate the Mi'kmaq to reserves at Eskasoni, Cape Breton, and Shubenacadie. One half of the Mi'kmaq population is relocated in the next six years.*

1939-1945 — *The defeat of the Axis Powers is followed by the establishment of the United Nations, revolution throughout eastern Europe and struggles for national independence in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Populous countries such as India achieve formal independence (1947). This period also represents the rise of neo-colonialism, a new international political-economic order that grants countries nominal political independence while controlling their economic levers.*

*Canada garrisons British colonial bases in the West Indies during WW1. The Caribbean becomes "an American lake."*

*The global struggle against fascism before, during and after the Second World War energizes new democratic forces, including the Black communities of the Maritimes. In 1945, the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NSAACP) forms under the leadership of the Rev. W.P. Oliver in Halifax. The New Brunswick Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NBAACP) forms under the leadership of Joseph Drummond.*



Rosa Parks at  
Africville  
Reunion. Paul  
Adams

## 1945–1960

1946 — *New Glasgow police arrest and charge Viola Desmond after she defies a civic ordinance prohibiting Black people from sitting anywhere but the balcony of the local theatre. Jailed for a night, she is convicted of "disorderly conduct" and fined \$20 plus court costs, or thirty days in jail. Through *The Clarion* and later *The Negro Citizen*, writer, historian and activist Carrie Best of New Glasgow brings the discrimination facing Blacks in Nova Scotia to Canada's attention.*

1948 — *Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed.*

1948 — *Commencement of Apartheid policy and legislation in South Africa by the Nationalist Party government under Prime Minister Malan. This deepens the disenfranchising and dispossession of the Black majority. In 1951, under the Bantu Authorities Act, bantustans are erected. These "Black homelands" relegate Black South Africans, who comprise over 85% of the population, to just 13% of the land. The South African government under Prime Minister Verwoerd acknowledges in 1962 that it modelled some of its apartheid policies and laws on existing Canadian policy and laws towards the Aboriginal peoples.*

1949 — Due to Mi'kmaq resistance, the federal government drops Centralization of Natives into two centres.

For the first time in history, a vote is held on Confederation – it is in Newfoundland. It is defeated. The terms are reorganized, submitted to a second vote (March 31) and narrowly passed (52.34% for Confederation and 47.66% for independence).

The People's Republic of China is established after a long revolution. In Canada, Chinese citizens gain the franchise for the first time (May, 1947) after years of protest to the federal government over the lack of franchise, restrictions from certain professions and exclusion clauses in all levels of government contracts.

1952 — The revised Immigration Act continues Canada's eurocentric selection priorities and the arbitrary discretion powers of immigration officials to exclude "undesirables."

1954 — Vietnamese defeat of France at Dien Bien Phu.

1954 — The Legislative Assembly replaces the Education Act, putting an end to segregated schooling in Nova Scotia. This follows the u.s. Supreme Court decision *Brown v Topeka Board of Education*, to desegregate American public education.

1955 — Rosa Parks refuses to give up her seat on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama. This ignites the movement to end segregation and catapults Martin Luther King to the head of the civil rights movement. Contrary to mainstream thought, Rosa Parks' action is not a spontaneous event. It is part of an organized and well thought-out plan originated by Black women domestic workers in concert with the local chapter of the naacp. In August, 1998, Ms. Parks speaks at Mount St. Vincent University and attends the annual Africville Reunion in Seaview Park, Halifax.

1959 — Victory of the Cuban Revolution. In 1960, Fidel Castro meets with Malcolm X in Harlem.

## 1960–1990: Advance



### *The Plunder of Africville*

1964 — Halifax County Council votes to expropriate Africville in the name of "urban renewal" (see 1848). In the face of massive neglect and racism this community had survived on a semi-autonomous basis. Residents held title to their land and paid taxes, yet no water and sewerage services are provided; the municipal authorities at one point even situate a garbage dump beside them. In 1964, Halifax County Council votes for, and in 1968-70 implements, the expropriation of the community of some 80 families in the assimilationist name of liberalism, integration and "urban renewal" – an ideological mask for the driving economic force: land now valued for industrial development.

Africville was bulldozed into the Bedford Basin. A proud, dignified community of more than a century's standing is arrogantly declared an "eyesore", placed on social assistance and moved in large numbers into city housing projects at Mulgrave Park, various areas along Gottingen Street, etc. The wheel had come full circle: denied land promised in the 1780s, the Black community was now uprooted from the very soil on which they had built new life over the succeeding generations.

1960s — *This period is the high point of liberation struggles and the anti-imperialist movement around the world, especially among the youth and students. After years of mass protests throughout the country, especially in the Southern United States, civil rights acts are finally passed in 1964 and 1965. Yet many prominent individuals – either associated with civil rights or actual organizers – are assassinated, from Malcolm X and Fred Hampton on the one hand to the Kennedys on the other. On February 21, 1965, Malcolm X, the pre-eminent Black Nationalist revolutionary leader is assassinated in Harlem. In 1966, the Black Panther Party for self-defence is founded in Oakland, Calif., and targeted by the government for destruction through an FBI operation code-named Cointelpro. Many of its leaders are murdered. In April, 1968 Martin Luther King is assassinated while leading a strike of Memphis sanitation workers in the midst of building the Poor People's Campaign – "a multiracial army of the poor" – to march on Washington. King is calling for "radical changes in the structure of our society" to redistribute wealth and power. He maintains that civil rights laws were empty without "human rights" – including economic rights. Government complicity is alleged in the deaths of Malcolm X and King. Riots and uprisings broke out in over 60 American cities wherever, it is said, "King had set foot."*

*In Canada, thousands of people stage sit-ins at U.S. Consulates in protest against racial discrimination, the war in Vietnam and the growth of American domination of Canada itself.*

1960 — (Mar 30) *South African police kill 69 people in the Sharpeville Massacre during a peaceful demonstration organized by the Pan Africanist Congress (pac) against the apartheid pass laws that restrict the mobility of Black South Africans. On March 30, a state of emergency is declared, and 22,000 people are detained. The Unlawful Organizations Act is passed and used to ban both the PAC and the African National Congress (ANC). The United Nations designated March 21 as the annual date for the Day to End Racial Discrimination.*

1960 — *Aboriginals are permitted to vote in federal and provincial elections, without any loss of Status under the Indian Act.*

1964 — *South Africa sentences Nelson Mandela, along with other political activists, to life imprisonment.*

1967 — (Nov) *The Pearson government passes a "colour blind" Immigration Act which claims to do away with all vestiges of racist qualification requirements in matters related to immigration. This supposedly ends the unofficial "white Canada policy" in place since 1867. Race and ethnic adaptability as the major criteria are replaced by regulations which establish two main categories of immigrants: family re-unification and independent immigrants which qualify under specific economic and population needs according to a point system. Since 1978, the humanitarian plight of refugees has also been formally recognized and refugee status became a special third category. The source of immigrants change. Approximately one-third are from Europe, one-third from the Americas and the Caribbean, and another third from Asia, Africa and elsewhere.*

1969 — (Early Jan to Feb 11) *Black students protest the racism of an American sociology professor at Sir George Williams University (now Concordia) in Montreal. Eventually, they stage a peaceful occupation of the computer centre, faculty lounge and other offices. In the ensuing police assault, the computer centre is destroyed. Many students are arrested, convicted and, in the case of Martin Bracey, sentenced to prison terms of up to five years. This provokes a broad sympathetic response, including solidarity demonstrations in Trinidad and Tobago which trigger the February, 1970 uprising against the government. Canada stations destroyers off the coast of Trinidad. (In the mid-60s, during the revolt in the Dominican Republic, it stations destroyers off the coast of that country.)*

*In Halifax, after a visit from a Black Panther Party contingent from the U.S., a "Black Family Meeting" takes place in the North Branch Library on Gottingen Street – reportedly the largest political gathering up to that time of Black Canadians anywhere.*

*The Black United Front (BUF), a province-wide political organization, forms as a manifestation of discussions and activity within the community throughout the 1950s and 1960s. A prominent factor conditioning subsequent development is the frustration among youth over the glacial pace of promised changes. During this period, the dispossession and forced resettlement of residents of Africville is proceeding. In 1969, the Union of Nova Scotia Indians is formed.*

*Further reflecting the community's concerns about education and unemployment, Dalhousie University initiates a Transition Year Program in the 1969–70 academic year to provide upgrading for university entrance to Black Nova Scotian and First Nations' students.*

*During 1969–71, the Black Educators Association forms. It starts out as the Diogenes Club in the 60s and later becomes known as the Negro Education Committee in 1969. Its roots stem from a group of Black educators who work in segregated schools in the Preston area. It is an opportunity for Black educators to*

share experiences and promote their history as part of the curriculum they were teaching. It also becomes a study group for members of the organization.

The policy of Native assimilation had completely failed. The federal government is forced to hold a series of consultation meetings between 1968–69 with the First Nations. In June, 1969 the Trudeau government introduces its infamous White Paper which completely ignores all the priorities stated by the First Nations. Instead, the government merely proposes washing its hands of all responsibility by abolishing the Indian Department and the Indian Act within five years, thus ending Indian status. Many see this as an attempt to make aboriginal people adopt eurocentric values and culture; the opposition of the First Nations and general public opinion to this attempt of the government is so fierce that it is forced to retreat. In 1971 the White Paper is withdrawn, but the Indian Act is not amended.

Many African countries achieve independence. The impact is felt far and wide. In Halifax, mass demonstrations and marches are held on African Liberation Day, May 25th for several years. A 1973 march of over 200 people to Citadel Hill, led by Rocky Jones, symbolically renames it Maroon Hill.

1969 — Formation of the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission. The n.s. Human Rights Act makes it "unlawful for any person, whether employer, employer's or employee's organization, professional association, business organization, or property owner or agent, to discriminate against any individual based on race, colour, creed, sex, ethnic or national origin, age (40-65), or physical handicap or marital status." In the next 14 years, 21,000 discrimination complaints are filed. Analysis of the complaints from 1978–81; 80% made by Blacks, 8% by East Indians and 4% by Chinese; "the most frequent victims of racial discrimination (were): (1) Blacks, (2) Native Indians, (3) Indo-Canadians and, to a lesser degree, Jews and Arabs. Education, housing, employment, police and media treatment are cited as the most common areas of discrimination." (Gilbert Scott, Regional Director, Department of State, "Race Relations Strategies, Nova Scotia Region, 1983–84")

1970 — (Mar 31) Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) is founded in Montreal. The only organization still active from the Sixties, the cpc(m-l) bears the brunt of discrimination and repression. Its national leader, Hardial Bains, who emigrates to Canada from his native Punjab in 1961, is denied citizenship until 1988. The government deports over 20 members in the first two years, including, from Halifax, Subir Roy and Greg Newman, a graduate student at Dalhousie and instructor in the typ program. Roy was born in Canada. Hardial Bains passed away in 1997.

1971 — (Mar) The Immigration Service at Halifax's Pier 21 is officially closed; the days of crossing the Atlantic by boat are over.

(Oct) The Liberal Government passes the Multicultural Act. In the name of recognizing "ethnic diversity," it further enshrines the myths of the bna Act: it specifically states that Canada's multicultural origins date back to the arrival of the Europeans who, it says, formed groups from many cultures. It ignores the First Nations. This Act states:

3. (1) It is hereby declared to be the policy of the government of Canada to a) recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage."

What this means is left to interpretation. This inaugurates a new wave of ghettoization of both Native peoples and other national minorities, and the process of assimilation intensifies. Large-scale government funding is allocated to "special interest" groups in a process known as elite accommodation, especially for the service of "delivering the vote" on behalf of this or that community.

1975 — The Trudeau government issues the racist Green Paper on Immigration Policy. It concocts the idea that the Canadian people as a whole are racist, justifying this as an official policy by declaring that some may be upset by "visible minorities" with "novel and distinctive features." It blames immigration and "overpopulation" for unemployment, housing problems and other socio-economic ills. The distinction between those who are from the United Kingdom, that is, white European, and those from Asia and the Caribbean with "novel and distinctive features" indicate that the basic approach adopted is based on "race." A "visible minority" to whom? On the world scale, and even in Toronto, the white European is of course a "visible minority." It is not long before the term "visible minorities" becomes official, institutionalized and introduced into the vocabulary of everyday life in Canada, creating the distinctly racist division of the Canadian people who are today described as belonging to either a so-called founding nation, an Aboriginal people, an ethnic group or a visible minority. Government-funded groups are expected to use this racist vocabulary, thereby perpetuating the status of "ethnics", "immigrants" and "visible minorities" and racial divisions amongst the Canadian people in perpetuity.

*A Senate-Commons Committee tours the country. It convenes meetings in Halifax and Fredericton, to develop a public "debate" around this racist thesis. It faces strong opposition.*

*1975 — (Oct) South Africa invades newly independent Angola to overthrow the government of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (mpla). On November 5 Cuba responds to an urgent appeal from the mpla government for military assistance to repel the South African troops. Cuba initiates Operation Carolota – named after a leader of a Cuban revolt against slavery – sending Cuban troops and weapons. In February-March, 1976 the South African troops are defeated and forced to leave Angola. Over the next 15 years more than 300,000 Cubans – of all ages and professions, men and women, white and black – volunteer to help defend Angola from repeated invasions from South Africa. Volunteers include doctors, teachers, engineers and construction workers who lend their energies and expertise to Angola's efforts to overcome the legacy of colonial domination, in the midst of Western-condoned South Africa intervention and sabotage.*

*1976 — (June 16) The Soweto massacre occurs in South Africa. Police shoot children protesting against apartheid education. The protests develops into a general uprising.*

*1977 — People in North Preston, East Preston, Cherrybrook, Lake Loon and Lake Major unite and defeat an attempt by the Halifax County to seize community land around Lake Loon in the name of protecting the water supply of Dartmouth.*

*1979 — (July) The Nova Scotia Tattoo opens, promoting "Nova Scotia's military heritage" and the International Gathering of the Clans. The British Queen Mother, one of the largest landowners in Scotland, presides. The event, organized by descendents of a clan which signed the capitulation at Culloden to England, becomes the most lavishly funded "cultural" festival in the province. Other minorities feel slighted.*

## ***1980s and beyond – the changing face of racism***

*A zig zag type of period, characterized by the retreat of revolution, national liberation and progressive movements on the world scale, the ending of the bi-polar division of the world; the offensive of neoconservatism and "cultural values" of Reagan, Thatcher and Mulroney; and globalization and neoliberalism today.*

*1980 — Attempts had been made to float "White Power" gangs throughout the 1970s, marked by assaults on the East Indian, West Indian, Pakistani, Black and Jewish communities in Ontario and British Columbia. These replace the beaten and discredited Nazi Party of John Beatty as a new tactic. Significantly, several gangs include police officers, especially in Toronto (rcmp agent-organizer, Western Front, 1975). These are nipped in the bud by organized and determined opposition. The most prominent organization formed in this period is the East Indian Defence Committee (eidc), founded in Vancouver in 1973. It grows to over 7,000 members and is led by Hardial Bains.*

*(May) Another tactic is adopted; refloat the Ku Klux Klan in Toronto – its leadership are Americans, given immigration visas by the government – and, from there, with the assistance of the monopoly media, throughout Canada. At that time, the kkk has no members in the Maritimes; its sole known supporter is a just-*



Edith (Drummond) Clayton (1920-1989). A descendant of the Black Refugees, she was nationally famous for her hand-crafted baskets. Year after year, in the tradition of the Preston basket makers, she sold her baskets at the Halifax Market.

released-prisoner from Dorchester Penitentiary near Moncton under federal probation. Yet the media in Atlantic Canada accord the "national leader" of the kkk in Toronto some 82 interviews. Attorney-General Leonard Pace issues a statement publicly defending its "right to speak" and organize in Nova Scotia, in effect, counseling people to turn the other cheek.

(Oct) This threat is again defeated through actions in city after city across the country, rallying under a single banner. In Vancouver, the People's Front is formed by some 2,000 delegates, who elect as their national leader Hardial Bains, chairman of the cpc (m-l) and leader of the eidc. In Halifax, over 5,000 people endorse a petition campaign organized by the newly-formed People's Front and Tony Seed, declaring that "racists and fascists have no rights to speak or organize." Demonstrations are held in Halifax and Saint John against the atv network for airing and promoting a three-part "documentary" series on the kkk.

1980 — From the early 1980s until the mid-1990s, Ottawa wages a war with Listiguj Mi'kmaq fishermen who live at Pointe-a-la-Croix on the Quebec side of the Restigouche River estuary to try to curtail their fishing. The natives respond with defiance. Natives block the bridge across the Restigouche at Campbellton after federal wardens began searching vehicles on the reserve for salmon. Vigilantism is incited; some Campbellton residents storm the bridge with baseball bats and tire irons; 11 people are arrested. In 1981, federal wardens raid the fishery from the air, water and land, seizing nets and arresting fishermen. More than 125 natives are charged with illegal fishing during the 1980s and 1990s.

In the mid-1990s, Listiguj leaders devise a controlled fishing plan and told Ottawa they would be enforcing it themselves. In 1998, federal officials approach the band seeking an agreement that would allow governments and the band to form a true watershed management team for the Restigouche. In 1999, Ottawa, the Quebec government and Listiguj leaders sign an agreement that gave native fisheries officers full authority to police their own salmon fishery. We give this example as but one of many cases in the waters and woods of Atlantic Canada where a premeditated policy of "divide and rule" is implemented.

1981 — (July) Native women fight courageously against discrimination against them under the Indian Act. The UN Human Rights Committee finds the federal government in breach of Article 27 (Rights of Minorities) of the covenant on civil and political rights. Sandra Lovelace had been stripped of her Indian Status under the Indian Act (section 12[1][b]) for marrying a non-Indian or non-registered Indian.

1982 — Constitution Act 1982. Canadian Constitution is repatriated, so that no act of the British parliament can extend to Canada as part of Canadian law. The Act fails to break with the BNA: (1) in terms of Quebec and the First Nations; (2) the colonial arrangements regarding the rights of the polity are untouched; (3) it perpetuates the "two founding nations" myth, refusing to recognize that Canada is today comprised of people from over 45 nationalities, and that equality of all languages and culture should be recognized; and (4) the division of powers between the provinces and the federal government as set out in 1867 need renewal to bring them into accord with modern international and national economic and political realities.

1983 — The Black Cultural Centre of Nova Scotia opens in Westphal (Dartmouth) in conditions of increased concerns to defend the culture and identity of the community. Its formation occurs amid an ongoing cultural renaissance, building on the rich trends of the past, typified by such artists as Portia White (internationally renowned contralto) and Alf Coward (prominent jazz pianist). In the literary field, several poets, writers and actors emerge during the 70s and 80s, notably George Elliott Clarke, Maxine Tynes, David Woods, Henry Bishop, George Boyd and Walter Borden. In the field of music and performing arts, various troupes form, including *Four The Moment*, *Voices*, *The Gospelheirs*, and the Nova Scotia Mass Choir. In the world of film, video and tv, the 1978 series *Black Insights* (five episodes on history, education, employment, land claims and the church) is followed by two award-winning films produced by Sylvia Hamilton; *Black Mother*, *Black Daughter* and *Speak It! From The Heart of Black Nova Scotia*. In journalism, Mark Daye, Clarke and Charles Saunders publish *The Rap* from 1982–85. In the field of museology, the n.s. Museum launches investigations on Black Cultural history. In the field of sport, the Terry Symons Basketball Tournament is launched; team names commemorate Black communities and heroes from da Costa to Joe Drummond, and teams participate from Toronto, New York and other cities. In 1978, Curtis Coward became the first black Nova Scotian to play professional baseball, as a pitcher, with the St. Louis Cardinals' organization. The first visit of Muhammad Ali to Halifax in summer, 1986 is a popular one and touches many (see p. 20).

In 1982, the Africville Genealogical Society forms to preserve the memory of Africville, advocate equitable compensation for former residents from the government, and organize annual reunions in Africville (present-day Seaview Park).

One of the more vibrant organizations to take shape is the Cultural Awareness Youth Group in 1983. It develops branches in schools throughout the Metro area, dedicated to highlighting Black History and Culture

*as an instrument for building bridges between communities.*

*1986 — Corinne Sparks is appointed to the Nova Scotia judiciary. In late 1997, the Supreme Court of Canada hands down the R v. R.D.S. Decision. It validates the use of racial context by Judge Sparks in a decision where she observed that white police officers often overreact when dealing with people of colour. Its impact – recognizing the existence of racism – remains to be seen.*

*1987 — 57% of Atlantic Canadians say "No" to free trade. In 1988 a Free Trade Agreement is signed with the u.s.a.*

*1987 — (June 21) Failure of the Meech Lake Accord to solve the Canadian political and constitutional crisis. Manitoba mla Elijah Harper, a Cree, refuses consent in the legislature, stating that it fails to recognize the rights of Aboriginal peoples. Meech dies June 22. This is followed by a series of consultations in which thousands of people took part, known as the People's Forum on Canada's Future headed by Keith Spicer. The majority of the people consulted outside Quebec want a constituent assembly to draft a constitution and within Quebec the most repeated demand is to have a direct referendum on the question of whether the Quebec people favoured sovereignty or not. The eleven first ministers reject both demands.*

*1988 — (Mar 23) Angolan-Namibian-Cuban troops defeat an invading South African army at Cuito Cuanvale in southeastern Angola. This alters the balance of power in the region and forces the racist government to the negotiation table. The result is the end of its occupation of Namibia, leading to Namibian independence and the acceleration of the demise of the apartheid regime. Nelson Mandela later credits Cuba's vital role in the battle as a critical factor in his release, saying on July 26, 1991 that: "The Cuban internationalists have made a contribution to African independence, freedom and justice, unparalleled for its principled and selfless character." Indeed, many Africans acknowledge Cuba as the "only foreign country to have come to Africa and left with nothing but the coffins of its sons and daughters who shed their blood in the struggles to liberate Africa."*

*1989-97 — In 1989 social contradictions amongst youth building within Cole Harbour District High School explode. The media and RCMP convert them into an "attitude" and "law and order" issue. In 1997, another eruption. Once again, "law and order" is touted as the central question. The impression is orchestrated that these events are the inevitable product of the clash of communities (with different culture and values, so-called "white" Eastern Passage versus "black" Prestons); people are polarized and a martial atmosphere is imposed in the school. Despite the launching of an investigation and the commissioning of a special report by Bly Frank, professor of education at Mount Saint Vincent University, major concerns remain.*

*Combined with trends already under way amongst Black educators, activists and retired school teachers from the segregated schools (see p. 8-9), this accelerates the formation of The Black Learners' Advisory Committee (blac). After conducting and publishing its detailed study of the condition of Black Nova Scotians in the education system (1994), blac is absorbed into the provincial Dept. of Education and Culture, when the African Canadian Services Division is formed.*

*1990s — With the defeat of racist gangs on the one hand and the old assimilationist policy on the other, a new front emerges in Canada on the basis of proclaiming eurocentric cultural "Canadian values" as the main criteria of Canadian citizenship and identity. The modus operandi of imposing this political culture operates on a broad level: promotion of the Reform Party; xenophobia against immigration; academic promotion of eugenics; revisionist history on the Second World War/the Holocaust, and the end of history; racial profiling by police, customs, and the media. Similar phenomena unfold throughout the NATO bloc, including a resurgence of modern slavery.*

*1990 — The Marshall Inquiry Report on the wrongful conviction and 11-year imprisonment of Donald Marshall Jr., a Mi'kmaq, underlines the failure of the justice system to serve Mi'kmaq people. It reveals entrenched racism throughout the legal system. One of its recommendations is to increase Mi'kmaq and Black representation in the legal profession. The Indigenous Black and Mi'kmaq Program at Dalhousie Law School is a result.*

*1990 — Index cards relating to collections on Black History at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia are deliberately destroyed. Much of the Black Nova Scotian historical experience has been retained as oral tradition, and then lost as the community elders passed on. This raises the necessity to finish the written and audiovisual preservation of these stories, the evidence of things lived.*

*1991 — The N.S. Museum proposes the creation of a database devoted to Black Cultural History. In addition, the Museum works on two special projects: Black Loyalists from South Carolina, and the Black Community at Tracadie.*

1991 — Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples is created to study aboriginal issues and find solutions. Only a few copies of its report are printed (the cd-rom version costs some \$400). Its exhaustive recommendations are ignored.

1992 — The electoral riding boundaries are redrawn in Nova Scotia and a new electoral district of Preston is created – the so-called "Black seat." This is seen by many as a means by which to politically empower Black Nova Scotia by ensuring Black representation, if not in government, at least in the legislature. It is argued that this is the best method by which to promote and protect the interest of the Black Community. Others, however, see this as a means by which the community is further ghettoized and marginalized, arguing that the problems that confront the Black population are part and parcel of the overall problems confronting all Nova Scotians, requiring democratic renewal of the entire political process.

In 1993, Wayne Adams, who had hosted *Black Journal*, a radio program, for some 20 years, becomes the first Black mla and minister in the Liberal government. He is defeated by Yvonne Atwell of the ndp, the first Black woman mla, in 1997. David Hendsbee of the pcs is elected in 1999.

1992 — (Oct 25) Canadian people decisively defeat the Charlottetown Accord (The Consensus Report on the Constitution), worked out by closed-door first ministers' conferences, in a national referendum. This report takes a step backward from the Constitution Act, 1867 and vests sovereignty to the eleven first ministers. It exterminates Canadians as a people, replacing them with "Aboriginals, English and French-speaking" peoples; nations and nationalities are replaced with "ethnics" and "races" – in effect, a series of Bandustans. The Accord is backed by the combined power of the governments, big business, big labour and certain special interest groups. For the first time in history, the entire political establishment is defeated by the people.

Enormous pressure is put on the Black community as part of the old-style divisions created during the referendum campaign. Various individuals and groups in Nova Scotia, including the Black United Front, overcome the divisions, and participate in sealing the Accord's fate on a non-partisan basis. The "Yes" vote wins a plurality only in Halifax. A new demand for democratic renewal of Canada, based on affirming sovereign rights vested in the people, is articulated. The elite declares that "it is business as usual," and carry on. In January, 1996 buf is forced to disband, citing cutbacks in government funding. As a result, Nova Scotian Blacks are deprived of a province-wide political organization.

1994 — As recently as 1994, 60% of Black youth in Nova Scotia aged 20–24 had not graduated Grade 11, 30% had not graduated Grade 10, and 10% had less than Grade 9 education. As for role models and mentors to school youth from among the education profession, there were only 91 Black teachers in the entire province, or less than one per cent (0.85%) of the teaching force.

In the u.s., 92% of white students, 86% of African-Americans and only 61% of Latinos finish high school. Current racial segregation surpasses that which existed before the Brown Supreme Court decision (1954) that supposedly outlawed "separate but equal" schooling. 63% of all white students go to schools that are 90-100% white. Studies illustrate a new "digital divide," as well-funded suburban schools benefit from computerization.

1995 — UN Decade for Human Rights Education, 1 January 1995 to 31 December 2004. The World Conference on Human Rights in the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action declares human rights education, training and public information essential for the promotion and achievement of stable and harmonious relations among communities and for fostering mutual understanding, tolerance and peace. It recommends that States should strive to eradicate illiteracy and direct education towards the full development of the human personality and the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

1995 — (28 Feb) The Liberals introduce a \$975 head tax on all adults becoming residents of Canada – dubbed the Right of Landing Fee – in the federal budget to allegedly offset the cost of settlement programs. It is charged to every adult immigrant to Canada and to refugees who apply for permanent residence. No other country charges refugees such a fee. A further fee for processing of \$500 per adult and \$100 per child is also charged. As a consequence many refugees acquire a significant debt burden, are unable to afford the costs of reuniting their families and cannot begin the process of settling. There is no loan programme available. The government comes under increasing pressure from various sectors and groups – including refugee advocates and churches – to change or abolish the fees.

1997 — (May) Gordon Earle is the first Black m.p. from Nova Scotia. (The first Black m.p. was Lincoln Alexander from Windsor, 1968. He was later appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario). In February 2000, Earle wins a libel suit against *Frank* magazine for professional and racial defamation.

1998 — (Feb-Mar) *In This Place*. First collective show by Black artists ever mounted in Nova Scotia, organized

by David Woods, and held at the n.s. College of Art and Design, Shelburne County Museum, uccb Gallery and Museum of Industry, Stellarton. It features some 50 artists. The earliest work is an 1885 landscape of Shelburne by George McCarthy, a member of a wealthy Black loyalist family who owned a boat-building yard. Lynch Mob shows a gang of faceless white men. Quilts and baskets demonstrate a skill handed down for generations. "There's a whole community of (black) folk artists I never knew existed," says Harold Pearce, nscad associate dean. "It's like discovering a whole new culture."

(May 1) In a 20-page decision, Judge Paul Creaghan of the n.b. Court of Queen's Bench awards racist Malcolm Ross, a former teacher now employed in a Moncton school board office, and notorious denier of Nazi mass genocide (Holocaust), \$7,500 damages against cartoonist Josh Beutel and \$2,170 against the n.b. Teacher's Association. The ruling comes months after a 15-day defamation trial stemming from a May 6, 1993 presentation Beutel made at a nbta function in a Saint John synagogue. Judge Creaghan states that Ross "was a racist ... He stands opposed to the intermingling of the races and sees God as giving different qualities to different peoples. He supports a position that would keep whites white, and blacks black. His analogy that some horses are for show, and some for ploughing, smacks of racist elitism." The ruling upholding the right of this racist is hailed across North America by the "patriotic right." Creaghan writes: "Malcolm Ross's reputation was hurt as a result of the defamation against him." That is, in the name of the rights of the individual, the individual is free to infringe upon the freedoms of many. Officials of the Atlantic Jewish Congress report Nazi skinhead activity (Sons of Thor, etc.), including police officers, in the Moncton area.

(May 2-4) Baton-wielding RCMP riot troops with tear gas attack Acadian parents protesting school closures in the Acadian Peninsula villages of St-Sauveur and St-Simon. 85 parents lodge formal complaints against the RCMP.

1998 — (Nov 17) A publishing company produces a restaurant placemat featuring "Ku Klux Klaverns on the Miramichi," with advertisements from 20 businesses. It features a photo of a robed and hooded Klansman surrounding a burning cross. "There's nothing there, it's just history," alleges author Harold Adams. 200 students at the n.b. Community College immediately organize a protest petition.

1998 — African Nova Scotia Music Awards are launched in Dartmouth to honour the musical heritage of the black community, while shining the spotlight on the talented new artists taking music to new heights. October, 1999 winners were: Adrien Gough (Up and Coming); Jeremiah Sparks (Best New Artist); Muzzy (Best Live Performance); Afro-Musica (Artist/Group of the Year); Jeremiah Sparks (Best Album); Nova Scotia Mass Choir (Best Gospel); Shy Luv (Best Hip Hop/R&B); Black Cultural Centre (BBI Development Award); Louis Gannon, Jr. (Music Heritage); and Gary Steed (Pioneer).

1997-98 — Racist Turnpike. Department of Transportation names the connector road between Bedford and Sackville after Captain John Gorham, the New England merchant, bounty hunter and slaver let loose on the Mi'kmaq and Acadians by the British in the 1740s (see page 13). After vigorous opposition, the name is rescinded. In a two-month period, the two Halifax dailies carry some 45 articles "debating" crimes on "both sides."

1997-00 — As part of an international campaign, persistent agitation develops in Halifax in defence of Mumia Abu Jamal, an African-American political activist who has been on death row for 18 years in Philadelphia for a crime he did not commit.

1999 — Chretien government releases White Paper on Immigration Policy, Building on a Strong Foundation for the 21st Century.

The UN Human Rights Committee's "concluding observations" challenges Canada's performance in respecting the human rights of refugees and immigrants. It criticizes deportation of persons "to countries where they may face a substantial risk of torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment." It recommends Canada revise its policy. (Canadian Council for Refugees)

(Feb. 15) — n.b. Human Rights Commission orders an inquiry to review the case of Keith Langford, a former Saint John police officer, who accuses the force of racism and driving him from the force in 1995. Physician Dr. Daniel Scott states that "in the 18 years that Mr. Langford has worked for the police force, he has had to deal with racism on a daily basis." His complaint was filed in 1996.

(June 21) — 250th Anniversary of Halifax re-enacts the city's founding. Vigorous opposition forces mayor Walter Fitzgerald to apologize for the "atrocities which were committed against the Mi'kmaq" by Cornwallis, but he is unrepentant: in a statement of creative amnesia, he declares that it is merely "old history" and "(the Mi'kmaq) probably killed more than we did."

(Aug 30) A study of nearly 6,000 articles published in the *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star*, and *Toronto Sun* between 1994 and 1997 on Blacks and Vietnamese by the School of Journalism at Ryerson Polytechnic University, 1999 raises "troubling questions" about the print media's role in perpetuating racism. 84% of articles mentioning "Jamaicans" had to do with sports, entertainment or social problems (crime, deportation, etc.) Only two per cent mentioned achievement.

"The cases analyzed in this study raise troubling questions about the role of the media in perpetuating and exacerbating racism in this country." The report, entitled *The Racialization of Crime in Toronto's Print Media*, is written by Dr. Frances Henry, an anthropologist and a leading researcher in the area of race and the media. "Without using overtly racist terminology or language, the media by their selective and subtle use of stereotypes and generalization nevertheless contribute to the development of a negative image of racial communities, which are then marginalized and legislated against."

(Sep 17) Supreme Court acquits Donald Marshall Jr., a Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq, of illegal fishing charges. It confirms the rights of Natives covered by the treaty of 1760 to hunt and fish for commerce but allows these rights to be realized only within the framework of dfo regulations. Before the Marshall decision, the Supreme Court had confirmed the Aboriginal right of some East Coast Natives as First Nations to harvest fish solely for food and ceremonial purposes. The Marshall Decision confirms the treaty rights of Natives to hunt and fish for commerce. dfo, headed by a wealthy Indo-Canadian businessman, Herb Dhaliwhal, further declares that the decision does not apply to non-Status Natives. It refuses to negotiated on a nation-to-nation basis.

In Yarmouth, N.S., and Burnt Church, N.B., evidence emerges that some processors, aided and abetted by the dfo, rcmp and the media, orchestrate vigilantism against Native fishers. Traps and other property are destroyed, and people injured. The media portrays the objective conflict as a racial conflict in its main scenario. A widespread grudge is promoted that somehow the Mi'kmaq will reap benefits from the government that they have not rightfully earned. Inshore fishermen's groups seek dialogue and hold meetings with the Mi'kmaq organizations.

(Sep) — n.s. Supreme Court Justice Suzanne Hood orders the province pay \$12,000 legal costs for the wrongful arrest of Damon Cole in the 1994 frat-house beating of student Darren Watts. She chastises the Crown for "improper conduct" in the case against him.

(Dec) — Battle in Seattle. 50,000 people, including many Canadians confront a World Trade Organization meeting. As a result of the free trade agenda, there is widespread concern that the sovereignty of Canada hangs in the balance as never before.

(Dec 7) — Racist messages and death threats are found scrawled on school walls, and a bomb threat forces evacuation of the Oromocto, n.b., high school.

(Dec) — Judge Batiot of the Provincial Court refuses the persistent demand of the Sheppard family, Halifax, for a public inquiry into the "underlying facts" behind the murder of Warren Edward Sheppard, Jr., 3.9-years earlier in the n.s Hospital. The family states that "Albert Ian MacDonald was merely the instrument that delivered the final stab" and that Sheppard's murder "is a symptom of a greater system's problem." On January 11, 2000 the family further demands an Order-in-Council to investigate twenty specific questions, including "(1) specific circumstances that led (caused) the murder; (2) mental health services; (3) privileges of race and class; (4) economics / constraints of poverty; (5) justice/ injustice; (6) privatization; (9) lack of accountability...; (10) screening & assessment process; (11) education-training requirements; (13) racism in Justice & Mental Health Services; (15) Afrocentric mental health programs; (16) negligence; (19) mean-spirited Justice ..."

2000 — The Chretien government proposes a new Citizenship Act, based on "fundamental Canadian values." These "values" — that all Canadians allegedly share — are again rooted in outdated 19th century eurocentric British concepts of politics, economics and culture. It will further entrench inequalities by enshrining the notion of privilege as opposed to recognizing the fundamental rights that each member of society has by virtue of their being human. It is profoundly discriminatory since it forces immigrants to meet citizenship requirements that do not apply to those born in Canada.

*I*n a period of rising economic, social and political pressures, there is an acute need to resist trends of defeatism and of dependence. In this, Black history is especially helpful, for its study provides a never-ending source of confidence in the staying power of people. In the marginalization of Blacks (and Natives), some see only weakness, a broken humanity. Yet for some 400 years, the powers-that-be have been exhausting their imaginations in their oppression of Black people. They have been segregated, jim-crowed, ghettoized, marginalized and slandered; they have hired last and fired first; they have been compelled to work the hardest and they have been paid the worst; they have been kept out of education and forced to school themselves. And yet – with supreme effort – they have more than endured. This fire tempered, rather than consumed them. The progress of the emancipated Black has been phenomenal. He has touched every phase of Nova Scotia and Canadian development – from labour to the arts, from the advance of science and discovery to politics and athletics.

We draw several other conclusions from this brief study. The old colonial doctrine of race superiority and "Keep Canada White" today function under the government's eurocentric mantle of "fundamental Canadian values." It promotes tolerance of a hierarchy of Canadians – "founding nation," aboriginal, ethnic and white-skinned or an ethnic who is "visible" – i.e., black or dark skinned. Minorities are allowed, even funded, to celebrate "culture", "identity" and to foster language rights, but not to exercise equality, democratic rights as human beings. A Black citizen whose ancestry is the Loyalists is nonetheless asked which island he or she comes from, showing if nothing else that considerations of race and colour predominate in the classification of a Canadian, not membership in the body politic. —I.S. & T.S.

Eurocentrism is based on ethnocentrism; an ethnocentric approach for minorities is a cul-de-sac. These constitute a principal problem, rather than merely the pressure of skinheads and the hate propaganda of the "right", as some proclaim.

If a human right does not exist as a political right, a right vested in membership in the polity, rather than as a member of a "founding nation" etc., then rights are mere privileges. Neither the rights of the minorities nor the majority are enshrined in law. All are not considered equal before the law. The new laws being brought forward, and the rulings of the Supreme Court of Canada, instead of guaranteeing the means to enjoy that equality, which should be clearly spelled out and be applicable to all, are used to make sweeping policy statements that express old colonial notions. What is also required is an awareness of the majority that securing their own rights are bound up with the achievement of the rights of Black Canadians and other minorities.