

THE SOCIAL STATUS OF BLACKS IN TORONTO

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A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

McMaster University

May 1972

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
(Sociology)

McMASTER UNIVERSITY
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: THE SOCIAL STATUS OF BLACKS IN TORONTO

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NUMBER OF PAGES: vii, 210.

ABSTRACT

The emphasis of this study concerns the overall status of the Black community in Toronto. The study will treat the Blacks in Toronto with respect to their interaction with the larger Canadian society. By understanding the processes of interaction and the way these occur in Canadian society, one may be able to critically evaluate policies toward the Blacks. The intent is to analyze the social processes that take place and present them as an attempt to understanding race relations in Canada.

The guiding perspective underlying this study is the social nature of an ethnic group in a multi-racial society, asserting that their destiny in this multi-racial society is likely to be no more, but also no less, than an informal status as a self-respecting ethnic community, voluntarily held together by sentiment rather than law. This study will focus on how well a specific ethnic group is moving toward this kind of goal, and what problems they are encountering as a result.

There has been very little information in the past concerning the Black population in Canada. This study should give both general information and insight into the group, as well as providing some specific sociological assumptions concerning the question of integration and segregation of groups in multi-racial societies.

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CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION

Robert Park, one of the dominant figures in the study of race relations a generation ago, stated the following, which is a useful point of departure for the present study:

It is obvious that race relations and all that they imply are generally, and on the whole, the products of migration and conquest. This was true of the ancient world and it is equally true of the modern. The interracial adjustments that follow such migration and conquest are more complex than is ordinarily understood. They involve racial conflict, competition, accommodation and, eventually, assimilation, but all of these diverse processes are to be regarded as merely the efforts of a new social and cultural organism to achieve a new biotic and social equilibrium.

This is the general standpoint from which Park describes, analyzes, and predicts changes in the pattern of racial relations. To Park, community is destroyed and race relations become foremost, or virtually created, in situations of race conflict. At the root of this, of course, are the "racial prejudices" in terms of which men perceive and define each other as socially distinct racial groups. But these perceptions need not lead to racial conflict. For this to occur, there must be an objective situation making for competition (or the fear of competition) for wealth, power, or jobs between members of different racial groups. From Park's point of view, the Reconstruction period, with its acute political conflicts, was a situation that was more characterized by "race relations" than was slavery itself, for these two reasons. First, slavery prevented competition between the Black slaves and the poor Whites, who were pushed to the margins of the slave economy. Second, within slavery, intimate personal attachments between master and slave could link them together as

human beings, if in a hierarchical way.

For Park, as for many others, the market place possessed a crucial importance as the sphere in which harmony would be created in a multi-racial situation on a level of equality. Here, men come together to exchange. Their relationships are inherently segmental, contractual, limited. Men come together in the market place to satisfy wants. As such, they free themselves from all other considerations. Park thought that this had a morally educative component in that, through exchange, "one individual recognizes another as human like himself".

Park generally thought the race problems in America would solve themselves by the enlargement of the market. As such, he thought that the modern world would be more concerned with class conflict with race relations retreating to the background. Park saw eventual assimilation between groups of people as the outcome of years of living together. But, if class conflict and racial conflict became fused together, mankind would be presented with one of the greatest social and political problems.

Park did not envisage or see, in a doctrinaire way, as a social imperative the immediate disappearance of racial heterogeneity. In fact, his intellectual kinsman, Booker T. Washington, asserted that co-existence on a level of political and economic equality would stop short of intimate social fusion. Nonetheless, some remarks of Blumer call attention to a theoretical difficulty in the Parkian framework. Blumer has stated that, "race prejudice exists basically in a sense of group position rather than in a set of feelings which members of one racial group have toward the members of another racial group"². Blumer's theory shifts the emphasis from feelings of the individual to the relationship of racial groups as entities or social facts of the social system. Implicit in his view is

the understanding that groups, while composed of individuals, cannot, as social "facts", be "reduced" to them or, correlatively, that groups are not in practical respects "free creations" of individuals. Here he takes issue with the "customary way of viewing race prejudice".

Along these lines, Brotz has discussed the individualistic assumptions at the root of modern assimilationism:

Liberalism one may say 'individualised' the race problem as it did the political problem in general. One can see this in the way in which it applied the premises of the modern natural rights doctrine to the political problem of toleration. Toleration in the ancient and medieval world was the outcome of efforts to humanise bigotry and fanaticism so as to secure for specific groups the collective rights to practice their religion as a religio licita. It never went beyond this because it never sought to ground itself on the idea of a secular society.

Brotz further contends that, as seen in the thinking of Locke, the root of modern toleration is the view that all religious distinctions are the arbitrary creations of individuals. But, what is more, even racial distinctions were conceived of by Locke in this way:

Suppose this business of religion were let alone, and that there were some other distinction made between men and men upon account of their different complexions, shapes, and features, so that those who have black hair (for example) or gray eyes should not enjoy the same privileges as other citizens; that they should not be permitted either to buy or sell, or live by their calling; that parents should not have the government and education of their children; that all should either be excluded from the benefit of the laws or meet with partial judges--can it be doubted but these persons, thus distinguished from others by the color of their hair and eyes, and united together by one common persecution, would be as dangerous to the magistrate as any other that had associated themselves merely upon the account of religion? Some enter into company for trade and profit, others for want of business have their clubs for claret. Neighborhood joins some, and religion others. But there is only one thing which⁴ gathers people into seditious combinations, and that is oppression.

With Locke's statement in mind, Brotz states:

Here one sees the origin of the contemporary notion of prejudice as a 'psychological' problem with its key postulate, namely,

the arbitrariness of all groups. To the question of what is the cause, not simply of the Negro's status, but of his very identity as a Negro, the answer that has become so commonplace in recent years is the opinions and corresponding actions of Whites. From this point of view the Whites not merely discriminated against the Negro but invented him as a class and had the power to enforce this definition. Has the Negro, or so-called Negro, had the power and wanted to subordinate some class of people to him, the resulting social definitions might have been reversed or somewhat different. But they would have been equally arbitrary. Since all groups are the result of these arbitrary definitions, they are the creations of individuals. For there are no group minds; and strictly speaking there are no groups. They are, as has been said, only a 'state of mind'.

The extent to which thinking about race relations has been guided by these assumptions can be seen in the work of Myrdal. In retrospect Myrdal took little heed to the "group dynamics" of multi-racial societies but focused his concern upon the conscience of the individual. He appealed to the White conscience to manifest a colour-blind approach to Blacks as if the latter were only the creation of White minds. This view was the vehicle of the struggle against segregation laws. But on the basis of these assumptions, Myrdal was compelled to see the very existence of a Black community as pathological. This thesis did not for once consider the work of Charles S. Johnson or Washington, who never considered homogeneity a necessity for equality, but who were more practically concerned with how groups move to secure rights and opportunities within the existing racially heterogeneous framework. As Brotz states:

But precisely on the basis of this psychologism liberalism committed itself to a spurious cosmopolitanism. It postulated a world in which there would be no groups but only individuals. It thus had to pretend that the groups did not exist. One must, of course, always recall its intention, namely to abolish all racial and religious prejudice from the earth by the abolition of all heterogeneity. From this point of view there flowed two practical dictates. The first was that the mere acknowledgment of any ethnic difference or ethnic attachment was a danger in

that it might fortify those who would proclaim these differences in order to deny a common humanity. The second, which is the obverse of the first, is that the individuals in the ethnic group could only get equality provided the ethnic group committed suicide.

The rejection of this doctrinaire approach to race relations, has to a great degree shaped the character of a reactive nationalism that has emerged in the American Black community. In rejecting "integration", this new nationalism has not rejected integration in the sense of open doors or equality of opportunity or as the opposite of punitive segregation. It has, however, rejected the cosmopolitan ideal of the "melting pot" (or total assimilation) that was historically connected with the aim of integration. The term integration as social goal is thus highly ambiguous which, as a standard, cannot fail to produce distorted policies. There have, however, been changes taking place in theory as well that go to the root of the matter.

Here a crucial step was taken by Glazer and Moynihan. They argued that assimilation of diverse ethnic, racial, or cultural groups does indeed take place but basically by groups changing their ways, remaining "new" ethnic groups, rather than by a process of individual absorption (by intermarriage) into the dominant population. The latter also takes place, but it is not the whole story. The theme throughout American immigration has been the melting pot ideal, in which all immigrants shed all their peculiar European or ethnic characteristics and become Americans. The Blacks seem to have been the one big exception that has caused this ideal to fail. But as Glazer and Moynihan have pointed out many groups in the United States have indeed retained their ethnicity as opposed to melting into one nondescript group and without stigma. In

their study of New York City, they state that:

We have tried to show how deeply the pattern of ethnicity is impressed on the life of the city. Ethnicity is more than an influence on events; it is commonly the source of events. Social and political institutions do not merely respond to ethnic interests; a great number of institutions exist for the specific purpose of serving ethnic interest. This, in turn, tends to perpetuate them. In many ways, the atmosphere of New York City is hospitable to ethnic groupings: it recognizes them, and to that extent encourages them.

Brotz also has discussed the normality of ethnicity:

Thus ethnic communities, which belong to the sphere of society, will remain, which means some form of self-enclosure or self-segregation, which can be, though not necessarily, reflected in residential patterns of ethnic concentration. In large cities it invariably is, though there is a great deal of variation in these respects within these cities. In areas of greater anonymity, with a high proportion of unattached young people, ethnic communities hardly exist. One can look at this diversity in various ways. It can be praised, from the point of view of the value of cultural diversity, particularly as this is seen as providing some antidote for philistinism in a capitalistic society. On the one hand, it can be the object of concern, as a problem for civic loyalty, civic spiritedness, and civic cohesion. In these respects, there is no question that a homogeneous society has fewer problems than a heterogeneous one. But all this notwithstanding, the fact is that when the ethnic heterogeneity exists, and cannot be eliminated within the premises of a free society, it has to be lived with and dealt with in facing up to the civic problems of a free society. This means that the problem of creating civic bonds and civic unity among the members of the various ethnic groups who live in separate social worlds must be solved in other ways than by the homogenization which the free society cannot order into existence. The best that a free society can do, which may not, indeed, be the best simply, is to do what it can do to bring about an equalization of the groups within the framework of this group diversity. The crucial things here are a common civic education, common civic duties, equality of opportunities for the individuals in the inter-racial or inter-social sphere--which bring into being the equalization of the groups. In this way,⁸ and only in this way, can every group have its 'place in the sun'.

He has also discussed why integration, as the apparent opposite of segregation, became such a doctrinaire goal in the struggle against compulsory or punitive segregation.

Specifically, the question facing the Negro is whether he can develop a policy which recognizes these facts. First, it is only through the formation of a voluntary community that the Negro can be assimilated and that the kind of 'interrace' consciousness produced by the psychological imbalance discussed above would diminish. Second, if the community is to be a voluntary one, this implies that the Negro must be free to leave it: but freedom of this sort that is based on consent, if it is to be effective, must be exercised with self-restraint. Finally, if a community is to be a genuine community, it must possess some basis of inward cohesion, something approximating a 'culture', which transcends mere race consciousness. In short, the Negroes, if they are to acquire equality in more than merely a legal sense of equal respect, must transform themselves into a people with sufficient pride so that they will be wooed. White society can, indeed must, play a crucial role in sustaining the kind of fabric which, in giving the Negro relief from public indignity and injustice, would support a voluntary community. But the primary role in all this must be played by the Negroes themselves. This flows from the fundamental fact that the self-sufficiency which is an element in genuine pride can never be acquired merely from opinions of another or of oneself, but depends, rather upon objective achievement.

In Canada, on the other hand, the melting pot has not been the projected ideal. On the contrary, a pluralistic ideal has seemed to prevail. Many people have contrasted Canada and the United States in terms of these divergent ideologies, notably John Porter. Porter describes Canadian society as an arrangement of ethnic groups in a mosaic pattern and vertical in structure with the British charter group at the apex.

Speculatively, it might be said that the idea of a mosaic, as opposed to the idea of the melting pot, impedes the processes of social mobility. This difference in ideas is one of the principal distinguishing features of United States and Canadian society at the level of social psychology as well as that of social structure. The theme in American life of what Geoffrey Gorer has called 'Europe and the rejected father' has no counterpart in Canada, although the word 'Canadianization' (whatever that might have meant) was used in the earlier immigration periods. In Canada, ethnic segregation and intense ethnic loyalties had their origins in French, Scottish, and Irish separateness from the English. In time they became the pattern for all cultural groups.

S. D. Clark has suggested that the strong attachments to

Great Britain on the part of those of British origin, and to their former national cultures on the part of those of European origin, were essential if Canada was to remain separate from the United States.¹⁰ The melting pot with its radical breakdown of national ties and old forms of stratification would have endangered the conservative tradition in Canadian life, a tradition which gives ideological support to the continued high status of the British charter group and continued entrance status of the later arrivals.¹¹

Transcending ideologically idealized statements and looking at the facts, we note, first of all, the existence of French-Canadian nationalism in Quebec which, indeed, has no counterpart in the United States. But outside of Quebec, one finds no evidence of radical cultural separatism. Diverse groups exist but they become anglicized in their ways. And as Glazer and Moynihan have pointed out, the United States presents exactly the same picture. So while it is true that the French-English situation is really a classical expression of nationalism with aspirations culminating in demands for political separation, autonomy, and independence, the situation in Canada, as a whole, and the United States seem to conform to the model depicted by Glazer and Moynihan. Ethnic groups remain as such, but they become similar and equal to each other. Like other ethnic groups, their destiny is likely to be rather an informal status.

One may sum this up in the following remarks pointing toward a theory of ethnicity. In the history of peoples, for a variety of causes-- physical differences, legal inequalities, arising from slavery or conquest-- "we" and "they" groups rooted in consanguineous relationships arise and acquire what has been called by sociologists "social definitions". This last point is seen in the case of the man who can "pass". The "passer" is a man who, if he conceals his ancestry from the "they" group, will be accepted by them as one of their own on the basis of his physical

characteristics. He looks like them and they do not go further with it. Yet why does he refuse to pass on a permanent basis? The answer to this question points to an understanding of what ethnicity is and the power it has in the life of men.

Two points arise. The first is the force of loyalty to one's kinsmen and friends. This is what I call the sentiment of ethnicity--the term, ethnicity, revealing its roots in the Greek word for nation as a people with common decent. This is why ethnic relationships are generalized kinship relationships. The loyalty to one's ethnic group, the solidarity this creates, and the guilt created by disloyalty are all an outgrowth of family solidarity. Sentiment, then, is that feeling of attachment which holds one's loyalty to the group through desire to belong and loyal feelings, rather than by force of law or mere social precedent.

The second point is that this attachment to kin, and the preference for one's own, is fortified by differences in ways of life between ethnically distinct groups. Differences of religion and language are the most important ones. But people of different religion--to the extent that they marry with other co-religionists--perpetuate the cultural group as an ethnic group. The cultural differences intensify the bond, and the self-consciousness of belonging to "us" rather than to "them". However, even where the cultural differences become fewer, the family loyalties remain. This is the heart of the matter. People find themselves locked into a situation where no one really can change the ethnic differentiation. The group may or may not be headed toward extinction as a social group, but it exists in the here and now. If a White man or many

White men simultaneously resolve to be colour-blind from now on, it does not really alter the relationship of the Black man with his own relatives and friends which has been formed in a prior context. Many people have concerned themselves with the question of whether the Blacks have a separate culture. Many say that they can understand why Italians or Jews remain as entities. Why Blacks? Where is their culture? Many Blacks ask the same and have indeed insisted that there is a separate Black culture. Brotz has argued in his Black Jews that the difference in social behaviour between Whites and Blacks in the United States might best be described as a style rather than a culture. His argument is based on the fact that the term culture implies something fundamental about a way of life, such as the belief and practices shaped by different religions. Regardless of whether one accepts this view or not, the fundamental point I wish to emphasize is that the attachment to one's kin would remain if the differences in behaviour were fewer than they are now. This is what Myrdal did not adequately understand, and what Glazer and Moynihan have understood.

The heart of our definition of an ethnic group is the subjective feeling of identification of its members. We are concerned as well, in this description, with other aspects of an ethnic community: ecological distribution, occupational status and occupational homogeneity, interaction of members, intermarriage, social affiliations, cultural aspects such as food, language, music, and political activities, etc.

Ethnicity takes into account the practical point of view which sees groups of like people as a normal consequence of a common tradition.

This points to the fundamental perspective guiding this study.

In looking at the overall status of the Blacks in Toronto, we see that the

alternatives for them are neither complete assimilation nor complete segregation. Like other ethnic groups, their destiny in this multi-racial society is likely to be no more, but also no less, than an informal status as a self-respecting ethnic community, voluntarily held together by sentiment rather than law. The question, then, is whether they are, in fact, moving toward this goal, in what ways, and what problems they face which obstruct it. The Blacks in Canada, because of their small number, are a relatively unknown and little discussed group. The Vertical Mosaic states simply that non-white Commonwealth immigrants were never considered for Canadian immigration until 1962. Those Blacks already in Canada were a relatively insignificant group, as they were poor, few in number and, in many cases, rural by virtue of their settlement patterns which were the ends of the historic Underground Railroad.

This study will proceed in the following way: first, it will describe and analyze social relations within the Black community; second, the general feeling of this community of people and its institutions as to Canadian public policy toward them; third, the extent and importance of their interaction and participation within the society. Ultimately this study would describe the economic, social and political position of Blacks in Toronto. After a brief exposition of the historical and demographic background, we will give a sketch of the occupational levels of Toronto Blacks. Following this, we will describe the civil and legal position. We then proceed to a discussion of the internal communal patterns and conclude with a comparison of the situation of the Blacks in Canada and the United States. The conclusion of this study will be made by comparing the situation of the Blacks in Canada to those in the

United States. No new data from the United States are used in this comparison; rather the new information on the Canadian situation is compared with the generally accepted picture of contemporary racial relations in the U.S. This comparison should clarify the social, economic and political position of these similar racial groups in multi-racial countries. To anticipate a conclusion of this study, there is not the counterpart in Toronto of the racial-urban crisis in the United States. A comparison with this point in mind is evidently invited.

Implicitly and explicitly, this study will be concerned with the question of what degree and what forms of equality are possible for a minority group in a heterogeneous society. Is homogeneity the necessary precondition for practical equality?

Source of Data. Data for the study were collected between August 1970 and May 1971. Principally, the participant observation method was used, as the researcher lived and worked in the community during the time of the research. The researcher taught in a local Black education project, participated in meetings and conferences and became involved in some of the local church activities. During the course of months spent in Toronto, a large number of people were contacted through these organizations and interviewed, including doctors, ministers, lawyers, a provincial commission director, social workers, teachers and members of the general community. A smaller number, who may be called expert informants, were interviewed at great length and at repeated occasions. In addition, the data include the laws and various socio-economic statistics. (See Appendix IX.)

Footnotes - Chapter I

1. Everett Hughes et al., ed., Robert Park, Race and Culture, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1950) p. 104.
2. Herbert Blumer, "Race Prejudice as a Sence of Group Position" in Masuoka and Valien, ed., Race Relations Problems and Theory, (Chapel Hill, 1961) p. 217.
3. Howard Brotz, Race and Politics in South Africa, Unpublished Work, p. 232.
4. Ibid. p. 236.
5. Ibid. p. 237.
6. Ibid. p. 242.
7. Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot, (Cambridge, Mass.: the M.I.T. Press, 1963) p. 310.
8. Howard Brotz, "Integrationism in the United States: A Comparative Example", Unpublished Work, p. 170.
9. Howard Brotz, The Black Jews of Harlem: Negro Nationalism and the Dilemmas of Negro Leadership (London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964) pp. 126-127.
10. S. D. Clark, "The Canadian Community", in G. W. Brown, ed., Canada, (Berkely, 1950) p. 301. Also in John Porter, Vertical Mosaic, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965) p. 71.
11. Porter, Ibid.

CHAPTER II

BASIC HISTORY AND DEMOGRAPHY

African and Indian slavery existed in Canada until it was abolished by the Imperial Emancipation Act of 1833, but it was never the basis of large scale commercial enterprise as in the United States. In seventeenth century New France slavery, which resembled indentured servitude more than the actual civil status of slavery, existed more as a conventional custom than as an economic necessity. Unlike the Southern United States and its plantation system which depended upon cheap mass labour, the economic system in early Canada was based on the fur trade. This did not require either skilled labour or even extensive labour¹ and hence provided no real basis for the existence of slavery. There existed no legal foundation for the kind of slavery that limited civil rights to marry and enter into labour contracts. Not until the 1720's did English law legally determine the civil status of servitude in Canada. As Robin Winks states:

... For New France each of the steps toward the creation of a legal concept of slavery came roughly half a generation later and throughout the process there were far more panis (Indians) slaves than Negro, so that the system did not become so inexorably and so quickly intertwined with a single race. French slavery arose from a single patch work of jurisprudence, and eventually it declined in the same way, not under open attack but from the withering effects of unobserved laws, hostile jurists, and disadvantageous political, economic and social conditions.²

Winks further states that while slavery declined after 1713,³ it started to expand from 1760 to 1783 as a result of the movement of the Loyalists to Canada.⁴ When they fled the United States before and during the Revolution, they brought their slaves with them to the Maritimes:

The Loyalist migration to the faithful British lands in North America brought the first really major influx of Negroes to the maritime areas...

.... results of this influx of Loyalists are clear. The number of slaves increased rapidly. The defence of slavery received a number of vocal and well-informed advocates. Negro slaves virtually supplanted panis slaves, even in Quebec. Because many of the slaves were from larger plantations where they had been trained to specific skills, the variety of work done by Negroes was greatly expanded.

In the changes brought about by the English conquest of Canada, slavery became codified and its civil status was drastically changed; the position of the slave became more clearly defined as a chattel slave rather than as an indentured servant.

Yet in English Canada, as in early French Canada, slaves were not, as a rule, treated harshly. They were, in many cases, educated to some degree, maintained families and were baptised.⁶ As in the United States, there existed a free class of Blacks. Most of these Blacks were from the United States, some free and others fugitives. By the latter portion of 1783, more than three thousand free Blacks were in the Maritimes. The Nova Scotia Black population at this time was made up of the remaining slaves of the Loyalist and the majority group of freedmen and free Blacks who considered themselves Loyalist.

It seems from the outset that the English government planned to ignore the slavery problem and accept it, as given in Canada, without taking an actual stand for it or against it. It has been noted that the English fathers of the British North America Act were by no means adherents of civil liberties at the cost of governmental intervention. Had it not been for the first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, Colonel James Simcoe, a determined abolitionist, this laissez-faire attitude might well have continued, as the courts tended to be indecisive

in their judicial decisions toward Blacks. However, under the leadership of Simcoe, the legislative body of Upper Canada acted in 1793 to wipe out slavery by declaring that no slave could be brought into the province. Bills were introduced into the legislative bodies of both Upper and Lower Canada to abolish slavery prior to the Upper Canada declaration, but they had failed repeatedly because of the pressure of Nova Scotia. This was particularly noticeable during the American Revolution and the retreat of the United Empire Loyalists, who brought their slaves with them to this area. While in other provinces provincial judicial decisions began to be made against slavery, Nova Scotia remained indifferent and retained the constitution until the Imperial Parliament's Emancipation Act of 1833.⁷

By the time the Imperial Act was passed, Upper Canada had long since settled the moral question of slavery and was involved in the abolition of slavery in the United States.

Although Blacks have been in Canada since the early half of the seventeenth century, substantial numbers did not inhabit the country until the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁸ When the first Canadian Census was taken in 1850, the Black population figure was put at 5,412. This number seems to be gross understatement, as many other reports stated a figure of from 25,000 to 75,000.⁹ The figure of 30,000 is considered by historians as the more accurate.

Fugitive slaves had been fleeing to Canada from early times. These were, however, few and generally isolated cases. Historians seem to agree that Black immigration from the United States found its initial impetus as a result of the War of 1812.¹⁰ As news of Canada

and its extension of welcome to the Blacks, free and slave, became clearer to the slaves, more and more dared to escape. As a result, more than 1,000 fugitives crossed into Canada via the Underground Railroad. From 1804 onward, the Underground Railroad was certainly an effective weapon against the slaveholding forces during this period. It is estimated that between 1810 and 1850, more than 100,000 slaves valued at \$30,000,000 escaped to Canada. Figures on the number of slaves escaping to Canada were given by the New Orleans Community Bulletin of December 19, 1860, in which they stated that 1,500 slaves had escaped annually for 50 years with a loss to the economy of \$40,000,000.¹¹

As more and more Black men returned to the United States to assist others, the anti-slave flames were fed by the ex-slaves in the form of narratives in Canadian papers. The Underground Railroad continued to gain momentum and caused considerable damage to the cotton economy of the South. When, as a result of Southern pressure, the Fugitive Slave Law was passed in 1850, the number of fugitives rose to new heights with an estimated 3,000 slaves fleeing in one month after the passage of the Law.

Up to 1850, Black immigration was certainly increasing but did not compare to the aftermath of the Fugitive Slave Law. Thousands of Blacks were crossing the border, as the once free states were obviously no longer offering safe refuge.

Eighty-five percent of the Black population, which migrated to Canada during the nineteenth century, was located in the south-western portion of Ontario. The two main crossing points into Canada on the Underground Railroad were the Niagara Frontier and the Detroit River. Communities, a number of which were all Black, sprang up around the areas

of disembarkation and existing towns expanded as a result of the increasing migration.

One of the principle terminals after 1812 was Chatham. Along with Toronto, the towns of Owen Sound, St. Catharines, London, Amherstberg, Colchester, and Sandwich-Chatham became increasingly important not only as terminals, but as communities for settlement. By all accounts the immigrants were adjusting and were becoming home owners and tax-payers in the communities in which they lived. This was accomplished in the face of considerable prejudice. The legal status of Blacks was in some ways secure, at least for the time being, and allowed for partial success. Typical of one of the most successful communities was Buxton, a model of Black independence and economic security.

Dr. Samuel Howe wrote that:

Buxton is certainly a very interesting place. Sixteen years ago it was a wilderness. Now good highways are laid out in all directions through the forest and by their side, standing back 33 feet from the road, are about 200 cottages, all built in the same pattern, all looking neat and comfortable; around each one is a cleared place of several acres which is well cultivated. The fences are in good order, the barns seem well filled, and cattle and horses, and pigs and poultry, abound. There are signs of industry and thrift and comfort everywhere; signs of intemperance, of idleness, of want, nowhere.

Buxton, like its fellow all-Black communities, Dresden and Wilberforce, among others, was engaged primarily in agriculture. In 1862, Buxton was composed of 1,000 people. Today it is a mere shadow of its former self. The whole community has been shifted to what is now North Buxton and Whites have taken over the original site.

Black settlement in Toronto originated in the slavery which existed prior to the divisions of Upper and Lower Canada in 1791. It seems that slaves in the area were generally body servants of well-to-do

people of the province. Firth states that:

In 1799 there were fifteen Negroes in York and another ten in Peter Long's household east of the Don. By 1802 there were eighteen in the town including six children.¹³

The Toronto Community continued to grow in the early part of the nineteenth century with the great movement of fugitives to Canada.

Dr. Dan Hill states:

In 1837 there were at least fifty families of refugees settled in Toronto, most of whom were from Virginia, where they had formally been engaged primarily in service occupations (e.g., waiters, barbers, cooks, house servants). Many of them had brought sufficient means to purchase homes; later, after they had become more established, they built churches and organized benevolent fraternal organizations.¹⁴

The Blacks in Toronto set up several organizations to aid in the relief of the fugitives. They also established Churches. The First Baptist Church was founded in 1826, followed by the appearance of the Coloured Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1838, and the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1851.¹⁵ The Church in Toronto did not produce a ministerial class of community leaders such as Josiah Henson of Buxton, a leader of the Black cause during the fugitive era. The Clergy of Toronto were under constant attack from the Toronto-based Provincial Freeman Newspaper. The attack was led ironically by a Reverend S. R. Ward, who saw the Toronto clergy in rather unfavourable light. Ward called the meetings of Elder Taylor of the African Methodist Episcopal Church "a downright disgrace, a religious burlesque, a profanation of the Sabbath, a perfect nuisance."¹⁶ The paper was certainly the most influential organ Blacks have ever possessed in Toronto. Its outlook was militantly integrationist. It wished Blacks to become,

...as British as they can. We are opposed to all separate organizations, whether civil, political or ecclesiastical that can have no other effect than that of creating a line of demarcation; fostering if not creating a spirit of caste here, such as coloured men are compelled to suffer in the U.S.¹⁷

With this kind of attitude it is little wonder that the Toronto community, at that time, never developed a strong church organization as most people, in the long run, heeded the words and wishes of the Provincial Freeman and made their way eventually to White Churches. The Black Churches survived but never became a strong voice in the community after the fugitive era, as they were never given strong community support.

Even though Blacks had a considerably high level of civil life, there were, of course, many cases of discrimination and verbal insults to the community. One Toronto newspaper, The Colonist, made very plain the fact that they did not wish to see a large number of Blacks invading the city. They were not alone in their fears of too many Blacks. As Hill points out many "established Negro Families" held the same opinion.

The coloured people who had been long residents in the country, who had by their efforts proved themselves worthy citizens, felt that their position in the country would be very much jeopardized by the influx of a large number of refugees from the United States. They felt that all their efforts to placate public sentiment in their favor would prove unavailing.¹⁸

In general the community had good relations with the White community. This has been the main factor contributing to the stability of the Toronto community until the present. Both groups tended to respect the rights of the other without undue amounts of public recriminations. Blatant discrimination was to be experienced more in the small towns, not only of Ontario, but throughout Canada. It was in these small towns where Blacks came into contact with a large amount of White hostility and their demand for separate schools. In Toronto this was not the case as Blacks moved rather freely through the city. They were, however, barred from numerous establishments, such as restaurants and theatres. But they were generally able to care for themselves, did not

possess an "indigent class" and had the distinct advantage of having a stable working and business class; so the Black community was held with much respect.

Even though the Blacks had faced some prejudice prior to the Civil War, it was tempered by the abolition movement in Upper Canada.

After the Civil War this atmosphere changed, as Ida Greaves explains:

As long, therefore, as the Negro by coming to Canada made slaveholding in the South more precarious he was welcomed, but when there was no longer any slavery from which he could flee, he ceased to find a welcome and scarcely found toleration.¹⁹

Disfranchisement occurred in some communities, separate schools which were among the first in North America arose. This began to occur as the Civil War was ending. It was at this point that Blacks began returning to the United States. As many of the Blacks had family ties in the United States, the combination of these two factors--the increasing prejudice in Canada and the pull back to the United States--resulted in an exodus. It seems, indeed, that the fugitives were welcomed by the Canadian government in part to embarrass the Americans. Martin Delany, a Black spokesman at the time, had made the observation that the Canadas were not the safe place for the fugitives to put down roots, as he felt that the government would soon be swallowed up by the Americans. He instructed the fugitives to go to Canada, "until we have a more preferable place".²⁰ Delany was not completely correct in his analysis, but he was correct in the observation that fundamental White social prejudices about colour were not very different in Canada from those in the United States.

As noted before, the census data of Blacks during this era are generally unreliable, but the lowest estimates of Black population

in 1860 were between 50,000 and 60,000. After the rapid movement back to the United States began, the census of 1871 showed that only 21,474 remained (see Appendix I). Toronto had gone from 1,000 in the 1850's to 510 in the 1860's.

Only the provinces of the Maritimes tended to retain their population. Most of the Blacks in this area had somewhat different backgrounds than the fugitives in Ontario. The majority of Maritimes Blacks were divided between those brought by the United Empire Loyalists and those who came as free men, who were in the majority. One group of Blacks was brought from Washington D.C. after the burning of the city by the British. Their entry into Canada, on the whole, was certainly different from that of those into Ontario and, as such, their expectations may not have been as high nor their disappointments as insulting as the fugitives.²¹

The largest concentration of Blacks during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was in Ontario. Most of its population had settled in the rural towns that were the ends of the Underground Railroad. In 1871, the Canadian Census reported gains in the Black population in Ontario from 11,710 to 13,435. Between 1871 and 1911, however, Ontario continually lost population, while Nova Scotia and the Western Provinces gained.

In 1921 Blacks were fifth in degree of urbanization with almost 36% of them living in cities of 25,000 or more. During this same time the Black population was made up of four separate groups. These were the descendants of Canadian-born Negroes, Blacks from the United States brought in to work on the railroad, and the West Indian immigrant seeking employment after 1891. The fourth group was made up of American Blacks seeking free land and settlement in Western Canada. By this time, the

Black population was less than one-third its former number. Between 1901 and 1929 less than 100 Blacks came to Canada. This situation did not significantly change until the end of World War II.

The gains experienced by the Western Provinces were due to immigration from the United States. Free farm land had prompted the Blacks to seek entry into this area. Their efforts were thwarted, however, by increasing discriminatory practices on the part of the Immigration Department. These practices were encouraged whole-heartedly by the Western provinces and promoted by government.

By way of summary, Toronto, as the rest of Ontario, began losing its population around the end of the nineteenth century. The Toronto Community of the 1850's numbered around 1,000; by 1860 only half that number remained.

In Toronto the population remained relatively stable from the early portion of the twentieth century and reported some gains. In 1911 there were 468 Blacks in Toronto. Ten years later, 1921, there were 1,236. This increase continued because of several reasons, including: limited and controlled West Indian immigration between 1911 and subsequent years--admitted to bolster the work force in specific areas (e.g. railroad, shipyards, mining)--and American Blacks coming in as porters, entertainers and athletes, until by 1941 there were 2,010 Blacks in Toronto, and 10,000 in 1961.

In examining the statistics of major immigrant groups a definite shift has occurred in regard to West Indian immigration. What was a mere trickle at the beginning of this decade is now the third largest immigrating group in 1969. The West Indians constitute 8.1% (or 13,073)

TABLE I

Total Black Population by Calendar Year and Province

	1850	1861	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Alberta					27	979	1,048	924	926	702	1,307
B.C.				274	532	473	676	533	660	438	1,012
Manitoba				25	61	209	491	465	453	460	920
New Brunswick			1,680	1,638	1,368	1,079	1,190	1,150	1,254	590	1,273
Newfoundland										5	19
Nova Scotia			6,212	7,062	5,984	6,541	6,175	7,361	8,817	8,141	11,900
Ontario	4,669	11,753	13,435	12,097	8,935	6,747	7,220	6,886	7,495	6,926	11,062
P.E.I.				155	141	81	43	70	87	34	48
Quebec	743	327	147	141	280	401	1,046	1,649	2,077	566	4,287
Saskatchewan					1	336	396	410	403	154	285
Territories				2	37	31	6	8	2	2	14
Totals	5,412	12,082	21,474	21,394	17,434	16,877	18,291	19,456	22,174	18,020	32,127

Source: Censuses of Canada from 1850 - 1961. 1891 not given.

of the total immigrant population and are ahead of all groups with the exception of the British and the Americans. (See Table III Canadian Immigration-Division of Manpower, 1960-1969.)

TABLE II

Twentieth Century Toronto Black Canadian Population

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number</u>
1911	468
1921	1,236
1931	1,344
1941	2,101
1951	1,748
1961	10,000*
1969	40,000**

*The Toronto Daily Star, January 6, 1966, p. 7 - in Negro Settlement in Canada, 1628-1965: A Survey by H. H. Potter and D. G. Hill, p. 63

**Contrast Magazine, August 1-15, 1970.

Source: Census of Canada, Canada Year Book

This population, generally speaking, is young and female.

Table IV bears out this fact as the largest single immigrating group is between the ages of 25-29 and is composed of slightly more females.

The Black population in Canada today numbers around 140,000 people as compared to 18,000 in 1951. This population is concentrated in Nova Scotia, Montreal, Hamilton and Toronto. Ontario is the home of 65,000 Blacks with 40,000 to 45,000 residing in the Toronto area. These figures make Toronto the largest concentration of Blacks in the country.²²

The Toronto population has spiralled from 10,000 to 40,000 within one decade making it one of the fastest growing groups in Canada. This increase is basically West Indian with an estimated daily arrival of

TABLE III

Country of Former Residence by Number of Total Yearly
Immigrants - Calendar Years 1960, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69

Country	1960	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69
Br. Isles	20,853	15,603	24,603	29,279	39,857	63,291	64,420	37,889	31,977
Italy	21,308	13,641	14,427	19,297	26,398	31,625	30,055	19,774	10,383
U. States	11,247	11,643	11,736	12,565	15,143	17,514	19,038	20,422	22,785
W. Indies	1,013	1,586	2,354	2,199	3,095	3,935	8,403	7,563	13,093
Negro*		1,706	2,513	2,402	3,512	4,553	9,393	8,532	13,976

*Includes - African, West Indian, Afro-American, Afro-British, and West Indian of East Indian descent.

Source: Canada Immigration Division, Department of Manpower and Immigration:
Immigration Statistics 1960-69

five families per day.

TABLE IV

West Indian and African Immigrants by Age Group and Sex
Calendar Year - 1969

<u>Years</u>	WEST INDIAN		AFRICAN	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
0-14	1,279	1,328	130	128
15-19	387	498	21	22
20-24	1,277	1,948	29	42
25-29	1,445	1,447	102	69
30-34	802	720	85	61
35-39	436	396	57	32
40-44	202	187	25	10
45-49	97	116	11	12
50-54	63	109	7	6
55-70	102	254	18	16

Source: Canada Immigration Division, Department of Manpower and
Immigration: Immigration Statistics 1960-69.

Footnotes - Chapter II

1. Robin Winks, The Blacks in Canada, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1971) p. 3.
 2. Ibid. p. 3.
 3. Ibid. p. 23.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Ibid. p. 28.
 6. Ibid. p. 29.
 7. Ibid.
 8. John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, (New York: Vintage Books, 1969) p. 47.
 9. John K. A. Farrell, "Schemes for the Transplanting of Refugee American Negroes from Upper Canada in the 1810's", Ontario History, Vol. LXI (1960) No. 4, p. 246.
- Fred Landon, "Canada's Part in Freeing the Slaves", Ontario Historical Society, Vol. XVII, 1919, p. 78.
- Ida C. Greaves, National Problems in Canada: The Negro in Canada, (Montreal: Pocket-Times Press, Ltd., 1931).
10. Landon, Op. Cit. p. 77.
 11. Ibid.
 12. Ibid.
 13. Edith G. Firth, The Town of York, 1793-1815, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962) p. LXXVIII, in Daniel G. Hill, "Negroes in Toronto, 1793-1865", Ontario History, Vol. LV (1963) No. 2, p. 2.
 14. Hill, Op. Cit. p. 4.
 15. Ibid. p. 7.
 16. Ibid., p. 16.
 17. Ibid.
 18. Ibid. p. 11.
 19. Greaves, Op. Cit. p. 39.

20. Martin Delany, "The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States", XX The Canadas, in Howard Brotz, Negro Social and Political Thought 1850-1920, ed. (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966) p. 81.
21. Greaves, Op. Cit. p. 23.
22. "75 Million in Spending is real Black Power." Contrast Newspaper, Vol. 2, No. 10, August 1-15 (1970) p. I. These figures are based on estimates taken by Contrast Newspaper, the survey was made by Mr. Harold Hoyte and Mr. A. Hamilton, Editors. It should be noted that Dr. Dan Hill finds these figures "very inflated" and lacking accuracy. In order to appreciate the differences of opinion I suggest looking at Appendix II, p. 119. Appendix II attempts to explain why the count for Blacks is a very ambiguous area of concern.

CHAPTER III

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

The changes that the Blacks in Toronto have experienced in occupational status have been much greater than in legal status. As we shall discuss in the next chapter, the attainment of legal equality in Canada was a smooth road without anything like the struggle and racial strife that characterized the American South. But in the 1920's the occupational outlook for the Black Canadian was limited. He was discouraged in school by White teachers, who told him that by going further for higher education he would be wasting his family's money.

Characteristic of the job situation in Toronto is the following passage describing the problem in 1948:

....Negroes are not at present in demand for jobs which require education but they do not improve their opportunities by leaving school. They have not replaced immigrants as a source of unskilled work in a complex pattern already laid down. In the main they are prevented from and often do not attempt to rise above the lower levels in industry and there are some jobs which are set aside for them exclusively. 'Negro jobs' include the porter, the domestic, the unskilled worker and other menial work.

The 'job ceiling' above this level, including the making of policy, control, supervision and skilled work is almost entirely reserved for white people. Below the 'ceiling', the lower supervisory positions, clerical, and semi- and unskilled jobs prevail. For Negroes the job ceiling is drawn just above the semi-skilled positions but during sudden or rapid social change (war time and depression) one or two Negroes have held supervisory and clerical positions (one was the Director of the Toronto Transportation¹ Commission) but numbers in these fields have been very few...

During this era the porter and the maid were the specific jobs for Blacks. It was estimated that as late as the forties, sixty percent of the Toronto Black labour force were porters. Porterage, in many respects, had positive attractions for a Black. It offered stable

employment and a relatively good income. But easy access to this work encouraged many boys to quit school--a decision fortified by pressure from the educational system. Thus, many native born Canadians, as well as West Indians, were in this line of work. There did remain within the West Indian community, strong parental encouragement to get college degrees. As a result, the Canadians of West Indian background were able to move into higher positions when they opened up in the sixties. These Blacks include both the native-born and the new immigrants who have come to take up employment on this higher level. Today they constitute a sizeable business, professional and skilled class in Toronto. Professional Blacks in Toronto are predominantly nurses (more than 500), teachers, doctors (approximately 75), and lawyers. The health services in Toronto, which in the 1950's were all White, today exhibit one of the highest concentrations of professional Blacks. One of the most prominent and successful doctors described the situation in the medical profession today:

Fifteen years ago there were no Black doctors in Toronto. I was studying in Montreal and decided to come here to intern. At that time, no Black doctor had interned in a Toronto hospital. So I became the first Black doctor in Toronto for many, many decades.

As recently as 1955, not one Black doctor could get accepted by any Toronto Hospital to intern. So, consequently, it was useless to set up a practice here if you didn't have a hospital affiliation. Where could you take your patients if you had no professional contacts to refer them to. So you couldn't set up practice.

Toronto trained doctors usually went to the U.S. to intern. When I came here I applied to three hospitals. I was accepted on condition at one, got a maybe at one, and was turned down at the other. This had nothing to do with academic standards but colour. Eventually I was accepted by all three. But I accepted the first hospital which accepted me on condition. Believe me, this took some doing on my part--going to see why I couldn't do this or that.

TABLE V

Intended Occupations of West Indian Immigrants
Calendar Years 1960 - 1969

Occupations	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	Totals
Managerial	2	1	17	30	16	29	39	85	43	156	418
Professional	160	235	389	395	390	534	685	1,153	1,041	1,425	6,407
Clerical	96	69	186	406	324	510	651	1,406	1,310	2,194	7,150
Transportation	10	8	6	8	10	11	10	28	41	53	185
Communication	3	2	3	15	7	5	16	30	28	22	131
Commercial	9	7	12	24	29	26	44	87	74	234	551
Finance	1	-	4	6	1	10	8	13	34	65	142
Service	382	396	339	455	432	537	588	1,364	965	1,617	7,075
Agriculture	3	2	3	5	9	6	11	18	38	101	196
Construction	136*	81*	30	60	68	79	109	281	223	410	1,477
Fishing and Trapping	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
Mining	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	4	7	4	20
Manufacturing and Mechanical	136*	81*	100	203	172	295	354	948	972	1,801	5,062
Labourers	5	7	4	7	9	32	39	181	41	67	305
Total Workers	832	810	1,094	1,616	1,473	2,074	2,565	5,801	4,826	8,223	29,314
Non-Workers	181	210	386	611	726	1,021	1,370	2,602	2,737	4,870	14,714
Total No. of Immigrants	1,013	1,020	1,480	2,227	2,199	3,095	3,935	8,403	7,563	13,093	44,028

* Included as one category in 1960 and 1961.

Source: Canada Immigration Division, Department of Manpower and Immigration: Immigration Statistics 1960-69.

Jewish hospitals were more prone to accept you on the staff rather than let you intern, as they were accepting their own people first.

When I finished my internship, I received the prize for the best intern that year.

Well, today we know there are around seventy Black doctors in Toronto. Most are in group practice. These aren't necessarily Black groups--you have all kinds of mixtures.

This is a Black clinic, in that the physical structure is owned by myself and two others. I think there are three Black owned clinics in Toronto. All are mixed both in staff and patients.

Of our patients, I'd say, sixty-eight percent are Black.

At present, Blacks will be found in almost all phases of skilled, semi-skilled, and professional and business life. They are in large numbers in the Canadian Civil Service and in all branches of the Canadian Armed Forces. They are not as yet to be found in significant numbers in the executive jobs on Bay Street, in financial districts and in the national media.

Since immigration from the West Indies picked up momentum in the 1960's, it has continued to contribute greatly to the Canadian labour market. The West Indians have helped to create a community that is occupationally stable and skilled, and that reaches throughout the economy.

From Table V, we see that West Indian immigrants tend to fall heavily into a number of specific categories. In the years 1960-1969, there were 6,407 professionals, 7,150 clerical workers, 7,075 service personnel, and 5,062 manufacturing and mechanical workers. In 1969 alone, when the figures for specific job categories were broken down, the West Indians had a total of 156 persons in the category of owners and managers, most being owners. Officials placed them fifth behind immigrants from Great Britain, the U.S., France and China. There were 584 school

teachers, following only those from Great Britain and the U.S., as well as 23 principals and professors. There were 86 physicians and surgeons, in which the West Indians were fourth in total numbers represented in the category. Along with the physicians were 99 graduate nurses and 79 medical and dental technicians. Clerical occupations were the largest single immigrating group with a total of 2,194 persons. Of this number, 274 were bookkeepers and cashiers, 23 storekeepers and shipping clerks, 951 stenographers and typists, and 646 included in the other category but having their expertise in this area. This group was second only to that from Great Britain which had 3,057 such persons.

In 1962, of the 389 professional immigrants, 156 were trained nurses; in 1965, of 534, 108 were nurses and 152 teachers; in 1966, 244 teachers were included in the category. Of special note is the continuing importance of the domestic in West Indian immigration. In 1969, out of 1,617 services workers, 1,197 were domestics. This group, however, accounts for less than 10 percent of the total immigrating group, but it is the largest single occupational group.²

As the numbers for 1969 imply, the immigrants are skilled. This has been the pattern of West Indian immigration through the 1960's. Further, statistics indicate that of the 13,093 West Indians immigrating to Canada in 1969, 8,329³ came to Ontario and an estimate by local newspapers⁴ indicates that more than sixty percent came to Toronto. Black immigrants such as the Africans who numbered 893 immigrants contributed 475 persons to the community. The general trend has been for the majority of West Indian immigrants to come to Toronto. The pull to Toronto is obvious--they are English

speaking, the job market is greater here, and they have family ties in the city. Similarly, the small number of African and American immigrants coming to Toronto in the 1960's has generally been professionals, athletes or entertainers.

A report by a local Black newspaper stated that Blacks today have a total annual spending power of more than seventy-five million dollars. As for businesses, there are now an estimated 200 Black-owned and operated businesses in Toronto. Most of these businesses deal basically in services (e.g. beauty shops and supplies, book stores, boutiques, camping areas, carpenters-decorators-painters, cartage services, chiropractors, dentists, dressmakers, driving schools, electrical contractors, furniture store owners, grocers, distribution of all sorts, inns, insurance representatives, investment syndicates, janitorial services, jewellers, watchmakers, photographers, realtors, publishers, travel agents, T.V. and radio repair, to name a few). The new West Indian immigrant population composes more than two-thirds of this class. The success of this class has been related, of course, to the patronage of fellow countrymen. The West Indian population supports a large part of the Black businessman's trade. However, his services are by no means restricted to Blacks as a large part of the clientele of electricians and janitorial agencies is White. And in the case of the medical profession, this is even more so. A Black surgeon stated that:

If I see more than 10 Black patients a month, I'd be very surprised. The majority of my patients are White.

Because the Black force is skilled and educated, they are very aware of the fact that they are not in key executive and decision-making

positions. A Black man held the position of Commissioner of the Toronto Transit Commission and his father before him held the elected office of City Controller. But this was a number of decades ago. (Ironically, this was around the same time Blacks were charging the T.T.C. for discriminatory hiring practices for motormen.) Few gains have been made on this level, as the employment of one or two Blacks is looked upon as an example of "fair employment". Now that more qualified Blacks are in Toronto, pressing upon the job market, this situation should change. This will be one sign of future progress. The Community is now trying to get employment in the mass media. The Human Rights Commission, in early 1971, sought, on behalf of Black actors, to break into this field from which they reportedly had been excluded. From this initial step the thrust will more than likely expand to include other areas of employment in the mass media, per se.

Perhaps the most pressing sore spot is caused by discrepancies between education and job attainment among new immigrants. A West Indian teacher who comes to Toronto and becomes a night watchman or janitor has an obvious cause of discontent. This situation, however, does not usually last longer than one or two years. In this respect the West Indians are much better off than the East Indians, whose degrees are not completely acceptable in Canada. The government has not in the past informed or made clear to these immigrants that this is the case and they would have to take a course or complete another degree before being admitted to their specific profession. With particular emphasis, many professional organizations set their own standards and as such will not allow immigrants to become associated with their organization until they have

had Canadian experience or have been Canadian trained.

Most unions in Toronto are open to Blacks. But Blacks feel themselves subject to discrimination in those unions which are basically ethnic in nature. The 400 Blacks in the United Brotherhood of Carpenters have accused foremen of hiring or picking their crew along ethnic lines. That is to say, Italian foremen will hire other Italians, bypassing Blacks or others who could do the work. The Italian foreman say they are better able to communicate with their own. This charge was made against Portuguese, Finnish, and Germans, as well as the Italians. The Black foremen, on the other hand, reportedly pick a mixture so as not to give the impression of favouritism. The matter is to be brought before the Human Rights Commission as the Black carpenters find they are at present the largest group without work.

The West Indian population in general tends to bide its time. Most accept the interim period as one of adjustment to the society. This is not liked, of course, but tolerated, in order that they may move quickly and smoothly out of their situation.

Contrast, a newspaper of the Black community, published the following economic situation of Black Torontonians:

... We know that there are more single Black women working than Black men. This is important because the Black community does not have the average family structure as it is largely a migrant population. Therefore, of from 40,000 to 45,000 Blacks living in Toronto, we can assume very conservatively that 25,000 of these are working people. (See Table V.) The remainder are of school age or unemployed.

These people represent a total amount of spending power in Toronto of more than \$75,000,000.

Apart from this vast spending power is the knowledge that at least two Black owned and operated businesses, an advertisement firm and

a construction company, have a gross income of between \$1,500,000 to \$2,000,000 a year.

By any standard the Black population compared to other groups of similar size and length of residence in the country is doing well. Without doubt the Black immigrant has a head start in the job market because of his education and language, barring the British and the Americans.

Demography. An estimated two-thirds of the Black population of Toronto is West Indian, the remaining one-third is divided between Blacks of Canadian birth, Americans and Africans. The Black population of Toronto has spiralled from 10,000 to in excess of 40,000 in one decade.

There have been, in the past, several areas which were characterized by high Black concentrations. The records of one informant stated the situation in this way,

Although there is no marked delineation of the Negro districts or any formal segregation in the residential area yet many settled in the area of deterioration surrounding the central business section or the Loop. The original area was much smaller but it has expanded because of the urban growth into adjacent areas. In this section rents are cheap because the decaying residences are not yet part of the business district. When business expanded downtown the people originally settled there, moved to more desirable spots, the rents dropped and the Negro moved in. Because they were economically insecure and not too sure of their civil rights they demanded nothing from their landlords for fear of being evicted.

There was a gradual enlargement of the central area and occasional jumpings North, but in the latter instance Negroes were discouraged because of opposition of land owners who refused to rent or sell property. In 1923, some Negroes settled in the St. Clair district and in 1938, the third area north of Eglinton and between Bathurst and Yonge Streets opened up.

The areas bounded by D'Arcy, Baldwin, Huron and Cecil Streets became the prime area for Blacks moving into Toronto. Landlords in other areas were not congenial to Black tenants while the areas inhabited by Jews were most tolerant to them. Most rented from Jewish landlords and lived anywhere they could find in the area from first floor apartments to attic rooms.

After the Second World War, the Jews began moving out of these areas. As they moved up and out, Blacks, in many cases, remained. Consequently, Jews now occupy the area around Eglinton, Bathurst, Dufferin and St. Clair. The Black immigrant community is south of this new area and tends to move in a northerly direction. Many are beginning to rent apartments and buy homes in the St. Clair, Bathurst area.

It was no accident that the Black population settled in and around the Jewish community. Presently, the Black immigrant population in many respects parallels the Jewish Community, as they had their introduction to Toronto in the Bathurst-Bloor area which was the heart of the old Jewish Community. The Blacks are constantly moving further north into the Jewish Community or to the suburbs. The present Jewish area is becoming readily accessible to Blacks as the Jewish Community moves further into the suburbs or encroaches more and more into the Gentile section of Forest Hill which lies adjacent to the present Jewish Community. Because of the fact that many old apartment buildings in the Bathurst-St. Clair, Eglinton area have been vacated for the suburbs and Forest Hill, Blacks immigrants have started to buy and settle in this area.

The Black immigrant today does not find it necessary to follow

the Jewish-Black residential pattern, reminiscent of the urban U.S. Many immigrants merely prefer to use the Bathurst-Bloor area until they are ready to move to the suburbs. This is the heart of West Indian business and rooming house district. The immigrant finds this area suits his needs to meet and talk to others in his position. It provides a feeling of comradeship when it is most needed. Immigrants are able to find out from friends and relatives how to go about adjusting themselves to their new home, where to go for help in meeting essential social services. This is certainly a need of most of the immigrant population.

On the other hand, the more middle class immigrants, on first arriving, find the Thorncliffe Park area ideal for their needs. Most of the population there is professional in occupation and middle class in outlook. There is a tendency for the middle class immigrant to remain here for some time. With increase in families, however, most move from the apartment sector to the surrounding suburbs.

As a result of economic gains following World War II, many Blacks began to disperse throughout the wider metropolitan area. Most of these people became homeowners. Those who were left behind formed the only semblance of a ghetto among Black Torontonians. The heart of this area was bounded by Spadina, Dundas, Queen and Bathurst.

This section was recently torn down and replaced by a housing development, Alexandra Park. Alexandra Park, while the home of twenty-three hundred Blacks, almost all of them Nova Scotians, is also composed of many ethnic and cultural groups of the lower classes in Toronto. The Alexandra Park area has become a constant scene of police action. The area has become a kind of miniature Harlem in its way of life: pimps

and prostitutes, a high rate of high school dropouts, unwed mothers, all of which causes weak family life. Another large segment of the Nova Scotia population resides in Toronto's other major public housing complex, Regency Park.

Today, Blacks live in all sections of the city and surrounding suburbs. There is, however, a concentration of West Indians in the area bounded by Eglinton Avenue on the north, Lakeshore Boulevard on the south, Dufferin Street on the west, and Spadina Avenue on the east. The area is not predominantly Black but is highly mixed with other ethnic groups.

Upon arrival West Indians settle in the Bathurst-Bloor area. In this reception area families generally rent or live with relatives until they are able to move out into the city. The more middle class and professional immigrant generally lives in the Thorncliffe Park area until he is able to move to the suburbs. Most West Indians, in either immigrant group, strive for suburban homes and move as quickly as possible to Scarborough, Willowdale, Downsview, etc.

Comparison of the Black with the Average White

Immigration policy towards Blacks, which we discuss in detail in the next section, has by virtue of its skill qualifications tended to raise the average occupational level of the Toronto Black community and has brought to Toronto a sound, stable, skilled and professional class. The West Indian immigrant population, as the representative group of Blacks in Toronto, has contributed more than four times the number of persons in professional and technical (Table VI) occupations than the Italians who comprise a much larger percentage of the immigrating population. The majority of Italians come in as labourers and construction

TABLE VI

Selected Countries of Former Residence of Immigrants by Selected Intended Occupation
Calendar Year - 1969

	Managerial & Administrative	Professional & Technical	Clerical	Services & Recreation	Construction	Manufacturing & Mechanical	Labourers	Transportation	Communication * Trades
Austria	16	371	94	157	85	393	66	8	35
Britain		6,755	3,057	1,418	1,030	2,790	144	205	689
France	120	1,018	293	467	305	595	42	20	127
Greece	31	173	142	650	598	1,488	872	59	54
Hungary		44	12	19	66	55	3	1	5
India	62	1,383	434	45	30	290	73	21	61
Ireland	14	460	195	55	66	109	2	2	42
Italy	33	341	161	560	1,105	2,211	185	35	56
Portugal	4	41	96	264	486	810	113	22	27
Spain	9	70	37	64	42	125		4	11
West Indies	156	1,425	2,194	1,617	410	1,801	67	53	234

*Includes auctioneers, peddlers, sales clerks, etc.

West Indians come primarily under sales clerks - 191.

Source: Canada Immigration Division, Department of
Manpower and Immigration: Immigration Statistics 1969.

TABLE VI b

Intended Occupations of Immigrants by Selected Countries of Former Residence

Calendar Year - 1969

COUNTRY OF FORMER RESIDENCE	TOTAL	MANAGERIAL	PROFESSIONAL	CLERICAL	TRANSPORTATION	COMMUNICATION	COMMERCIAL	FINANCE	SERVICE	AGRICULTURE	CONSTRUCTION	FISHING AND TRAPPING	MINING	MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL	LABOURERS	OTHERS	TOTAL WORKERS	NON-WORKERS
ANTIGUA	199		25	44	1		4	4	41		4			31	1	1	156	43
BAHAMA ISLANDS	136	4	22	14	4		5	2	14	3	12			14	2		96	40
BARBADOS	1,242	8	86	288	7	1	19	7	206	5	56			172	11	13	879	363
BERMUDA	222	4	25	13	1	1	7	3	40	12	8			12			126	86
JAMAICA	3,889	40	351	571	18	10	89	23	521	38	132		2	632	21	13	2,459	1,430
ST. KITTS	211		11	47		1	7	2	29	3	6			23	2	4	135	76
ST. LUCIA	148	1	18	29	3	3	1	46		1				11	3	2	118	30
ST. VINCENT	361	2	32	55	2		2	2	54		20			51	4	2	226	135
TRINIDAD-TOBAGO	5,631	93	604	986	15	10	93	21	463	45	145		2	761	17	31	3,286	2,345
GUYANA	1,865	32	156	366	3	3	56	6	64	9	34			219	14	11	973	892
HAITI	550	1	217	47			7	1	53	1	4			37	1	2	371	179

Source: Canada Immigration Division, Department of Manpower and Immigration: Immigration Statistics 1969.

workers. Even though official immigration policy claims no bias, this is debatable. Many West Indians reportedly attempt to immigrate but because they have no skills find it impossible.

As the following tables show, only 67 labourers were allowed into Canada from the West Indies, compared with 872 from Greece alone, mostly unsponsored. In comparing the West Indian and African groups with White cohorts it is apparent that the average Black has a higher educational level than the average White. Blacks come with diplomas, certificates and money to start businesses. Their ability to find good employment is greatly enhanced. This situation is brought about and maintained by a selective immigration policy which puts preferences on skills, which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter IV.

A comparison of the West Indian immigrant group and other White immigrant groups was carried out in a Study by Kari Levitt and Alister McIntyre, entitled Canada-West Indies Economic Relations, in which they state that, in 1962:

The West Indies contributed more professional workers than Italy or Greece or France, even though the total number of immigrants from each of these countries was greater than from the West Indies. Moreover, the West Indies contributed more than twice the number of professionals arriving from Italy, while the total number of workers from Italy was more than five times that from the West Indies. The number of immigrant workers from Greece exceeded those from the West Indies by over one thousand, yet the Caribbean contributed more than six times the number of professionals immigrating from Greece. France contributed about eight hundred more immigrants but approximately forty fewer professionals. The ratio of professional to total immigrant workers for the West Indies, approximately 25 percent, was thus higher than for any major European supplier of immigrants to Canada, except England.⁷

Overall Summary

The number of Blacks in Canada has historically been small--almost insignificant. Even though slavery existed in early Canadian society the situation did not last long and the general White population became somewhat committed to its abolition in all North America. After the War of 1812, many refugee American Blacks came to Canada, but returned following the Civil War, as Canadians were not as tolerant to the Blacks once they settled in the country. Hence, the number of Blacks fluctuated from time to time without accurate records of their numbers. The present situation, particularly in Toronto, is voice to a tremendous change in governmental and public attitude concerning Blacks. For more than 50 years, the Blacks lost population. In the latter years of the 1950's, the situation changed. In 1970 there are estimates of between 40,000 and 50,000 Blacks in Toronto alone--more than in all of Canada since the late nineteenth century.

As a group this population is both educated and skilled. Occupationally, they are found in all areas of skilled, semi-skilled, and clerical positions, as well as managerial positions within the Civil Service and governmental bureaus. Problems in employment are few but persistent discrimination in the mass media and large financial institutions remain areas of concern.

Blacks in Toronto are not ghettoized but can be found to some extent in marked concentrations. These concentrations are more pronounced among newly arrived immigrants rather than among the older established Blacks. Blacks, on the whole, live in all sections of the city, without a specific spatial pattern. The major area of contention

between Blacks and Whites concerns rental property, particularly inner-city apartments.

Slums are not the homes of the average Black Canadian. Those who are extremely poor or jobless tend to be native born Canadians from Nova Scotia who, like their White counterparts, have migrated to Toronto and consequently become welfare recipients. The public housing projects in comparison to the average ones found in the United States are superior in every detail. Blacks are buying houses to a greater degree now than formerly. But the majority are renters. The near future should see a greater stress on home ownership by the community for the Blacks are far behind the Italians in home ownership. Basically Italians come to stay while most West Indians are reluctant to commit themselves, even though they are, in fact, as permanent as the Italians.

In retrospect the change in the 1960's has brought about a tremendous push toward economic security and stability in the Toronto Black Community.

The general picture of Blacks in relation to Whites must be seen in light of dynamic change, which is getting better on every level for Blacks. Overall, the working Black population has succeeded in becoming both stable and prosperous. Table VII and VIII gives evidence to this fact as the Services for Working People reports that few difficulties are faced by the Black labour force. Services for Working People is an agency of the Ontario Human Rights Commission.

Services for Working People

TABLE VII

1970	<u>No. of Complaints</u>	
<u>Month</u>	<u>No. of Complaints</u>	<u>Black</u>
October	659	26
September	583	23
July	702	35
February	414	12
March	412	12
January	354	5
November	665	25
December	717	7
August	434	20
June	180	14
April	589	26
May	501	17

Source: Ontario Human Rights Commission, Services for Working People.

TABLE VIII

Nature of Complaints at Services for Working People - Calendar Year 1970

<u>Unemployed</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Total</u>
Technical & Skilled	11	27	38
Unskilled	10	6	16
Housing	1	3	4
Immigration		1	1
Counselling/Inquiry (when to take courses, etc.)	12	18	30
Discrimination* (referred to Human Rights Commission)	6	9	15
Employment Standards	1	5	6
U I C	1	1	2
OHSIP		1	1
Total number*	<u>42</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>113**</u>

*Total number reflects complaints not necessarily individuals, as many had more than one complaint.

**Only one area of complaint is registered for each individual.

Source: Ontario Human Rights Commission, Services for Working People.

Footnotes - Chapter III

- ✓ 1. Selma Lightman, A survey of the Negro Community, (Unpublished Thesis, University of Toronto, 1948) p. 54.
2. As we shall note later, a number of these domestic workers only come in as such for immigration purposes and rapidly move up to other occupations.
3. Immigration Statistics, 1969, Canada Immigration Division, Department of Manpower and Immigration, p. 5.
4. "75 Million in Spending is real Black Power." Contrast Newspaper, Vol. 2, No. 10, August 1-15 (1970).
5. Ibid.
6. Lightman, Op. Cit. p. 15.
7. Kari Levitt and Alister McIntyre, Canada-West Indies Economic Relations, (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1967) p. 100.

CHAPTER IV

CIVIL POSITION

Legal Status

Benign toleration in what is by and large a law-abiding society, where personal violence is rarely experienced, describes, in large part, the civil position of Toronto Blacks. Blacks move throughout the public sphere with ease. Prejudice exists in certain respects as we shall discuss, but the legal situation is one of equality. This has not always been the case (i.e. discrimination opposed by law). But not only has this legal discrimination disappeared, it has happened without a massive protest movement. Remedial legislation to remove inequalities in the public sphere was easily passed. The legal changes have thus been a process of relatively quiet elimination of inequalities. The problems of the Community, such as they are, are social and economic rather than legal. It is worthy of note that Blacks in Toronto are not, nor have they ever been, a political issue among Whites and, as such, they have been spared the glare of public concern about their every move as in the United States. All these factors account for their relatively stable civil position.

After the Imperial Act of 1833, all Blacks within the British Commonwealth were considered free British subjects and entitled to the guarantees and rights of such. Nonetheless, their legal status was dubious for they were at the mercy of public opinion for the actualization of their rights. The legal framework of the country, in general, sought to protect their civil rights. Blacks did not sit on

juries or vote at will. During the early part of the twentieth century many racial incidents occurred, at which time Blacks had their rights pushed aside in favour of public sentiment. Ida Greaves states:

... Although there is not in the Dominion one example of the operation of that 'lynch law' to which Negroes in the United States have for so long been subject, the type of feeling that thinks it necessary to deal with the Negro outside the law has undoubtedly existed...¹

Thus public opinion in this period directed the options open to Blacks in regard to their legal rights. Their position was indeed precarious, the government was actively seeking to reduce their numbers, the legal system allowed public opinion and prejudice to dictate its decisions and the citizenry was hostile. It seems that Canadian intolerance to slavery may well have been genuine but the fact that Blacks were allowed into the country may best be explained by the anti-American feeling of the government rather than anti-slavery feelings.

From the turn of the century to the early 1940's, court decisions rendered in cases concerning Afro-Canadians bear out how inconsistently decisions were made. For example, the case of Johnson vs. Sparrow in Montreal in 1899 was decided in favour of the plaintiff, a Black man. He had bought two orchestra seats in the Academy of Music at Montreal but was refused these seats and offered substitutes when it was discovered that he was Black. The Court of Appeal declared "the evidence establishing that there was an unconditional contract by which two seats in the orchestra chairs had been leased to the respondent, his exclusion subsequently on the pretext that he was a coloured man was a breach of contract between the appellants and the respondent, the judgment rendered in favour of the latter was well founded."²

In Toronto, on the other hand, a similar case involved a Mulatto

woman who purchased a ticket at a local roller skating rink for her son who, being darker than she, was refused admittance to the rink. She brought damage charges against the owner. The Division Court decided that all this owner should legally do was give back the 25c price of admission, for the owner had a legal right to refuse to sell the ticket.³

In practice, the legal equality of Blacks could be abridged by the public who were generally upheld by the Courts. The legal position of the Blacks was thus always marked by uncertainty in the exercise of their rights. In most public places he could be refused on sight because of the fact that proprietors had the legal right to refuse to accommodate any "person or class of people, as long as the refusal is not accompanied by insult or violence."⁴

In 1944 the first of what was to be a series of Acts was enacted by the provincial government. The Racial Discrimination Act sought to strengthen the legitimate exercise of rights for all coloured people in Ontario. It was, however, extremely weak in both scope and application, as this Act only applied to discriminatory advertising, leaving the vital area of public accommodation where it always had been. It should be kept in mind that the Act was not for Blacks specifically, but all Canadians generally.

As late as 1954, the legal status of the Black man remained ambiguous. A case in Dresden involving a Mr. Talbert, a restaurant owner, and Mr. Emmerson, a Black who was refused service, added fuel to the already existing apprehension concerning rights with regard to public accommodations. When a decision of acquittal was rendered in light of the Racial Discrimination Act or the Fair Accommodation Act of the same year, the editor of a local Black paper asked that the following be

added to the Fair Accommodations Practices Act, 1954:

1. Section 6, Subsection 1 of the Fair Accommodations Practices Act, 1954, should be amended to read: 'Every person who fails to comply with any provision of this Act shall be guilty of an offense under the Act and shall for the first offense have his licence suspended for an indefinite period and for the second offense shall have his licence cancelled.'
2. The maximum penalty under the Fair Accommodations Practices Act should be imposed upon the offenders in Dresden cases now under investigation.⁵

An amended Act in 1960-61 of the 1958 Ontario Anti-Discrimination Commission Act brought to full fruition the Ontario Human Rights Commission, which was given the task of guarding the legal rights of the people in the province. The Ontario Human Rights Code was put into effect on June 15, 1962, and all previous Acts repealed, as they would be included within the Code. The Code provided for and confirmed the freedom of all people in Ontario, and enacted the Code to "extend such enactments and to simplify their Administration". In 1965, the Ontario Human Rights Code was amended to include provincial Government and its agencies; discrimination in connection with the occupancy of any apartment in buildings containing more than three self-contained units; discrimination in connection with the occupancy of any commercial unit. Because of the rise of Black immigration around the period 1966-67, the Code was again amended to include all self-contained housing accommodation rather than buildings with more than three self-contained units, and employers with less than five employees were also included in the Code.⁶

Over the years it has been mostly Blacks who have resorted to the services of the Commission. These complaints fall mainly into the category of discrimination in housing, particularly renting of apartments.⁷

Since the Commission has been in existence, the amount of overt

discrimination has certainly been on the downward trend. Blacks in 1971 are heard to complain less about open discrimination in buying houses. The subject of rental accommodations, however, is still a sore spot, as seen from the work of the Human Rights Commission and the Bell-McKay decisions. The Bell vs. McKay decision of the Supreme Court of Canada concerned the interpretation of the Ontario Human Rights Code. In this decision the court held that the Code's prohibitions against racial discrimination in housing encompass "a self-contained house, or self-contained premises similar to an apartment in an apartment house" and left the Commission with no jurisdiction over the very areas that caused most racial discrimination--the rental of rooms and flats in houses. The fact that in any country, most immigrants find their first homes in rooming houses makes this decision quite disturbing.

But with perhaps this one exception, the advent of the Human Rights Code has brought about a situation where public opinion no longer sways the administration of judicial decisions in respect to Blacks in a negative way. (Public opinion does, however, remain a force from which Canadian immigration takes its cue.) In effect, Blacks previously had civil equality in law and effective inequality in practice. Through ad hoc legislation the community has, however, gained civic equality.

Political Participation

Blacks immigrating to Toronto are not prepared as yet to assert a political claim in a vocal way. Because the Black Community is small in comparison with the majority, being less than 2 percent of the total population, they constitute no political voting bloc as in the

United States. Spatial patterns, furthermore, tend toward spreading rather than clustering them, thereby accelerating the diffusion of any future blocs.

The "Old Toronto population" is active, though limited in local and provincial politics, but their participation is directed toward voting, leaving the decision-making to wardleaders or duly elected politicians.

One Black M.P.P., Leonard A. Braithwaite, sits in the Provincial Legislature. Braithwaite represents the riding of Etobicoke, which has an insignificant number of Black residents. As such, Braithwaite represents a constituency of White middle and upper-middle class families. His political reputation was built on service to the broader population and his ability as a legislator and promoter for his community rather than a purely racial and sectional leader, a role into which most American Black legislators are pushed.

Politically, it is the young Blacks in Toronto who seem to be actively engaged in some type of socio-political action. Political activism has passed from the adults, who in the 1940's brought about major legislative changes, to the youth and student groups in the 1970's.

Basically, student groups are left with only one major area of concern--community organization. This kind of politics involves them in self-help projects, information centres, Black-oriented day schools, to mention a few.

Even though these groups are somewhat effective in their spheres, namely the poor inner-city Blacks around the Municipal Housing projects, they do not command the respect of, nor do they attract the general community. Their work is in many ways oriented toward American Black activism. But in

the typical American city, there is, unlike Toronto, a larger base of poor people to support this kind of political life. Some Black opinion-makers and professionals who deal primarily in social service areas, are attracted to and work with these Black student groups.

The politics of the youth groups are geared toward providing services to the poor through organized protest. This sort of action is not characteristic of the adult population. The child-centred programme of the youth groups depends on the support of parents whose children they serve.

Broad based acceptance of this type of politics is absent. When problems of this nature arise, the majority of Toronto Blacks are more prone to use the generally accepted organs of protest, the Ontario Human Rights Commission or their own communal clubs. These are the groups they look to for the alleviation and redress of grievances.

The lone Black politician in Toronto made these observations concerning politics in Toronto:

I'm an old Canadian, that's what I want to say first, and things have really changed in this city for Negroes. 1958 was bad and 1948 twice as bad.

In 1941--during World War II--we couldn't give ourselves to the Army but it got really bad. They decided to conscript and all Blacks were sent to the Army. None could go to the Air Force and Navy, at first. We went to jail over this issue because we wanted to go into the Navy and they were forcing us into the Army.

Before World War II, there were about 10,000 or more. Yes, when I look back I can see we had a real community then, but after the War groups began to press here in Toronto--and things started to look up. As people did better and they could only go up, as they were really poor, they moved out and didn't bother to get together again.

Most of us didn't get education. I didn't finish until I came back from the Army. Before it was not normal for Toronto Negroes

to go to the University of Toronto--African and West Indian or American maybe, but not Toronto. I went to the States myself.

Today it's a lot different--people coming in think it's a Utopia. But it's not. We old ones fought long and hard for this day. Toronto is Anglo-Saxon and they are generally fair up to a point here. The idea now is that everyone has a sphere. Damn if you can get out of it. You rise as far as you like or you don't, but don't try to be one of them--or act too big. They'll cut you down--don't ask how or why--they will.

When I first moved to Etobicoke, there were no Blacks here (10 years ago). I watched the community change composition from Anglo-Saxon to Western European and a few Negroes. But most of the British moved quietly and subtly to Mississauga. I don't know how far they can run though.

I'm a politician. Blacks don't really participate that much--they are like their White counterparts, non-involved. But I sit in Parliament for my riding, not my race. I refuse to discuss the issues to the public unless it relates to my riding and affects my people.

There is a lot of work to do here, but there is a way to do it. You don't rant and rave and scream. You pursue the same process as other people, but you have to push harder and faster, and we are. I'm Canadian and all the immigrants are going to face up to the fact that they are Canadian and try doing things the Canadian way--and see the difference in government and the way they deal with people.

The immigrants are aware of the old community and what it accomplished. So I suppose they look down on us. But that's not important. It takes more than colour to form a community--it's not living herded together and calling people racists and threatening. This just isn't my way.

The biggest problem here is hiring for jobs, particularly in the upper level: executive jobs, banks, etc.

Competition is the basis of Race Relations.

No, there isn't a Black vote in Toronto. There's no need. You see, you need bloc votes and activist politics when you're ghettoized. If there were ghettos here, there would be this kind of political power.

In Canada, colour just isn't enough to raise group politics--too many people find they're the exception to the rule. You know, they live in good houses in suburbs, vote, go where they want and work--they just want to be average people.

The same holds true for the only Black Federal M.P.,

Lincoln Alexander, Hamilton West. He, like Braithwaite, was elected from a predominantly White riding.

There have been, in the past, Blacks elected to public office. Other than Braithwaite and Alexander, the highest publicly elected official was W. P. Hubbard, a Toronto Black, who served as Controller and Acting Mayor.

Even though political participation is not extremely high among Blacks in Toronto, the fact remains that such opportunities are open, if they so choose. It should be kept in mind that non-participation on the part of immigrants stems from concern over more pressing personal problems, as they have no legal axe to grind pertaining to civil rights as Blacks in the United States do. For this reason alone, much enthusiasm is shifted from provincial and federal level politics to grass-root and community politics. In this respect, the Black immigrants are not much different from the White ones.

Demands and Satisfaction

In general, Black demands upon the provincial or federal government have been focused upon housing and job discrimination. Most demands concerning the civil rights and liberties of Blacks were sought for and won by the "Old Toronto population". The era of political demands for Afro-Canadians corresponds roughly to the years 1944, with the Racial Discrimination Act, through 1962, with the formation of the Human Rights Commission. The government sought to comply with the demands and grievances of the community and satisfaction was met in regard to such areas as public accommodation and employment practices.

At present, the "Old Toronto population" looks back with pride

at their accomplishments, which are taken for granted by the "New Community". Due to the fact that the entire foundation of equal rights for Ontario was settled prior to the coming of the immigrants, they have few legitimate legal grievances. Outside the cases of overt discrimination reported to the Human Rights Commission, little mention of civil rights is made by Black or White.

In regard to the Commission, most cases or complaints come from immigrants. Care is usually taken to insure that a grievance exists, as many West Indians are reported, by both Blacks and Whites, to have a "chip on their shoulder". With this in mind, care is taken before action is brought against the reported offender.

Even though the majority of official complaints are from Blacks, this represents a small portion of total population. Many complaints are dropped before action is initiated (see Appendix VIII, Chart 2-5).

The "New Community" finds its grievances not so much in the civil/legal sphere as in community politics. The leadership class of the immigrant population, both acknowledged and unacknowledged, is in the process of demanding numerous social services for the immigrant population. Basically these demands take the form of requests from the Black community rather than the White power structure. All the Toronto political groups seem to agree that a Black community centre is badly needed by the community. Also needed is a resources centre to give immigrants aid in processing official forms and getting needed civic help when it is required (e.g., unemployment insurance, public housing department, etc.). Black students throughout Canada met in February 1971 to discuss demands to make to the government and community. However, most centred around local community efforts to aid immigrants through the

transition stage.

In Toronto the effect of the high rate of drop-outs from the public high schools has generated fresh grounds for action by the community and the Metropolitan school board, to alleviate this situation by gearing their programmes more to understanding the special problems of immigrant children. Greater demands are being made on parents, whom the community leaders see as somewhat remiss in their obligation of goading the school system to accommodate their children more fully. It is the wish of this group that the school boards set aside in-service training sessions for White teachers in order that they might come to fully appreciate the special needs of immigrants' children, rather than streaming them off into vocational and non-productive courses. These demands are at present being reviewed by both the community and the school board.

Patterns of Acceptance--Discrimination and Prejudice,
both Public and Private

Public discrimination is frowned upon by both government and the general public. However, such opinions are restricted to the public arena and do not hinder the social life or private domain of any citizen or group. The essence of Canadian pluralism is the attempt to provide options of free choice in matters close to each ethnic group, while demanding broader adherence to rights and obligations on the federal and provincial level.

From the records of the Human Rights Commission it is evident that Blacks more readily use its facilities than other groups. Total formal complaints from June 1962 through July 31, 1969 saw 64.4 percent

(see Appendix VIII) of the individual complaints from the Black Community. However, most officials are quick to point out that Blacks are less likely to accept discrimination than, say, Indians or Italians, the latter rarely using the Commission. In 1969-70, when Black complaints were 66.3 percent, only 1.6 percent of the complaints came from the Italian population and .8 percent from the Portuguese. On the other hand, reports from Services for Working People found the overwhelming majority of their complaints from the Italian and Portuguese population. It would seem that discrimination in cases of ethnic groups in Toronto is selective and does not manifest itself to all groups in the same manner. Basically, Black complaints are concerned, in almost all cases, with refusal of rental accommodations. Italians do not face this problem. In many cases they live with relatives in the Italian Community or rent from other Italians, as the Community is a very large one and is able, in most cases, to take care of their own. They do face enormous problems in the working world; more so than Blacks. The Italians, in most instances, do not speak English well and are not highly educated or skilled, which is the opposite with Black immigrants.

As far as public accommodation and other areas in the public sector are concerned little if any complaint is heard in regard to discrimination.

Ethnic groups in the Toronto population tend on the whole to have a social life within those groups. Blacks have White friends, but this does not gainsay the fact of an ethnic social community:

We sort of mix among ourselves you know, there's nothing in that. Here, that's the way people prefer it, as long as you work and go where you please, your social life should be your own.

We will discuss later on further aspects of Black society.

Immigration Policy and its Consequences.

Immigration policy in the early 1900's was stated by the
Acting Deputy Minister:

Canada seeks certain classes of immigrants, and in the search limits the efforts to those classes needed in Canada and those races most readily assimilable.

So far as the Negro is concerned we have never encouraged his settlement in Canada regardless of his occupation, although we have admitted and still admit a few coloured folk who are able to comply with existing immigration regulations.

To carry out this policy an official policy to exclude Blacks began in the twentieth century. As large numbers of U.S. Blacks attempted to immigrate to Western Canada, the Whites pressured the government to stop them.

... It involves no boldly stated policy of the kind that goes into textbooks. There was nothing public about it, as with the 'Keep Australia White' policy. Rather, it was a back room effort, almost entirely successful, to 'discourage' the many thousands of American and West Indian Blacks who might otherwise have moved to Canada. There was...as government correspondence in Ottawa records now makes clear...a long, long series of letters exchanged among immigration authorities worried about how to be functionally anti-Black without seeming anti-Black.

In 1911, E. B. Robinson, Assistant Superintendent of Immigration, wrote to the Minister of the Interior in which he asked that an "Order-in-Council be passed, prohibiting the admission of Negroes."¹⁰ The Minister of the Interior agreed to do so. The law, however, never came about because of other troubles the administration faced that summer. Thus, while no official law was passed to keep Blacks out, quotas which existed previously remained.

Canadian immigration, according to official government policy, was dictated by the economic situation of any particular year. As such, immigration would be allowed to expand during periods of economic

prosperity, when the economy would be able to "absorb" new workers, and constrict during periods of economic upheaval owing to recession or depression.

Such a policy as we have seen did not pertain to people of colour wishing to live in Canada, as only certain classes and categories of these people were even considered for immigration. The Canadian Black population had dipped to 21,496 in the latter part of the nineteenth century and to 17,437 at the turn of the century. The 1911 Census reported a loss of 443 persons between 1901 and 1911. This, however, was recovered in the following years as a few West Indians were permitted to immigrate following an amendment to the Immigration Act in 1922. From this period on, the Black population remained in a state of flux.

TABLE IX

Twentieth Century Canadian Population Figures
by Year and Selected Ethnic Groups

<u>Ethnic Origin</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1941</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>
Greek	291	3,614	5,740	9 444	11,692	13,966	56,475
Hungarian	1,549	11,648	13,181	40,580	54,598	60,460	126,220
Italian	10,834	45,963	66,769	98,173	112,625	152,245	450,351
Polish	6,285	33,652	53,403	145,503	167,485	219,845	323,517
Ukrainian	5,682	75,432	106,721	225,113	305,929	395,043	473,337
West Indian & American Black	17,437	16,994	18,291	19,456	22,174	18,020	32,127

Source: Censuses of Canada, Canada Yearbook.

As Table IX suggests, the trend toward a smaller Black population began to change around 1921. By this time, however, such groups as the Ukrainians, Italians and Polish, who numbered less than half the Black

population in 1901, were now more than three times as great. Immigration did not provide substantial numbers to replenish the population, as only 4,122 Blacks immigrated between 1925-53. Total immigration for the period between 1945 and 1953 was 900,000 persons, or 112,000 annually, while for the same time span, only 1,417, Blacks, or 177 annually, were allowed in.

The Negro Citizenship Association was formed in Toronto by Mr. Donald W. Moore on January 11, 1951 in response,

To a growing need for a representation group in the Community to give leadership and direction in the many problems which thwarted the Negro in his efforts to obtain and exercise his right and privilege as a Canadian citizen.

The Citizenship Association was to give impetus to the admission of Coloured British Subjects into Canada. While immigration regulations did not specifically exclude Blacks as it did Asians, it did, however, restrict all coloured immigration by limiting the term "British subject". As an Order-in-Council P.C. 2856, June 9, 1950, made clear, only Commonwealth countries whose population was White would be considered "British Subjects" for immigration purposes. These included England, Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa.

The following speech by Donald Moore expressed the feeling of Blacks toward what they consider unfair treatment.¹²

From the beginning of 1923 the Canadian Government instituted this policy of maintaining the 'characteristics of the Canadian people' by its now notorious definition of British Subject. Initiated by the Conservatives, continued by the Liberals, and reaffirmed by the newly appointed Minister of Citizenship and Immigration as recently as November 25, that 'We do not want immigration to change the character of our population'. 'We are not going to permit any massive immigration from these areas'.

Let us see how well they have succeeded. In 1921 there were 18,291 Negroes in Canada, and twenty years after, in 1941, there

were 22,174, or an average of 190 Negroes per year. But this seemed to be too much for the Government, so in 1950, P.C. 2856 was introduced which further restricted the entry of British West Indians. The number of Negroes for all Canada that year was 159. By 1951, deportations and refusals at border points became so numerous and cruel that this organization was born. It is significant to note that the census for that year, 1951, was 18,020. Thus we see that in 1921, two years before this scorched earth policy as started by the Government of Canada, the population was 18,291. The Government has therefore succeeded in thirty years to reduce this undesirable population of Negroes by 271.

After much publicity and protests to the Government, a few concessions were given. On August 4, 1952, it was now possible to attempt to bring in your dear old mother or father or brother or sister, or a 'case of exceptional merit'. (You could not do it previously.) I use the word attempt, for we have cases on record where mothers have been refused, sons and daughters have taken a year to cut through the red tape. The provision, 'cases of exceptional merit', is a myth; even the Minister himself admits that he cannot say definitely what it means. Registered Nurses, with positions waiting, have been refused; school teachers, with offers of employment, have been refused; accountants, stenographers, electricians, and business people ready to open business, have been refused by the same stereotyped letter in the files at Ottawa. I shall not burden you with these individual cases, but the files are here, and they are many. I shall be glad to show them to anyone interested. However, I want to assure you that you should have a couple of hours to spare.

Some of these parties have had to spend time in Toronto Jail, and other immigrant stations for periods ranging from six weeks to six months, while their cases are being processed.

The previous Minister used the health angle to hide the discriminatory phase of the Immigration policy until we were able to tear it down. To-day the Honourable J. W. Pickersgill has come on the scene--his angle is the preservation of 'Canadian characteristics'. I was at a loss to distinguish how our distinctive qualities or traits were so far removed from Canadian qualities and traits. However, knowing the Honourable Gentleman to be a Rhodes Scholar, I borrowed Roget's Thesaurus from my friend Mr. Kelly and discovered that it also relates to race, tribe, or breed. Then I know that the Honourable Gentleman was not afraid that we would become public charges, but that there was danger of darkening the complexion of White Canadian citizens.

To begin with, this is an insult to every White Canadian citizen, for the Minister suggests that the average 190 Negroes per year which his Department had admitted in the past year is so strong that it is capable of changing the character of 12 million Canadian ladies and gentlemen of our race--you do not know how atomic you are.

I wonder if the Honourable Minister knows--and he is a student of history, a Rhodes Scholar, an education paid for from profits which his benefactor accumulated by the extraction of exploited labour and conniving from my forebears in Africa--yes, I wonder if his history has taught him that when the Lord made my forefathers and placed them in Africa, he did not make any of them that look like me. We were like the Queen of Sheba who attracted the eyes of King Solomon, Black but comely. It was only when Great Britain and France sent their convicts and planters to the West Indies who raped those pure Black mothers and sisters of mine that shades and colours like mine were produced, and I want to tell the Honourable Gentleman that I, Donald Moore, am not very proud of it. I don't know about you.

Is the Honourable Gentleman not familiar with the greatest history book of all, the Bible; has he not read or heard of the story of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba? Maybe William Lyon McKenzie King did not dictate anything on the record for the Honourable Gentleman's reflections. I wonder if he has ever heard of Rasputin the Monk, or Napoleon and the Empress Josephine, a buxom creole from Martinique; or to come nearer home, I will be glad to show him a picture of Charlotte Sophia, Queen of England, consort of George III. My dear sir, the changing of the character of the world has been taking place from the Garden of Eden, as recorded in the 3rd Chapter of Genesis, the 7th verse. Look it up and read it for yourself.

Hitler set the world on fire with his theory of maintaining a pure Aryan Race, and if our Honourable friend and his counterpart in South Africa are not careful, the world may again be set on fire by their avowed determination to maintain the characteristics of Canada and South Africa. The dark races shall never again be content to remain half slave and half free.

Who in the world does Mr. Pickersgill think he is fooling when he says 'that is not to say we discriminate against any individual because of his race'. Does he still think that the darker races are the most dumb and foolish people in the world? Is he not aware of the potential power of the now independent India? the changing policy of Indonesia? Was there a war in a place called Korea? How did those foolish dark-skinned Asians fight for their independence against the combined armies of the United Nations? Did it not require thousands of British soldiers, battleships and planes to quell a few Mau-Mau terrorists in the wilds of Africa?

Mr. Pickersgill, Dear Sir, you can no more stop the change in the character of the peoples of the world than you can stop the flow of the waters of the Gulf of St. Lawrence around your adopted Newfoundland.

I happened to be among the 700 Germans who entertained the Honourable Gentleman the other evening. As I sat there

contemplating over a glass of German ale, and listening to a biographical sketch of this saviour and defender of Canadian characteristics, my heart became sad, and tears came to my eyes, when I thought of man's inhumanity to man. Here was a man born in Ontario, schooled in Winnipeg, educated at Oxford or Cambridge, I forget which, married to a descendent of a German settler of 100 year vintage, settled in Newfoundland, and now sitting in power at Ottawa, a man who would condescend to have my brother West Indian denied entry to Canada because he too wanted to obtain an education, and who dared to marry a Canadian, very likely a descendent from Champlain.

I am telling you, ladies and gentlemen, when I thought of this lad rotting in the immigrant station for the past seven months, when I remembered how the Negroes fought that Canada might be free, that German ale almost choked me. It was all I could do to keep from going off on a tangent.

My message to the Honourable Gentleman to-day is this:

If the Honourable Gentleman has not yet awakened to the fact that we are living in a changed world; if he is not aware that the Negro he once saw 22 years ago along the wharfs of his beloved Newfoundland is now a changed man taking his place and position in the world; the only thing this atomic age has not yet perfected is detection between white skin and black skin; if he is not aware that the Black and Yellow people of the world are rising up as a cloud, like a man's hand are shaking off the yoke of their White overlords, it is high time that we demand that our Prime Minister perform the burial rites of the Honourable Minister, for he is as dead as the proverbial door nail, and should not be occupying a seat in our highest form of Government, but lying securely in that place which is reserved for all those who would destroy God's children.

Let me remind the Honourable Gentleman in particular, and the Canadian Government in general, that Canada belongs to me too. My forefathers fought and died for it in 1812; my brothers did not hesitate in 1914; my nephews from the West Indies, and our sons in Canada were there in 1938. We asked no special favours. We fought like men, and we are now determined, God helping us, to see that we live in Canada like men, whether it be eating in a two-cent restaurant in Dresden, or crossing the Canadian border.

On April 27, 1954, a brief was presented to the Prime Minister and Government of Canada, by the Negro Citizenship Association. It appealed

to the Government to improve upon the 1952 Amendment concerning "Special Merit" and to expand the official usage of the term "British Subject".

The Immigration Act since 1923 seems to have been purposely written and revised to deny equal immigration status to those areas of the Commonwealth where coloured peoples constitute a large part of the population. This is done by creating a rigid definition of British subjects. 'British subjects by birth or by naturalization in the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, or the Union of South Africa, and citizens of Ireland' excludes from the category those who are in all other senses 'British Subjects', but who come from such areas as the British West Indies, Bermuda, British Guyana, Ceylon, India, Pakistan, Africa, etc.' (See Appendix IV.)¹³

Outside of the question of classes of "British Subjects", there existed other major drawbacks for West Indians wishing to immigrate. The official line, which had been given by Canadian immigration officials to American Blacks seeking western farm lands, concerned climatic conditions, stating that peoples from tropical areas would not be able to adjust to the extreme cold in Canada. It also stated that the West Indian would find it difficult to assimilate and to perform the duties and responsibilities of a Canadian citizen within a reasonable time after his admission. The right to bring in close relatives had been granted in 1952. However, so few West Indians had gained entry between the time of the Order and the amendment to the Immigration Act in 1922, that the amendment was not in fact advantageous for Black immigration. The area of "Special Merit" baffled everyone including the men who administered it. To alleviate these grievances the Association requested the following amendments to the Act.

1. Amend the definition of 'British Subject' so as to include all those who are, for all other purposes, regarded as 'British Subjects and Citizens of the United Kingdom and Commonwealth'.

2. Make provision in the Act for the entry of a British West Indian--without regard to racial origin--who has sufficient means to maintain himself until he has secured employment.
3. Delete the word 'orphan' from the regulation which provides for the entry of nephews and nieces under 21.
4. Make specific the term 'persons of exceptional merit'.
5. Set up an Immigration Office in a centrally located area of the British West Indies for the handling of prospective immigrants.¹⁴

New Schemes

In a letter from the Department of Citizenship and Immigration in Toronto dated September 10, 1951 (Figure 1, p. 67), the policies and regulations of the Immigration department to that date are stated in no uncertain terms.

This letter represents one of thousands received by Canadian Blacks who sought to have relatives brought into the country, even under the then so-called liberal guidelines. Such requests became greater from Toronto Blacks but all but a few were refused. At the same time, many were being deported and stopped at the borders.

The case that was to bring about a new era in Black immigration was initiated in 1952. Beatrice Massop,¹⁵ a trained and Registered Nurse, sought entry into Canada. Miss Massop wrote to Mr. Donald Moore of the Negro Citizenship Association for help in processing her application. The chain of events surrounding this case were to take place over a fourteen-month period, during which time, Miss Massop was accepted by a hospital as a nurse--begrudgingly certified by the Toronto Nurses Registry on March 27, 1953. However, she was turned down by the Immigration Department because she did "not come within the classes of persons admissible to Canada..." on May 14, 1953. The chain of events continued

FIGURE 1

ADDRESS
DISTRICT SUPERINTENDENT
CENTRAL DISTRICT
737 CHURCH STREET
TORONTO 5, ONT.



IN YOUR REPLY PLEASE REFER TO
CDL-66686
No.....

DEPARTMENT OF CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION
IMMIGRATION BRANCH

Toronto, September 10, 1951

Dear Madam:

This is in further reference to your inquiry as to the reason for refusal of your application for the admission to Canada of your sister, Cecelia Griffith, who is residing in the British West Indies.

In this connection, I may say "Paragraph 1 of Order-in-Council P.C. 2856 which determines the conditions under which immigrants, who can otherwise comply with the provisions of the Immigration Act may be admitted to Canada, defines a British subject as "a person born or naturalized in the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand or the Union of South Africa, a citizen of Ireland or a person who became a citizen of the United Kingdom by registration under the British Nationality Act of 1948."

British subjects from other countries must, under Paragraph 4 of the same Order, satisfy the Minister, whose decision is final, that they are suitable immigrants "having regard to the climatic, social, educational, labour or other conditions or requirements of Canada."

One of those conditions is that immigrants should be able readily to become adapted and integrated into the life of the Canadian community within a reasonable time after their entry.

The Department fully appreciates that you, yourself, have become satisfactorily established here. In the light of experience however, it would be unrealistic to say that immigrants who have spent the greater part of their lives in tropical or sub-tropical countries, become readily adapted to the Canadian mode of life which, to no small extent, is determined by climatic conditions. It is a matter of record that natives of

-2-

such countries are more apt to break down in health than immigrants from countries where the climate is more akin to that of Canada. It is equally true that generally speaking, persons from tropical or sub-tropical countries find it more difficult to succeed in the highly competitive Canadian economy.

Departmental policy in dealing with applications such as yours, is based upon the factors outlined above and is inspired by a very serious concern for the welfare of those who wish to share our way of living, as well as by a justifiable sense of self-interest. It would have given me much pleasure to have been able to give favourable consideration to your application but the circumstances of the case viewed in relation to the principles to which I have referred, prevent me, regretfully, from doing so.

Very truly yours,

W. R. Baskerville

W.R. Baskerville
District Superintendent of Immigration

ACA/FJ

and on August 24, 1953, Mt. Sinai Hospital gave her a job, though she was still regarded by W. R. Baskerville, Superintendent of Ontario Immigration, as "not admissible". Previous to this date, the Negro Citizenship Association received a letter from the Deputy Minister of Immigration, Laval Fortier, dated August 10, 1953, stating that he was unaware of any job offers; chalking the series of events prior August 10 to an unofficial and regrettable error. (See Appendix VI.) In October 1953, Miss Massop was granted landed immigrant status from the Department in Ottawa. She became one of the few unsponsored Black immigrants in Canada and Toronto's first Black nurse. This case was a good example of the possibilities of political action in Canada for Negroes: what they could get and how to go about it. Clearly the aim was not unrestricted immigration. It was limited, rather, to a modification of the laws that eliminated some of the more flagrantly racialistic overtones. (During this period, one might mention, Chinese immigration from Hong Kong was also liberalized.) The approach of the Negro Citizenship Association, in its relations with the government, that is, a business-like legal protest, is also of interest. But the climate of opinion would, of course, have to be favourable for this kind of easy protest to work.

After the initial encounter with the Department, the Association moved forward to encourage nurses to immigrate. The Association acted as the broker for the nurses, as each had to send her file first to Mr. Moore of the Association who, in turn, presented it to the Toronto Nurses Registry. He then contacted hospitals for possible jobs and finally presented the case to the Department of Immigration. This went

on from 1953 through 1959 with more than 100 nurses gaining entry via this process. After 1959 the girls were able to apply directly to the Immigration Department or hospitals.

The nurses scheme was only one of many used to get Blacks into the country. One of the most well known and publicized schemes, was the "Domestic Workers" scheme. Again through the pressure for greater Black immigration from the Toronto Negro Citizenship Association, in 1955 the Government allowed 100 West Indian women--75 from Jamaica and 25 from Barbados--into the country via this scheme. These domestic workers pledged one year of service in Canadian homes in return for landed immigrant status. The programme was set up and officially sanctioned by both Ottawa and the respective Caribbean countries. Ottawa officially stated that the scheme was a gesture to help relieve the massive population and employment hardships in the West Indies.¹⁶ One might also assume that the Canadian government was testing public sentiment toward an increase in Black immigration. Black immigration to England had not been a particular success and the government obviously wanted to avoid such social problems.¹⁷

After the domestics had served their year of obligation, most moved on to other jobs, as many of the girls who came were in truth not domestics, but skilled and in some cases professionally trained people.

Table X indicates the kind of change that takes place after a year of service.

The West Indians have come into Canada under several such schemes in certain years following these initial starts. They have included carpenters, bricklayers and teachers among others. But never were they allowed to immigrate at will, only, as the official Canadian policy permitted when specific jobs could be filled by specific people.

TABLE X

Occupations of former Domestic workers after one year of service - 1957

- 3 - married--partners from the West Indies sponsored by the girls (this was allowed by the government)
- 2 - married men in Toronto
- 3 - employed by Bell Telephone (operators)
- 4 - assistant nurses
- 1 - Civil Service
- 1 - masseuse
- 7 - remained with original employers
- 11 - still domestics.

Source: The Personal Records of Mr. Donald Moore.

The New Policies

Immigration policies in the decade of the 60's changed drastically which is manifestly reflected in the number of Blacks coming to Canada. The old immigration policy required that only sponsored Blacks could enter. That is, one would have to have close relatives in Canada who had settled there before the middle of the twentieth century when this policy had its inscription. While Europeans were allowed to immigrate under very liberal regulations, most of these were unsponsored.

The Canadian government went so far as to provide travel grants, as well as other monetary benefits, to Europeans as a form of incentive to immigrate. These incentives were not extended to Blacks.

In 1962, the Canadian immigration policy was changed to admit all nationalities on the same basis as Western Europeans, i.e. education and skill for unsponsored immigrants. Even with these changes, a large area of discretionary power was vested in the immigration officer. The most ambiguous section dealt with so-called personal qualities. In this area the judgment was almost entirely left to the immigration official to

assess the applicant's suitability.

Again, as in the early part of the century, Canadian law gave explicit rights to Blacks and others, but in between the law and actual practice, a vast area existed in which personal or public opinion and prejudice could work as an effective measure of containing the flow of "undesirables" into the country. A major change occurred in 1966 to reduce the manifest discriminatory practices towards certain types of immigrants.

The Ottawa Conference published a White Paper on Immigration stating that immigration policies "must involve no discrimination by reason of race, colour or religion". This paper sought to relax the rule on skilled labour and to make the rules more universal. In the revision of the White Paper which followed its first public appearance, a point system was devised for assisting immigrants. Unsponsored or independent immigrants are given points in the following areas, (a) Education and training (b) Personal assessment (c) Occupational demand (d) Occupational skill (e) Age (f) Arranged employment (g) Knowledge of English and French (h) Relatives in Canada (i) Employment opportunities in the area of destination. This is the present policy of the government today.

After the inception and usage of the universalistic norms in 1966 and 1967, the number of West Indians has increased substantially. So much so, that the present social and political conditions of Blacks in Canada has changed remarkably.

In Conclusion

The recent major immigration of Blacks is evidence that racial discrimination in Canadian immigration policy has been substantially

reduced or eroded. Because this immigration has occurred since policy has put a greater emphasis on skills it has resulted in a Black population which is on a somewhat higher level of skill than most older White immigrant groups.

Footnotes - Chapter IV

1. Ida C. Greaves, National Problems in Canada: The Negro in Canada, (Montreal: Pocket-Times Press, Ltd., 1931) p. 64.
2. Op. Cit. p. 62.
3. Extracts from a letter from the Deputy Attorney General of Ontario, cit. I. C. Greaves, Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. The Canadian Negro, Toronto, November 1954, Vol. 2, No. 5, p. 1
6. Outline of the Ontario Human Rights Commission Legislation. (See Appendix VII.)
7. See Appendix VIII.
8. Greaves, Op. Cit. p. 47.
9. Trever W. Sessing, "How they kept Canada almost Lily White", Saturday Night, September 1970, Vol. 85, No. 9, p. 30.
10. Op. Cit. p. 32.
11. Negro Citizenship Association, Donald W. Moore, Director. Brief presented to the Prime Minister, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, and Members of the Government of Canada. (See Appendix IV.)
12. Two such cases can be found in Appendix V, Rev. A. Segismund Voce and Leroy Grant and also, Duke Quartey-Vanderpuiji.
13. See Appendix IV, p. 132.
14. See Appendix IV, p. 134.
15. See Appendix VI, p. 167. Complete case history.
16. Kari Levitt and Alister McIntyre, Canada-West Indies Economic Relations, (Montreal: McGill University, 1967) pp. 81-105.
17. Ruth Glass, Newcomers, London, 1960.
18. See Appendix VI.

CHAPTER V

COMMUNITY SENTIMENTS AND STRUCTURE

The Toronto Black population was characterized in the 1950's as consisting of four social groups. They were "old-line" native Canadians, British West Indians, American newcomers and Nova Scotians.¹ At present, the more accurate way of describing the other Blacks must be expanded to express both length of time in Toronto and diverse local origins. The Black population is composed of the "established Torontonians" who consist of descendants, as well as immigrants who came here before World War II and even, in some cases, World War I. Even though they do not form a obvious sociological community because of cultural differences, they have fused to a large extent. The "newer Torontonians" include the post-1960 British West Indian immigrants from both the West Indies and Britain, new Nova Scotians and Africans. The West Indian segment is highly skilled, articulate, proud and economically comfortable. The small African community is composed mainly of professionals and are obscure in relation to the Black community. The Nova Scotian is unskilled, inarticulate and somewhat insecure and dependent, in many cases, on social services. These groups have not really fused with each other.

Social Relations within the "Established Torontonian" Population The "old-line" group, who were, in many cases, the descendants of the fugitive slaves and Free Blacks from the States, were the aristocrats of Afro-Canadian society. By the 1950's they comprised a miniscule business and trading class and a small professional elite. They were ambivalent, in many cases, about immigration and did little to assist when immigrants

came to Toronto in the early twentieth century as their fathers and mothers had prepared for fugitive slaves in the middle and latter part of the nineteenth century. But there were, in fact, few immigrants coming to Canada then. One prominent businessman in Toronto related that the Blacks of this group referred to West Indian immigrants in the 1920's as "monkeys" who were "climbing palm trees in the islands".

An "Old" West Indian immigrant who became a spokesman for West Indian immigration, and who worked primarily within the small West Indian group at that time, described Toronto of the 1930's and 40's in this manner.

In those days there were few if any jobs for us. A Black man in Toronto had little chance for improvement as the only jobs available were railroad porters or maids. There were a couple of factories that hired Blacks but not many Blacks got on. Once I went to get a job running an elevator in a store downtown and the man told me that, 'Toronto wasn't ready for that.'.

Canadian Blacks could not join the Armed Forces of Canada during the second World War until it became apparent that the war wasn't going to be over in two or three days and they started to conscript men for service. Blacks still couldn't join the branch of their choice. Conscription was used to make up the all-Black No. 2 Construction Battalion. Some people protested against this kind of treatment. One or two people went to jail because they couldn't join the Air Force or the Navy.

Today most of our problems have been solved. We do have some areas that must be taken care of here in Toronto, particularly the problem of the poor Nova Scotia Blacks moving into the community. These people are faced with some hardships but with time and jobs they can overcome this. I don't feel there is anything politically afoot to harm the community.

The reason that West Indians can come into Canada today is due to the Old Toronto community but no one wants to give us credit for paving the way. Believe me, things were not always as good as they seem today. We had to fight to bring these things about. I feel a milestone was passed when we, working with the government, brought about the Domestic Workers Scheme. In this way, West Indian girls could come to Canada. We didn't like the scheme, but it was the only way we could get Blacks into the country. It wasn't that domestics couldn't be found in Canada but it was the

only way Black immigration was acceptable to the government and the people. Blacks were let in on the grounds that they were needed to help the economy. The government was certainly protecting itself for future years by restricting Black immigration to only the skilled and educated. We tried to overlook this because we needed numbers and most of all we wanted to get Black toes into the door so we took the best that we could get. The programme was successful and then we had other kinds of immigration--carpenters, brick layers, doctors, teachers--until now we have a large and growing Black immigration from the islands.

To go back a bit this community had its first real move forward after the Second World War. Attitudes just seem to change, of course there was pressure from the Blacks, but things just seem to get better. Maybe that's what you should find out. I think the reason was that economic opportunities were open to Blacks.

Even though there was some economic success, it wasn't until 1954 that the Negro Citizenship Organization was formed to fight for the immigration rights of Blacks into this country. I was one of the founders and spokesmen for this group. Before this time, coloured British subjects, that is, Chinese, Indians, Blacks, couldn't come into Canada.

We acted not only as a voice for Blacks but for all coloured people. We felt that things would never get better here until we had more coloured people, then we could have a voice in this town.

The best way to get things done in Canada is by being quiet and organizing into small non-violent groups. In Canada, these groups cannot seem militant or demanding: if so, you'll never get anywhere. That's what's wrong with part of the young people's political aims here in the city. They want to humiliate rather than to conciliate. We demonstrated here in 1930 when Blacks couldn't skate in the indoor ice arena, and when Danny Braithwaite was arrested we went there for business and we conducted ourselves in that way and we won people over to our side. We didn't get all we wanted but we got part.

Politically we really don't get things done for ourselves today, but consider our group a part of the Canadian political process. You see, here it has never been a matter of law but personal, formal and informal prejudice--how do you legislate that?

It was in the 50's that our organization (Negro Citizenship Organization) along with some others brought to Toronto the Fair Employment Practices Act and a Housing ordinance. We wanted to improve our own situation by getting out of the bad housing we had then and to prepare for the wave of Black immigration that we hoped would happen. When Whites could see us living in all parts of the city and working in all kinds of positions then they wouldn't be afraid of Blacks coming in but

would see them as Canadians who wanted the same things they did. It has been a success, I think--just look at Black boys in business suits downtown and Black girls smartly dressed working in offices and all of them wanting to be productive.

Things could go wrong here, not on the national level but in Toronto. You see, the West Indians here today are promoting differences rather than how we can best get together. This didn't happen a couple of years ago. We all tried to work together. We had differences but we didn't promote them. I mean, now you have a Jamaica Club and all the other islands have a club and they are all fighting each other. I don't like this. Our community is still too small to have this kind of thing going on.

The Toronto old line community, as well as the newer West Indian groups were not especially tied to religious organizations as were their counterparts in the United States. The Church did not prove to be the key cohesive institution in the lives of the Old Toronto community, as was the case in the United States. One Old Toronto resident stressed the kind of community institutions and functions that held the population together in earlier times.

The Community was in the College, Dundas, Spadina, Bloor area. The true community was in us. We had something then that the young just don't understand. I guess you could call it spirit and love for each other. We wanted to work together--esprit de corps.

UNI Hall was our meeting place. Everything took place there--dances, socials, school, debating society, plays. We really studied Black History and debated the issues. 'Lift Every Voice and Sing' was our anthem. Oh, it's so beautiful.

Home service on Bathurst was very important particularly for immigrants. But, of course, there weren't many in our day, well none really.

We had a warm, secure and stable community and we liked it. We were discriminated against but we were able to move above this by being poor but independent. We were stable because there were the newcomers and we usually know or knew of one another. We either all met for the social function, no matter where we lived. Our special holiday was the fourth Thursday in August. The whole Black population went on a picnic to Niagara Falls in two boats. This was done every year until the War.

World War II broke up the old community due to the fact that the war years were bad for us and after the war people began to make greater economic gains and moved out to an area where they could own homes. And so the community began to disperse physically and spiritually. But the old families still see each other although we aren't as we used to be.

Education was never seen as important by the Blacks as many of my teachers who were all White told us not to go on as we would never be able to get good professional jobs. So most either quit or went to work or went to Central Tech. A few went to University. At the time Negroes could not go to the University of Toronto. Most kids if they went to University had to go to the States if they wanted to complete their education on the graduate level so they rarely returned. Consequently, college was never mentioned in Negro homes.

This is a fact--most of the White teachers were against the Black students. We had more studying at the UNI Hall than at school.

We didn't have laws here to restrict you--just the English way of keeping you down and out.

Home Services Association failed in the early 1950's because they wanted only certain colours on the Board of Directors. However, colour did not effect the community that much.

At Home Services we sent out a questionnaire to businesses to hire Blacks--all but a very few said no.

Our community must learn to stand on its own two feet. We never have dreamt of asking the White people for anything. We did everything all ourselves--raise money or clubs--whatever. These young people are cry babies. They must beg Whites to give them something. They have learnt nothing from the Canadian Black Tradition.

We were treated badly but the past is past and we are strong, secure to stand, and well. We don't need to be defended, or make excuses for ourselves. We know who we are. I firmly believe the second generation will be open. Not Jamaican Black or West Indian, just a Black Canadian. Then you will see the community again. But now they are too fragmented and screaming too loud, so no one can really understand them. I think we had a bit more depth.

It was this kind of proud and articulate confidence that kept the Toronto Black community moving in what were considered dire times.

After the Second World War, they began to prosper as a result of

integration into the Canadian labour market. As such movement out of the old downtown community caused the breakup both physically and spiritually of the old population.

The spark of political activism which kept the community intact was the militant Toronto Negro Citizenship Association. This was formed by the Old West Indian community to encourage immigration from all Commonwealth countries with special reference to the West Indies. This group was successful and more West Indians were able to come to Canada. They, like other Black Canadians, formed a rather loose approach to one another. However, island loyalties were somewhat important during the interim period of the small group of immigrants. After the initial entrance into society in most instances they made their own way.

By the mid-1950's this entire population had begun its movement to the suburbs and was fading into the larger White society. The relationships between the social groups within the "Established Torontonians" community was certainly segmental but informal. They ranged from non-association by some of the "old line" families, who tended toward integration and intermarriage, to the Americans, who aligned themselves with the "old line" families, to the Africans, who remained aloof, to the Nova Scotians, who completely isolated themselves and in turn were isolated by the other groups.

Each regarded the other as different but it seems each regarded the other with a kind of mutual respect with the exception of the Nova Scotians. One informant characterized the relationships in the following way:

If somebody calls you a nigger, we come together. Then, it's good-bye--and I don't know you. You go to town and try to speak to one of them. Man, he'd 'window-shop' until you got by.

Relations existed on this level. When an affront against the entire group was made or they were maligned by the White majority they interacted as one. Otherwise each group and, in many cases, each person went his separate way.

Possibly the most positive aspect to come out of this era is the firm and proud affirmation of being Canadian, regardless of cultural heritage. This could be the result of being, in many cases, second generation Canadian. However, first generation immigrants of that era possessed this attitude as much if not more than their children. This is the cardinal aspect that sets the "Established Torontonians" apart from the "Newer Torontonians". Today, the "Established Torontonians" do form a community. In some cases, they have intermarried and they have formed organizations and social clubs which keep them in close social contact. This is, however, more characteristic of the skilled and professional classes than the lower class.

Social Relations among the "New Torontonians". The new community that is being formed as a result of increasing immigration has brought about a complicated socio/cultural situation. Viewing Toronto as the centre of Black population, a distinct line can be drawn between the indigenous, primarily Nova Scotians, and the immigrant population. Primarily, the indigenous Blacks are poor in relation to the skilled and professional West Indians coming into the country. This has caused a separation of the two groups along economic, as well as cultural, lines. Even the Canadian Blacks who have economic success find themselves alienated from the poor Blacks. As a result, Toronto has a large

Black population with little in common except the colour of their skin. Because of the many different cultural groups represented in the population (indigenous Toronto Blacks, New British West Indians, migrating Nova Scotians, a few Africans and Americans) they do not function to a large extent as a social community. However, lines of communication are open and relations are not in the least strained between each group, except for the Nova Scotians. Among the cultural groups such as the West Indians, island loyalties tend to interplay and create agitation among islanders. Further agitation comes from the fact that the greater percentage of the new business class is composed of West Indians. In fact, Blacks in Toronto have the unusual case of an immigrating group moving into a city and with its superior numbers reconstructing its own culture on top of the existing one. It should be kept in mind, however, that the Black population in Toronto has not in the past 20 years acted as a tightly organized cultural group due mainly to small size.

There is great anxiety on the part of Nova Scotians in regard to the West Indian. This is possibly the gravest situation facing the Afro-Canadian population today. Anxiety has arisen over the fact that Nova Scotians see themselves as Canadians and the West Indians as aliens in their country but possessing all the better jobs and opportunities,

We native Canadians are overlooked in favour of the West Indians who are just loud and make a lot of noise and scare the hell out of the White people. The poor Blacks in this country are still suffering, how come we don't have the same kind of treatment they give the West Indians. Now if we started rioting down here (Alexandra Park) they'd want to know what we want.

Continuing his statement he said,

These West Indians come in here and they think that they own the place. Ever since they came, Canadian Negroes don't have a

chance 'cause they scream louder than anybody else.

The Nova Scotians seem to project the reason for their failure to compete economically and politically on to the West Indians. West Indians, in turn, tend to regard the Nova Scotian community with disdain.

The Nova Scotians have no ambition. They just don't know. They should be trying to help us rather than laying around in their own misery and self-pity.

A social worker of West Indian background and a new immigrant put it this way:

The Nova Scotian must come to realize that the West Indian came to this country as a highly skilled, trained people and as such notably more aggressive, and assertive. But we must learn to help and respect each other.

The friction between these two groups is likely to diminish as the Nova Scotian takes his place among the skilled and professional classes. This, however, seems a long way off as the younger generation of Nova Scotians are not motivated to succeed in sufficient numbers to elevate the entire group. One Nova Scotian gave these impressions of the Toronto scene:

I suppose it's free, but that depends on things like money, and being British. You can't be coloured and from Nova Scotia. My own experience has been like most Canadians, you know, we try not to bring out people's prejudices because we experience them. So why ask for trouble, if you know it's coming.

Housing is the biggest problem, I guess. I took one of my members out to find a room. We stopped at a house he had been to before and asked for a room. He was refused the first time because it was for a single person. At that time, he had his son with him, but now he was alone. The landlady told us this time that the room was too big for one man and should have two people. That's discrimination here--it's always a smile and an apology.

I think on the whole they're fairly good if you talk with the better White people in town. All Canadians look down on coloured

Canadians and they treat us differently than the West Indian. They go over backward for them but not for us. I don't know why it's like this but you see we don't really get along well with the West Indians. They think they're a higher class than we are so they want to look down on Canadians. But my Church members do not mix with them too much. They're from Nova Scotia mostly so they live near each other and know each other better than West Indians. We only have five Toronto-born members in the Church. We tried to locate some of the founders' relatives but we couldn't.

I vote liberal. I really don't know about my members but none of us are particularly political. We really stay in the background. You see, there aren't enough of us to really do very much so we have to play the game by not playing. We don't all live in the same riding so we don't have a base for power. There is a coloured member of Parliament from Hamilton but he can't speak for us because he wasn't elected by the coloured people.

There are many lines drawn by coloured people themselves according to colour and class. White tend to draw along racial lines. The better class White people draw between classes of coloured people. The only real place you find open prejudice is housing. The rest is hidden. Everything else is open but there are times you run into real bigots. But there is prejudice anywhere you go--even in Africa. You have to learn to live above it or you'll never be able to live. I think we can live above it in Canada because we know it's there. But it's something we can't put a finger on and say there it is.

I think Black Power is good for the States but we don't have the people or the organization.

I feel we should be aware of our past and I can tell you we are not. My parents would never talk about my grandparents, so I don't know about them. And most coloured Canadians won't talk of their past unless they are from the West Indies or the U.S. I guess we feel our parents were ashamed of our past.

We don't need the militants--well, the moderates have always been here and I like that. It's more in with Canada, I feel. In the States--progress for the poor and all the coloured people there. I don't like it for Canada because it scares people. Black Awareness might have been better.

I guess the West Indians and the Nova Scotians mixing in Toronto have made more problems for the Toronto coloured people. Your Whites really show their feelings when there are a large number of us. I would guess that the coloured people are treated differently now than 10 years ago. I mean, discrimination is probably more open now. But you see, none of these coloured groups really enter the act either, so we treat each other

differently.

I feel the government is favourable to coloured people. Look at the West Indians coming in. Most have found good jobs and like Canada. I don't think the people care as long as the coloured people don't bother them. In Nova Scotia the Whites didn't like mixed marriages but here they're everywhere. I think the English are by far the most prejudiced--they are just hypocrites--all my dealings with them have shown this. And Jews are usually the least.

I just belong to my Church organization in Toronto. Baptist Conference. Inter-city Organization.

I said before, there are at least three churches--Nova Scotia, Toronto, West Indian. Because, if you check, you'll find my church is Nova Scotian. British Methodist Episcopal is West Indian. And the Africa Methodist Episcopal is Toronto-born.

Well, if you want to be correct, we're coloured, I feel. That's because all of us in North America are mixed. We aren't African or White or Negro--but coloured.

Numbers make a lot of difference. You can have more money and organization but you have more prejudice than we do openly brought on the race in the U.S. I feel for this reason, we can work out our problems by different means than in the U.S. I think Whites are more willing to work or more agreeable to work with here than in the States. It seems you have to fight more openly and harder than we do.

The Patterns of Black Society as a Whole

The three dominant social groups do not form a cohesive community. They do, however, come together at certain intervals but, for the most part, remain apart.

The "Established Torontonians" remain the aristocrats of Toronto Black society; they are, in general, uninvolved. However, they still retain some power and respect within the community. In most cases, the White community looks to this group when deciding on a general level. For example, the annual Carnival, called Carabana, which began as a Centennial project, was formed by this group. It is now,

however, more controlled by the new immigrants but it provides for good relations between all West Indians of all racial and cultural origins in Toronto.

Because of the large numbers of immigrants arriving in Toronto, they have established themselves as the Black community and totally ignore the old community. They will probably remain isolated from the other cultural groups as they have come with no intention of becoming a part of the Canadian Black community. Because of their numbers and the fact that most are skilled or professional people, they feel themselves superior to the native population and prefer to be called West Indian rather than Canadian. The West Indians use the connections of the Old Toronto group, but they look upon the native population as impotent, poor and complacent.

The only reason that the old community still has some power or importance is due to the great island jealousies held by the immigrants. One informant put it this way,

They brought everything with them including their island pride and jealousy of each other. This is how it goes, a Trinidadian wouldn't let a Jamaican tell him anything and they say being from Barbados is the lowest of the low.

Even so, the immigrants are able to carry on good relations with those of different island groups, as they mix freely. This kind of behaviour is common in both political and social life in Toronto. There are, among the West Indians, island organizations which are very beneficial to the newly arriving immigrant. Organizations, such as the Jamaican Association, provide needed aid and assistance to immigrants arriving from Jamaica. This group tries to help in the adjustment of the immigrant and gives him advice during this very difficult period.

This is a worthwhile and needed social organization, but this club restricts its services to Jamaicans only. Therefore, each island has its own association to aid immigrants from their respective islands and consequently, stronger ties are built along island cleavage and mistrust of outsiders. The position is pushed further when these island groups set up their own night clubs, i.e., Jamaicans go to the West Indian Club, Guyanese go to the Room at the Top, Trinidadians go the Carabana Club. In the same pattern, the Nova Scotians go to their own club which is directly across from the West Indian Club.

The Nova Scotian Blacks are primarily poor, uneducated, and small in number. Their circumstances and way of life resemble those of the American Black ghetto dwellers. They are overwhelmingly Baptist and depend, in many cases, on the Church for guidance. The local Baptist church, once a power in the community, is now totally Nova Scotian and powerless. The Nova Scotians, like their counterpart the West Indian immigrants, have their own club but beyond this there is absolutely no comparison between the two groups. Where the West Indians and old Canadians are suburbanites, the Nova Scotians are found primarily in the two public housing projects in the city. It would appear that a large majority of Nova Scotians are on welfare,² as well as a few West Indians. The jobs that they hold, however, are for the unskilled and, of course, low paying.

The African community is by far the smallest of the cultural groups represented in Toronto. They, in general, do mix with the other Blacks. In the main, they are professional and live in the suburban areas of Toronto. They do not have any formally organized clubs or groups and they are not generally seen as a special group, such as the Nova Scotians or West Indians. They, like the few Americans in Toronto,

tend to blend into the background.

Communication is not entirely lost between the cultural groups as the community leaders and political activists seek to break down the walls surrounding their mutual mistrust, misunderstanding, and anxieties. Within the next five to ten years after the immigrants of both groups become more distant in attitude and outlook from their native homes they too will melt into a more congenial community. Just as the "Established Torontonians" community never fully lost its own individual heritage, they did seek to formulate a sense of security and dignity in the whole community. The newcomers must come to this point as well, regardless of their cultural background.

The wife of a prominent physician sums up the feeling which must become the ethos of the immigrant coming into Canadian society, as she too was an immigrant and experienced the same problems of immigrants today.

Before 1950, Toronto Blacks were very much a community. There was a geographical community around the Ossington and Spadina area, but even then the community was scattered.

There were a couple of meeting places like the barber shop or the Church. The Church didn't have much influence over the people as you see in the States. The Church wasn't a social gathering place, but was really for worship. And then, you had the division, West Indian--Anglican, American--A.M.E. and Baptist primarily. Home service was the most important. There were about 4,000 Blacks here at that time. It may surprise you, but we grew up in the same area. At that time, if you wanted to meet other Blacks, and we did, you went to social events like dances or lodge functions. So really sometimes you had to go out of your way to meet a Black girl or boy to date because you didn't want just anyone because he was Black. Social intercourse around this time was pretty restricted. I mean, you did see intermarriage as you see today, but not to the same extent. Toronto is more cosmopolitan today. At that time, West Indians, as well as Black families, looked down on intermarriage. A Canadian of long years did marry Whites.

Home service was the greatest focal point for the immigrant from

the West Indies because of the function it performed. Like all immigrants, he tends to have a great deal of loyalty to his former country, but by the second generation this has passed--speaking personally.

During the 1950's immigration brought many changes. Prior to World War I, Blacks just had no jobs of worth. We couldn't get any. Porters and maids--that's all you could see. I guess that's the reason so many Black Canadians today are poor--because they had no models to aspire to. Economically we were nothing and we had no numbers. Many of us stuck to education and hoped and, of course, lots of people just gave up. My own opinion is that most old Canadians today are in clerical work because after World War II everything started to change, I don't know why, but they did. So old Canadians were conservative and didn't aspire to the professions but went into the clerical field. It was about this time that the immigration of nurses started--before we did not have our student nurses in Toronto (Mrs. S. was an Ontario Scholar). Today that's how the structure starts--old Canadians are either poor or clerical and skilled labourers and the immigrant American and West Indians are the professional and business classes.

No one really knows this community because I meet new doctors every day. Some have been here for years. If you go to a party, you will usually hear of a new person who has been in Toronto two and three generations. Would you believe there are more than 60 doctors and dentists in Toronto? True. I know at my husband's hospital there are 4 or 5 from South Africa.

Today in Toronto I firmly believe a person is judged on merit as to whether he is qualified and not on skin colour or race. I like it or rather prefer this attitude. But I also think a group of Blacks in Toronto must come together to help those less fortunate--and not as a way of having all Black friends. We don't need that in Toronto. We have all kinds of friends. We live in an almost totally Jewish area--most are nice, some we call friends. A person should not go out of his way just to have Black friends if it doesn't happen naturally.

Now the club is all Black but, as I said before, there are times when you like to be with your own. I feel this is natural--we want our children to know other Black children and have some social and cultural contact with Blacks throughout the city. Our club performs this function.

I think it would be bad for my children to grow up in an all White atmosphere. They must know who they are. Our youngest child is having a problem now in first grade. It's the children who have been telling her about her colour and she is a very sensitive child. I talked with her teacher and we decided she should have a geography class and discuss all races, how each is important, and how Canada is made from all these races--and that being Brown and/or White is important.

I like the new awareness. I think it's just great. I wish we could have had the sophistication of young people today. My children easily call themselves Black (all but the little girl). I think T.V. commercials have helped a great deal--now I feel more a part of the total community rather than an outsider.

Black awareness has a number of foolish elements (hair, clothes) but History, Culture, teaching about Africa and its contribution to America and Canada, gives you a lift to know that you did start around all these countries and do nothing. Self pride--need a country.

Black Power means getting into the Economic system. Politically we are different from the States. And anyone who fails to appreciate this is truly foolish. So politically we must continue as we always have, voting and participating individually. As we see things, because we are not forced to live and act together, therefore, we shouldn't bring it on ourselves. In the States, you must think Black or they would destroy you--I know, we lived for four years in Detroit. The looks that White people give you in the States is enough to scare me.

Black Power to me in Toronto can and is militant--there is just no need for it. I don't understand people who say we do. Now it doesn't matter--Black is the in thing now. I like it, I guess, because it's a positive statement of who I am--and Black. White people mind that we call Black positive rather than them negative. Rental property seems to be the only area where there are hints of discrimination. Otherwise, I can't think of any other problem. Our club plans to be more active in the social issues of our people who are less fortunate. We want to concentrate as a centre. But we will run a Social and Investment Club, broadening ourselves to include a greater involvement in the community.

I feel Canada is an open society and a colour-blind one today. I don't like the fact that many new Blacks seem to come with a chip on their shoulders. Communications today are very good and I believe we have the respect of Whites and others but this attitude--of screaming--could blow it.

I really believe Canadian Blacks are free to choose a life for themselves. You can be involved or be anonymous. I feel free here. The future looks bright for all of us. I don't feel restricted. A business rises or falls on what kind of business-man you are.

My husband's patients are primarily White. If he saw more than 10 Blacks a year he would probably faint.

I guess the old and established Blacks will have to move out and help the new immigrant adjust to Canada. That should be the role of the Middle Class.

Inter-racial Social Relations

In general, Blacks and Whites work and live side by side without undue stress and strain on the part of either. Blacks and Whites in Toronto are not by any means separate from one another in the marketplace, educational institutions, political areas, civic clubs and organizations. As a matter of fact, a very delicate balance between Blacks and Whites has been struck in Toronto, namely distant tolerance.

Before Blacks were a substantial number they existed on the edge of the White economic sphere. They were, however, included in the religious and social affairs of the community. Economically, they were held subservient to the White majority due mainly to discrimination. Owing to the fact that Toronto is English in background and character, it was never an accepted idea to openly or blindly discriminate against those Blacks in the city. Discrimination did exist--each group tried to overlook it and move beyond what was considered distasteful bickering over the matter. Most merely sought to avoid being in places where they were not welcome. And as such the population is together yet apart. That is, they come together when it suits both their ends and move apart at will.

It is the nature of Canadian discrimination that makes Toronto different from Chicago or Cleveland. Most Black people express the view that Canada is as prejudiced as America, but much more subtle. One member of the Black community stated that

Whites in Toronto are not used to having their prejudices exposed and we felt it better to leave it that way. Yes, we knew it was there. It manifested itself at times, but we were small and politically unimportant--what could we do? Discrimination has always been very subtle.

One businessman stated that

We bought some land on the lake a few years back. When the

woman found out we were Black, she tried to renege on the deal. We threatened to bring court action and she went through with the sale. Afterwards we offered to resell her the land, but she refused.

This is the kind of statement that most Black Canadians give in regard to their relations with Whites. All Blacks freely admit there is some discrimination in Toronto but feel it is not enough to get aroused about as long as it is kept in the private sphere and not allowed to infect the work situation and public institutions of the community. Most Blacks prefer not to continually drag up the subject--not out of fear, but rather political expedience to safeguard their community which is less than two percent of the total Toronto population.

The Black Canadian has preferred to remain out of the glare of publicity for the sake of a smoother entry into the mainstream of Canadian life. This included the immigrants, as well as the established Toronto community, who came to Canada seeking the "good life" meaning acceptance, suburbia and all that goes with it.

Within the West Indian immigrant leadership class political activism has taken root in both the affirmation to build a cohesive Black community and to eradicate discrimination within institutional organizations. With this increasing pressure,

...things seem to have changed in the city; the West Indians aren't as flexible as Canadian Negroes ("Established Torontonians").

Most Blacks live either in the suburbs or integrated high rise buildings in the metropolitan area. They attend churches which are integrated and belong to numerous inter-racial social and civic clubs in Toronto. Many times they find themselves being the only Blacks in their church, social organization, apartment building or school. This kind of proximity does not make for extreme informal intercourse but it

does have the effect of producing good neighbourly relationships, in most cases. Inter-racial couples are seen quite often all over Toronto and produce little shock effect. Slight stares can be observed at times from Whites, as well as from Blacks, but that is as far as it goes. Privately, of course, many Blacks dislike and discourage inter-racial marriage, as do Whites.

Inter-racial couples tend, curiously, to mix socially with others like themselves. Acceptance under these conditions is much more congenial. One man whom I interviewed was Jack M. His father is from Antigua but came to Canada at a very early age and considers himself Canadian. His mother is Canadian, of mixed parentage (Portuguese, Irish, and Negro). Jack has three sisters and one brother, of whom two--the brother and a sister--are married to Whites. Jack is married to a White woman and has two children.

He contends that most of his friends have married across racial lines--he claims that White girls are eager to have sex with Black fellows so things happen naturally.

Neither Jack nor his brother has ever dated a Black girl and he remembers that most kids he knew teased fellows who dated Black girls, whom they called "Magpies". "Magpies" were not to be dated, just ignored.

Jack told me that he and his wife often get stares--from Whites downtown but most staring comes from Black couples and Black females especially.

Jack's wife is a White Protestant and stated that her mother did not object to her marriage, but that Jack's parents did. (I feel Jack's parents wanted a girl of higher social standing, as his sisters have

married well.) She said that most of their friends are White or mixed couples and that Black--that is, West Indians--non-Canadians are more prejudiced than White Canadians.

Both Jack and his wife love Toronto and Canada and feel that it is the best and most free society in the world. They feel there is some discrimination and prejudice, but not enough to bother about. But they said that prejudice doesn't seem to direct people's lives as in the States. As a mixed couple they said that they could not point to a specific case of discrimination directed at them.

The couple do not belong to any clubs. They are, however, familiar with numerous club owners in town, and go to them regularly. Both know few Blacks as social friends.

As this case suggests, the social life of mixed couples tends to move out of the strictly Black world. It is interesting that the majority of mixed couples claim a larger number of White than Black friends. These couples tend to move away from the Black world. Among the younger Blacks, particularly immigrants, there is now an ideological hostility to mixed marriages and they express their feelings openly. This, however, has not categorically prevented mixed marriages from taking place. Many parents of immigrant children did not want mixed marriages for their off-spring. The attitudes today toward such marriages come primarily from young West Indians, as many are committed to the Black Power ideology.

In both fact and practice, it seems that Blacks do not experience a hostile society and public acceptance of Blacks in Toronto is obviously apparent. It is also apparent that, even though private discrimination by both groups exists, social intercourse takes place privately as well.

Youth has its special problems emerging generally out of the "reception area" where Blacks and other youth of diverse origins are thrown together. A study prepared for the Human Rights Commission in 1969 attributed the tension to frustration in the education system which has produced a large number of "drop-outs" and "push-outs", unemployment because of lack of skill and education, tension between rival ethnic groups in relation to available girls, racial and ethnic slurs, and the irrelevancy of many of the programmes of social agency and settlement houses to the special needs of immigrant children, to name a few factors. These circumstances have brought about an acute amount of conflict and tension among youth of the Black, Anglo-Saxon, Portuguese, Italian, Jewish, Polish and, to some extent, the Chinese communities.³

As a result, relations take on the character of urban frustration and suburban assimilation. It might be inferred that in general, prejudice and discrimination are based more clearly along economic class lines. Thus, Blacks who find themselves in suburban settings see Whites as less offensive in attitude than Black youth in the reception area where "deprived conditions" and "mutual frustration" aggravate tense, raw emotions. The police seem to add to the aggravation of the situation by picking up young Blacks, as well as Whites, who loiter in the area. As a group, the Black immigrant population is neither on the social services roll nor riddled with crime, but holds itself as a decent, respectable class. It is, however, in the general area of Alexandra Park and Regency Park that Blacks seem to have a high percentage of both welfare and crime.

Black immigrant parents view the situation in an entirely different

light. First, the reception area is just that and no more. All Black immigrants seem to have as their goal, buying a home in the suburbs, as they aspire for better economic conditions. Therefore, the reception area is only an intermediate stop on the way to their final destination. As such, Black adults don't look for relations within the area. They look upon the White immigrants as "peasants" and have only formal or rather a civil attitude of tolerance toward them. To mix socially would be unthinkable. This attitude shifts somewhat in regard to Canadian Whites, particularly among the marriageable age males.

The following excerpts should give some idea of the diversity of opinions, as well as the general attitude, of Blacks to Whites.

Canada is a relatively open society--I would say a fair one.

What we want is economic and social and political stability.

This attitude is generally for fair and equal treatment for all people.

No. There is a West Indian segment, Canadian Negro segment, and the Old Line group. Old Line was a community and still functions together at times, but they are definitely closed to newcomers (the West Indians). Don't like to mingle. Intermarriage is common, but not with the West Indian segment.

Canada is a good place to live and work. Things are better than they used to be.

We have our own clubs and things like that. Politically we are in with the whole of Canada.

I think we Negroes in Canada aren't together and we aren't as close as you (Americans) are.

It's the same for us as other people--I think there's more hate for Italians than for us in Toronto.

I think it's the greatest place in the world for Negroes now. Where else can you go and get the treatment you get in Canada?

Canada is a sneaky society. The Whites here will lie to you, right to your face. They are worse than Americans. At least an

American will come right out and say he hates you--a Canadian won't.

Whitey tells the Black what he can do and what he can't do. That's how they communicate. That's why everybody always talks about how good Canada is--Blacks can't say anything, or rather, they're afraid to say anything.

Stores. The way they look at you in stores. They turn West Indians down for jobs because they don't have Canadian experience. Black Canadians, because they are uneducated. Anything to keep from saying the Niggers.

Blacks are aware of prejudice in Toronto but they are able to carry on normal social lives in Toronto because there are few burning sore spots or social grievances which Blacks wish to redress. A great deal of private social mixing does not take place between the groups. The fact that they refrain from becoming too close to one another, as is the case with White ethnic groups as well, may make social relations easier to regulate. Finally, the number of Blacks is relatively small in comparison to the larger White group; so the kind of fear which might arise if larger numbers of Blacks lived in this city is absent.

Institutional and Internal Community Organization

Voluntary associations among Blacks take various forms ranging from a credit union to a National Black Political Organization. There are a large number of voluntary associations in the Black population and many of the Black associations are modelled after those in the larger White population. Most of these groups accomplish little as compared to what the members set out to achieve by means of them and remain, fundamentally, groups for social events. For example, the most prestigious social club in Toronto, University Negro Alumni Club, calls itself a "cultural-social-athletic-investment club". As one member put it,

We are mostly a social club. We are very select in who joins which I tried to change this year but the members would not agree. I also asked that our name be changed as it sounds so restricting. I suppose you could say the club is made up of snobs and I suppose you would have to include me--I don't like it that way, but that's how it is.

UNAC is certainly the most prestigious organization in the Black population, as it is compounded of the leading doctors, lawyers and businessmen in Toronto. During the past year, under an able president, Mrs. Salmon, wife of a prominent surgeon, the club has tried to involve itself more in community affairs within the inner-city. In general, the club is social.

The vast majority of voluntary organizations are by-products of the new West Indian immigration. As one might expect, these organizations are set up to aid and give assistance to new immigrants. Many of the organizations are identified with the former country of residence of members. The following list of their clubs and organizations give some hint to the kind of audience each appeals to.

Afro-American Progressive Association

Barbados Ex-Police Association of Toronto

Canadian Ebonite Association

Grenada Association

Guyana Peoples' National Congress of Canada

Jamaican-Canadian Association

Toronto Guyana Association

Universal Negro Improvement Association

The Jamaican-Canadian Club is one of the largest organizations in the community. In fact, some division within the population can certainly be attributed to organizations of this nature. Every major

island is represented by such a club and each extends the already existing prejudice that the islands have for one another.

The failure of West Indian confederation can be laid down to regional and sectional jealousies over island participation and rivalry over which island would dominate. "When they (meaning West Indians) came they brought everything with them, including their island loyalties." This is a much repeated phrase among the "Established Torontonians".

In Toronto these jealousies are paramount in directing many actions of the immigrant community in regard to both political and social affairs. At a recent social gathering of mostly West Indians, much grumbling could be heard concerning the type of music played and that it was mostly "Jamaican".

These kinds of prejudices are to be expected, however, as each Island group simply prefers people of its own kind. Even though these natural kinds of preferences are evident in the community, they are secondary in relative terms to the community as a whole.

While the immigrants are engaged in island-centred clubs, the "Established Torontonians" are more class conscious in their club and social organizations. In this group you find the most socially prestigious and high status people of the Toronto Black population. For instance, the University Negro Alumni Club is primarily composed of doctors and their wives. This is by far the most highly select group of upper class Blacks--possibly in Canada. Toronto Negro Business and Professional Men's Association which states its goals as "cultural-educational" is mostly social and made up of business and professional men of long standing in the old community. Most immigrant businessmen would shy away from membership in this organization because of the fact that the club members are

so well known in the population as "upper class" or "big shots". The Canadian Negro Women's Association states its purpose as "service-adult". It was formed as a counter-part to the Toronto Negro Businessmen and Professional Men's Association, for the wives of the members. Their ideals are on a lofty level in comparison to other groups which claim to be community minded. Seemingly this group prefers to be involved more on the political than the social side.

These three clubs tend to have a great deal of over-lap in membership and even those who do not belong to two or more of the groups are generally invited by friends who are members on social occasions. As such, these three clubs form the hub of an intricate network of socially prominent people who form the top stratum of Afro-Canadian society. This kind of intercommunication tends toward conservative political ideals, in the light of their own success within Canadian society, and reinforce their own ideals in viewing the average Black. The Established Toronto community is kept intact and somewhat aloof from the general population of both indigenous and immigrant peoples.

Social clubs and organizations abound in Toronto. Few, if any, accomplish much of what they aspire to do. Of all the Black politically oriented organizations, the National Black Coalition is seeking an active role in trying to solve some of the problems of Black Canadians. It seeks to do this by acting as an umbrella group which gives aid to the smaller grass-root organizations. A local newspaper, Contrast, has contributed much more than its share by way of bringing communication and dialogue to the entire Black population. It provides much needed information to immigrants and non-immigrants alike.

The most active work on a socio/political scale has been confined to the student population. The overwhelming majority of immigrants, however, do not consider students as speaking for them, as most relate that

the very students here causing trouble, calling themselves spokesmen for West Indians, wouldn't speak to you on the streets of Jamaica.

Led by the Black Students Union of Ontario, the Black Youth Organization, the Black Information Agency and the University of Toronto students, as well as the Black Education Project, these organizations are actively engaged in numerous social, as well as political action programmes directed at the alleviation of conditions that surround the less fortunate Black groups. The Black Coalition is the only group at present with its broad national scope, which could bring a sense of national unity and local community feeling to the Blacks of Canada, as it embraces all segments of the population. This kind of Black comradeship must be generated by the grass-root organizations, who in joint action could provide avenues of common interest between groups.

On a wider scope, Black Canadians in Toronto are members or affiliates of almost all civic and social organizations including Kiwanis, Lions, Civil Liberties, Kinsmen Club, Masons, the YWCA and YMCA, Orange Lodge, and professional and business organizations, i.e. medicine, dentistry and engineering. The consequence of belonging to these inter-racial groups has, of course, weakened the internal structure of the Black community, as Blacks could seek recognition and status outside the community; this being the opposite case for American Blacks.

The church as an institution of internal control is very weak. Black fugitives brought with them their church. For a while, it

flourished--particularly during the Civil War and during the height of the abolition period, as the majority of the leaders of the Black communities were ministers. Attacks on the church by Blacks themselves, who in many instances favoured integrated ones, and the lack of tolerance in either social and political life after the Civil War caused the church leadership to become very conservative in outlook and restrictive to its members. Consequently, it lost not only its membership but its effective leadership role. Because of the lack of participation by the communities involved and the increasing membership in White churches, Blacks gave little credence to Black ministers. For this reason, there was never created an atmosphere conducive to perpetuating a ministerial elite after the time of the early fugitives. The typical member of the Black population is in no way church-centred. Those who do attend church, do so with regard to neighbourhood churches rather than uniting with one of the five Black Churches. Therefore, of the Blacks who go to church regularly, most attend White churches, as the population is mostly Anglican, Catholic or United.

Religion. There are five predominately Black churches in Toronto (African Methodist Episcopal, British Methodist Episcopal, Oakwood Methodist, First Baptist, Church of God) with about six to eight hundred members between the churches. The largest and most progressive are the three Methodist churches. The other churches tend to draw only a few of their members each Sunday. Many Blacks belong to Anglican or Catholic churches. (There are a few Whites that attend the Black Churches.) The fact that many Blacks join the church nearest to them is important in influencing their decision as to church affiliation. There are many, among the immigrants, who do not attend church at all and

are not affiliated with any such body. There is reason to believe that this trend will continue particularly among the young, making the Church and religion less and less important to the population.

For these and other reasons the Black church in Toronto does not serve as a point of social or political focus. The church is powerless and has very little sway over its members with the exception of the Nova Scotians. This is a significant difference between the Canadian and American Blacks and this may well be the reason for the lack of leadership within the Toronto community.

For this reason, ministers are usually found in the background and one rarely mentions church or ministers in connection with either political or social endeavours. The church has in no way provided the same kind of leadership and vigour to the population as the Black Church in America, but by the same token, Canadian Blacks are not as tied to ministers and churches as Black Americans.

This lack of ministerial leadership has produced in Canada a leadership class made up more of business and professional people who have not accomplished nearly as many substantial gains as the ministerial leadership class in America. It may be, however that Canadians have no need for such leadership, as most of their battles have been in the nature of whether or not to assimilate, rather than in legal battles for civil rights which were won through grass-roots appeal.

Family and the Child

On the whole, the Toronto Black family seems to be a stable one. The exceptions are found among the Nova Scotia population and among some of the less stable immigrating families. However, few seem to have insurmountable problems in their family lives. Most homes have a mother

and a father present and both tend to work.

Pressing problems are found among Black youth and their relation to the larger society i.e., the school and other youth. A student in the Black Education Project related that,

The school drop-out rate here is very high among immigrants and native Canadians. Many Toronto youth become indifferent and apathetic to every situation because they are failing in school and lack initiative because of little encouragement on the part of the school system. Consequently, they don't take advantage of opportunities, this is particularly true of Toronto youth.

The problem has become so serious that a Council on Black Education has been established. This Council is seeking to find ways of deterring the alarming drop-out rate of Black children. (See Appendix III.)

Connected with this problem is the growing conflict between immigrant parents and their children. Many parents come to Toronto one or two years ahead of their children to prepare the way. When the families are united they find they have lost control over their offspring. Added to the general problem is the new found freedom in Toronto. In the West Indies studies are to be taken seriously and homework is expected. Canadian schools stress work more in the classroom, leaving the child with much leisure time. This re-orientation, according to many Black teachers and social workers, has taken its toll in immigrant drop-outs as many cannot handle the new school situation. A Black Toronto social worker stated that,

Our kids are being handicapped because they are unfamiliar with the system. Most teachers will simply fail them as they feel they don't know, when back home the kids might have been good students. If they fail, the kids get upset and refuse to go back, they say the teachers are prejudiced, when basically, the two are unable to see each other's problem. Both will have to learn to adjust to a new environment. Teachers must put extra emphasis on immigrant children's problems because they have not

had the advantages of, say, large libraries or machined equipment in industrial arts or just communication and accents. Students must be kept pushing and not become so easily embarrassed if they are not faring as well as their White counter-parts.

The fact that parents demand homework from children and the fact that many are failing as a result of their inability to compete on the same level with Canadian youth, have come together to create this situation. More importantly it may lead to a class of unskilled workers within five to ten years coming, ironically, from the ranks of the highly selected skilled and semi-skilled classes in Toronto today.

The conflict between some immigrant children and their parents is deep. The children of these parents are torn between parents' values and those of their peers in Toronto. One informant, a man from Jamaica, told me that,

I wish I'd left my son in Jamaica. I worked hard to get him here so he could go to school--now he's dropped out of (high) school and running around with White girls. I never was so ashamed in all my life. I can't do a thing with him.

Relations with American Blacks

The Canadian attitude toward Americans is a love-hate relationship. All seem to be proud of the accomplishments of the Black Americans and are usually proud to be a part of the wave of Black pride and Negritude sweeping the American social scene. Canadians both identify and praise this uplift and international pride being generated by the American Blacks. Blacks in the States are viewed as showing to the world what Black people can do, notably the outstanding contributors to arts and letters, science, sports and politics.

On the other hand, Canadians recoil from identifying with the

idea of Black ghettos and find this aspect degrading. Most take on a superior attitude in discussing this aspect, wondering how the Blacks can allow themselves to continue living in America.

It would appear, however, that at this point in time, Black Americans are loved and admired and possibly envied by Canadian Blacks. Most any Black Canadian will usually state in the course of a "we'd do the same things and possibly more, if we had the same numbers." American Blacks seem to be accepted as models to emulate in the political field as Black self-help projects, Black education projects, clothing, hair styles, books and slogans have all been incorporated in the Toronto population. The formation of almost all the new organizations, from the National Black Coalition to the Black Youth Organization, are direct emulations of such organizations in the States.

Footnotes - Chapter V

1. Daniel G. Hill, Jr., Negroes in Toronto: A Sociological Study of a Minority Group., (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, September 1960).
2. These facts are verified by Rev. Kelsie of the First Baptist Church; local welfare community workers; Dr. Dan Hill, Human Rights Commission and the original research of the author.
3. George A. Brown,
Ontario Human Rights Commission, 1969. Cited in Human Relations,
Vol. 9, No. 17, 1969, p. 3.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

The problems of the Blacks in Toronto, such as they are, are essentially social rather than political. The Blacks have never constituted the basis of a Black political "party" nor have they been the cause of political controversy among Whites. In contrast to their American counterparts, most Blacks in Toronto, as well as Canada as a whole, are new immigrants. They face certain of the prejudices manifested toward all immigrants, in addition to those toward colour. But they are immigrants who enter the society voluntarily on terms laid down by the government of the host society. The relations between White and Black are not shaped by a historical experience, as a result of which they face each other not simply as separate or different but as rival groups or peoples. Such, for example, would be the relationship between White and Black in the old South, Protestant and Catholic in Ulster, Chinese and Malays in Malaysia, Indian and White in Canada, Jew and Gentile in pre-war Europe. Furthermore, unlike the situation in England, there is no political controversy about the immigration of Blacks into Canada, manifestly because it is so controlled.

This, however, is only the beginning. Both Canada and the United States have experienced a parallel urbanization of the Blacks. And here the essential difference between America and Canada today can be traced to the character of the entry of the Blacks into the urban centres. In the 1960's voluntary but controlled immigration brought to Toronto a class of skilled, professional and business people.

All this is not to say that there are not decisive and growing middle class elements in American Black society who have, as we have noted, begun to become suburbanized like their White counterparts. In fact, the height of economic achievement among successful Blacks in the United States is much greater than that achieved by Blacks in Canada or anywhere else in the world. But beneath this class is a disorganized proletariat which swells welfare rolls and crime statistics.

It is this which is signally missing in Toronto. It is spared the social trauma of the massive poverty, economic dependence, and alienation found in such cities as New York and Detroit. It is also, almost needless to say, spared the political crisis of having an alienated proletariat massed in the cities. It is also reminiscent of smaller communities of Blacks in the Northern cities prior to World War II (and even more so prior to World War I) who were few in numbers and did not live in "ghettoes".

As stated earlier in our study, the position of the Black Canadian from the Maritimes is unequal to that of the West Indian and in general is a sore spot or perhaps the sore spot in the present Toronto scene. Among the former are to be found most of the Blacks on welfare rolls, and in trouble with the law. To be sure, the total Black population of the Maritimes is not considering migrating to Toronto, so there is no demographic possibility of a repetition of what took place in the Northern cities of the United States. I would fully expect, for the foreseeable future, that most of the Black immigrants to Toronto will continue to come from the West Indies with the same economic qualifications as at present and, hence, will be immediately absorbed in

the labour force. But regardless of the size of the Nova Scotian portion of the Black population their problems can hardly be ignored in this overall assessment. The only thing that can be said, however, is that in addition to the question of whether and how local Black community leaders can deal with these problems, they depend to some degree on national economic policy. The Maritimes are a deprived area for both Black and White and White immigrants from these areas are also in a similar position: welfare, crime and unemployment.

The mass immigration of Southern rural Blacks into the urban centres of both North and South has been an altogether different character. In the first place, the aftermath of the Civil War in the United States brought about the emergence of an economic system on the land that was in some respects even more defunct than slavery.¹ Cotton, for example, became an obsession as never before in ways which dragged down the level of the Southern economy, as well as of the Black tenant or share-cropper who was its labour force. The effect was rural poverty and backwardness.

When Black migration from the South had its beginning in the demand for large scale semi-skilled labour during the first World War,² it was to a great degree progressive. But side by side with this is the fact that the urbanization of the rural Black was also to a great degree a transfer of people from a defunct economic system to a progressive system but to which they had neither the social habits nor the skills to adjust in a wholesome manner.

Frazier described the forces affecting the Black family that contributed to its disorganization in the cities:

... In the city environment the family of the masses of Negroes from rural areas, which lacked an institutional basis and was held together only by co-operation in making a living or by sympathies and sentiments generated by living together in the same household, was unable to stand the shock of the disintegrating forces in urban life. Often men who went ahead to the cities with firm resolve to send for their wives and children acquired new interests and never sent for their families. Even when families migrated to cities, they often disintegrated when they no longer had the support of friends and neighbours and the institutions which had held together families in the rural South. As a result there were many footloose men and homeless women in the cities who had broken all family ties. Moreover, since the women in families were required to work as well as the men, the children were no longer subject to family discipline. The disorganization of the Negro family in the city was reflected in the large numbers of women who had been deserted by their husbands, by the increased number of unmarried mothers, and by the high rate of juvenile delinquency among Negroes.³

Even though the poor Blacks became disorganized in the cities, it was in the main the laissez-faire attitude of both the national and municipal governments that allowed not only for economic exploitation but accounts in large measure for the pile up of the Northern ghettos. And in two respects political action stimulated it. The first was, paradoxically, the New Deal's agricultural policy which, in encouraging crop diversification and mechanization, displaced Negro "hands" from the land. The second is the absence of a nationally uniform welfare system which became such a glaring cause of migration in the post World War II period. In fact, the Southern states encouraged Blacks to emigrate to the cities of the North by keeping welfare assistance at a relatively lower level than what was available in the North.

Even though many American Blacks are becoming suburbanites, 750,000 since 1960,⁴ the cities are becoming increasingly Black and poor with an increase of more than 3.4 million since 1960.⁵ In Toronto, the majority of the Black population lives outside the core of the inner city

leaving few in the central city. Blacks and Whites living in the suburbs and those in the inner core would probably be proportional in relation to size of population, this is greatly different from the American situation.

The Black community in the United States is more polarized into extremes than is the case in Toronto. The American Black community can be found in significant number and size in banking, publications, insurance, and in the recording industry. In Toronto, on the other hand, the occupations of Blacks cluster around a more modest average--skilled, clerical, and professional occupations--but which is obviously higher than the large bottom of the American Black ghetto.

Because of the level of occupational stability within the Toronto Black community, Toronto may be able to avoid the kind of racial problems found in the United States. Canadian immigration policy has played a significant role in determining the character of the Black population here. Its immigration policy is in no way based on sentiments of colour-blindness as England's prior to 1970. On the other hand, by no means is it categorically anti-Black. The Canadian policy, because of its requirements of skill and education, provides immigrants with a niche from which they are able to begin their lives in Toronto. No more immigrants are allowed in by immigration than can at the time find employment for themselves. Canadian policy has never sought to "absorb" the immigrants but to provide the necessary atmosphere for forming and maintaining a normal ethnic community. All this does not mean that the Blacks in Canada have perfect justice or equality now or will have it in the future. But this aim of a normal ethnic community, it must be emphatically pointed out, is not the same as total integration, assimilation or absorption into some kind of

melting pot. To the extent that this goal of community frankly accords with the existence of some White prejudices, one must admit that ethnic separation, of the Blacks or any other people, represents a kind of inequality. But the community unlike total absorption, has the supreme virtue of being possible. As such it, as the goal, provides a standard by which a people can both achieve and defend the kind of equality that is possible in a heterogeneous society.

Further Study

Future research should be directed toward improving the understanding of racial relationships and ethnic relations in Canada. This, of course, would do away with the need to rely on American sociologist theories. The Moynihan and Glazer thesis is more applicable to the Canadian situation than that of earlier American sociologists, such as Park. But even Moynihan and Glazer's theory needs modification in light of the French-English situation in Canada.

Footnotes - Chapter VI

1. Lewis W. Jones, Cold Rebellion: The South's Oligarchy in Revolt, (London: Maggibbon and Kee, 1962) pp. 19-45. Special reference pp. 38-40.
2. E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Church in America, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1964) p. 47.
3. Ibid. p. 48.
4. See the U.S. Census 1970.
5. U.S. Census 1970.

APPENDIX I

Chart I
Number of Blacks in Canada 1871-1921

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1871	21,496	.62
1881	21,394	.50
1891	*	*
1901	17,437	.32
1911	16,877	.23
1921	18,291	.21

*No differentiation by race.

Percentage in total population.

In Ida C. Greaves, National Problems of Canada: The Negro in Canada,
(Montreal: Packet-Times Press Ltd., 1931) p. 44.

APPENDIX II

The exact number of Blacks in Canada is not known. From the first census in 1851 to 1971, the figures released by the Canadian Bureau of the Census, scholars and newspaper accounts differed considerably on the number.

Throughout the history of the census, National Origins has been the category most important to Canada.

At no time was the national census clear as to what was meant by 'Negro'. When such a category was given as one of twenty-eight or more permissible areas of 'national origin' in the census returns, there was no Negro nation; and since respondents were asked to name their own national origin, many Negroes appeared under 'African' and 'West Indies', while the American--born of fair skins in all probability listed what the questioners--after all--asked for but did not have in mind, by claiming the United States. For 'origin' was not related to birthplace by the Canadian census as much as to ethnic background; a Canadian of four generations whose great-grandparents had immigrated from Scotland in the 1830's was expected to reply 'Scots'. Ultimately 'Negro' was dropped as a national origin, while being retained in questions relating to ethnic origin.¹

In the case of Black immigrants, national origin did not necessarily give racial origin. For instance, the census of 1881 asked for the country or place of birth and origin, the 1911 census called for racial origin and nationality. In other words, many Blacks would be able to give the country of birth or nationality as American without specifying his racial background.

In the 1930's Ida Greaves stated that,

The Department was once of the opinion that coloured immigrants were often classified by citizenship instead of race, and the figures of immigration were therefore not complete.²

The census of 1911 gave specific instructions regarding the question of categorizing racial groups.

Racial or Tribal Origin. The racial or tribal origin is usually traced through the father, as in English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh, French, German, Italian...Jewish, etc. A person whose father is English, but whose mother is Scotch, Irish, French, or other race will be ranked as English, and so with any other.³

Greaves explains that,

Negro births are classified in three sections--those with both parents Negro, which shows the smallest number; those with Negro mothers, which shows the highest, and those with Negro fathers. On the basis of the analysis of births in the Vital Statistics for 1921 the report on the Origins of the Canadian People reaches the conclusion that 92.9% of the Negro men were married to Negro women, and 85.8% of the Negro women were married to Negro men. Taking the figures of births as indicative of marriages it states that of 338 men 24, or 7.1%, had wives outside their own race, while of 366 women 52, or 14.1%, had husbands outside their own race. But an examination of Vital Statistics for subsequent years shows that this is an erroneous conclusion. Of the 52 children taken as indicating intermarriage on the part of Negro women, 41 had unspecified fathers, and in the following years when legitimate births were shown separately the number with unspecified became negligible, while illegitimate births not analysed by racial paternity varied from 7% in 1922 to 15% in 1926 of the total births with Negro mothers. The number of recorded illegitimate births for these five years is greater than the number of legitimate births of mixed parentage for the same period by 242: 188, which means that the actual percentage of Negro women marrying outside their race is less than half that given in the above quoted report. This makes the rate of intermarriage of the women approximately equal to that of the men, and the speculation of the report on the greater readiness of women to cross the colour line is not relevant in the case of Negroes. Unfortunately the absence of information as to the racial paternity of illegitimate children makes an exact estimate of the intermixture that is proceeding impossible. A few of those with Negro mothers no doubt have white fathers, and social case studies in Montreal show that some of those with Negro fathers have white mothers.

About half the intermarriage of both male and female Negroes is with British stock, somewhat more men than women appear to marry into the French race, and the next largest percentage of intermarriage is with Indians, while there are also scattered instances of marriage with German, Dutch, Ukranian, Icelandic and Jewish peoples. The proportion of intermarriage naturally differs with the opportunities of contact, and is therefore greater in cosmopolitan cities than in rural districts. It is said, for instance, that 40% of the Negro men in Montreal are married to white women, and of 23 children born of Negro mothers in this city in 1926 only 14 had Negro fathers.

The comparative table of Negro mortality and births available from the Vital Statistics for the last six years is as follows:

BIRTHS					
Year	Negro Mothers		Negro Fathers	Both Negro	
	Total	Illegitimate			DEATHS
1921	366	(41)*	338	314	291
1922	401	28	384	360	308
1923	386	44	370	335	344
1924	417	55	364	350	349
1925	397	47	370	339	305
1926	382	58	350	312	378
Total	2359	283	2176	2010	1975

The unusually large number of deaths in 1926 is probably to be accounted for by outbreaks of infantile epidemics in Nova Scotia, but there is nothing to indicate why, with Quebec returns included for the first time, births should be generally lower. Over this period the number of births recorded as having one parent Negro was 515, if the 283 with Negro mothers, whose racial paternity was shown above to be uncertain, is subtracted from this, the minimum number that can be accurately regarded as the offspring of mixed marriages is 232. This, however, still denotes a considerable amount of intermixture. It is equal to more than 11% of the births with both parents Negro, and even these latter may have some other strain since it is the intention of the authorities to classify partially coloured people as Negro. The report on the Origins of the Canadian people remarks that 'it is questionable whether the terms 'assimilation' or 'assimilability' should be applied in respect of inter-marriage between the whites and the non-whites,' but whatever it is called it causes the disappearance in subsequent generations of conspicuous trace of Negro origin.

How far, then, may the census returns be taken to represent the actual number of people of all degrees of Negro extraction in Canada? In the first place, according to the current classification, Haytians and Jamaicans are excluded from 'Negro' division and listed among the 'Various' races. But of most significance still is the warning in the report on the census of 1851-52, 'in reference to the degree of accuracy which may be attributed to the returns, it must be borne in mind that they are chiefly dependent on voluntary information.' Since the public attitude to Negroes has been such as to make the name not merely a description but an invidious distinction, it is unlikely that the descendants of mixed marriages would handicap themselves in mere deference to public prejudice by declaring themselves 'Negro' 'irrespective of the degree of colour.' Another margin of error must be allowed for the fact that when the census enumerator finds a white woman

at a house, the whole family is returned as white, although her husband is coloured. The official figures must therefore be taken as indicative of the minimum population of Negro extraction in every district. Probably they are nearer the actual number in rural districts than in urban. In Montreal, for instance, the number recorded is 935, of which 862 are in the City of Montreal, but there is, in fact, a Negro community of 2,000 or more in the city, and over 1,000 coloured people in the North End, besides groups in other districts.⁴

A change in enumerating racial groups was specified in the 1941 census instructors manual. In the manual, No. 100 - Column 25 - Racial Origin. No. (2) What determines racial origin?, section (b) stated

Coloured Stocks. For persons belonging to stock involving difference in colour (i.e., the black, yellow, and brown races) the entry shall be Negro, Japanese, Chinese, Hindu, Malayan, etc., respectively, thus indicating the branch within the distinct stock, to which such persons belong.

(c) Mixed Blood. The children begotten of marriages between white and black or white and Chinese, etc., shall be entered in the column as Negro, Chinese, etc., as the case may be.

From this point onward, more accurate numbers are found for Blacks in Canada. It is also significant that here Canada first set out to determine races in regard to colour. Heretofore, mixed bloods assumed the lineage of the father. After 1941, this was stopped. In 1971, census instructors were asked to trace origins through the father once again, thus moving back to the attitude of the census bureau prior to 1941. The number of Blacks tends to fluctuate according to the way origin is traced for that census year. As such, the problem of enumerating Blacks in Canada is basically one of how racial origin is determined for a particular census.

Footnotes - Appendix II

1. Robin Winks, The Blacks in Canada, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1971) p. 485.
2. Quoted by Isreal, "Montreal Negro Community.", 1928, cited in Ida Greaves, The Negro in Canada, (Montreal: Pocket-Times Press, Ltd., 1931) pp. 47-48.
3. Canadian Census, 1911. Extract from the Book of Instructions, No. 100.
4. Greaves, Op. Cit., p. 51.

APPENDIX III

1. CANADIAN COUNCIL ON BLACK EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Whereas the Council on Black Education and Culture based in Ontario know of, and recognizes the work of other such councils and Boards in other parts of Canada, be it resolved that:

The Council address itself to the business of liaison with such other Councils and Boards with a view to setting up a unified approach, through the formation of Canadian Council on Black Education and Culture to deal with problem of education for Black people in Canada and to share information, resources and know-how.

2. Whereas any attempt to deal with the problem of education for the Black child has to recognize that these problems begin in the earliest years of education, be it resolved that the Council on Black Education and Culture give special attention to the investigation of opportunity for pre-school counselling in the Black community.

3. VOCATIONAL SCHOOL:

Whereas it has been agreed by the workshop that the Black children are being deliberately pushed by the Education system into vocational and terminal two year programmes without formidable communication with either parents or knowledgeable persons in the community consciously interested in Black children, and whereas it has been agreed that the vocational education cannot properly meet the need of all the children so placed, it is resolved that:

(a) The Council on Black Education initiate a census of pupils and

parents.

(b) Sub-Committees be formed for the purpose of propagandizing the needs of the Black Committee.

(c) Committee of parents be formed expressly for the purpose of bringing the matter to the proper authorities.

4. IMMIGRANTS:

Whereas it is becoming more evident that there is a mounting crisis in the matter of adjustment of immigrant children to a Canadian life style, be it resolved that:

(a) Specific authorities as the Toronto Board of Education, Metro Department of Citizenship or the Social Planning Council be approached with a view to providing guidance counsellors who are knowledgeable, sympathetic and non-white to guide and interpret the needs of these immigrant children.

(b) That the council look into the possibility of contacting parents prior to their arrival here in Canada with a view to encouraging them to educate and inform the prospective immigrant child as to what are some of the social conditions they will feel in Canada.

(c) That this contact with parents be made through the press, and specially prepared printed matter as well as Government offices in the islands as well as in Canada--a year in advance where possible.

5. PARENT EDUCATION

Whereas an organization as the Jamaican Canadian Association has been able to hold group programmes for parent education, and whereas these attempts were less than satisfactory, be it resolved that the Council on Black

Education and Culture investigate and explore ways of organizing parents and communicating to them essential information on the Education system in Ontario and the rights of parents in making representation on behalf of their children.

(b) That the procedures formulated in Ontario be examined as to applicability to other areas of Canada.

(c) That the possibility of getting a store front or basement office in a centrally located place where parents would feel free to meet and discuss the need of their children should be explored.

(d) That this Council should give consideration to some procedure whereby the arriving immigrant could be registered and made known to the community and be able to get information and other types of assistance from the Black Community.

6. PARENT EDUCATION AND BLACK STUDIES

Whereas such attention had been given to the idea of black studies at the High School and University level, and whereas this conference feels there is a need for black studies programmes for adults who did not have the opportunity of getting this information, be it resolved that the Council on Black Education and Culture give attention to the planning of a programme of black studies and the running of such programmes for adults in the Community.

7. TEACHERS

Whereas this Conference recognizes that there are a number of Black educators in Canada who could contribute to the work of the Council in general and the needs of Black students in particular, be it resolved

that a conference of Black educators of the University, Community College, high schools and Public Schools be called at an early date to look at some of the problems and to advise the council from the point of view of their knowledge and experience.

8. STUDENT ON WELFARE:

Whereas the Council on Black education and Culture knows that there is an increasing number of Black students leaving home at the age of sixteen to live on their own, and whereas this council recognizes that this is another step towards dropping out of school and facing other social problems resulting from the responsibility of living on their own, be it resolved that:

an action group be formed to look into the question of students on welfare and the condition under which they are living, why they drop out at grade nine or ten, with a view to exploring the opportunity of setting up group homes or student hostels, and providing counselling and emotional support.

9. FUNDING

Whereas the Council recognizes that the success of the programmes outlined will depend on the participation of the Black Community be it resolved that:

(a) The Council on Black Education and Culture approach organized Black groups and ask for commitment to education projects as:

The George Brown Training Programme

The Tutoring Programme

The Black Heritage Studies

The University Transitional Year

(b) That organized groups which hold dances and other paid entertainment be asked to donate a specific amount to the Black Education Projects.

(c) That the Council approach the Department of Citizenship with the view of getting funds for special programmes.

10. BLACK CENTRE

Whereas this conference recognizes that some of the problems of the Black Community stem from the lack of cohesion in the community and in particular the lack of a central meeting place as a point of focus and as a place adequate to accommodate the many and varied programmes necessary to the survival of this community, be it resolved that:

The Council on Black Education and the Black Peoples Conference record its support of the efforts of BYO in forming a committee to explore the possibilities of getting funds for a Centre--and further that the Committee be assured that the Council applauds its efforts and will assist if necessary in the deliberations of the Committee.

11. BLACK INFORMATION CENTRE

Whereas the Council recognizes the existence and work of the Black Information Centre staffed and run by BYO, be it resolved that:

The Council address itself to rallying support of the Centre from the Canada Council of Black Education and other Black organizations.

APPENDIX IV

M E M O R A N D U M

Brief presented

to

The Prime Minister

Minister of Citizenship and Immigration

Members of the Government of Canada

by

NEGRO CITIZENSHIP ASSOCIATION

Tuesday, April 27, 1954

Donald W. Moore
Director

Norman Grizzle, D.C.
Secretary

1497 Dundas Street West
Toronto, Ontario

TO THE PRIME MINISTER AND GOVERNMENT OF CANADA

Gentlemen:

In our appearance before you to-day, it is our desire to call to your attention certain phrases of the Immigration Act and the Immigration Regulations which seem diametrically opposed to the high principles of Canadians and to Canadian ideals. We will cite certain sections which seem to offend in this regard, try to show why they offend, and respectfully offer some suggestions for the betterment of same.

The Immigration Act since 1923 seems to have been purposely written and revised to deny equal immigration status to those areas of the Commonwealth where coloured peoples constitute a large part of the population. This is done by creating a rigid definition of British subject: "British subjects by birth or by naturalization in the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand or the Union of South Africa and citizens of Ireland". This definition excludes from the category of "British subject" those who are in all other senses British subjects, but who come from such areas as the British West Indies, Bermuda, British Guiana, Ceylon, India, Pakistan, Africa, etc.

As if this were not enough, Orders-in-Council have been passed from time to time to create more effective measures for the carrying out of the provisions of the Act and Regulations.

Our delegation claims this definition of British subject is discriminatory and dangerous.

It is discriminatory because it creates two classes of Her Majesty's subjects--on the one hand you have subjects predominantly white, on the other, subjects predominantly coloured. The first class are deemed "British subjects" for the purpose of the Immigration Act, the other class, by implication, are not British subjects.

It is dangerous because it instills a feeling in these divided groups, as well as in Canadians, that there are superior and inferior races, and it has the tendency to raise animosity between people born in different geographical areas. Social and biological sciences have established definitely that there are no superior races. The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights asserts, "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights". And Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, as recently as December 25, 1953, pronounced herself as dedicated to the concept of an equal partnership of all Commonwealth nations and races--and urged acceptance of this concept upon all countries of the Commonwealth.

It is dangerous because Canada as a democratic nation is committed to promote world peace, and this false feeling of a superior race has already shattered the peace of the world as experienced in the Second World War. We believe Canada will not countenance, in any way, anything which may lead to sowing the seed of race hatred; neither will she act

contrary to the "Canadian understanding of the equality of all people". She must take drastic measures not only to remove race hatred, but to destroy it completely forever.

This classification of British subjects is dangerous to the peace of the world.

WEST INDIAN

While our concern is for equal treatment of all British subjects, our greatest experience has been specifically in the matter of West Indian Negroes. We wish therefore to devote some attention to their particular situation.

CLIMATE

One of the official reasons given by the Government for refusing these people as immigrants is that people from tropical areas will have great difficulty in adjusting themselves to the Canadian climate. However, the Government has itself admitted that it has no statistics available to support this claim.

There is, on the other hand, considerable evidence to indicate that the "climate theory" is completely erroneous.

During the last World War, Negroes from tropical and sub-tropical areas enlisted in Her Majesty's armed forces and served in all parts of the globe, in all type of climates "from Greenland's icy mountains and India's coral strand", and there is much evidence to show that these people adjusted themselves to extremes of climate the same as other people.

Negroes have for a century and a half moved into Canada from tropical areas, and have taken up life here with no great problems of adjustment to climate.

ASSIMILATION

Another reason for refusal is the claim of the Government that West Indians, and people from tropical areas are unable "to become readily assimilated or to assume the duties and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship within a reasonable time after his admission".

In most communities it must be noticed that Negroes have become an integral part of existing political, social and religious groups; they may be found in the ranks of skilled and unskilled labour, farming, business, trades, and in the most technical professions. They work side by side harmoniously with like workers of other races; they may be found in any level of society. In various municipalities and provinces, regulations have been and are being adopted to remove any residues of

discriminatory practices. Examples of these regulations are to be found in the Ontario Racial Discrimination Act, and Manitoba's Fair Employment Practices Act; even our own Government has seen fit to pass the Canada Fair Employment Practices Act. This could not have been done had it been felt that Negroes could not become an integral part of Canadian society.

The customs, habits, modes of life, or methods of holding property in the West Indies are essentially the same as in Canada, and no change is necessary when these people become part of the Canadian way of life.

CLOSE RELATIVES

We are mindful of the forward step taken by the Government by its Order-in-Council providing for the admission of close relatives, etc. We consider this a step in the right direction. However, it has not done much to change the situation. When one considers the small number admitted between the amendment in the Act in 1922 and the Orders-in-Council of July, 1952, one must assume that there are not many in the British West Indies, with close relatives in Canada, who could take advantage of this provision.

CASES OF EXCEPTIONAL MERIT

Another regulation provides for "cases of exceptional merit".

One would assume this category included persons whose skills were needed in Canada. But cases in the last few years indicate that the Immigration authorities have turned down applications for permanent entry of persons whose skills were most desirable: nurses, draughtsmen, stenographers, and graduates of Canada's leading educational institutions have been rejected. Even students in various fields have been refused admission, and in some cases, refused extensions to complete their studies.

CONCLUSIONS

The Negro Citizenship Association respectfully requests that the Government of Canada:

1. Amend the definition of "British subject" so as to include all those who are, for all other purposes, regarded as "British subjects and citizens of the United Kingdom and Commonwealth".
2. Make provision in the Act for the entry of a British West Indian--without regard to racial origin--who has sufficient means to maintain himself until he has secured employment.
3. Delete the work "orphan" from the regulation which provides for the entry of nephews and nieces under 21.

4. Make specific the term "persons of exceptional merit".
5. Set up an Immigration Office in a centrally located area of the British West Indies for the handling of prospective immigrants.

Introduction and conclusion of Director's remarks on presentation of brief by the Negro Citizenship Association, April 27th, 1954.

Honourable Sir:

I am appearing before you to-day as Chairman of a delegation composed of representatives of the Negro Citizenship Association, Toronto; Canadian Congress of Labour, Ottawa, Toronto and Lakeshore Labour Council; United Automobile, Aircraft, Agricultural Implement Workers of America, Local 439; Toronto United Negro Association; Negro Citizenship Association, Montreal; and Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees and other Transport Workers, Local 123.

In addition to these personal representatives on our delegation, our brief has the written endorsement of the Church of England in Canada; United Automobile Workers of America, Local 222, Oshawa, and Local 303, Toronto; National Unity Association of Chatham, Dresden and North Buxton; Toronto C.P.R. Division, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Negro Women's Club of Toronto; Home Comfort Club, Toronto; Universal Negro Improvement Association of Montreal; and I have the permission of Rev. J. R. Mutchmor, Secretary of the United Church of Canada, to say that the church body has endorsed our brief, and the Dr. Dorry has been instructed to notify you officially.

The Negro Citizenship Association is a social and humanitarian organization. It has its beginning in February, 1951. It was born in response to the continual appeals of our brothers and sisters who were experiencing untold indignities and hardships occasioned by the wholesale rejection of their attempts to be legally admitted to Canada.

At that time, not even close relatives were admissible.

Less there be any doubt as to the genuineness of the Negro Citizenship Association, let me say as forcibly as I can, and as simply as I can, our Association was born out of the heart-aches, the pain and suffering of the Negro himself. If it is growing, it is growing because it is being watered by the tears of the suffering Negro, and it is being fed by the milk of the human kindnesses of our white brethren, as evident here to-day.

Because of the youthfulness of our organization, our inexperience in appearing before official bodies, and especially before high representatives in the highest form of Government, we approach the task undertaken with a great deal of humility.

However, Sir, after 40 years having integrated some semblance of the Canadian spirit, I have learned that our Government will give a listening ear to the cries of the people, and will unhesitatingly take steps to right any apparent wrong.

I am strengthened in my appearance before you, like a Good Canadian,

I have learned that if one is honest in his purpose, no matter how great the undertaking, or how difficult the task, fellow Canadians will lend a hand to "finish the job".

(Read Brief here)

SUMMARY:

Perhaps it might be well, before we close to call your attention to another phase of Negro Activity in Canada.

As far back as 1812 Negroes fought and died to preserve the borders of Canada. Their memory is perpetuated in bronz on a monument which now stands in Victoria Memorial Square in the city of Toronto.

Significantly, Sir, ninety-five years ago, this very month, April 1859, the Victoria Cross was bestowed on William Hall, a Negro from Harton, Nova Scotia, for acts beyond the path of duty in Her Majesty's Navy in the Battle of Lucknow at Calcutta.

Our memories are still fresh with the acts of Sacrifice and Gallantry performed by Negroes in 1914-1918. Our hearts have recently been saddened by the recent death of Canada's first quadruplet amputee of that great war. I speak of none other than our Curly Christian. In this war the Negro had two battles to fight; first we fought to get in the army, then we fought the Germans.

In the Second World War, 263 West Indians volunteered in the West Indies for service in the Canadian Army--men who in most instances had never seen Canada. In this war, we were subject to conscription like other Canadians, but unlike them we had two battles to fight. We fought to get in the Air Force and the Navy and then we fought Hitler. Yes, we paid the price!

In this very delegation today sits a mother, Edith Humphery Holloway, wearing a Silver Cross. That heart is proud for she willingly gave her son to defend our beloved country. But that heart is also saddened, because the country for which we fought and died has refused to let his brothers enter therein. In fact, the Government is virtually saying to her, take off your Cross, "Your people can never become integrated into the Canadian way of life."

Sir, let me quote to you from papers in the Archives of the Royal Historical Society as chronicled by Ernest Green, F.R.H.S.

"When William Lyon McKenzie raised the standard of revolt on December 4, 1837, the Government did not know where to place confidence. However, in the Loyalty of the Blacks, the Government had complete confidence and events proved that the trust was not misplaced. On March 6th, the Lieutenant-Governor, in his speech at the prorogation of Parliament said: 'When our coloured population were informed that American citizens,

sympathising with their sufferings, had taken violent possession of Navy Island, for the double object of liberating them from the domination of British rule and of imparting to them the blessings of republican institutions, based upon the principle that men are born equal, did our coloured brethren hail their approach? No! On the contrary, they hastened as volunteers in wagon loads to the Niagara frontier to beg from me permission, that in the intended attack upon Navy Island they might be permitted to be foremost to defend the glorious institutions of Great Britain'.

For a century and a half, men of 'the Negro race have taken part, side by side, with their white fellows, in the many military operations that have chequered the history of this province. They helped to bring it into being; they have joined in defending it against assault from without and against insurrection within. Opportunity for distinguished conduct has generally been denied them, but their service has been characterized throughout by loyalty, courage and all the other qualities essential to good soldiers. In the face of the enemy their conduct has been exemplary and they have given freely of their blood and their lives. When aiding the civil power they have been patient and restrained. In the military as in civilian capacities, the Canadian Negro has, to the best of his abilities, done his duty as a good and useful citizen. He deserves credit that is not always accorded him."

I ask you, Sir, in the light of what you have heard to-day, in face of facts which cannot be denied, in face of the harm that is being done to 20,000 Canadians, can your Department jeopardize the democratic standards of Canada before the public opinion of the world. Will your Department still continue to deny equal treatment to British subjects and citizens of the Commonwealth.

I ask you, Sir, to look well to these things. Whatever may be the outcome of our deliberations before you to-day, I want to assure you that the Negro people of Canada will be ever ready to protect this our beloved country in the spirit of the heroes of 1812, the Williams Halls of 1859, the Curly Christians of 1914, and the Humphrey Holloways of 1939.

In our appearance before you to-day, we bring no sword, no gun, no explosive, our only weapon is that of reason, justice, and love.

We know that you will give ear to our requests, for our requests are reasonable, our cause is just, and the love of mankind surmounts all difficulties.

To The Prime Minister,
Minister of Citizenship and Immigration
and Other Ministers of the Government of Canada.

Dear Sirs:

During the past few years, a number of Negroes have applied to the Department of Citizenship and Immigration for prolonged stays or permanent residence in Canada. These applications have come not only from visitors and students, but also from responsible citizens of Canada on behalf of their relatives. Except in rare instances these applications have been rejected by the Department.

These refusals have been brought to the attention of the various Negro clubs and organizations, in consequence of which the Negro Citizenship Committees was formed with the purpose of scrutinizing the reasons behind these refusals.

The Toronto Negro Citizenship Committee, comprising men and women of various occupations and professions, is representative of all the Negro associations in Toronto. Since its formation about a year ago, it has endeavoured to keep in touch with Negro immigrants to Canada, and has noticed with alarm the continual refusal to allow Negroes to remain in Canada, all the more inexplicable in view of the desire of the Canadian Government to increase the population of this country.

During its investigations, the Committee has discovered that the Immigration regulations, while not discriminating specifically against Negroes (Asiatics are specifically excluded), have succeeded in keeping out a large number of Negroes by limiting the term "British subject" to mean residents of countries whose population is predominantly white. This is quite clear from even a superficial reading of Order-in-Council P.C. 2856, dated June 9th, 1950.

Negroes in this country are deeply conscious of this discriminatory order. They feel that it is not only unjust to Negroes, and in particular, Canadian Negroes, but also that it is harmful to Canada's reputation as a democratic power.

The Toronto Negro Citizenship Committee has, therefore, undertaken to bring this matter before you, the Government. In so doing, we have, as a preliminary stop, attempted to bring to your attention the part which the Negro has played in our national life; and if that part should appear small, to show that it was due to the paucity of their numbers in the face of surrounding difficulties.

We, therefore, record, as accurately and as objectively as possible the salient factors in our history from the time of our arrival around 1783, to the present:-

POPULATION -- In Canada today, there are approximately 22,174 Negroes

(1941 Census). They are located as follows: in Nova Scotia 8,772; in Ontario 7,495; in Quebec 3,000; in New Brunswick 1,254; in Alberta 926. 13,948 live in urban areas; 8,226 in rural areas. There are 11,517 males, 10,657 females. In 1921, when the Negro population was 18,291, 13,681 had been born in Canada, 3,099 were born in the U.S.A., and 1,507 were from the West Indies.

SETTLEMENTS -- The majority of Negroes in Canada are descended from those who arrived with the United Empire Loyalists, both before and after the American Revolution. Before this, there were many who had come with English immigrants between 1761 and 1764, and as runaway slaves. After the War of 1812, more Negroes arrived. In 1815, 900 landed at Halifax.

In 1829 the Wilberforce Settlement in Ontario was formed by Negroes who escaped from Ohio during anti-Negro riots. Grants of land were given them by the Dominion Government, and this and other settlements in Southern Ontario were formed by escaping Negroes.

Coming as most of the Negroes did with little or no education or equipment, with little knowledge of trade or commerce, ignorant of things political, life placed before them tremendous difficulties. The story of their arrivals at Halifax, the privations suffered, cold, disease and poor housing, it would be superfluous to recount here: suffice it to say that those Negroes, welcomed to Canada by the different governments, still had a bitter struggle before them before they could become an integral part of the country.

Several colonies failed--the Wilberforce settlement, for example. Others degenerated, as may have been seen here and there in Nova Scotia, where Negroes arriving with the Loyalists had settled. Long years of slavery had deprived many Negroes of the initiative and resourcefulness needed in fending for themselves.

During this time, Negroes from the West Indies began to arrive in Halifax. Shortly afterwards a large percentage of them left for Sierra Leone. Since then many others have arrived in Canada. Fleeing crowded conditions and lack of opportunity in their native countries, they came to Canada to start a new life. Better equipped in both skills and education than the escaping slaves, they were better able to adapt themselves to the Canadian way of life.

One factor, with important implications, which has been an impediment to the progress of the Negro, is discrimination. While racial discrimination has never received legal sanction in Canada, it has nevertheless been a potent factor in retarding the progress of the Negro. This has never posed the same problem in Canada as in the U.S.A., for whenever it has become flagrant, efforts have been made to modify and in many instances to eradicate it.

The trend toward elimination of this menace can be seen from the positions which Negroes today hold in Canada: a city solicitor, a Queen's Counsel, a staff member of the University of Toronto, doctors

and nurses. Not only in the professional fields, but also in private business, many Negroes are now employed where they were formerly refused. In view of the present trend, the Negro no longer feels that only the position of the domestic servant is open to him. He is striving to raise himself both by his labour and his training, so that he may be as deserving a citizen as any other Canadian. This change is largely due to the effects of World War II on the economy of the country. The scarcity of manpower both in civilian and military occupations gave the opportunity the Negro required to show that he might equal his fellow Canadians if given the chance, and to remove some beliefs that his skin colour rendered him inferior.

In the twelve years since World War II, the Negro has made tremendous strides. Before 1939 most young men became porters. Now those in the towns are trying to rise higher in the economic scale--to fit themselves by training for types of work better suited to their various skills and aptitudes.

By way of illustration, Sydney, with a population of 30,000 has 600 Negroes, many of them home-owners. Many work in the mines, but there are three or four grocery stores, two taxi stands, a restaurant, a retread garage, a shoe-maker, chemist, doctor, school teachers, a few nurses and a dry-cleaning establishment. Sydney's Negroes, originally from the West Indies, provide an example of what other Negroes can do and are doing throughout Canada.

Buxton - And now a word about Buxton, Ontario, founded by runaway slaves. The Negro population there is about 400. They have a school with two teachers, general store, garage, soda fountain, post office, three churches, nurses, carpenters and electrical workers. As this is a rural area, you will find that Buxton is a district of comfortable farms; the farmers are training and educating their families to take their place in the social and economic life of Canada.

Toronto - Toronto affords an illustration of the way in which Negroes have adjusted themselves to life in a large city. Of the 800 to 1,000 Negro families in this city, investigation of about 300 has been made. It was discovered that about half of these families own or are buying homes. Many veterans used their gratuities to build homes; others have used theirs to further their education.

As recently as seven years ago, 75 percent of Negro girls became domestics; today only 5 percent. They now work in factories, offices, hospitals; as dressmakers, nurses, teachers, and stenographers. Many Negro men still work as porters. They belong to unions which enable them to better their conditions of employment and standard of living. The younger ones are increasing their education so as to fit them for a wider variety of positions.

Professional and technical graduates during the past four years have included two chiropractors, a chiropodist, four or five lawyers, a physician, a dentist, skilled technicians, operators and men with other

skills. Several business establishments have been opened.

Boys and girls and mothers and fathers are actively interested in sports, music and the arts. Parents are urging higher education. They are members of Home and School Clubs and other associations, are civic minded, and are becoming more and more conscious of the part they must play in the economic, political, religious and social life of Toronto.

They support four churches, have Negro community centres, several progressive clubs and associations, choral groups and a credit union.

Nor is the march of progress confined to these three places. In every town, village or city, the Negro is advancing. In some places the progress is more rapid, but in all places it is evident.

S U M M A R Y

The Negro in Canada has surmounted many an obstacle; with the help of Dominion and Provincial governments and his fellow Canadians, he is conquering them. The Negro has worked on the farms, in the forests and in the mines of Canada; and he has willingly defended his country and died for it when called upon to do so. It is no boast to say that the Negro has always been a loyal Canadian citizen. He, therefore, feels himself entitled to all the rights, privileges and responsibilities that are inherent in the status of Canadian citizen.

We, of the Toronto Negro Citizenship Committee present these facts to you. In so doing, we, on behalf of all Negroes living in Canada request that:

- (1) The Negro be recognized in the framing of Immigration laws and regulations in the same manner and upon the same grounds as other groups;
- (2) That a fair ratio of Negroes in proportion to the Negro population be admitted to Canada each year; men and women, who, by the similarity of customs could adapt themselves to the Canadian way of life and become desirable citizens.

We realize that this implies a change in the Immigration Law. Knowing that the Government has done much in the past to legislate against discriminatory and unfair practices, we request that your Government enact legislation implementing our requests.

TORONTO NEGRO CITIZENSHIP COMMITTEE

Donald Moore, Chairman,
1497 Dundas Street West, Toronto.

Edsworth M. Searles, Secretary
399 Ossington Avenue, Toronto.

4-52
OPWOC Local 3

APPENDIX V



CANADA

IN REPLY PLEASE REFER TO
PRIÈRE DE CITER LE DOSSIER

NO.....CD-2-21798

737 Church Street

DEPARTMENT OF CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION
MINISTÈRE DE LA CITOYENNETÉ ET DE L'IMMIGRATION

IMMIGRATION BRANCH — DIVISION DE L'IMMIGRATION

TORONTO, August 19th, 1953.

Dear Sir:

This letter is in regard to your appeal against the order for deportation filed against you at this office on the 26th of June, 1953.

We have now been instructed to inform you that your appeal has been dismissed. However, it has been decided to allow you thirty days to effect your voluntary departure from this country.

Will you kindly arrange to call at this office as soon as possible at which time your passport will be handed to you along with a letter with which you will be asked to verify your departure from this country.

Will you kindly give this matter your immediate attention.

Yours very truly,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "A. D. Adamson".

A. D. Adamson,
Inspector-in-Charge.

Duke Quartey-Vanderpuife, Esq.,
1635-A Eglinton Ave. W.,
Toronto, Ontario.



CANADA

IN REPLY PLEASE REFER TO
PRIÈRE DE CITER LE DOSSIER

NO...CD-2-21798.....

DEPARTMENT OF CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION
MINISTÈRE DE LA CITOYENNETÉ ET DE L'IMMIGRATION

IMMIGRATION BRANCH — DIVISION DE L'IMMIGRATION

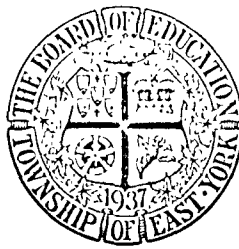
737 Church Street,
TORONTO 5, August 21, 1953.

Dear Sir:

In order that your departure from Canada on or before September 19, 1953, may be verified, will you kindly hand this letter to the Canadian Immigration or Customs officer at the port of exit, and he will then advise this office accordingly.

Yours truly,

A. D. Adamson,
Immigration Inspector-in-Charge.Duke Quartey-Vanderpuije, Esq.,
1635-A Eglinton Avenue W.,
Toronto, Ontario.



H. T. DONALDSON, B.A.
PRINCIPAL

EAST YORK COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE

COSBURN AND COXWELL AVENUES

TORONTO 6

September 9, 1953.

To whom it may concern:

Duke Quartey-Vanderpuije has this day registered
at this collegiate.

He intends to pursue the general course and
eventually plans to go to university.

H. T. Donaldson,
Principal.

HTD/gm

2 copies

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P
Y

H. T. DONALDSON, B.A.

Principal

East York Collegiate Institute

Cosburn and Coxwell Avenues

Toronto 6

September 9, 1953.

To whom it may concern:

Duke Quartey-Vanderpuije has this day
registered at this collegiate.

He intends to pursue the general course
and eventually plans to go to university.

"H. T. Donaldson"

H. T. Donaldson,
Principal.

HTD/gm

19 Euclid Avenue,
Toronto, Ontario,
September 11, 1953.

Mr. Donald Moore, Chairman,
Negro Citizenship Committee,
1497 Dundas Street West,
Toronto, Ontario.

Dear Sir:

In reply to your enquiry re room and board accomodation for Mr. Duke Quartey-Vanderpuije, I may say that I have made satisfactory arrangements to supply him with room and board during his school year, and am fully prepared to carry out the arrangement.

Yours truly,


Grafton Mayers.

September 15, 1953.

Immigration Department,
737 Church Street,
Toronto, Ontario.

Re: CD2-21798, - Duke Quartey-Vanderpuije
19 Euclid Avenue

Dear Sir:

In the matter of Mr. Duke Quartey-Vanderpuije who has been served with a voluntary departure order to take effect September 19, 1953, our Committee begs to submit the following facts which we believe were not in the hands of your Department when the above order was issued.

Mr. Quartey-Vanderpuije received his elementary schooling through the Anglican Church in the Gold Coast, West Africa, which inspired him with the quest for knowledge. In his desire to educate himself, he went to England, a trip made possible by the accumulation of funds derived by thrift, almost to the point of frugality. In England he discovered that it was almost impossible to put oneself through school. For two years he busied himself mostly by employment with the English Telephone Company (Mechanical Department) and the taking of a correspondence course leading to the study of Economics.

About this time he heard that Canada offered an opportunity for the industrious and ambitious to advance by one's own effort. With this thought in mind, he came to Canada, solely intent on gaining an education by working and paying his own way through school. Unfortunately, he was not aware of the regulations covering non-immigrant classes, which might have made it to appear that work was his sole purpose in coming to Canada.

We have very definitely pointed out to Mr. Quartey-Vanderpuije the necessity for complying with regulations, the desire of the Department to give fair and just treatment to all persons, and the intent of our Committee to be of assistance only to those who are honestly in need of same. We do not, therefore, think that the Department will have any difficulty in the carrying out of any order it may make.

We are now in possession of a letter from East York Collegiate showing that Mr. Duke Quartey-Vanderpuije is registered as a student, and another from Mr. Grafton Mayers, 19 Euclid Avenue, showing that his room and board will be taken care of. We have personally checked these matters and found them as stated, and have also enclosed copies of these letters for your perusal.

In view of these developments, the Committee asks that Mr. Quartey-Vanderpuije be given an opportunity to pursue his studies and

Immigration Department

- 2 -

September 15, 1953

that the order for his departure be held in abeyance until the result of his year's work is known.

The Committee feels that, when a young man has enough determination and fortitude to make his way from Africa, with all the limitations placed upon his race, to live in England, and finally come to Canada in the pursuit of knowledge, there is in him a great deal of what goes to make a good Canadian citizen.

We, therefore, hope that you will give very favourable consideration to our appeal.

Yours respectfully,

Donald Moore,
Chairman,
Negro Citizenship Committee.

737 Church Street

IN REPLY PLEASE REFER TO
PRIÈRE DE CITER LE DOSSIER

NO. CD-2-21798

DEPARTMENT OF CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION
MINISTÈRE DE LA CITOYENNETÉ ET DE L'IMMIGRATION

IMMIGRATION BRANCH — DIVISION DE L'IMMIGRATION

Toronto, October 7, 1953

Dear Mr. Moore:

I have your letter of September 15 concerning Mr.
Duke Quartey-Vanderpuije.

The circumstances have been reviewed by the Depart-
ment and it has been regretfully decided that permission
cannot be granted for the above-named young man to continue
his stay in Canada. He is, therefore, being instructed by
concurrent mail to effect his departure from this country
on or before November 6, 1953.

Yours very truly,

W.R. Baskerville,
District Superintendent
of Immigration.Donald Moore, Esq.,
Chairman,
Negro Citizenship Committee,
1497 Dundas Street West,
TORONTO, Ontario.



CANADA
DEPUTY MINISTER
OF
CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION

Ottawa, October 20, 1953.

Mr. Donald Moore,
Chairman,
Negro Citizenship Committee,
1497 Dundas Street West,
Toronto, Ontario.

Dear Mr. Moore:

In the absence of the Deputy Minister, I have for acknowledgment your letter of October 13, 1953, concerning Duke Quartey-Vanderpuije, who is presently under order of deportation from Canada.

While you indicate that Mr. Quartey-Vanderpuije came forward for the sole purpose of furthering his education, I am afraid that this is not borne out by the facts of the case and that favourable consideration will not be possible. The matter first came to our attention some months ago, when a letter was received on the man's behalf from the British officials in Accra, Gold Coast. Mr. Quartey-Vanderpuije had requested admission to Canada as an immigrant, to accept agricultural employment said to have been arranged by the Ontario Department of Agriculture, and had given the name of a friend in Toronto as reference. Investigation established that the friend had no particular interest in the case and the Department of Agriculture had no record of any previous correspondence whatever, with Mr. Quartey-Vanderpuije, respecting employment. In view of the above of course, the British officials were advised that the gentleman's application for permanent admission could not be accepted.

Meantime however, Mr. Quartey-Vanderpuije had come forward and been granted temporary entry ostensibly as a visitor. Nine days after arrival, he applied for permanent admission. As you know, the gentleman was found unable to comply with our requirements upon examination, and his deportation was ordered. Despite Mr. Quartey-Vanderpuije's present claim that his sole purpose is to further his education, I think you will agree the evidence clearly indicates that right from the outset, his intention has been to effect permanent admission to Canada. As pointed out above, he is unable to comply in this respect and consequently, it is expected he will take his voluntary departure from Canada, as directed.

- 2 -

I appreciate that my reply will be disappointing,
but am sorry that for the reasons mentioned, favourable consideration
cannot be extended.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'P.T. Baldwin'. The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial 'P' and 'B'.

P.T. Baldwin,
for Deputy Minister.

October 13th, 1953.

Mr. Laval Fortier,
Deputy Minister of Citizenship
and Immigration,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Re: Duke Quartey-Vanderpuije
CD2-21798

Dear Sir:

Would you be kind enough to review the case of Mr. Duke Quartey-Vanderpuije who has been ordered to make voluntary departure by November 6, 1953.

The Committee is greatly concerned as to the ultimate disposal of this case, as from very careful investigation, we are positive that Mr. Vanderpuije's only purpose in coming to Canada was for the purpose of gaining an education, and that a great deal of hardship and untold suffering will follow this young man if he is deprived now of receiving that education for which he has laboured so hard in his short life to obtain, and which he now has in his grasp.

Since our representation to the Ontario District, he has begun his classes; he has two hours evening work with the T. Eaton Company, which helps with his expenses, and the assurances of Mr. Grafton Mayers (who has been interviewed by the Department) that he will supply him with room and board free of charge in case he falls short of funds to supply the same.

Unless Mr. Vanderpuije has committed some serious breach of the Immigration Act, unknown to this Committee, it is very, very difficult for us to see why the Department would refuse him his simple request to be permitted to go to school here, and by such refusal, commit him to suffering which a young mind will hardly stand.

I cannot add anything more to the representation which I have already made (a copy of which is enclosed) other than to say that Mr. Vanderpuije has been attending classes and shows evidence of becoming an apt student.

.....2

Mr. Laval Fortier

- 2 -

October 13th, 1953

In view of the shortness of time, we know that you will give the matter your careful and immediate attention.

We are

Yours respectfully,

Donald Moore,
Director,
Negro Citizenship Committee.

Encl.

June 1, 1954.

Mr. Adamson,
Department of Citizenship
and Immigration,
737 Church Street,j
Toronto, Ontario.

Re: Duke Quartey-Vanderpuije
Your File CD.2-21798

Dear Sir:

Some time ago, I received a letter from your Department enquiring as to my knowledge of the whereabouts of Mr. Duke Quartey-Vanderpuije.

I delayed answering until I was able to make reliable inquiries as to his whereabouts. I was unable to get any information of him either in Toronto, or through our office in Montreal.

I am sorry that I could not be of greater assistance in this matter.

Yours respectfully,

Donald W. Moore,
Director.

DWM:lr

ADDRESS
DISTRICT SUPERINTENDENT,
CENTRAL DISTRICT
737 CHURCH STREET
TORONTO 5, ONT.



CANADA

IN YOUR REPLY PLEASE REFER TO

No. CD-1-77423

DEPARTMENT OF CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION
IMMIGRATION BRANCH

Toronto, May 28, 1952.

Dear Mr. Moore:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter dated May 15th with regard to your desire to arrange an interview to discuss the question of the admission of West Indians.

I shall be pleased to discuss the matter with you at any time convenient to you but would advise that I expect to be absent from the office until approximately June 10th. If you wish to make an appointment by telephone for any time after that date, this can be easily arranged if you call Randolph 2111.

In the event that you do not wish to delay the matter until my return, one of our officials here will be pleased to interview you during my absence.

Yours very truly,

W. R. Baskerville,
District Superintendent of
Immigration.

Donald Moore, Esq.,
Chairman,
Negro Citizenship Committee,
1497 Dundas Street West,
Toronto, Ontario.

appointment

Friday 20

10.30 AM

*Spoke to
Joe Francis
Toronto Welfare Council
May 3.*

1497 Dundas Street West,
Toronto,
May 15, 1952.

Mr. W. R. Baskerville,
District Superintendent,
Dept. of Citizenship & Immigration,
737 Church Street,
Toronto.

Dear Sir:-

The Negro citizens of Toronto are greatly grieved about the number of West Indians seeking entry into Canada who are detained in Toronto pending appeals, reviews or deportation.

The fact that your department does everything possible to contact the relatives or friends of the persons effected is fully appreciated. However, experience has shown that on some occasions contact is either unavoidably delayed or effective assistance cannot be given to the person held. This situation is brought about at some times by the rules which must be observed in connection with the persons held, and at other times by the distance separating them from their relatives or friends.

The Negro Citizenship Committee is fully conversant with the Immigration Laws, regarding the landing in Canada of acceptable classes, and is appreciative of the fact that a change of the laws lies in the hands of the Canadian Parliament.

The Committee feels that a very useful purpose would be served if your department could turn to some responsible organization not swayed by passion or prejudice, but whose only purpose would be to act as intermediaries between the persons held, and their relatives or friends.

We should be very grateful, therefore, to have an interview with you on this particular phase of our work.

Yours truly,

Donald Moore,
for Negro Citizenship Committee.

CASE OF REV. A. SEGISMUND VOGE -- DEPORTED

Name: Rev. A. Segismund Voce

Age:

Residence: (Jamaica) Kingston, Jamaica - British Subject
(Canada) 121 Yorkville Avenue, Toronto, Ontario

Entry to Canada: January 16, 1952

Reason for Entry: To attend a College in Peterborough

Permission to Stay: Was given a year's stay on entry.

Remained at College for two weeks.

Rev. Voce swore that, on his return from Peterborough he went in to see the Department, told them of his leaving College, and was given to understand that as his permit did not expire until January 15, 1953, he should come and see them before that date.

January 13/53: Applied for extension; was refused.

January 15/53: Committee made representation to Superintendent, and a Board of Enquiry was granted.

January 19/53: Board met; landing refused. Ordered detained, or released on \$500.00 bond pending appeal. Committee asked for a smaller bond; refused.

Two city Ministers made representation to the Department in effort to prevent holding in jail, but he was held until January 24th.

January 21/53: Committee bought a ticket for \$137.00 for his passage. left it at the jail on Wednesday, January 21st for a flight on Thursday, January 22nd. However, he missed the plane and was returned to the jail until Sunday, January 24, 1953.

January 24/53: Took voluntary departure to Jamaica.

It will be noted that, about this same time, the Department had just finished, unsuccessfully, the case of a Rev. Legge, and was in no way disposed to give Rev. Voce any consideration, as one officer remarked, "We don't want another Legge on our hands." This is a case of a man, a Minister of the Gospel, treated as a criminal.

The psychological effects of this case has been very detrimental to our young men awaiting decisions on the most simple applications to the Department. The Committee has had to accompany many of them to the Department because of the mortal fear of being detained in the Don jail.

Mrs. Carrington will tell you of what this detention means to our women.

CASE OF LEROY CLAVIN GRANT - DEPORTED

Name: Leroy Calvin Grant

Age: 27

Residence: (Bahamas) Nassau, Bahamas - British Subject
(Canada) 73 Rose Avenue, Toronto, Ontario

Entry to Canada: At Niagara, July 4th, 1952

Reason for Entry: To effect re-entry to United States

Efforts to re-enter States failed because of difficulty in obtaining passport. In order to effect voluntary departure, he purchased an airplane ticket by making weekly payments. On arrival at the airport, it was found that the plane did not go directly to Nassau, but stopped in the States. Because of this stoppage in the States, it would be necessary to have a passport, so he had to cancel his flight. As there were no more flights for the season, directly to Nassau, he started negotiations for obtaining a passport.

Since he had given up his job, he found it necessary to obtain a refund on his ticket in order to tide him over until he could get another. The Immigration Department was aware of Mr. Grant's effort to leave the country. He explained the reason for the refund on his ticket, and asked for permission to buy another under the same conditions that the former ticket was purchased, if they would give him the time to do so.

August 20/53 - September 23/53

Detained in the Toronto jail.

August 25/53: Committee informed of Mr. Grant's detention. We immediately got in touch with the Immigration Department and was informed by a Mr. Collins that Grant was held for deportation, and steps were being taken to get him a passport, and that the same should be had within a few days. However, as efforts to get the passport were not successful up to September 21st, the Department agreed to release him on \$100.00 cash bond.

September 23/53: \$100.00 cash bond posted by the Committee: Grant released.

Efforts of Committee to Expedite Deportation

- October 2/53: Committee wrote Trade Commissioner for the British West Indies, Montreal, to see if they could use their efforts in obtaining a passport.
- October 15/53: Letter received from the United Kingdom Passport Office, Ottawa, asking for more information.
- October 31/53: Letter sent to Mr. Grant's aunt in Nassau asking her to give the Registry Office there any information which might help in obtaining passport.
- November 2/53: Information was sent to the United Kingdom Passport Office at Ottawa.
- November 24/53: This effort on the part of the Committee, during the period October 2nd to November 2nd, to assist in getting the passport to facilitate Mr. Grant's departure, was brought to the attention of the Immigration Department.
- Some time previous to December 21st, the Department had secured a certificate for Mr. Grant's re-entry to Nassau.
- December 21/53: Department telephoned Committee to have Grant in on December 22nd.
- December 22/53: 9:30 a.m. Department wanted to detain him then for deportation on the 30th of December. Committee asked for postponement until after Christmas.
- December 28/53: Grant reported; was detained in jail until December 30th, when he was deported.

During all the negotiations, from the time that Grant entered the country July 4th, 1952, the Department was well aware of his place of residence, where he worked, and all the efforts he made, in addition to the efforts of the Committee, to comply with the the Order to depart. There was nothing in his actions at any time to suggest that he did not want to leave the country, or that he would not be available for deportation.

Even after the Committee had posted a bond (which is still in the hands of the Department), the Department insisted on again detaining him from December 28th to December 30th. It was not without great effort on the part of the Committee which prevented his being detained Tuesday, December 22nd.

SECTIONS OF THE ACT

To quote from an office consolidation (April, 1950)
of The Immigration Act and Regulations.

Pages 8 & 9, Sections 13 & 14

Board of inquiry.	13. The Minister may nominate at any port of entry any number of officers to act as boards of inquiry and any three officers so nominated shall constitute a board of inquiry. 1921, c. 32, s. 2.
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Authority of Boards.	14. A board of inquiry shall have authority to determine whether an immigrant, passenger or other person seeking to enter or land in Canada or detained for any cause under this Act, shall be allowed to enter, land or remain in Canada or shall be rejected and deported. 1921, c. 32, s. 3.
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Page 9, Section 19 - There is provision for appeals in some cases.

Page 10, Section 21

Appellant in custody pending decision of Minister.	21. Pending the decision of the Minister, the appellant and those dependent upon him shall be kept in custody at an immigrant station, unless released under bond as hereinafter provided. 1910, c. 27, s. 21.
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Page 2, Section 2 (1)

"Immigration station."	(1) "Immigration station" means any place designated by the Minister for the examination, inspection, treatment or detention of immigrants, passengers, or other persons for any purpose under this Act.
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Page 14, Section 33 (11)

Release under bond or approved deposit.	(11) Pending the final disposition of the case of any person detained or taken into custody for any cause under this Act he may be released under a bond, which bond may be in the form H in the schedule of this Act, with security approved by the officer in charge, or may be released upon deposit of money with the officer in charge in lieu of a bond, and to an amount approved by such officer, upon condition that such person shall appear before a board of inquiry or officer acting as such at any port of entry named by the officer in charge, and at such time as shall be named, for examination in regard to the cause or complaint on account of which he
--	--

has been detained or taken into custody.
1947, c. 19, s. 1.

Page 10, Section 23

Jurisdiction of courts in cases of rejection and depor- tation restricted.	23. No court, and no judge or officer thereof, shall have jurisdiction to review, quash, reverse, restrain or otherwise interfere with any proceeding, decision or order of the Minister or of any board of inquiry, or officer in charge, had, made or given under the authority and in accordance with the provisions of this Act relating to the detention or deportation of any rejected immigrant, passenger or other person, upon any ground whatsoever, unless such person is a Canadian citizen or has Canadian domicile. 1910, c. 27, s. 23.
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APPENDIX VI

BEATRICE MASSOP

Memorandum processing application of Nurse for entry. Request received October 23, 1952; application granted September 2, 1953; arrived December 15, 1953--14 months.

October 23/52: Nurse contacted Association for assistance in coming to Canada as resident.

November 26/52: Wrote Nurse requesting information re age, training, etc.

February 1/53: Wrote Nurse stating necessity for registering in Ontario; enclosed copy of letter from Registered Nurses' Association regarding requirements. Immigration Department would receive application if able to be registered.

March 7/53: Nurse wrote forwarding documents for registration.

March 27/53: Nurse eligible for registration.

April 1/53: Visited Department to make application on her behalf; more information required. Wrote Nurse for same.

April 7/53: Letter from Nurse with necessary information.

May 14/53: Wrote Nurse that application filed with Department April 10; no reply as yet.

May 14/53: Application refused--A. D. Adamson.

May 15/53: Wired Nurse application denied, will make appeal.

May 22/53: Letter Nurse enclosing copy of refusal.

May 29/53: Department returned documents left with them.

June 5/53: Interview with W. R. Baskerville.

June 5/53: Nurse advised appeal made.

June 30/53: Appeal refused by local Department.

July 17/53: Appealed to Honourable Walter Harris, Minister of Immigration, Ottawa.

July 31/53: Letter acknowledged by Mr. Harris' secretary, in his absence.

August 10/53: Letter received from Laval Fortier, Deputy Minister advising local Department to okay admission subject to investigation of employment by hospital.

August 19/53: Personal interview with Personnel Manager, New Mount Sinai Hospital; nurse accepted.

August 21/53: Advised Nurse position obtained.

August 24/53: Letter confirming employment received.

August 27/53: Sent hospital's confirmation of employment to Department.

August 28/53: Department phoned advising that application granted.

September 2/53: Application confirmed by letter--W. R. Baskerville.

September 9/53: Nurse wrote acknowledging cable sent August 29th, advising application granted.

September 27/53: Nurse wrote that confirmation and medical forms received from Ottawa.

November 30/53: Nurse wrote advising date of departure.

December 15/53: Nurse arrived.

INCORPORATED 1925

Registered Nurses' Association of Ontario

515 JARVIS STREET
(AT WELLESLEY)

TORONTO 5, ONTARIO

M/ 7339

AIR MAIL

COPY

March 27, 1953.

Miss Beatrice Maassop,
1 Mavis Avenue,
Kingston,
Jamaica,
B.W.I.

Dear Miss Massop:

Your letter of March 7, 1953 has been received with the following enclosures:

1. Letter of March 7, 1953 from Jamaica General Trained Nurses' Association, to Miss Pearl M. Stiver, Secretary-Treasurer of the Canadian Nurses' Association.
2. Certificate dated July 20, 1932 from the Public Hospital, Kingston, Jamaica, certifying that you have been trained in surgery, medicine and gynaecology for a period of three years.
3. Registration certificate number 217 of the General Nursing Council for Jamaica, dated June 24, 1952 for admission to the register on April 9, 1952.
4. Certificate dated 21.4.39 from the Victoria Jubilee Hospital for nine months course in midwifery from 17.8.38 to 16.5.39.
5. Certificate of Competency to practise as a midwife, dated April 21, 1939.
6. Transcript of record of theoretical instruction and practical experience at Kingston Public Hospital, Jamaica, for a course from February 4, 1929 to July 20, 1932.
7. Statement from Victoria Jubilee Hospital, dated March 7, 1953.

According to the above documents it would appear that you would be eligible for registration when you have submitted an official application and established your residence here.

We are pleased to send to you by air mail, the form for submitting your application. After completing the one side, you should have the recommendation on the reverse side completed by Miss Julie Symes, Registrar of the Jamaican General Nursing Council. Please do not remit the fee until after you have taken up residence here.

- 2 -

Under separate cover we are returning to you by registered surface mail all the documents itemized above except items:

- 1). The letter to Miss Pearl Stiver.
- 6). The transcript of your record.
- 7). Statement regarding midwifery training.

When your completed formal application is received and you have established residence here, we will be pleased to proceed with granting you registration as a Registered Nurse in the province of Ontario. We should, however, point out that each province in Canada has its own nursing legislature and registration Board. If you wish to be registered in any other province it would be necessary for you to apply to the registrar in the province where you intend to reside.

We are forwarding the letter from Mrs. Grace March to Miss Pearl M. Stiver, Secretary-Treasurer of our Canadian Nurses' Association.

We are also sending Mr. Donald W. Moore a copy of this letter so he may be advised of your eligibility for registration here.

Yours sincerely,

Mildred F. Weir

Mildred F. Weir, Reg. N.,
Registrar.

MFW/sm
Enc.

April 1st, 1953.

Miss B. Massop,
1 Mavis Avenue,
Kingston, Jamaica.

Dear Miss Massop:

By now you should have received Miss Weir's letter, a copy of which was sent to me.

To-day, April 1st, I visited the Immigration Department to make application on your behalf. In order to complete the application, it will be necessary to know the exact date and place of your birth. Will you send this information to me by return mail.

Although the Department has not asked for it, you may let me have the name and address of the person in Canada who would act as a sponsor.

I am

Yours truly,

NEGRO CITIZENSHIP COMMITTEE

Donald Moore,
Chairman.

November 26, 1952.

Miss B. Massop,
1 Mavis Avenue,
Kingston, Jamaica,
B. W. I.

Dear Miss Massop:

Your letter of October 23 received, and we may say that we are pleased to form your acquaintance.

For a West Indian Negro who has no close relative in Canada, to obtain permanent entry is almost an impossibility. However, there are some avenues around which this mountain may be crossed.

Our Committee will be glad to assist you in your effort to come here if you can in any way meet the requirements. Before we can give you any information, it will be necessary to have in our possession certain pertinent facts:

Your full name, age, marital status, husband's name, children, if any, ages, sex; your educational attainments, copies of any certificates either from school or of your training as nurse; if you are now employed, and what experience you have in this field. Do you know anyone in Canada who could say that they would undertake to see that you do not become a public charge.

Upon receipt of this information, we will write you further.

Yours truly,

NEGRO CITIZENSHIP COMMITTEE

Donald Moore, Chairman.

Toronto, February 1, 1953.

Dear Miss Massop:

From information received, we learned that in order to obtain a position as a nurse in any of the standard hospitals one must be registered with the Registered Nurses Association of Ontario which is independent of the hospitals.

I am enclosing a copy of the requirements for registration in this Association. You will notice that before your registration could be effected you would have to submit the original copies of the certificates you sent me, and especially the detailed information as contained in paragraphs 1, 2, and 3 of Miss Weir's letter.

While it is difficult to have a hospital here undertake to employ you before personal contact, we have the assurance of the Toronto General Hospital that, if you are registered with the Nurses Association, they will do all in their power to give you due consideration should you apply for a position as a nurse.

With regard to your application for landing, I have been informed by the Immigration Department that, if your qualifications are recognized by the Nurses Association of Ontario, they would be glad to receive an application for entry into Canada and will submit the same to Ottawa for approval.

Upon receipt of the required information, I will again take up the matter with the Immigration Department on your behalf. In forwarding your certificates be sure to have them sent by registered mail. I am

Yours respectfully,

NEGRO CITIZENSHIP COMMITTEE

Donald W. Moore,
Chairman.

Encls.

1 Mavis Avenue,
Kingston, Jamaica,
7.3.53.

Dear Mr. Moore:

Your letter dated 1.2.53 has arrived, and contents noticed.

I herewith forward Certificates, both General and Midwifery, including Registration certificate and other credentials required, trusting they will meet the approval of the Nurses Association.

I am indeed grateful to you, for your keen interest in which you have been taking in helping me to get in that country.

I am entrusting these certificates in your care, please see that they are returned to me after they shall have been dealt with.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

B. Massop.

P.S. Kindly forward certificates and other correspondence to Miss Weir for me.

B. Massop.

737 Church Street,
Toronto, Ontario.

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IN REPLY PLEASE REFER TO
PRIÈRE DE CITER LE DOSSIER

CD-2-24765
No.

DEPARTMENT OF CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION
MINISTÈRE DE LA CITOYENNETÉ ET DE L'IMMIGRATION
IMMIGRATION BRANCH — DIVISION DE L'IMMIGRATION

Toronto, May 14th, 1953.

Dear Sir:-

This is with reference to your application for the admission to Canada of Beatrice Adassa Massop, presently residing at 1 Mavis Avenue, Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I.

This office has given the greatest consideration to your application, however, I regret that as Miss Massop does not come within the classes of persons admissible to Canada favourable action cannot be taken. Under the circumstances I am sorry to inform you that no further action will be taken on your application for this lady's admission.

Yours very truly,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "A. D. Adamson".

A. D. Adamson,
Immigration Inspector-in-Charge.

Donald W. Moore, Esq.,
Chairman, Negro Citizenship Committee,
1497 Dundas Street, West,
Toronto, Ontario.

Wire: Application denied. will make appeal. delays follow.

May 14th, 1953.

Miss B. Massop,
1 Mavis Avenue,
Kingston, Jamaica.

Dear Miss Massop:

Yours of May 11th to hand. Your application was filed with the Department here on April 10, which in turn would be sent to Ottawa for consideration. To date, we have not received any reply as to the result. Unless I hear from them by May 20th, I shall again write them for further information.

It seems a long while, and I know that you are anxious. I may also say that we on this side are also anxious of the outcome and want you to feel assured that we are doing everything to bring it to a head.

Yours respectfully,

NEGRO CITIZENSHIP COMMITTEE

Donald Moore,
Chairman.

May 22nd, 1953.

A. Adamson, Esq.,
Immigration Inspector-in-Charge,
737 Church Street,
Toronto, Ontario.

Re: Miss B. Massop
File No. CD-2-24765

Dear Sir:

When I made application for admission to Canada of Miss B. Massop, I left with the Inspector two original documents from which he was to make copies and return same to me. I have not as yet received them and I would be very much obliged if the same would be returned to me by return mail; (a) letter from the Registered Nurses' Association of Ontario (b) notes on particulars of Miss Massop.

I wish to thank you very much for the consideration you have given Miss Massop's application.

Yours truly,

NEGRO CITIZENSHIP COMMITTEE

Donald Moore,
Chairman.

May 22nd, 1953.

Miss B. Massop,
1 Mavis Avenue,
Kingston, Jamaica.

Dear Miss Massop:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter received from the Immigration Department which is the basis for my telegram to you of recent date. I have gone to great effort in getting and preparing the necessary information to meet the requirements of the Immigration Department and to present them to the Department in such a manner as might induce them to look favourably upon the application which I made on your behalf. They have, however, rejected it.

I am preparing documents in order to make a special appeal directly to Honourable Walter Harris, Minister of Immigration. This will be the final course I can pursue, and I shall inform you immediately as to the result of the same.

I know that you are greatly disappointed in not having favourable consideration, but I pointed out to you in my first letter the difficulties which you might encounter in your desire to come to Canada. I am

Yours truly,

NEGRO CITIZENSHIP COMMITTEE

Donald Moore,
Chairman.

Encl.

737 Church St.,
Toronto 5, Ontario.



CANADA

IN REPLY PLEASE REFER TO
PRIÈRE DE CITER LE DOSSIER

NO. CD 2-24765

DEPARTMENT OF CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION
MINISTÈRE DE LA CITOYENNETÉ ET DE L'IMMIGRATION
IMMIGRATION BRANCH — DIVISION DE L'IMMIGRATION

Toronto, May 29, 1953.

Dear Sir:

Encl. In accordance with your letter of May 22nd,
1953, I am enclosing herewith, the documents which you
submitted to this office on behalf of Miss B. Massop,

Yours very truly,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'A.D. Adamson'.

A.D. Adamson,
Inspector-in-Charge

Donald Moore, Esq.,
Chairman,
Negro Citizenship Committee,
1497 Dundas St.W.,
TORONTO, Ontario.

June 5th, 1953.

Miss B. Massop,
1 Mavis Avenue,
Kingston, Jamaica.

Dear Miss Massop:

As I promised in my last letter that I would make a further appeal against the decision of the local authorities in which they refused to grant you admission to Canada, I have to-day taken the matter up with the General Superintendent for Ontario, and he has promised that he would immediately go into the matter to see if a more favourable decision may be obtained.

As soon as I hear from him, I shall advise you.

Yours truly,

Donald Moore, Chairman,
Negro Citizenship Committee.



CANADA

IN REPLY PLEASE REFER TO
PRIERE DE CITER LE DOSSIER

NO. CD2-24765

DEPARTMENT OF CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION
MINISTÈRE DE LA CITOYENNETÉ ET DE L'IMMIGRATION
IMMIGRATION BRANCH — DIVISION DE L'IMMIGRATION

Toronto, June 30, 1953.

Dear Sir:

The representations submitted by you in connection with your application for the admission to Canada of Miss Beatrice Adassa Massop, have been reviewed by the Department, and all aspects of the matter looked into carefully. In relation to the principals which dictate the present Immigration Policy, however, Miss Beatrice Adassa Massop is not deemed to qualify for admission.

I regret to advise that no action can be taken to facilitate her admission.

Yours very truly,

H. L. Voisey
A/Central District Superintendent
of Immigration

Donald Moore, Esq.,
Chairman,
Negro Citizenship Committee,
1497 Dundas Street West,
Toronto, Ont.

July 17th, 1953.

Honourable Walter Harris,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Re: Beatrice Adassa Massop
File CD2-24765

Honourable Sir:

May I call your attention to the application for the admission to Canada of Miss Beatrice Adassa Massop, a graduate nurse now residing at 1 Mavis Avenue, Kingston, Jamaica.

Application was made by our Committee for Miss Massop, on the grounds that there was great necessity for graduate nurses in hospitals throughout Canada. Miss Massop has very outstanding qualifications as a nurse--original copies of her certificates were examined by the Registered Nurses Association of Ontario, 515 Jarvis Street, this city, and assurance was given that the documents submitted were sufficient to meet the requirements for Registered Nurses in Ontario. From interviews which I personally have had with different hospitals, it would seem that Miss Massop would have no difficulty in securing a position as a nurse.

On May 14, I received a letter from Mr. A. D. Adamson, Immigration Inspector for Toronto, in which he states that "Miss Massop does not come within the classes of persons admissible to Canada. Favourable action cannot be taken." Our Committee feels that if this applicant, with all her qualifications as attested by recognized examiners of London, England, and the notorious shortage of nurses in Canada, cannot be admitted, then the provision "cases of exceptional merit" does not apply to British West Indian Negroes.

I am especially bringing this case to your attention, as I would not like it said that you were not aware of this case.

It is my hope that the careful consideration which you have always given our request will again be used, and the admission of Miss Massop to Canada be permitted.

Respectfully yours,

Donald Moore, Chairman,
Negro Citizenship Committee.



CANADA
OFFICE OF
MINISTER OF CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION

Ottawa, July 31, 1953.

Mr. Donald Moore,
Chairman of the
Negro Citizenship Committee,
1497 Dundas Street West,
Toronto 2B, Ontario.

Dear Mr. Moore,

In the absence of the Minister I wish to
acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 17th on behalf
of Miss Beatrice Adassa Massop who wishes to come to Canada.
I shall be pleased to bring this to Mr. Harris' attention
upon his return and he shall no doubt be writing to you at
a later date.

Yours sincerely,

J. G. Levy
J. G. Levy,
Private Secretary.



CANADA
DEPUTY MINISTER
OF
CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION

Ottawa, August 10, 1953.

*Make copy for
Massop*

Mr. Donald Moore,
Chairman,
Negro Citizenship Committee,
1497 Dundas Street West,
Toronto, Ontario.

Dear Mr. Moore:

In the absence of the Minister,
I would acknowledge your letter of July 17
concerning the application for the admission to
Canada of Miss Beatrice Adassa Massop from Jamaica.

I note from your letter you have
made enquiries with several different hospitals
and feel that Miss Massop would have no difficulty
in securing a position here as a nurse. This
information was not apparently available to our
Officer in Toronto when this case was considered
last May.

I am pleased, however, to advise
you that if there is definite employment available
for Miss Massop in a hospital here as a nurse then
it would appear that she would come within the
exceptional merit class. Our Central District
Superintendent in Toronto is being instructed
that provided he has suitable evidence of employment
for Miss Massop, her application can be approved.

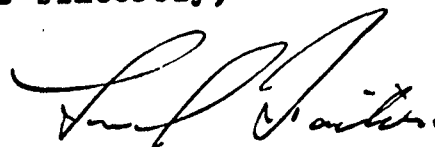
*Applied
ap 10. 53*

... 2

- 2 -

She must of course comply with our other usual requirements including good health and character but these should offer little or no difficulty.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Laval Fortier', written in a cursive style.

Laval Fortier.

The New Mount Sinai Hospital
550 UNIVERSITY AVENUE

August 24th, 1953.

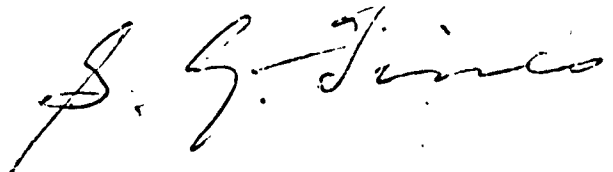
Mr. Donald W. Moore,
Chairman,
Negro Citizenship Committee,
1497 Dundas St. W.,
Toronto, Ont.

Dear Mr. Moore:

This is to confirm that Miss Beatrice Adassar Massop would be employed by the New Mount Sinai Hospital, 550 University Avenue as a Nursing Assistant until such time as her registration is completed in Canada. At that time, she would be employed as a Registered Nurse.

It is trusted that this information will be sufficient to allow Miss Massop to immigrate to Canada.

Yours sincerely,



Dr. S. G. Fines
Administrator.

SGF/CK

August 21st, 1953.

Miss B. Massop,
1 Mavis Avenue,
Kingston, Jamaica.

Dear Miss Massop:

In my letter to you of June 5th, I promised that I would appeal directly to the Honourable Walter Harris, Minister of Immigration, against the decision of the Ontario District, as of May 14th.

I am now pleased to say that his decision is to permit you to enter Canada "provided there is definite employment available as a nurse in a hospital here."

In order to meet this condition, I have to-day, August 19th, interviewed the Personnel Manager of the New Mount Sinai Hospital with regard to your obtaining a position with that hospital as a nurse. He assures me that you would be readily employed, and he has promised to have his assurances confirmed by a letter to me, signed by the Director of the Hospital. I should receive this letter within a few days.

Upon receipt of same, I shall again see the District Superintendent in Toronto, as mentioned in Mr. Fortier's letter of August 10th, and make final arrangements for your entry.

In view of the fact that I did not hear from you since my letter of June 5th, I am wondering whether you have given up the idea of coming here! However, I am hopeful to be able to give you positive and definite results of our efforts within the next few days.

Enclosed is a copy of the Department's last letter. I am

Yours truly,

Donald Moore, Chairman,
Negro Citizenship Committee.

Encl.

August 27th, 1953.

Mr. W. R. Baskerville,
District Superintendent
of Immigration,
737 Church Street,
Toronto, Ontario.

Re: Miss Beatrice Adassa Massop
CD 2-24765

Dear Sir:

Through correspondence received August 10th from Mr. Laval Fortier, re Miss Beatrice Adassa Massop, we learn that her application for entry may be approved, provided you have evidence of her employment as a nurse in a hospital here.

Enclosed is a letter from the New Mount Sinai Hospital confirming her employment as a Nursing Assistant until such time as her registration with the Registered Nurses Association of Ontario, after which she will be employed as a Nurse.

It is my hope that this information will be sufficient to give the necessary effect to the passing of Miss Massop's application. I am

Yours respectfully,

Donald Moore, Chairman,
Negro Citizenship Committee.

Encl.



CANADA

IN REPLY PLEASE REFER TO
PRIÈRE DE CITER LE DOSSIER

NO.....CD-2-24765.....

737 Church Street

DEPARTMENT OF CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION
MINISTÈRE DE LA CITOYENNETÉ ET DE L'IMMIGRATION

IMMIGRATION BRANCH — DIVISION DE L'IMMIGRATION

TORONTO, September 2nd, 1953.

Dear Mr. Moore:

This is to confirm advice given to you by telephone on August 28th last and to inform you that the matter of the admission to Canada of Miss Beatrice Adassa Massop is now in the hands of our Head Office at Ottawa, who will no doubt transmit the necessary instructions overseas. I assume that Miss Massop will, in due course, be hearing from our representative in Jamaica.

Yours very truly,

W. R. Baskerville,
District Superintendent of Immigration.

Donald Moore, Esq.,
Chairman, Negro Citizenship Committee,
1497 Dundas St. W.,
TORONTO, Ontario.

October 2nd, 1953.

Miss B. Massop,
1 Mavis Avenue,
Kingston, Jamaica.

Dear Miss Massop:

I am in receipt of your letter of the 27th, in which was enclosed a copy of the letter from the Immigration Department.

I would suggest to you that, if it be at all financially possible, you should make immediate preparations to come to Canada. The weather at this time is very invigorating, and will continue for at least another six weeks. The clothes worn at this season are not much different from those worn during the entire summer, with the exception of an added spring coat or sweater.

You would find it very easy to withstand winter weather by gradually entering the winter season at this time of the year. Do not allow anyone to discourage you about our Canadian winter; it is a very pleasant time of the year. Spring is a long way ahead, and it would be April or May before we could say that the winter is past. It is true that extra clothing will be necessary later, but with the position which you will hold, it will not be difficult to obtain same.

Apart from these personal matters, the New Mount Sinai Hospital, which has promised you employment, has not been able to use all the floor space available because of the shortage of nurses. They have brought in several nurses from Scotland, and are making arrangements for more to follow. So, by this, you will see the necessity for taking up the offer as soon as possible. The Committee can make the necessary arrangements for a place to stay until you are settled, unless you wanted to make direct contact with Mrs. Tomaszewski, of whom you spoke in one of your letters.

It might be well for you to ask for a leave of absence at the Hospital in which you are now employed, but I feel sure that you will like it in Canada and will be able to obtain your desired goal.

Hoping you will give this matter your very careful consideration,
I am

Yours very truly,

Donald Moore,
Chairman,
Negro Citizenship Committee.

APPENDIX VII

June 26th, 1957.

Honourable F. A. Glaspole, Esq.,
Minister of Labour,
Kingston, Jamaica.

Dear Mr. Glaspole:

The time is long overdue since I should have given you a report on some the happenings in the lives of the first group of girls who came to Canada under the domestic scheme.

Thirty-five came directly to Toronto. In looking over the list, seventeen months after, I find that:-

- 3 - are married - partners brought from the West Indies at the request of the girls;
- 2 - married men who were here, but not legally landed in process of marrying this month;
- 3 - employed as operators at the Bell Telephone Company;
- 4 - assistant nurses;
- 1 - civil service;
- 1 - masseuse;
- 7 - are still with original employers;
- 11 - others still in domestic;
- 3 - sisters and 2 brothers have been brought in under the provision which permits domiciled Canadians to sponsor close relatives and many more applications are pending.

The general condition has been one of which we can be justly proud.

The second group were more fortunate financially than the first in that they began in most instances at wages of \$100.00 while the starting wages of the first was only \$60.00 which remained stationary for a long time.

During our fiscal year, 22 nurses and the immediate family of some have been brought in through direct assistance of the Association. In no instance has any of them been discharged, while two have been appointed as supervisors. Because of the precedent created by our effort, many nurses have been able to gain admission on their own direct application to the Immigration Department.

Many applications which were refused were reconsidered favourably.

It was found that three of the girls who came in as domestics

were in a state of conception some time previous to leaving Jamaica. I have been able to give their cases enough assistance and direction to help them efficiently without the knowledge of immigration officials. The situation has been, and will be very difficult for them, and as you will understand, representation on their behalf has been somewhat embarrassing. I would suggest that the matter of conception be checked a little more carefully by the medical officers.

You may remember I spoke to you about one Daphne Beadle of Santa Cruz, St. Elizabeth, who is very closely connected to my household and who I would like very much to find a place on this quota. I asked her to put in her application. Her grandmother, Mrs. Louise Hewitt of 1497 Dundas Street, Toronto, is one of the founders of Negro Citizenship and we are indebted to her for much of its financial assistance. She is the mainstay of the Association. There are very few of the new girls who have not benefitted from her generosity, and shared the comforts of her home. Mrs. Hewitt is leaving for Jamaica on the 27th June on a visit to her son, Mr. Hurrell Beadle of Santa Cruz, St. Elizabeth, and I have ventured to give her a letter of introduction to you. The relatives of your secretary, Miss Whiteman, are very well acquainted with her and shared the hospitality of her home. Any kindness which you may be able to show Mrs. Hewitt will be appreciated by the Association and myself.

Well! who can tell the ways of an electorate. After 22 years in office, the Liberal Government has gone down in defeat, and what is most difficult to realize is that the Honourable John Pickersgill, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, in the Liberal Government, is now to become John Pickersgill, M.P. We do not know what the future will bring, but the Department under his administration has had so much adverse publicity in the matter of British West Indian immigration that the new incumbent must give more favourable consideration to migrants from that area.

Our centre is filling a very important part in the life of the girls. Here they find guidance, recreation, and social outlet. We are struggling to meet the financial obligations necessary to its continuance, for we can clearly see the part it must play with other new girls expected in this area. We have had the honour of a visit from Mr. Grantly Adams, who expressed much pleasure in the work that was being done. It would be our fondest desire to be honoured with a visit from you whenever you should find it possible to be in Canada again.

With all best wishes, I am,

Yours respectfully,

Donald W. Moore,
Director.

DWM/ig

APPENDIX VIII

HISTORY OF THE COMMISSION

Legislation

- 1944 - The Racial Discrimination Act (repealed 1954).
- 195 - The Fair Employment Practices Act.
- The Female Employees Fair Remuneration Act.
- 1954 - The Fair Accommodation Practices Act (amended 1960 to include multiple dwellings).
- 1958 - The Ontario Anti-Discrimination Commission Act.
- 1960 - The Ontario Anti-Discrimination Commission Amended Act, 1960-61.
 . (Changed name of the Commission to the Ontario Humans Rights Commission.)
- 1962 - The Ontario Human Rights Code, 1961-62.
 In force as of June 15, 1962. The Ontario Human Rights Commission continued. All previous acts repealed.
- 1965 - The Ontario Human Rights Code amended to include the following:
- . Provincial Government and its Agencies;
- Discrimination in connection with the occupancy of any apartment in buildings containing more than three self-contained units;
- Discrimination in connection with the occupancy of any commercial unit.
- 1966 - The Age Discrimination Act, 1966.
 New Legislation comes into force in July, 1966, and the Commission was empowered to enforce its provisions, protecting older workers, 40 - 65, from employment discrimination.
- 1967 - The Ontario Human Rights Code amended as follows:

Code now applies to all self-contained housing accommodation rather than to buildings with more than three self-contained units, as previously.

1968 - The Age Discrimination Act amended to prohibit discriminatory age specification in advertising.

1969 - Equal pay for women provisions transferred from the Ontario Human Rights Code to the Employment Standards Act, O. Reg. 366/68.

- The Ontario Human Rights Code amended as follows:

Religious, philanthropic, educational, fraternal, and social organizations no longer exempted from the Code's employment discrimination...(more to come).

Authority

The Ontario Human Rights Code, 1961-62.

Statutes of Ontario, 1961-62 - Chapter 93; as amended by 1965 - Chapter 85; 1967 - Chapter 66; 1968 - Chapter 85; and 1968-69 - Chapter 83.

The Ontario Human Rights Code, 1961-62, O. Reg. 130/62.

Courtesy of the Ontario Human Rights Library.

CHART 2-2

Sex and Ethnicity - Total of Formal Complaints
June 1962 - July 31, 1968

64.4% of Individual Complainants	<input type="checkbox"/>	Negro
6.8	<input type="checkbox"/>	Indian
6.6		Jewish
6.1	<input type="checkbox"/>	European
6.0		East Indian
3.0		French Canadian
3.2		Other groups
1.8		Other religions
1.6	<input type="checkbox"/>	British
1.4		Oriental

Key - Total Individual Complaints - 728

Male 486

Female 242

☐ - over 1/2 complainants male

☐ - over 2/3 complainants male

CHART 2-3

Sex and Ethnicity - Total Informal Complaints
June 1962 - July 31, 1968

47	% of Individual Complainants	Negro
22		Indian
8		European
7		Jewish
5		Other religions
4		East Indian
4		Other groups
1.5		Oriental
.5		French Canadian

Key - Total Individual Complaints - 272

Male 194

Female 78

☐ - over 2/3 complainants male

☐ - under 2/3 complainants male

CHART 2-4

Ethnic Origins of Complainants
Fiscal Year 1969-70

<u>Formal</u>		<u>In Ontario</u>
Negro	136	66.3
East Indian	16	6.6
Canadian Indian	7	10.0
Portuguese	2	.8
Italian	4	1.6
Chinese	4	1.1
Moroccan	16	4.4
Jewish	8	2.5
French Canadian	-	.5
Other	15	5.8

Total number of cases in Ontario - 103

<u>Informal</u>		
Negro	16	44.7
Canadian Indian	1	28.6
Italian	1	3.8
Chinese	2	3.8
Jewish	2	1.9
French Canadian	-	4.8
Other	1	12.4

Total number of cases in Ontario - 31

CHART 2-5

Disposition of Cases - Under Human Rights Code
Fiscal Year 1969-70

	<u>Settled</u>	<u>Dismissed</u>	<u>Continuing</u>	<u>Total</u>
Formal	253	190	65	508
Informal	67	71	24	162

Disposition of Cases - Under Human Rights Code

Formal Year**	Settled	Dismissed	Bd. of Inq. Settled	Bd. of Inq.	Bd. of Inq. Dismissed
1962	17	4	6	-	-
1963	45	18	3	-	-
1964	73	32	2	-	-
1965	73	45	4	-	2
1966	122	85	1	-	2
1967	157	123	20	1	1
1968	150	131	36	1	5
1969	186	143	26	-	1
1970*	12	24	-	-	-
TOTAL	835	605	98	3	14

* to March 1970

** Calendar Year

CHART 2-6

Services for Working People
Types of Complaints
Fiscal Year 1969-70

Discrimination	14
Seeking employment, counselling	817
Unemployment Insurance	553
Employment standards problems	410
Workmen's Compensation Board	218
Seeking English Course	124
Seeking training	122
Financial, Welfare assistance	116
Miscellaneous	105
Assistance completing forms, translations	86
Forms OHSIP, OHSC	74
Industrial training	66
Housing problems	62
Immigration	35
Income tax problems	19
Mistreatment in employment	11
Legal aid	10
Discrimination in employment	5
Mental Health	4
Seeking day care	2
Seeking information re services available	<u>1</u>
TOTAL	2,854

CHART 2-7

Ontario Human Rights Code
Summary of Complaints in Toronto

Formal

Employment	160
Accommodation	23
Housing	80
Convenient Space	-
Public Notices	<u>23</u>
TOTAL	286

Informal

Employment	13
Accommodation	6
Housing	7
Miscellaneous	16
Public Notices	<u>-</u>
TOTAL	42

Miscellaneous

TOTAL	3,865
-------	-------

Formal, Informal and Miscellaneous

TOTAL	4,193
-------	-------

Including - Total Commission Conciliation Statistics
Fiscal Year 1969-70

Ontario Human Rights Code, Toronto	4,193
Services for Working People	<u>2,854</u>
TOTAL	6,047

APPENDIX IX

MODE OF INQUIRY AND SOURCES OF DATA

There has been little research on Blacks in Canada.

Professor Harold Potter of Sir George Williams University has stated in an article entitled Negroes in Canada that Blacks have never been considered sociologically relevant to any extent in Canada. Most Canadian sociologists have ignored this small segment of the population and dealt mainly with the French-English political question. With this in mind, the present study will be exploratory in nature. The question of Black adjustment to Canadian society, which includes their welfare and well-being, is vague and incomplete at present. It would be useful for this study to provide some type of background for further research. This study must then strive to assess the relative position of the Blacks as a group to other ethnic groups in Toronto. For this reason the method of study must open avenues broad enough to accommodate whatever succeeding phenomena one might encounter in studying this group. Basically one should take a broad view of the entire position of the group rather than a narrow approach. The results should give a partial testing of the basic assumptions made concerning race relations in multi-racial societies.

Participant Observant. The exploratory nature of this thesis will best be served by the participant observation method. I began my work in Toronto by moving into the area nearest the people I would be studying. My first months in Toronto were spent in reading and generally moving about the city. Because the community is not "ghettoized", I was aware that I would have to move around in all sections of the city. I was interested in all sections and segments of the population and needed

contacts in all of them. In every encounter I had with Blacks I tried to gain their confidence and respect as a fellow Black. I had no difficulty in using my ethnic affiliation to establish myself as an observer in the community.

Activities. The local ethnic newspaper provided me with my first real entrée into the population. I became a frequent, if not daily, visitor at the offices of Mr. Hamilton, the editor. From the editor and reporter I was able to learn a considerable amount about local community and social life. Some of my first strategic community interviews were the result of contacts made through the newspaper. I will go into this area more later on.

I attended all the local churches as often as I could. I found it more advantageous to attend First Baptist Church because it allowed me the opportunity to talk to Nova Scotians at length. The church, I found, was one of the best places to talk to these people. It was very hard to get to know this group and church activities I hoped would establish me as a person they could trust.

I attended meetings both political and social--sometimes two and three each night. I generally participated but tried to remain on the fringes so as not to influence the action of the groups. I attended the meetings of the Canadian Council of Black Education and Culture, the Black Students of University of Toronto, and the Ontario Black Students Union. I taught in a Black education project which was an activity undertaken by the University of Toronto students. The whole of my activities involved me in almost every aspect of the Black community. By working as I did, I made a number of friends who often talked to me at length concerning the situation in Toronto.

Data Collection. As I was a participant observant, I relied on two methods for collecting my data. The first step I made was to talk with everyone I could about their impressions of Toronto. I frequented bars, pool halls, night clubs, community centres, places of business, and individual homes. Generally, home visits arose as a result of talking to individuals on the subway, or in a bar or night club. By this method I was able to move throughout the community. I would try in these situations to remember what I was told by the person and record the interview upon returning to my room. I chose these respondents on a reputational method. When talking with people in the community, I would generally ask, "Who would you say knows a lot about the Black in Toronto?" After their responses, I would try to make contact with the suggested persons and interview them. In such cases, the interview would take between two and three hours and was on a repeated basis. In this way representatives from all the cultural groups were contacted. In these interviews, I would ask the respondent to give me his general impression of the community. In these interviews the respondent was encouraged to talk as much as possible about everything that he could concerning the community. At these sessions, I always took notes during the actual interview. To gain some standardization, the following questions were always asked of each respondent:

1. How do Blacks get things done here?
2. Where do you think this community is heading?
3. How would you say Blacks are doing in this society--
politically, economically and socially?
4. What are your major concerns for the well-being of
this community?

5. Are there obstacles to good community relationships?

It should be noted that the individuals used for the strategic interviews were treated as "informants". By this, I mean the emphasis in the interviews was not upon the details of their own involvement in the community, but rather their perceptions of the activities and attitudes of all the community members. I would ask someone from Barbados, for example, "Do the people from Barbados tend to form a community?", rather than "Do you visit mainly with people from Barbados?". I was asking the informants to generalize for me, to some degree, which was consistent with the idea that I was interviewing particularly knowledgeable members of the community, not just average members.

Since my informants were recommended to me by the Blacks I met, I had little control over determining their social characteristics beyond taking care that all major segments of the community were represented. The kind they recommended were generally professional and business people, most were men, most were over forty years old, most were long-term residents of the Toronto area (except for some of the newer immigrant streams), and most lived in the suburbs. My own activity among the people served as my major check upon the accuracy of the statements given by the informants.

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