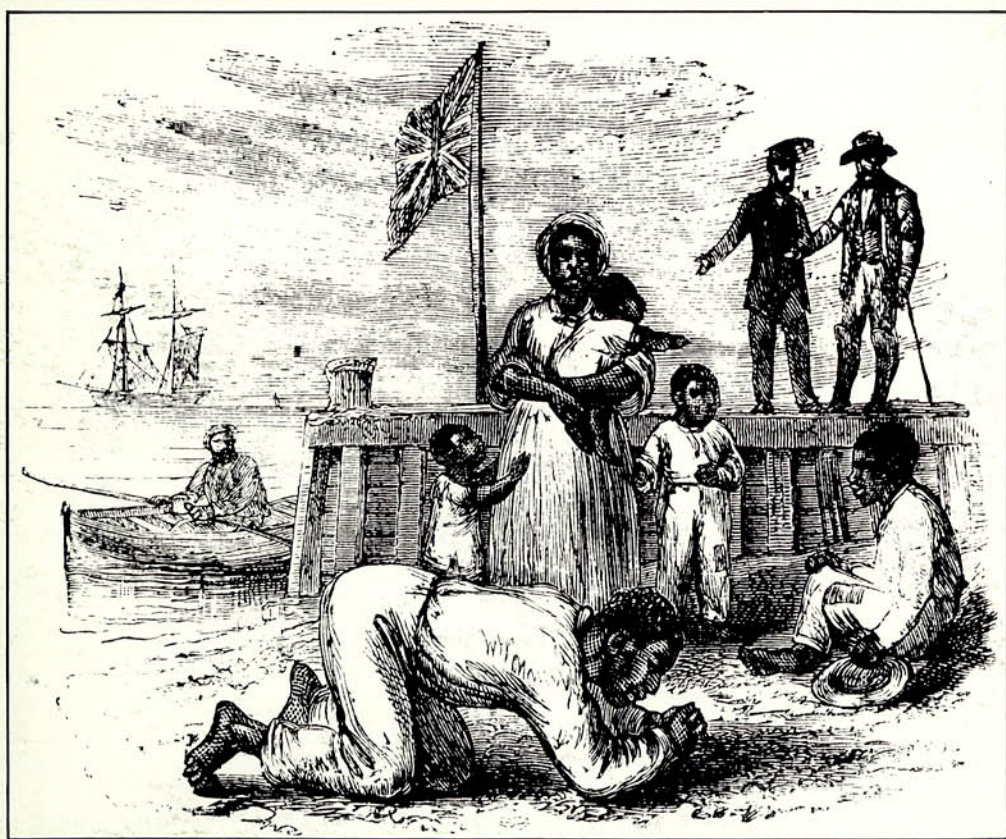


**RACIAL**  
**DISCRIMINATION**  
**IN CANADA:**  
**THE BLACK**  
**EXPERIENCE**

**James W. St.G. Walker**



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# RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN CANADA: THE BLACK EXPERIENCE

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## RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN CANADA: THE BLACK EXPERIENCE

*Thou serious star in Northern Night!  
Thou steady lamp of sacred light!  
Look kindly on a hapless wight—  
A sable refugee.*

*A Saviour star be thou to me,  
Lead me to a country free,  
To frozen climes I'll follow thee,  
Thou star of liberty.*

*Light to the place of freedom's birth,  
An unpaid tiller of the earth,  
Where sacred is the home and hearth,  
Of men in liberty.*

Verses from "The Fugitive's Address to the North Star" by Alexander McCarthur, *Voice of the Fugitive*, 15 January 1852.

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*Sales at Auction By William Millett, At his Auction-Room, on Thursday next, the 9th Inst, at 12 o'clock. About Two Tons of Ship Bread, A few Barrels of Mess Pork, Indian and Rye Meal, Some Household Furniture, A stout likely Negro Man, And sundry other Articles.*

*Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser, 7 September 1790.*

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*Great Riot today [26 July 1784]. The disbanded soldiers have risen against the Free negroes to drive them out of Town, because they labour cheaper than they — the soldiers. [27 July] Riot continues. The soldiers force the negroes to quit the town — pulled down about 20 of their houses.*

W.O. Raymond, ed., "The Founding of Shelburne and Early Miramichi: Marston's Diary," *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society III* (1907), p. 265.

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*The Coloured people of London are probably about two hundred, they pay the School tax on their property exactly the same as others, under the general statute law. They have under it no doubt an equal right to participate in the blessings of*

*education, but a proud conventional prejudice, engrafted on us from the U States, a prejudice which no legislative enactment can correct, practically deprives them of all benefit from our public Schools. If any Colored child enters a School, the white children are withdrawn, the teachers are painfully obliged to decline, and the Coloured people while they acutely feel the anomaly of their painful position, yield to an injustice which they are too weak to redress...*

London Auxiliary Bible Society to W.H. Draper, M.P., 27 March 1847, Hodgins Papers, Public Archives of Ontario.

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*A negro with plenty to eat and to drink, with clothing and shelter, has little care for anything else. He has no ambition. To him labor is only a last resort.*

Sir Adams Archibald (former Lt. Gov. of Nova Scotia), "Story of Deportation of Negroes from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone," *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society* VII (1891), p. 148.

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*We see in the United States what grave problems may arise from the presence of a race unable to become full members of the same social family as ourselves.*

Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier, 1910.

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*At no time has the immigration of this race been encouraged by the government, and it must be with regret that students of the immigration problem view the movement of coloured persons from Oklahoma to the western provinces which commenced during 1911. The negro problem, which faces the United States and which Abraham Lincoln said could be settled only by shipping one and all back to a tract of land in Africa, is one in which Canadians have no desire to share. It is to be hoped that climatic conditions will prove unsatisfactory to those new settlers, and that the fertile lands of the West will be left to be cultivated by the white race only.*

W.D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration, in Adam Short and Arthur Doughty, eds., *Canada and Its Provinces* VII (1914).

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*We used to live in Campsie when we were children. There's one thing that I remember, that I'll never forget, that was the Jim Crow Law they had out there. When we were very young they opened the school and because we were a Black family my oldest sisters and brothers couldn't go to school... One day mother*

*took one of the girls over to the school to see what would happen — the teacher wouldn't open the door; they just shut the school right down.*

Mrs. Ruth Jones of Alberta, in Velma Carter and Wanda Leffler Akili, *The Window of our Memories*, 1981, p. 55.

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*Nothing is to be gained by blinking facts. The civilized negro is vain and imitative; in Canada he is not being impelled to enlist by a high sense of duty; in the trenches he is not likely to make a good fighter; and the average white man will not associate with him on terms of equality.*

Major-General W.G. Gwatkin, Chief of General Staff, Ottawa, 13 April 1916.

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*The management of a theatre may impose restrictions and make rules as to the place which each person should occupy during a representation. Therefore, when a coloured man, bearer of a ticket of general admission, wants to take a seat in a part of the House which he knows is by a rule of the manager prohibited to a coloured person, he cannot complain if he is refused admission.*

Quebec Court of Appeal, *Loew's Montreal Theatres Ltd. v. Reynolds*, 1919.

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*Some of us, even those of us who have university educations, are finding doors closed on us, even in wartime. We have supported the war effort; we want to help more. Our people have been downtrodden, wasting their abilities at inferior work.*

Statement by Toronto blacks published in the *Globe and Mail*, 28 October 1943.

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*I dealt with racism when I was in Canada. I dealt with racists. I was totally exploited. I was left with nothing, no dignity. I was treated like an animal.*

Chester (Cookie) Gilchrist, on refusing to be inducted into the Canadian Football Hall of Fame, cited in the *Globe and Mail*, 23 July 1983.

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*The federal Government is calling for a special parliamentary inquiry into what it describes as the pervasive problem of racism. Multiculturalism Minister James Fleming told reporters yesterday that such a study would not change the minds of*

*the 8 to 11 per cent of the population he said were 'rock-hard bigots.' But he said he could make other less racist Canadians aware that so-called visible minorities — which he said include blacks, Asians, East Indians and Jews — just want the same things as everyone else.... Mr. Fleming said such a committee would follow in the footsteps of another all-party inquiry into the handicapped. That committee is credited with increasing public awareness of the needs, problems and potential of handicapped people.*

*Globe and Mail, 26 May 1983*

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### *Introduction*

The North Star provided a guiding beacon for fugitive slaves fleeing from bondage to freedom, from Egypt to the Promised Land, from the United States to Canada. Generations of Canadians thrilled to stories of the hopeful runaways, eluding pursuit while they followed the North Star, stories which ended at the border where the grateful slaves fell to their knees on Canadian soil, free at last. The Underground Railroad era was a positive moment in Canada's past, for Canada did indeed offer a haven to American slaves for more than seventy-five years. The Underground Railroad also fostered a myth: that the North Star led not just out of slavery, but into freedom, equality, and full participation in Canadian life, that the Promised Land was fulfilled in Canada. The North Star myth entered the Canadian identity and became a major feature distinguishing Canadians from Americans: only south of the border were blacks subjected to violence, denied their citizenship rights, forced into residential ghettos. The moral superiority of the True North depended as much upon contrasting racial attitudes as on any other single factor. When Prime Minister John Diefenbaker declared at the 1960 Commonwealth Conference that racial discrimination was "repugnant to and unequivocally abhorred and condemned by Canadians as a whole," he was uttering the truth as he saw it and as it was generally understood by Canadians. During the highly publicized black American freedom struggle of the 1950s and 1960s, most Canadians genuinely sympathized with the blacks and admired the leadership of Martin Luther King, while at the same time congratulating themselves that no such problems existed here.

The North Star myth was, however, a liability for Canada, for it prevented any sincere examination of the situation faced by blacks and other "visible minorities." It allowed most Canadians to believe that Canada had no "race



problem,” that Canadian blacks were satisfied with conditions here, that there was no cause for concern or for corrective action. When stories of racially-motivated violence and white extremist groups in Canada flashed across the headlines in the 1970s, they could scarcely be believed. Following the news bulletins came opinion polls revealing that large numbers of whites harboured prejudicial attitudes. Statistical studies showed that non-whites experienced more unemployment, lower wages, and poorer job mobility than majority Canadians. The victims themselves reported discriminatory treatment in employment, housing, and services. Unable to ignore the evidence yet convinced of a history free of racism, Canadians perceived discrimination to be a new problem whose roots must lie in the recent past. Pronouncements from politicians and officials, warning that racism was increasing and violence inevitable, reinforced the impression that a new and ugly virus had infected Canadian society. Numerous enquiries attempted to explain this sudden appearance of racism, and the resulting explanations formed the basis of programmes to combat the problem. Guided by the belief that racism was recent, analysts concluded that its arrival in Canada coincided with a rapid increase in the black population, with a dramatic extension in the variety of immigrant cultures, and with an economic recession which reduced employment opportunities for all Canadians.

Historical perspective is an essential component in the analysis of any social situation, and this is especially evident in the case of racial discrimination. To gain that perspective it is useful to examine the history of blacks in Canada, for their experience demonstrates that discrimination is neither new nor is it caused by numbers, economic conditions, or cultural conflict. This booklet sets out to explore the development of restrictions imposed on black Canadians, especially after 1783 when communities of free blacks began to be established. The evolution of the communities themselves cannot be considered here; readers are encouraged to pursue some of the Suggested Readings for the story of how black Canadians have met the challenges created by unequal treatment, and how they have produced a history as varied as any other Canadian group. Although racial discrimination is only a part of that history, it has been an important and formative part. Most significantly it bears a lesson which helps to expose the very deep roots of racial disadvantage in our heritage, and the manner in which it has been manifest at different stages in our history. Blacks are not the only group to have experienced discrimination based on “race”: native Indians, Chinese, Japanese, South Asians, and Jews have shared that unhappy distinction. The black example is however particularly instructive because it is not complicated by special legislative status, by linguistic barriers, or by exotic differences in dress, food, family structure, or religion. The unfavourable conditions met by blacks in Canada have been imposed and enforced on grounds of colour, and on the variable meaning that different generations of Canadians have attributed to colour.

From the very beginning of their history in Canada, blacks were associated with slavery, and therefore with a subordinate role in society. The first African slave landed at Quebec in 1628, and from then until 1783 almost all Canadian blacks were slaves whose economic function, by definition, was to serve others. Their position was not, however, explained in terms of "race." New France, especially, was a hierarchical society, with many degrees of subordination and servitude. While blacks were certainly low on the order, there was no dramatic gulf separating slaves from other servant categories: even their slavery was shared with "panis" or Indian slaves and, although their rights were restricted, they were eligible for most of the services offered by church and state. Following the British conquest, more black slaves entered Canada and enslavement became more exclusively a black condition, but a racial justification was still absent. The immediate effect of slavery was not a doctrine of racial inferiority, but a situation which subjected blacks to white authority as a result of their legal position as slaves. From slavery grew many of the stereotypical characteristics applied to blacks, particularly the notions of dependence, lack of initiative, and suitability only for service and unskilled employment. Even when slavery gradually died out in Canada, these images were nourished by the continued enslavement of blacks in the British Empire until 1834 and in the United States until 1865.

Between 1783 and 1867, a series of incidents and circumstances within Canada reinforced those stereotypes. During this period four groups of American blacks migrated to Canada, mostly fugitive former slaves, without wealth or power or social rank, and with little to offer of economic value beyond their labour. The legacy of slavery in Canada consigned the black migrants to a labouring and service role. At a time when social privilege was closely related to economic status, the distinctions affecting blacks in the workplace were almost automatically extended to other areas of life. By the time of Confederation, a colour line had been established in Canada, identifying all blacks as members of a specified class and setting them apart from mainstream society. This line was upheld by attitude rather than by law, justified by convention rather than by ideology. There was no logic or design in the process, for it was a product of history.

The historical sequence began with the arrival of 3,500 free black Loyalists in 1783. Most of these people had been American-owned slaves who won their freedom by joining the British cause during the Revolutionary War upon the promise of the same rights and privileges as other Loyalists in reward for their services. But conditions in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, where most of them settled, operated to perpetuate many of the disadvantages derived from slavery. Confusion and delay in the allocation of Loyalist land grants meant that

priorities had to be established, serving those with power and influence first while the group of former slaves was relegated to the end of the list. Few black Loyalists received land grants at all, and those who did were placed on small allotments in the least desirable regions. As was usual with many Loyalist groups, the blacks were settled in distinct districts, often on the outskirts of major white centres, where physical separation accentuated their economic disadvantage. Unable to support themselves on their inadequate farms, the blacks were dependent upon the employment offered them by white landowners or by the government. Easily exploited in their desperation, they would accept wages far below those demanded by white workers. This practice attracted the enmity of white labourers, who tended to blame the former slaves for their own problems. Marginal, segregated, and dependent, the free black group constituted a distinct caste which ranked beneath the lowest class whites. Occupational and residential exclusivity was matched in the churches and schools, where blacks were segregated or excluded. Although the whites' acceptance of all blacks as lowly labourers and incomplete citizens was certainly defined in terms of colour, it was not yet explained by racial doctrine. It was their background as former slaves, and their consequent poor status in a highly status-conscious society, which served to justify their treatment.

Conditions did improve as Loyalist society settled down and as black young people qualified in useful trades. The gradual elimination of slavery throughout British North America in the 1790s and early 1800s removed one major cause for distinction. But then, during the War of 1812, thousands of black American slaves fled to British protection, encouraged by a promise of complete freedom and settlement on British land in Canada. The earliest of these black Refugees, as they are known, arrived in Halifax in 1813 where they were immediately regarded as a valuable addition to the province's labour resource. Both the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick governments welcomed the Refugees and offered to take more. The place into which they were welcomed, however, was narrowly defined. Carrying the negative status of former slaves and sharing the colour characteristic of the region's service caste, the new blacks were expected to perform manual labour at low rates of pay. About two thousand Refugees settled in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick on small allotments incapable of providing subsistence. Like the earlier black Loyalists, their economic circumstances forced them to accept the meanest employment. Following the War of 1812, an economic depression and a sudden influx of white immigrant labourers reduced even this kind of employment opportunity. Their "place," already constrained, was practically removed. In a very revealing resolution, the Nova Scotia Assembly voted in 1815 to ban further black immigration on the grounds that there were already enough "labourers and servants" to fill all the available jobs. Though disallowed by the British Parliament, this resolution bears eloquent testimony to the stereotypical role assigned to blacks in the province.

In their separate settlements, black Loyalists and Refugees established their own churches and schools, but their poverty meant that these institutions usually required charitable aid to continue operation. On several occasions, entire communities depended on outside aid or government relief in order to avoid starvation, since their tiny farms and limited employment left them vulnerable to the slightest economic or climate difficulty. Locked in poverty, denied the means of self-improvement, and dependent on white charity, the blacks suffered from an image of helplessness and lack of industry which in turn reinforced white stereotypes. Observation throughout the region allowed white Maritimers to conclude that blacks were unambitious and poorly educated, suited only to perform menial labour, and not qualified to associate as equals in the institutions of white society. Discrimination was fulfilling its own prescription. Traditions established in slavery, exacerbated by the haste and limited resources attending the Loyalist settlement, had resulted in a prescribed economic position for blacks which was reflected in their social status, and which fixed them at the lowest level of the class hierarchy.

Very few black Loyalists migrated to Ontario, so that distinctive settlements and special treatment did not evolve there to the same extent as in the Maritimes. Black numbers began to increase, however, as fugitive slaves from the United States sought refuge in the British territory. The Ontario frontier was expanding and the blacks were welcomed as labourers, particularly in road construction and land clearance. When the Provincial Assembly passed a bill for the gradual extinction of slavery in 1793, the chief argument against it was that the province desperately needed labourers. The blacks' physical contribution to the pioneer economy was widely recognized and employment, in the unskilled categories, was constantly available. But by the 1840s, the welcome was growing cooler. The increasing availability of poor Irish labourers created competition for the place previously accorded to blacks, the frontier had ceased to expand, and agricultural mechanization further reduced opportunities for basic labour. As American conditions became more and more restrictive for blacks, especially after the *Fugitive Slave Act* of 1850, Ontario's black population grew to about forty thousand. Blacks were much less valued, yet considerably more visible than in earlier decades. Willing to accept lower wages, they drew resentment and sometimes violence from whites in competition for similar jobs. The accustomed role assigned to blacks was being penetrated by others, and it was the blacks who tended to be displaced.

Though it took longer to develop, the condition of blacks in Ontario was becoming remarkably similar to that which existed in the Maritimes. Social separation, the product of economic deprivation and low status, kept blacks from many church and community events. Their colour was a label announcing their inferior position. Other immigrants, particularly the Irish, often shared a similar economic position and suffered from the consequent social

discrimination, but they were always relegated to an inferior status within the prevailing society. In contrast, blacks were stained by slavery to be perpetual outsiders, tolerated but never accepted as a permanent component in the British-American community. Besides, the United States example taught that colour segregation was appropriate for former slaves, even in "free" states where slavery had been abolished. Ontario's *Common School Act* of 1850 permitted the establishment of separate schools for blacks and, even where such schools did not exist, black children could be forced to attend class at separate times from whites, or to occupy segregated benches. Institutional separation served further to correlate colour with a distinctive place and non-acceptance. Clearly blacks were considered not to belong, or at least to belong only within carefully defined limits. When those limits were transgressed — as for example when a black man married a white woman — riots and murder could result. Apart from the schools, black separation was not recognized in law, but public convention kept blacks from voting or serving on juries in many parts of southwestern Ontario. Violence, though rare, emphasized a barrier which blacks were not permitted to cross.

The only other part of British North America to witness a major black influx before Confederation was Vancouver Island. In the 1850s blacks in California were subjected to increasing persecution and civil disabilities, prompting the movement of over seven hundred blacks to Victoria in 1858 and 1859. Since California was a "free" state, the blacks moving to Victoria were not coming directly out of slavery. Many had acquired skills and business experience, and brought capital to invest in new enterprises. The Pacific coast was then in the midst of an economic boom, fueled by the gold rush. Labour was in urgent demand, and the blacks found immediate employment and entrepreneurial opportunities. Increasing their value to the British colony was their decided hostility toward their former homeland, at a time when white American residents of the colony threatened a demand for annexation to the United States. The blacks' attitude was given concrete demonstration in 1860 when they formed the Victoria Pioneer Rifle Company, known familiarly as the African Rifles, to defend the colony against American encroachment. In fulfilment of resolutions passed before they left San Francisco, the black migrants sought to integrate completely into British colonial society. In what had by now become a typical pattern across British North America, however, it soon became apparent that the blacks were not to be accorded full equality: some churches established segregated sections for their black worshippers, many saloons and other public facilities refused service to blacks, and theatres relegated them to balcony seats. Physical intimidation and riots enforced these divisions. Even the loyal Pioneer Rifles suffered humiliation, being barred from parades and public ceremonies. An American newspaper correspondent visiting Victoria in 1864 concluded that prejudice was as serious there as in San Francisco. While legal equality prevailed, and certain individual blacks achieved acceptance, there was a wide-

spread feeling amongst whites that blacks must not mingle indiscriminately with the general society.

By 1867, therefore, a colour line was discernible in Canada and, although its features varied from one time and place to another, there was a consistent underlying principle: blacks were acceptable in circumstances of economic necessity, when they could provide a needed service. In conditions of frontier expansion, there was ample scope for their labour but even then, when their function was most valued, social restrictions still existed and there were few contacts between whites and blacks outside the employment realm. When circumstances changed, as when white workers were more readily available or economic conditions reduced demand for their labour, blacks could not penetrate to other functions in society. A "place" had been defined for blacks, and there was no room for them beyond it. Usually the place was upheld by non-violent means, but when necessary force would be used to maintain the distance. Violent outbursts occurred, for example, when a black preacher baptized whites in the Maritimes in the 1780s, when blacks assumed military dignities in St. Catharine's, Ontario in 1852, when a black man married a white woman in Chatham, Ontario in 1860, when blacks sat in the main theatre section in Victoria in the same year. Personal observation taught whites that blacks were servants and labourers, for that was the situation in which most of them appeared, and once established this role was self-propelling. Blacks were not at all unique in having their social status derive from their economic class; they were however the only group whose colour visibility provided a badge of their class, a badge furthermore associated with the degradation of slavery. Despite the absence of an overt racist ideology in pre-Confederation Canada, colour came to be identified with a set of conditions and relationships which could be institutionalized across the generations.

## *II Justification by Race, 1867-1945*

Following Confederation the economic and social condition of blacks declined even further, for the circumstances which produced a new Canadian nation created no need or place for blacks. The migration of runaway slaves had ended with the American Civil War, removing Canada's role as a haven from American tyranny; a return movement of many fugitives to the United States confirmed the impression that Canada was a temporary refuge and that blacks had no permanent home here. Continued white immigration further diminished the significance of the black proportion of the population. Less numerous and less visible and with no obvious part to play, blacks could be dismissed as strangers who did not really belong. The national priority was Western settlement and, once the transcontinental railway was completed, an aggressive recruitment campaign was conducted to attract appropriate settlers. Because the new nation was intended to remain British, the campaign was directed

towards those who were already Anglo-Saxon in background and outlook or who could be readily assimilated. Canada was a community in the process of formation, conscious that its entry policy would create the future population; diversity was feared as potentially divisive, as a threat to Anglo-Saxon institutions. Since blacks were regarded as unassimilable, they were not attractive as immigrants and those already in Canada were subjected to increasing restrictions. An economic recession beginning in 1873 reduced employment opportunities for all Canadians, and blacks were more than ever concentrated occupationally in the service ranks. But a new phase in Canadian prosperity began about 1900, when a wheat-led expansion produced employment in agriculture, natural resources, construction, and industry. Yet racial exclusion continued throughout this boom period; in fact, the limits placed around the blacks' economic and social activities became tighter than before.

The existing "colour line" was not entirely responsible for this situation. The "scientific" study of race in Europe and the United States, in the second half of the nineteenth century, gave widespread acceptance to the theory that physical and cultural variety derived from inherent genetic differences in humankind. European achievements in technology, education, standard of living, and individual liberty were contrasted with conditions in other continents; furthermore, as European colonization of almost the entire globe proceeded, white people were increasingly assuming authority over populations with darker skins. An age that was passionate in its quest for rational explanations and quantifiable evidence, quite readily conscripted the scientific method to explain the apparent differences in human characteristics. Earlier feelings that European religion and civilization were superior, feelings shared by many peoples about their own accomplishments, were transformed into a notion that the physical body held the answers, just as the material world held the secrets of nature, ready to be explored. For example, skulls and cranial capacity were measured in the belief that brain size determined intelligence. Since the skull of the northern European was assumed to represent the highest intelligence, then shapes and sizes that were different must naturally be less intelligent. In this fashion all physically identifiable human groups could be ranked downwards from Europeans, their place on the scale determined by their variance from the European ideal. Darwin's theory of evolution could then be applied to deduce the stage of evolution reached by each group. The conclusion was that human beings were categorized in "races," subject to the slow pace of evolution and therefore immutable in any lifetime. Membership in a race determined not only physical type, but also behavioural characteristics and tendencies; some races, for example, were programmed genetically to be rulers, and others to be natural servants and followers. "Science" had proven that the hierarchical relationships produced by slavery and imperialism were natural and right. Such explanations justified the expansion of imperial domination and greater restriction upon

non-white subject peoples, leading to an ever-broadening base of empirical evidence proving white superiority.

The ideology of racism came from outside Canada, but it landed on fertile soil, for its claims coincided with the local experience of a dependent black population. White Canadians could identify with the European rulers of the overseas empires, finding in themselves the same virtues which led European civilization to dominate much of the globe. Further, a self-conscious attention to Western settlement made Canadians especially vulnerable to doctrines itemizing the alleged qualities of different peoples. With the general principles of racism came specific characteristics attributed to various groups. Blacks were characterized, in early twentieth-century Canadian publications, as superstitious, fun-loving, slow-witted, and lazy, with animal appetites best kept in control by strict white supervision. If blacks were disadvantaged, it was surely due to their own inferior nature. But they were also a threat, for the mixture of races could lead to a deterioration of Anglo-Saxon stock and even the presence of inferior groups could undermine the British institutions designed by and for a Northern race. Blacks were no longer simply a disadvantaged minority, but a danger to be guarded against for the sake of Canada's future generations.

It was this intellectual environment that was met by the first large body of American blacks to enter Canada since Confederation. Among the six hundred thousand Americans attracted by the Canadian immigrant recruitment campaign were a few blacks, but it was the deterioration of conditions for blacks in Oklahoma, following statehood in 1907, that produced a wider movement into Canada. Already experienced with farming techniques useful on the prairies, and encouraged by immigration literature, approximately thirteen hundred blacks from Oklahoma settled in Alberta and Saskatchewan between 1910 and 1912. Because they were healthy American citizens and possessed of property, existing regulations were not sufficient to keep them out. Their numbers, and the fear that this was the first wave in a potential flood of black migrants, brought demands for special legislation to preserve the West for whites only. Having scant first-hand experience with blacks, Western Canadians accepted the prevailing international images. Public petitions and municipal resolutions from all three prairie provinces urged Ottawa to ban further black immigrants and to segregate those already there. An Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire petition, clearly reflecting external stereotypes, expressed the fear that white women would be unsafe from black sexual aggressiveness. Newspapers in Toronto, Ottawa, and Montreal supported the Western resolutions, citing the American example as "proof" that blacks were inferior and disruptive, and similar sentiments were expressed in the federal parliament.

The Liberal government prepared an order-in-council in 1911 to prohibit black immigration for one year, but it was never proclaimed. Fear that relations



with the United States could be damaged, and that black voters in Ontario and the Maritimes would be alienated, apparently prevented such an overt restriction. Instead, less formal measures were adopted. Agents were sent into the South to discourage black migrants; medical, character, and financial examinations were rigorously applied at border points, with rewards for officials who disqualified blacks; American railways were influenced to deny blacks passage to Canada. Continued by the Conservatives after their 1911 election victory, this subtle campaign had stopped all black immigration by 1912 without the necessity of ever declaring a formal racist policy. The rural settlements established by the blacks who did arrive — primarily in the Edmonton region — continued to exist in relative isolation. No longer an issue, they soon passed from white consciousness. A senior government official could write in 1929, totally inaccurately, that the settlers had all failed and left Canada.

No other incident provoked such an articulation of Canadian racist feeling against blacks, though during the same period legal restrictions and extra-legal violence were directed against Asians on the West Coast. Similar attitudes excluded blacks from participation in mainstream activities all across Canada. This was demonstrated dramatically during the First World War. Anxious to do their part for nation and empire, young black men volunteered for overseas service. Though no blanket restriction was imposed, individual commanding officers were entitled to refuse black volunteers, and most did so. According to the racist characterization, blacks were not good soldier material and besides their presence would be distasteful to white recruits. When the blacks persisted, despite insult and rebuff, authorization was given for the formation of the Nova Scotia No. 2 Construction Battalion in 1916: not to fight the Germans but to perform auxiliary services for white troops. Recruited from Ontario and the West as well as Nova Scotia, the men of the No. 2 were accompanied overseas by the traditional black “place,” as attachments to the Canadian Forestry Corps. Physical attacks by both Canadian soldiers and civilians during the war revealed that their loyal efforts had not gained the blacks the acceptance of white society. Although some individual blacks did serve with distinction in regular regiments, the general experience in war was similar to their condition at home: rejection, limitation, and consignment to a supportive position.

Blacks were concentrated in specialized corners of the inter-war economy, the men as waiters, janitors, barbers, and labourers, and the women as domestic servants, laundresses, and waitresses. The elite among the men worked as railway waiters and porters. This range shrank as difficult economic circumstances displaced white workers, so that waiting jobs and other personal contact positions passed increasingly to whites. The blacks’ near-monopoly of railway service was breached when the position of dining-car waiter became a white preserve, leaving blacks as sleeping-car porters with no opportunity for

promotion to senior roles. Employment segregation was the most obvious feature of Canadian discrimination. Private employers would refuse to hire blacks for any but the most unattractive jobs; even the federal government permitted racial restriction in its hiring and promotion practices. Housing segregation, too, was widely accepted, leading to some degree of residential concentration for blacks in most Canadian cities. The persistent notion that blacks belonged apart denied them admission to many recreational facilities, including dance halls, swimming pools, skating rinks, theatres, and hotels. Although there was no absolute barrier, for local practices varied considerably, the restrictions consistently reflected a belief that white superiority could be undermined by intimate contact. Attempts to entrench segregation through formal laws during the 1920s were unsuccessful, but discriminatory practices were upheld in the courts as legally acceptable. In 1919 the Quebec Appeal Court declared it legal for Loew's Theatre in Montreal to continue its practice of restricting blacks to balcony seats. Ontario courts in 1924 found it legal for a restaurant to deny service on grounds of race. The Supreme Court of Canada, in a 1940 judgement, found no fault with the Montreal Forum tavern for refusing to serve a black man. Racial discrimination was not contrary to Canadian law.

Immigration restrictions meant that by the Second World War most blacks in Canada had been born here. Citizenship and language were shared with majority Canadians and did not separate the blacks as an alien group. The issue was entirely one of "race," unclouded by any of the excuses which would appear in a later period to justify continued discrimination. If there was little open friction between black and white, it was because contact was kept to a minimum. Incidents occurred only when blacks strayed beyond the accepted bounds and violated a white prerogative or when, as in the Depression, circumstances drove whites downward into black preserves. Stereotypes dictated a place for blacks, creating social and economic stratifications which could then serve to demonstrate and validate the original stereotypes. Colour separation was assumed to be natural, a part of the internationally accepted moral order, and society did not question the propriety of excluding blacks from most remunerative occupations and from opportunities for training and advancement. From the late nineteenth-century until the middle of the twentieth, racism infused Canadian institutions, government policies, and public behaviour. The class lines which had developed in Canada before 1867 had hardened, through the catalyst of international racist theories, into a division based on something called "race."

### *III Reaction and Adjustment Since 1945*

The blacks themselves accepted neither their inferior position nor the rationale that supported it. Many sought to improve their situation through migration to the cities or to the United States. Others attempted to achieve the education and

skills that would raise their economic position and, they believed, their social acceptability. But it became apparent that individual effort and self-improvement were not sufficient to overcome the pressures ranged against them. As early as the 1920s, the railway porters commenced a struggle for the right to be promoted to more senior ranks and, though they were not completely successful until the 1950s, they did set a momentum for direct confrontation with restrictive conditions. During the Second World War, a group of Toronto blacks successfully attacked the discriminatory practices of the National Selective Service in recruiting labour for essential war industries. Then in 1945 the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People was founded to engage in collective action to gain greater opportunities for employment, housing, and education. In Toronto, Montreal, Halifax, and elsewhere, black individuals and organizations compiled information illustrating black disadvantage, exposed derogatory images of blacks in school books and the media, held public meetings, demonstrated against discriminatory businesses, and sent written briefs and personal delegations to political leaders. The racially defined immigration policy was an especial target, for it gave official acknowledgement to the notion that blacks were unwanted in Canada.

The post-war period witnessed an articulate black Canadian reaction to the restrictions which had existed for generations, and it reached an increasingly receptive white audience. Revulsion against Nazi racism, and new expressions of international opinion through the United Nations Charter and other universal declarations, created a more liberal intellectual climate. Researchers were discrediting the claims of "scientific" racism and exposing the weak ideological underpinnings for racial distinctions. Measurement and careful observation had revealed that there was more physical variation within races than between them. Coincidentally, it had also been found that Neanderthals possessed a cranial capacity 10 per cent larger than modern Europeans, a fact that was difficult to reconcile with evolutionary theories of racial progress. Any scientific use of the term "race" was rendered suspect, and new explanations were required. Recognizable differences in human behaviour were attributed to cultural and social influences rather than heredity, including such tendencies as servility or independence, once believed to be racial instincts carried in the blood. Global influence, which had helped to produce Canadian restrictions previously, now operated to remove them. White Canadians gradually responded to the black demands with legislative reforms. During the 1940s and 50s, most provinces and some municipalities passed laws against discrimination in employment, accommodation, and public facilities. In 1945 Ontario Justice J. Keiller Mackay ruled against a racially restrictive property covenant, declaring that racial discrimination was contrary to public policy. The federal *Bill of Rights* in 1960 refuted personal limitations by reason of race, religion, or sex. In 1962 Ontario consolidated its anti-discrimination legislation in a coordinated code, to be implemented by a Human Rights Commission with a

mandate to promote equal opportunity as well as to administer existing laws. Over the next fifteen years every province introduced Commissions with basically similar purposes.

Such changes were rendering immigration restrictions less and less acceptable, while at the same time economic growth favoured a more open policy to attract skilled immigrants. In 1962 new immigration regulations made individual skills the chief criterion for admission and ended race or national origin as reasons for exclusion. Further regulations in 1967 established a "points" system, whereby all who accumulated sufficient points were automatically admitted. The effect was immediate. With artificial barriers removed, highly qualified applicants from Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean flocked to Canada. By the mid-1970s, over 40 per cent of all immigrants came from "Third World" regions, settling primarily in urban areas where their numbers accentuated their colour visibility. The 1981 census recorded over 200,000 West Indians in Canada, compared to 68,000 in 1971 and 12,000 in 1961. Another 50,000 blacks had arrived from Africa during the same period. Numbering fewer than 40,000, the indigenous black community, descended from the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American migrants, now constituted less than 15 per cent of the total black population. Because of the high skill levels possessed by the new immigrants, Canada was experiencing not only a novel increase in black citizens, comparable to the Underground Railroad period, but a substantial shift in occupational distribution of a skin colour associated with lower skills and income. There was a tendency for whites, indoctrinated by historical relationships and prevailing stratifications, to consign the newcomers to the traditional black place in Canadian society. Discrimination therefore encompassed a larger and a different group of people, making it both more apparent and more anomalous. The absence of appropriate education or a lack of initiative could no longer serve as disguises to cover racial bias in hiring and promotion policies. Residential segregation could not be explained by historic patterns or by the blacks' own preference. Euphemisms and excuses were ripped away, exposing the discriminatory reality.

The kind of confrontation in which black Canadians were engaged from the 1940s to the early 1960s tended to attack specific areas of complaint: a skating rink or swimming pool would be forced to admit blacks, a theatre required to stop segregating blacks in the balcony, a hospital induced to accept blacks for nurses' training, or an educational facility might be established in a black community. General attitudes were usually not the target, so that even while Canadian laws were adjusted, the old stereotypes remained substantially intact. By the later 1960s, there was a realization that case-by-case victories were not eliminating the underlying racism of Canadian society, and that a much broader strategy must be adopted. Instructed by black achievements in the United

States, Africa, and the Caribbean, and by the new assertiveness of numerous disadvantaged groups within Canada, blacks began proudly to proclaim their own distinctive qualities and to demand immediate intervention in the syndrome which kept them unequal. In late 1968 and early 1969, the Black United Front was organized in Nova Scotia, with a mandate to seek and expose instances of racism, to unite the people of all of Nova Scotia's black settlements into a conscious community for action, and to conduct programmes for black education, employment, and cultural awareness. In late 1969 the National Black Coalition of Canada was founded in Toronto to coordinate the efforts of black organizations across the country for concentrated effect and mutual support. Although the flood of blacks from overseas temporarily diverted attention away from black issues *per se* to the adjustment problems of the immigrants, repeated experience with discrimination united indigenous and immigrant black Canadians in a common interest. Aided by an expanding economy which needed skilled workers, and utilizing human rights legislation with considerable effect, blacks penetrated economic and social situations beyond their traditionally defined "place." The racial status quo, developed over so long a period, was being disrupted. Colour barriers, whose existence had not even been openly recognized by whites, were being breached.

Some whites responded with resentment, especially those who felt displaced from their rightful position by persons they regarded as inferior. In the mid-1970s, conflict over the enforcement of an appropriate black place resulted in a series of violent racist attacks in many parts of Canada. Physical assaults, harassment, inflammatory slogans, and vandalism increased both quantitatively and qualitatively. Other "visible" minorities, particularly South Asians, were victimized in the same fashion. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau was led to declare, in a Montreal speech in 1975, that "racism is evident in this country and ... violence is coming to our land." An American television program in 1977 described Toronto as "a racial time-bomb." As if in confirmation, small groups of white extremists began openly to articulate racist hostility. The Western Guard and the Ku Klux Klan were newsworthy in a country unaccustomed to blatant expressions of racism, and these extremists were granted media attention which gave the impression that they were far more significant and representative than their tiny numbers warranted. Society seemed to be polarizing along racial lines.

Most Canadians were shocked by these events. Both racism and violence were considered "un-Canadian;" peaceful tolerance was an important element in the Canadian identity. The first reaction, therefore, was to deny that these incidents were symptoms of racism, to explain them as unusually extreme reactions to temporary economic conditions, or to attribute them to a few misguided individuals acting out their private animosities. Little serious thought was given to the possibility that the perpetrators of violence were enforcing a set

of attitudes deeply embedded in the conventional wisdom. Public and press demanded government action in order to clarify the situation, to punish the wrong-doers, and to restore Canada's reputation. The result was a series of official and private enquiries probing the feelings of violators, victims, and the general population. Between 1975 and 1984, several dozen reports were filed, sponsored by human rights commissions, school boards, universities, and municipal, provincial, and federal governments, containing investigations into the conditions faced by "visible minorities" in Canada. Public attention was focused on the race question as never before, and the resulting awareness went far beyond the facile dismissals of the problem which had characterized the earlier reaction. The studies revealed that there was no absolute colour barrier in Canada and that considerable variation occurred in local practices; discrimination could not therefore be measured or defined with strict accuracy. But they did give a distinct set of impressions concerning the blacks' perceived experience with discrimination, the attitudes of whites towards blacks, and some more objective information indicative of the black place in Canada. Especially significant was the fact that these three kinds of data coincided in confirming the essential features of Canadian discrimination.

Those studies which collected the blacks' own reports of discrimination showed that the most perceived difficulty occurred in employment, followed by housing and then public services. Because population samples were invariably used, and survey techniques would differ, the actual percentages could be misleading. Still it was notable that this ordering of the areas of discrimination was consistently reported over several years and across Canada, and that it reflected the same areas of restriction identified by black Canadian organizations in the years before the West Indian influx. The most detailed studies concentrated on Toronto, home to the largest number of blacks and the location of the most serious conflicts, but "situation reports" conducted in eleven cities in 1982 and an all-party Parliamentary enquiry in 1983 contained similar impressions. A majority of black people, both immigrant and Canadian-born, believed that they had suffered in finding a job, gaining promotion, or working at a level appropriate to their skills. About one-third reported that housing discrimination, particularly in rentals, was a serious problem, while a feeling of non-acceptance by white Canadians was generally pervasive. The schools and the media were criticized for perpetuating biased images of blacks. Especially interesting was the blacks' perception that there had been no significant change in discriminatory experiences in recent years. While this argued against the claim that racism was a recent phenomenon, it also implied that intensive public interest had produced no real improvements.

Samples of white opinion offered evidence confirming the blacks' allegations. Surveys ranking blacks as the least acceptable neighbours or marriage partners reflected the same general patterns as were perceived by the

blacks. A majority of white Canadians admitted to some degree of racial bias, and about one-third reported that they might move if many black people moved into their neighbourhood. Specific characteristics were also attributed to blacks by some white persons surveyed, showing that stereotypes derived from slavery still persisted. Substantial proportions of whites believed that blacks were lazy, unmotivated, lacking in intelligence and discipline, primarily of the lower class, and a drain on welfare and unemployment funds. Despite the variety of backgrounds and skills possessed by the blacks in Canada, there remained a tendency to ignore actual experience and to simplify the complexities in terms of traditional images.

To the impressionistic evidence from survey samples were added objective data illustrating the blacks' position in society. Analyses of employment statistics showed that occupational concentration remained a fact, with most blacks still clustered in lower status and service sectors. In most parts of Canada, blacks had a higher unemployment rate than the local average. "Testing" by the Canadian Civil Liberties Association found that a majority of employment agencies would agree to screen out non-white job applicants. It was further shown statistically that once hired, blacks suffered significant income disadvantages, appearing as a group at the lowest end of the wage scale without regard for training or experience. The federal government's immigration review in 1974 showed that blacks enjoyed less upward mobility than other Canadian groups. While the income differential was in part a consequence of the blacks' segregation in the poorly paid service category, an Ontario Human Rights Commission study in 1983 reported that Masters of Business Administration who belonged to visible minorities earned 25 per cent less than whites with the same degree and the same professional experience.

Following a relatively brief flurry of violence, peaking between 1975 and 1980, physical attacks and other overt demonstrations of racism declined in Canada. The complete discrediting of the Ku Klux Klan and the embarrassing extremes of the 1970s appeared to have made open bigotry less acceptable in the 1980s. Although the numerous studies and surveys had been prompted by fear of physical violence, they resulted in the exposure of widespread "structural" discrimination and a convincing profile of black disadvantage shared, to various extents, by other visible Canadian minority groups. By the mid-1980s it was apparent that racial discrimination did exist in Canada and that it could not be defined in terms of violent episodes or any other individual actions. It was not the product of open hostility or even of conscious activity of any kind. A syndrome had been revealed, a vicious circle in which negative stereotyping, limited opportunity, and economic disadvantage continually supported each other. Despite some heart-felt relief that Canadian streets were not becoming scenes of racial violence, the new information made it necessary

to recognize that discrimination was pervasive and deep-rooted in Canada. The myth of the North Star had been shattered.

### *Conclusion*

Discrimination against blacks in Canada can be traced historically, through the interplay between imported images and Canadian events. Its roots lay in slavery, where the relationship of structured inequality was initiated. More important than slavery within Canada was the fact that it predominated as the black condition in the British Empire and in the United States during the formative period when most blacks were entering Canada. The fugitive blacks were preceded by an image of servility, they were accompanied by poverty, and they were met with a set of notions concerning their proper function. Long before the appearance of racist ideologies, discrimination on the basis of colour was practised in Canada. It involved, fundamentally, a definition of economic activity derived from servitude; all other status ramifications were consequent upon the occupational role in which blacks were cast. When racist doctrine was later imported into Canada, it confirmed and explained a situation which already existed in prototype, and it justified its intensification. Wherever the white Canadian might look — to Africa, to India, to the American South — there was evidence that whites ruled, and must therefore be superior, and that the dark-skinned peoples who were ruled must be inferior. For a new country consciously developing itself as a pillar of the Empire and a bastion of British civilization, immigration policies were employed to ensure the exclusion of unsuitable stock, while existing pockets of black and other non-white Canadians were not encouraged to mingle with mainstream society. Through the influence of international science and imported American publications, and later radio and films, the black stereotype was defined with increasing detail despite white Canadians' almost complete lack of direct experience with blacks.

Because Canadian racial attitudes were sensitive to external images, their application as discriminatory behaviour was variable and difficult to explain according to Canadian circumstances alone. A simple equation between discrimination and the size of the black population or the Canadian economy cannot be demonstrated. For example, discriminatory acts increased when black numbers rose in the 1850s, and continued to increase when black numbers declined after 1865. Discrimination increased during economic recessions beginning in 1815 and 1873, and increased as well during the economic boom after 1900. The constant factor was that there were certain things blacks were supposed to do and not do; while the specific things might change over time and among the Canadian regions, the principle remained that a person's activities and opportunities could be restricted by his or her colour. People could be denied service, denied a job, denied training, on the presumed meaning of the colour of their skin. Until the middle of the twentieth century,



the law generally upheld the right to discriminate. When necessary, extra-legal and violent means of enforcement could be employed. The violent outburst of the 1970s was not unique. On the contrary it followed the historic pattern, being provoked by non-white people entering economic and social roles previously preserved for whites. What made it far more visible than earlier instances was its urban location, the attention of the media, and the fact that greater absolute numbers were involved. As a result, the existence of racism was brought forcefully before the public, and subsequent enquiries yielded detailed information concerning the nature of Canadian racism.

The major advance, undoubtedly, was recognition that racial discrimination did in fact exist in Canada. As Cardinal Carter wrote in a 1979 report on racism, "Once we become totally conscious of it we have it half beaten." The second half of the battle could then be enjoined. Toronto established a mayor's committee on race relations to act as a permanent monitoring body, and this example was followed by several other cities. School boards established their own committees, appointed race relations officers, and conducted workshops for teachers. Police departments set up ethnic relations squads and introduced training programmes for police officers. The Ontario cabinet formed a committee on race relations, and a more extensive *Human Rights Code* was proclaimed in 1982. At the federal level, the Multiculturalism Directorate established a race relations unit in 1981 and announced a major funding commitment to combat racism. The Special Committee on Visible Minorities produced a report in 1984 containing wide-ranging recommendations, including affirmative action to overcome employment disabilities. In one of its last acts before the retirement of Prime Minister Trudeau, the federal government expressed regret that minority Canadians had suffered discrimination and announced the establishment of a foundation to counter racism in all its forms. Labour, churches, citizen groups, and the press declared their intention to confront the problem at last.

The momentum for reform was genuine, but the development of effective programmes was often impeded by analyses which failed to consider the long and complex history of Canadian discrimination. Any public policy depends on the definition of the problem to be solved. If the recent growth in non-white immigration was deemed the cause of discrimination, it could suggest restricted immigration as the solution. If exaggerated cultural distinctions were held responsible, then the immigrants' assimilation of mainstream linguistic and cultural practices should supply the cure. If economic recession and unemployment were the culprits, the return to prosperity would remove the necessity for any further remedy. If white extremists violated social norms, the strict enforcement of anti-discrimination laws should produce full equality. If all immigrants must start at the bottom, patience and hard work would raise non-whites to equal status in a few years time. Each of these suggestions was

contained in one or more of the policy pronouncements offered in the decade after 1975, and each suffered the same want of historical awareness.

The black experience demonstrates that racial discrimination in Canada has not been linked directly to numbers, cultural differences, economic depression, or prosperity. Legal reforms have restrained openly hostile behaviour, but they have not affected the essential factors leading to discrimination. The historical record reveals that the basic issue in Canada has been racial stereotyping — the assignment of personal characteristics, economic opportunity, and social acceptance on the basis of perceived attributes — and, further, that those stereotypes were founded on ignorance, hearsay, and coincidence. The problem is embedded in history, and historical understanding is essential to unlocking solutions with any promise of success.

## SUGGESTED READINGS

It would be historically inaccurate to regard black Canadians merely as "victims." As mentioned in the Introduction, racial discrimination is only a part of their history, and some further reading in the subject can help to set the discriminatory theme in context and also reveal the victories and accomplishments of the black Canadian community. A convenient place to start would be James Walker, *A History of Blacks in Canada: A Study Guide for Teachers and Students* (Ottawa, 1980), which contains a topical narrative and a description of the most useful literature to 1980. For more historical detail, Robin Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History* (New Haven and Montreal, 1971) is still the unrivalled authority. Regional studies exist for most parts of Canada. James Walker, *The Black Loyalists* (London and New York, 1976) deals with the foundation period for the black settlements in the Maritimes; the story is continued in John Grant, "Immigration and Settlement of the Black Refugees of the War of 1812 in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick" (M.A. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1970); in Donald Clairmont and Dennis Magill, *Nova Scotia Blacks: An Historical and Structural Overview* (Halifax, 1970); and in William Spray, *The Blacks in New Brunswick* (Fredericton, 1972). Daniel G. Hill, *The Freedom Seekers: Blacks in Early Canada* (Agincourt, 1981) is a generously illustrated account primarily of nineteenth-century Ontario blacks, which can be supplemented with two brief studies providing insight into the current century: Keith Henry, *Black Politics in Toronto Since World War I* (Toronto, 1981); and Donna Hill, ed., *A Black Man's Toronto, 1914-1980: The Reminiscences of Harry Gairey* (Toronto, 1981). Two articles by Howard and Tamara Palmer give a concise yet sensitive overview of their subject: "Black Settlers in Alberta," *Calum*, 12 (1980), pp. 4-12; and "Urban Blacks in Alberta," *Alberta History*, 29 (1981), pp. 8-18. Harold Troper, "The Creek-Negroes of Oklahoma and Canadian Immigration, 1909-11," *Canadian Historical Review*, 53 (1972), pp. 272-88; and Judith Hill, "Alberta's Black Settlers: A Study of Canadian Immigration Policy and Prejudice" (M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1981) are good on Canadian reactions to the Oklahoma migration, while Velma Carter and Wilma Leffler Akili, *The Window of Our Memories* (St. Albert, Alberta, 1981) is a collection of personal reminiscences by members of the black community. Crawford Kilian, *Go Do Some Great Thing: The Black Pioneers of British Columbia* (Vancouver, 1978) is very readable and makes good use of earlier studies.

Racism itself has not received equivalent treatment from historians. Other disciplines have given it more attention, though not always with a recognition of the historical perspective. Douglas Schmeiser, *Civil Liberties in Canada* (Oxford, 1964) has a chapter reviewing the most significant legal cases involving discrimination against blacks, as does Joseph Krauter, "Civil Liberties and the Canadian Minorities" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois,

1968). Walter Tarnopolsky, *Discrimination and the Law in Canada* (Toronto, 1982) begins with an historical background and has a good description of the spread of human rights legislation in the past twenty years. Similarly useful on this topic is Daniel Hill's pamphlet, *Human Rights in Canada: A Focus on Racism* (n.p., 1977). A broad historical explanation of the racist phenomenon in Canada is Howard Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta* (Toronto, 1982) which ranges beyond the Alberta situation. Two fine illustrations of how majority Canadians' British identity influenced their world view, sense of national purpose, and attitude towards non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants are Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto, 1970); and Robert Huttenback, *Racism and Empire: White Settlers and Colored Immigrants in the British Self-Governing Colonies, 1830-1910* (Ithaca and London, 1976). Several studies provide important information on the way blacks themselves have regarded their Canadian situation: Franklin Henry, *Perception of Discrimination Among Negroes and Japanese in Hamilton, Ontario* (Toronto, 1965); Rudolph Helling, *The Position of Negroes, Chinese and Italians in the Social Structure of Windsor, Ontario* (Toronto, 1965); Nolvert Scott, Jr., "The Perception of Racial Discrimination by Negroes in Metropolitan Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada" (Ph.D. thesis, Pennsylvania State University, 1971); Wilson Head, *The Black Presence in the Canadian Mosaic: A Study of Perception and the Practice of Discrimination against Blacks in Metropolitan Toronto* (Toronto, 1975); and by the same author, *Adaptation of Immigrants: Perceptions of Ethnic and Racial Discrimination* (Toronto, 1981). White attitudes are presented in Frances Henry, "The Dynamics of Racism in Toronto: Research Report" (Toronto, 1978). Julian Sher, *White Hoods: Canada's Ku Klux Klan* (Vancouver, 1983) shows how those attitudes have been acted upon by an extremist fringe. Offering statistical and survey data documenting black disadvantage are the University of Toronto's Centre for Urban and Community Studies, *Ethnic Pluralism Study* (5 vols., Toronto, 1981); and the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, *Racial and Ethnic Discrimination in Employment* (Toronto, 1982).

Many government-sponsored studies have analyzed the race situation and suggested corrective programmes. Some examples are Walter Pitman, *Now is Not Too Late: Report of the Task Force on Human Relations* (Toronto, 1977); Cardinal Carter, *Report to the Civic Authorities of Metropolitan Toronto and Its Citizens* (Toronto, 1979); and John McAlpine, *Report Arising Out of the Activities of the Ku Klux Klan in British Columbia* (Victoria, 1981). The "Situation Reports" prepared in 1982 on eleven Canadian cities are of very uneven quality. The most recent items from government sources are *Equality Now! Report of the Special Committee on Visible Minorities in Canadian Society* (Ottawa, 1984); and *Response of the Government of Canada to "Equality Now!"* (Ottawa, 1984).

