WILLIAM ANDREW WHITE JR.: PORTRAIT OF AN AFRICAN CANADIAN PASTOR, CHAPLAIN, AND ACTIVIST

by

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ABSTRACT

"William Andrew White Jr.: Portrait of an African Canadian Pastor, Chaplain, and Activist"

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The role of the African Canadian pastor transcended the responsibilities of a religious leader of a local church to become the leader of the African Canadian community and its emissary to the larger white community. Through his exemplary Christian faith and practice, William Andrew White Jr. became a central figure in the African Canadian community. His role in African Canadian life was fluid and adaptive to the adversities of slavery, segregation, discrimination, and racism; over the years his role grew from spiritual leader providing care, self-esteem, and protection for his local church to also becoming one of polemicist, activist, and protest leader for the African Canadian community in general.

Overall, this dissertation argues that the experiences gained by William Andrew White Jr. during the periods of Reconstruction and Redemption in the United States and the discrimination and racism he incurred in Canada, were foundational in shaping White's theology. Additionally studying his influences and motivations assists in understanding White's theology and his praxis for race relations and social justice; it is a theology that sought to foster racial harmony through black economic uplift and black

socio-political engagement that laid the groundwork for the Canadian Civil Rights Movement.

Ultimately, this dissertation argues that William White was a progenitor of the Canadian Civil Rights Movement and, while his national presence among the white community was not that of Martin Luther King Jr.'s, he did have a prominent presence among the black community in the Maritimes and, had he lived longer, may have become a significant national figure in Canada. Furthermore, the role he played setting the foundation for the Canadian Civil Rights Movement was similar to that of the leaders of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States.

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LIST OF APPENDICES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAS---------African Abolition Society
ACL---------African Communities League
AME---------African Methodist Episcopalian
AMEZ---------African Methodist Episcopalian Zion
ABA---------African Baptist Association (later the AUBA)
AUBA---------African United Baptist Association
BCCNS---------Black Cultural Centre of Nova Scotia
BME--------- British Methodist Episcopal
BSCP---------The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
BYPU---------Baptist Youth Provincial Union
CHNS---------Canadian Halifax Nova Scotia
CJC---------Canadian Jewish Congress
CORE---------Congress of Racial Equality
CNWA---------Canadian Negro Women's Association
JLC---------Jewish Labour Committee
JPRC---------Joint Public Relations Committee
MHSO---------Multicultural History Society of Ontario
NAACP---------National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People
NCA---------Negro Citizenship Association
NSAACP---------Nova Scotian Association for the Advancement of Coloured People
SCLC---------Southern Christian Leadership Conference
SECAA---------South Essex Citizen's Advancement Association
SNCC ---------Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
UNIA---------Universal Negro Improvement Association

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION: BEGINNINGS

This dissertation addresses the shortfall in academic treatments of William Andrew White Jr. by engaging in a detailed study of his influences, beliefs, and practices relating to politics, religion, and Christian social justice—ultimately his theology. Additionally, by studying the transnational nature of the black church, along with the racial dynamic that existed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Nova Scotia, the project places White and Canada's Maritime region within a broader contextual framework, detailing how the relationships between the world of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had a pronounced effect on the racial dynamic and the growth of the black church and community in the latter half of the twentieth century with a view toward the Canadian Civil Rights Movement. Canada did have a sustained and dynamic effort against race-based discrimination that took place during the same time period as its American counterpart. Although it was just as necessary and orchestrated, the Canadian Civil Rights Movement lacked the same intensity and dramatic visuals (marches, speeches, sit-ins, and bus rides) as its American counterpart; subsequently, images of this transformative movement rarely come to mind in popular representations of Canada.[1]

Overall, this dissertation argues that the experiences gained by William Andrew White Jr., during the periods of Reconstruction and Redemption in the United States and the discrimination and racism he incurred in Canada, were foundational in shaping White's theology; those experiences aided in giving him a clear understanding of the social standing and overall citizenship of blacks in the United States and Canada. Moreover, that knowledge, directed by his Baptist faith, allowed him to formulate a plan of action to ameliorate the circumstance of the black community in Canada. Additionally, studying his influences and

[1] Waters, "A March from Selma to Canada," 1–2.

motivations assist in understanding White's theology and his praxis for race relations and social justice; it is a theology that sought to foster racial harmony through black economic uplift and black socio-political engagement that laid the groundwork for the Canadian Civil Rights Movement.

Ultimately, this dissertation argues that William Andrew White Jr. was a progenitor of the Canadian Civil Rights Movement and while his national presence among the white community was not that of Martin Luther King Jr.'s, he did have a prominent presence among the black community in the Maritimes and, had he lived longer, may have become a significant national figure in Canada. Furthermore, the role he played setting the foundation for the Canadian Civil Rights Movement was similar to that of the leaders of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States. To set the stage for the proposed treatment of White, one must start with a look at the portion of the North American Continent that became the Dominion of Canada and the origins of its African Canadian community.

Before the arrival of the Norse (around 1000 CE) and Europeans in the late sixteenth century, to what eventually became the Dominion of Canada, the land's original occupants—the First Peoples—had tribes that each possessed a distinctive language, history, culture, mores, and traditions.[2] The cultures of the First Peoples were "based upon regular patterns that had evolved over thousands of years" and developed among these different cultures or tribes. These patterns grew out of an intimate knowledge of resources and the best way of using them; anthropologist Robin Ridington has made the point that their technology consisted of knowledge rather than tools. That is, it was by employing their expert knowledge of the ecosystems and their ingenuity in using it to their advantage that the First Peoples were able to survive as well as they did with

[2] Choquette, *Religions,* 7–8. Historians explain the origins of the First Peoples of North America by referring to the series of migrations from Asia via Beringia, the land currently flooded by the Bering Straits, where the earliest occupants of North America migrated south toward the southern portion of the United States and Central America. Walker, ed., "Immigration," 15.

comparatively simple technology. Because of North America's extended coastline and the great variety of geographical regions, there were many variations on one fundamental way of life for the First Peoples—i.e., they were pre-state societies of mostly hunter-gatherers. The estimates of the First Peoples' population ranged from 500,000 to nearly two million—principally concentrated in the Northwest, and Southern regions of the country[3]—then the Europeans came.

The First People's way of life changed with the early colonization efforts of the French (with whom the First Peoples made their initial and most extensive contacts) and later with the English. By initially making allies of the First Peoples, these two empires slowly imposed a new order and new reality upon the region.[4]

First, there was the Norseman Leif Ericson (in 1000) who ventured to what is now Newfoundland;[5] almost five centuries later the Italian Giovanni Caboto (John Cabot) (in 1497) travelled to the shores of Newfoundland and Labrador. In 1534, Jacques Cartier followed Caboto by journeying down the St. Lawrence River to Stadacona (now Quebec City) and Hochelaga (now Montreal) where he, and Jean-François de la Roque de Roberval, established colonies—both were failed endeavours.[6] Colonization of what became Canada found success under the auspices of Samuel de Champlain (in 1603); whose settlement at Île d'Orléans near Stadacona saw the birth of New France.[7] Travelling with Champlain, as a member of his expedition team, was a black interpreter Matthew Decosta.[8]

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[3] Dickason, "Canada," 17–18.

[4] Choquette, *Religions*, 7–8; Walker, ed., "Immigration," 15.

[5] Riendeau, *Canada*, 18; Walker, ed., "Immigration," 15.

[6] Riendeau, *Canada*, 22–29; Cartier and Roberval established colonies near Stadacona and Cap Rouge respectively; moreover, on his second voyage back to France, Cartier abducted Chief Donnacona, the leader of the Stadacona village, his two sons, and seven other Iroquois. All ten died before Cartier's last trip to North America—an ominous portent for the eventual fate of the First Peoples.

[7] Black, *Canada*, 26–34; New France was composed of five territories: Canada, the biggest and most developed (which included Quebec, Trois-Rivieres, and Montreal); Hudson's Bay; Acadie (Acadia); Plaisance; and Louisiane (Louisiana).

[8] Whitfield, *Blacks*, 11–12; Winks, *Blacks*, 1.

Blacks have existed in what became Canada (then New France) for more than 400 years; included in this history is the continuing story of human slavery—black slavery in New France dates back to 1632 and ends with British rule in 1834.[9] It began with the arrival of da Costa, the first known black person to arrive in New France, and Oliver Lejeune, the first black resident of New France—a six-year-old slave boy who arrived in New France around 1628.[10] The New France black slavery experience was similar to, yet different from, that of the Caribbean and the American colonies. The massive slave labour needed to work the sugar plantations of the Caribbean and the cotton plantations of the American colonies did not exist. In New France, slavery existed within a more diverse economy and on a smaller scale[11]—some slaves were used for agriculture, mining, and shipbuilding, but the vast majority performed domestic duties for the elite (governors, doctors, prelates, and the merchant class).[12]

The first enslaved Africans to arrive in considerable numbers were in the Maritimes (in 1759);[13] they were the property of former New England residents that came to what became Nova Scotia (formerly Acadie) after the expulsion of the French Acadians—an eventual

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[9] Discussing slavery, segregation, and discrimination in North America inevitably brings up issues of race and the terms used to describe each phenotype. To add clarity to my dissertation and eschew offense, I have opted to use black Canadian and African Canadian interchangeably to denote the group of people that belong to the Negro race; and white or European Canadian interchangeably for those belonging to the Caucasian race. However, every term is problematic, these included. In the Canadian context "black" and African Canadian, and "white" and European Canadian are widely used by advocacy groups, governments, and scholars. In this particular case using African Canadian as opposed to African American shows the distinction between two different cultural groups of the same Negro race—where only using the term "black" promotes confusion. Although its usage does nothing to avoid the debate between those Canadians who stress their African origin versus those who stress their Caribbean origin, the scope of this paper does not encompass the period after Canada's new immigration laws that saw a marked increase in immigrants from the Caribbean. Also, I have chosen to utilize a lower case "b" when using the term black. Many scholars of black history capitalize the "b," however, because blacks are a diverse group, whose distinctions go well beyond racial uniformity, I believe that doing so unnecessarily distinguishes blacks from the other groups of people this dissertation discusses.

[10] Winks, *Blacks*, 1; Duncan, "Bitter Sea," 239; Gillard, "Black Church," 16–18.

[11] Gillard, "Black Church," 16–18.

[12] Mensah, *Black Canadian*, 46; Gillard, "Black Church," 16–18; Donovan, "Slaves," 5; by 1750 there were approximately 1,400 African slaves in New France; Schneider, *Slavery*, 53; in contrast, the United States had an estimated 140,000 African slaves labouring in the plantation economy of the southern states in the same time frame—there was a total of 559,800 slaves in the American colonies at that time.

[13] For the history of slavery in Canada, see Winks, "Slavery," 27–40; Winks, *The Blacks in Canada*; Mensah, *Black Canadian*; Donovan, "Slaves and their Owners in Ile Royale," 3–32.

consequence of the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). In Nova Scotia—which at the time included New Brunswick—the slaves were tasked with building Halifax, not knowing it would become a leading centre for the public auction of their brethren/sistren.[14] With the cessation of hostilities that was the Seven Years War, the signing of the Treaty of Paris (1763) saw France cede all its North American territories east of the Mississippi to the English (now known as the British colony of Quebec, later to be the provinces of Ontario and Quebec).[15]

Loyal subjects of the British Crown (black and white) came to British North America most notably after the US War of Independence (1776) and later the War of 1812.[16] As a result of the Revolutionary War, the Loyalists migration significantly increased the number of African slaves and free Negros (approximately 3000) in Canada—the majority going to Nova Scotia.[17] After the War of 1812, the British government once again offered freedom to every American owned slave who would run from their master and join the British;[18] refugee blacks once again journeyed to Nova Scotia in search of freedom and a better life.[19]

On their arrival in Nova Scotia in 1783, Black Loyalists, who were predominantly Anglicans, Methodists, and Baptists, found themselves relegated to second-class status in the church. Most blacks believed baptism in the church made them "one and equal with whites"; although they could attend services and receive communion, they were segregated from white

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[14] Mensah, *Black Canadian*, 46.

[15] Black, *Canada*, 2, 4; Mensah, *Black Canadian*, 46; Winks, "Slavery," 28; by the beginning of the American Revolution (in 1775), Canada was almost all French but almost half English in its aftermath; moreover, there were some 500 enslaved Africans in Nova Scotia at the time.

[16] Walker, ed., *Immigration*, 15.

[17] Clairmont and Magill, *Africville*, 32; Winks, "Slavery," 30–33; Pachai and Bishop, *Black*, 1; Nova Scotia occupies a special place in the story of the African diaspora in eastern Canada due to the fact that it was the main home of the first arrivals between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries.

[18] Clairmont and Magill, *Africville*, 33.

[19] Mensah, *Black Canadian*, 3; Gillard, "Black Church," 16–18; Walker, ed., *Immigration*, 15; at this juncture we can see that the African Canadian population grew from three sources: the blacks who entered Canada (then New France) via the Atlantic slave trade, fugitives slaves crossing into Canada by either the Underground Railway or other means, free or enslaved Loyalists (through the Revolutionary War), and Black Refugees after the War of 1812—the latter two conduits primarily led to Nova Scotia.

parishioners—they were forced into galleries set apart for blacks, the poor, and soldiers. By 1815,[20] black worshippers were kept behind a partition. As the white membership increased, some black parishioners were advised to gather for worship in their homes. Nova Scotia's blacks turned to their lay preachers and teachers to meet their spiritual needs.[21]

One such individual was David George, a black Baptist minister born in Essex County, Virginia who later moved to Silver Bluff, South Carolina. An excellent preacher, George established an interracial congregation in the black settlement of Shelburne, Nova Scotia. However, facing dismal living conditions that included racial antagonism (including increasing persecution from white mobs) George, like many black settlers, decided to leave Nova Scotia for the more welcoming shores of Sierra Leone and Trinidad (1821)—for those who remained, David George left a strong Baptist legacy in Nova Scotia.[22] Months after George's departure John Burton, a native of England, arrived in Nova Scotia. Ordained as a Baptist minister in the United States, he returned to Nova Scotia and established the racially integrated First Baptist Church of Halifax—one of his parishioners was a tall former Virginian slave named Richard Preston.[23]

In search of his mother, Richard Preston journeyed to Nova Scotia where he became reunited with her in the town of Preston—the largest Black Loyalist settlement in the colony (fifteen kilometres from Halifax).[24] With the support of John Burton, Richard Preston was sent to England to become a Baptist minister.[25] Upon his return, Preston[26] set out to create a distinct and

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[20] The second wave of Black Refugees primarily settled in Nova Scotia after the War of 1812.

[21] Gillard, "Black Church," 16–18; Clairmont and Magill, *Africville*, 33; these were segregated communities.

[22] Williams, "Baptist," 48–49; MacKerrow, *Coloured Baptists*, 8–14.

[23] Williams, "Baptist," 49–50; MacKerrow, *Coloured Baptists*, 8–14; Davidson, "Burton, John," para 3; shunned, or merely tolerated, by the rest of white Christian Halifax, blacks were warmly received in Burton's church.

[24] Whitfield, *Blacks*, 1; MacKerrow, *Coloured Baptists*, 6; Williams, "Baptist," 49–50; Richard, a slave preacher possessing outstanding speaking abilities, obtained his freedom through manumission.

[25] Williams, "Baptist," 49–50; MacKerrow, *Coloured Baptists*, 19–21.

cohesive identity among the Black Loyalists in Nova Scotia by establishing several political, social, and religious organizations.[27] In 1854, Richard Preston and Septimis Clarke established the African United Baptist Church at Cornwallis Street (Preston becoming its first pastor); the church had a long and distinguished history within the province.[28]

The history of the African United Baptist Church, later Cornwallis Street Baptist Church, included the church being a temporary shelter for those displaced after the Halifax explosion (1917). The church provided succor for the survivors (for the rest of that winter and beyond) under the care of then pastor Moses Puryear. Puryear soon departed for the United States and left his successor, William Andrew White Jr., who became pastor of Cornwallis Street Baptist Church while he was still overseas, to continue the church's relief efforts upon his return (1920).[29] During the 1930s, besides traditional ministerial duties and his administrative duties with the AUBA, White helped to organize vocational schools for blacks to provide assistance getting jobs in the midst of the Depression. He also started a radio broadcast of sermons listened to throughout the Maritimes and North-Eastern United States.[30] This pattern of public service, specifically to blacks but also to the overall community, was a theme in the life of Reverend William Andrew White Jr. until his death on 9 September 1936. After the Reverend White's passing, the *Halifax Herald* declared, "It is impossible to measure the value and extent of his

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[26] Clarke, *Directions*, 57; MacKerrow, *Coloured Baptists*, 5–6; Boyd, "Preston, Richard" para 2; Williams, "Baptist," 50; accounts differ as to the acquisition of Richard's surname—most scholarship leans towards its acquisition being a result of an expression of joy after finding his mother in Preston township while some believe it was a happy coincidence.

[27] Whitfield, *Blacks*, 1; Preston and Clarke also established the African Abolition Society (AAS) and the African Baptist Association (ABA) in 1854.

[28] Duncan, "Bitter Sea," 241; Clairmont and Magill, *Africville*, 67–68; MacKerrow, *Coloured Baptists*, 6; "New Horizon Baptist Church-History," [n.d.]; the name of the African United Baptist was changed to Cornwallis Street Baptist Church in 1892; today the church is named the New Horizons Baptist Church (May 2018).

[29] "New Horizon Baptist Church-History," [n.d.]; the church was also shared with other groups whose facilities were demolished during the Halifax explosion. Whether it is delivering food to families in need, organizing winter coat drives, providing reading enrichment programs, or visiting inmates in prison, Cornwallis Street Baptist Church became a beacon of hope in the community.

[30] Heath, "White," 16; Oliver, *Baptist*, 45–46; White remained pastor of Cornwallis Street Baptist Church until his death.

labours and influence among the coloured citizens of Nova Scotia";[31] historian Robin W. Winks says, the Reverend White was "the universally recognized leader of the province's Negroes regardless of faith or heritage,"[32] and a contemporary of White's eulogized, "he was the counselor, arbitrator, and authority for the entire coloured population east of Montreal."[33] Upon his death in 1915, the black American Booker T. Washington was proclaimed, "the black leader best attuned to the needs and demands of his age."[34] Twenty-one years later the death of William Andrew White Jr. prompted similar sentiments in Canada; "more than a pastor," White remains one of the most significant figures in the history of black Atlantic Canada.[35]

William Andrew White Jr.

William Andrew White Jr.—often called Andrew like his father before him—was born 16 June 1874 in King and Queen Courthouse, Virginia, the son of former slaves William Andrew White and Isabella Waller. Near the end of the Civil War (1864), White's hometown had been more or less destroyed, however, with Reconstruction came a gradual improvement in the lives and homes of its black inhabitants.[36] In the 1890s, White made his way to Baltimore, Maryland, where he became a member of the Union Baptist Church, and then to Washington, D.C. where he attended Wayland Seminary—Wayland had been preparing freedmen for the Baptist ministry since 1867.[37] Among the faculty was Mary Helena Blackadar, an alumna of Acadia University—

[31] Heath, "White," 16.
[32] Winks, *Blacks*, 350.
[33] Cahill, "White," para 8.
[34] Keller, *Booker T.*, 11; Harlan and Smock, *Papers*, xxi.
[35] Cahill, "White," para 8.
[36] Boileau, "White," para 1; Cahill "White," para 1; Goodall, *Portia*, 4; Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1; William Andrew White Jr. was the ninth of eleven children.
[37] Oliver, *Baptist*, 45–46; Boileau, "White," para 2; Cahill "White," para 2; by 1866 black churches, mostly Baptist, had begun to form in King and Queen County. As of 1872, eight black public schools were operating and by 1894 there was also a black high school.

a Baptist institution of higher learning in Wolfville, Nova Scotia;[38] it seems that Blackadar, who was well connected with the Baptist Convention of the Maritime Provinces, put White in touch with the superintendent of its Home Mission Board for Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island and then wrote to her alma mater on his behalf. He was accepted by Acadia in 1899 and moved to Canada.[39]

He arrived in 1900 to begin his studies and graduated in 1903 with a BA.[40] The Baptist Convention of the Maritime Provinces ordained him its second black minister (Wellington Ney States had been the first). He was immediately appointed to the Home Mission Board's general missionary to people of colour. It was probably during one of these missionary circuits that he met and became engaged to Izie Dora White (no relation) of Mill Village.[41] White toured Nova Scotia's black settlements and churches from Cape Breton Island to Yarmouth County establishing Second Baptist Church in New Glasgow in the process.[42] In 1905, he entered into the pastorate of Zion United Baptist Church in Truro where he led a black congregation that

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[38] "Miss H. Blackadar Former Missionary In India Mourned," Obit; Cahill "White," para 2; Harris, "'Ushered'," 45–46, 53; two years prior to Edwin Howard Borden's graduation from Acadia University (1892), Lalia Annie Laura Halfkenny was the first black (woman) to graduate (1889) from any seminary or institute of standing in the Maritimes. During this time of Redemption, White may have learned about Acadia University first from Laila's story, who, after attending in 1885, and being the first black graduate of Acadia University (specifically Acadia Ladies Seminary), moved to Richmond, Virginia to begin her career as an English and Elocution Instructor at Hartshorn Memorial College.

[39] Warren, "William Andrew White, D. D., 03," 6; during the course of her teaching, Blackadar frequently referred to Acadia University, White became more and more intrigued by his teacher's alma mater until one day he asked her, "Would your Acadia University admit a coloured boy?" For Miss Blackadar this was a troublesome question because she did not know of any black person attending Acadia; nonetheless, Blackadar wrote the college authorities on behalf of her pupil; Cahill "White," para 2; Heath, "White," 3–4; not only did White do well in his classes but the six-foot-four athlete also excelled on the sports field.

[40] Cahill "White," para 2; during the summer of 1902 White was supply minister at Cornwallis Street Baptist Church, Halifax (principal congregation of the African Baptist Association); there White made the acquaintance of the province's first native-born black lawyer, James Robinson Johnston, who was well on his way to becoming a leader in the African Canadian community.

[41] Oliver, *Baptist*, 45–46; Cahill "White," para 3; Heath, "White," 3–4; White married Izie Dora White on 28 June 1906 in Truro, N.S.; Mill Village was a town that had a small but thriving population descended from slaves of the New England Planters who had settled Liverpool Township in pre-loyalist days.

[42] Oliver, *Baptist*, 45–46; Cahill "White," para 3; White's role as an ordained missionary was undermined and ultimately derailed by the tension between the white Baptist Convention and the African Baptist Association. With a view of maintaining good relations, the Home Mission Board decided to release White so that he could find a permanent post.

belonged to the African Baptist Association. Zion had been formed in 1896 by a secession of black people from the local Baptist congregation. Despite the fact that the black presence in the area dated back to its settlement by Scots-Irish American farmers in the 1760s, racism had gained ground as the memory of slavery receded. During the second half of the nineteenth century, segregation in Nova Scotia communities became the norm and the establishment of separate houses of worship was generally accepted as an enlightened example of progressive race relations and practical Christianity.[43] White was still the minister at Zion when the war began in 1914.

Like many other African Canadians, White wanted to serve his country by enlisting in the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) and championed the determination of men of colour to serve king and country. Although Colonel Samuel Hughes, minister of militia and defense, declared that black Canadians should be allowed to enlist, local battalion commanders often rejected those who tried. White, who helped lead recruitment efforts, was successfully appointed to be the chaplain of the No. 2 Construction Battalion, an all-black unit, as well as to the position of honorary captain. He was also the only black man to hold commissioned rank in the No. 2 Construction Battalion.[44]

After the war, with the demobilization of the No. 2 Construction Battalion, White was called to Cornwallis Street Baptist Church (1919) after feeling compelled to resign from his position at Zion in the spring of 1918. As leader of the mother church, he became more active and influential in the wider Baptist and Protestant communities in the city. In 1915, he replaced the murdered J. R. Johnson as secretary of the African Baptist Association.[45] In 1922, he resumed his work with the organization now called the African United Baptist Association and

[43] Heath, "White," 3–4; Cahill "White," para 3.
[44] Heath, "White," 3–4; Pollock, *Black Soldiers*, 1; Cahill "White," para 5.
[45] Cahill "White," para 5; Heath, "White," 16.

went on to become moderator from 1929 to 1931. He was re-elected moderator in absentia just two days before his death. He was the first black member of the clergy to preach before the Baptist Convention and was a member of its ordination council. In addition, he was appointed secretary of the Halifax and Dartmouth Ministerial Association in 1926.

Besides his customary pastoral responsibilities, White worked tirelessly in securing black social and economic uplift and racial harmony among all the citizens of Nova Scotia. In recognition of his life of excellent service and leadership, his alma mater (Acadia University) awarded him an honorary doctorate degree just a few months before he succumbed to pneumonia[46]—White was the first African Canadian to have received such an honour. He lived and served for eighteen years after the war; with his death, William Andrew White Jr. became an iconic figure in the black Canadian community. His care as a pastor, service as a chaplain, and diligence as an activist had helped to transform him into an iconic figure for Nova Scotia blacks, and a prominent figure among Nova Scotia black Baptists. [47]

However, in the Canadian consciousness, William Andrew White Jr. is most notable as the father of the great Canadian singer Portia White, not the pioneering black Canadian Baptist minister who broke racial barriers and advocated for social justice. Texts on the history of Christianity in Canada see scholars like Robert Choquette, and his text *Canada's Religions: An Historical Introduction,* propose that to understand Canadian history one must see religion as a fundamental aspect of the origins of the nation. This begins with the religion of the Amerindian and moves to how French Catholicism and British Protestantism impacted the origins of the nation. Choquette details how every aspect of the country's origins and subsequent history

[46] Heath, "White," 16; Cahill "White," para 8; Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1; White was stricken with cancer; this compromised his immune system leading to his eventual succumbent to pneumonia.

[47] Heath, "White," 16; Cahill "White," para 8.

(including pivotal events like Confederation, the Social Gospel, and the United Church) was based on theology. However, his treatment of the Baptist in Canada is limited to a small section of the text where he highlights their origins, expansion, and notes their fight for freedom in the church and society, moreover, he makes no mention of the black Baptists.

John Webster Grant's *The Church in the Canadian Era*, sees Canada (1867–1967) with no common history upon Confederation; a largely Catholic and Anglican nation, religion was more regional than denominational. Grant's treatment of pivotal events, from the Great War and the Social Gospel to the United Church and the secularization of Canadians in the 1960s, deals with the reasons and effects of these events on the fabric of a growing nation. Although Grant outlines the Baptists and their origins in Canada, he gives a cursory treatment of black Baptists that is limited to chronicling the significant leaders (with no mention of White) in the black Baptist community. Terence Murphy and Roberto Perin's *A Concise History of Christianity in Canada* looks at the history of the land that became Canada before both French and British attempts at colonization. They start with the Native-European trading furs and diseases, continues through to the elucidation of the origins and institutional growth of the various denominations, and culminates with the secularization of the country in the 1960s. Murphy and Perin detail significant events in the birth and growth of the country noting how the French Catholic and British Protestant antagonism impacted the country's growth. When it came to the Baptist, they only spoke of their origins in Canada through Henry Alline and the Newlights; their treatment of the black Baptists was limited to the origins and rationale for the formation of the independent black Baptist churches—leaving out the significant African Canadian figures that led to their formation.

George Rawlyk's edited treatment of *The Canadian Protestant Experience 1760–1990* contains scholarly essays that include contributions from noted authors such as Nancy Christie,

Phyllis Airhart, John Stackhouse, and Robert Wright. These scholarly voices delineate the significant impact religion had on the course of the growth of the country as it pertains to pivotal events that shaped the nation. They also illuminated how each Protestant denomination grew institutionally and how denominational interrelationships affected the culture of the nation—again, they made no mention of the role of the black Baptists.

These historical texts give a comprehensive look at the history of Christianity in Canada. While they note many aspects of this complex and dynamic subject, their treatment of Baptists in particular, and black Baptists specifically, is minimal; while understandable, given the context of the text's intent, it nevertheless leaves a gap in the record pertaining to black Baptists and their significant contributions—including key figures like William Andrew White Jr.

A review of noted texts that specifically deal with Baptists in Canada include Harry Renfree's, *Heritage and Horizon: The Baptist Story in Canada*. Renfree gives the reader a comprehensive treatment of the history of Baptists from their European origins to their voyage to the New World and establishment in Nova Scotia. However, Renfree's only touches on the topic of black Baptists; he speaks to their origins, expansion, and great courage and deep commitment to God in the face of extreme poverty, social, and racial obstacles. Gordon L. Heath, Taylor Murray, and Dallas Friesen's *Baptists in Canada: Their History and Polity* is a comprehensive updated look at the history of the Baptist faith from its origins into the twenty-first century. However, like Renfree, it only briefly covers the topic of black Baptists in Canada giving a brief overview of the lives of key figures like David George, Richard Preston, Anthony Binga, and William Andrew White Jr. George Edward Levy's *The Baptists of the Maritime Provinces 1753–1946* and its predecessor Edward Manning Saunders' *History of Baptist in the Maritime Provinces,* both chronicle the origin and expansion of Baptists in Nova Scotia—including Henry Alline, the Awakenings, the coming of the Loyalists, and their interaction with other

denominations—sadly there is no mention of the Black Loyalists, the black Baptist church or community.

A review of literature specific to the black Baptists in Nova Scotia yielded scholars such as Peter Evander MacKerrow and his *A Brief History of the Coloured Baptists of Nova Scotia and their First Organization as Churches A. D. 1832* and its successor A. Pearlean Oliver's *A Brief History of the Coloured Baptists of Nova Scotia 1782–1953.* Both editions delineate the Black Loyalists and Black Refugee migration and their struggle to establish the black Baptist church—noting significant figures like David George, John Burton, and Richard Preston; however, neither text speaks to the contributions of William Andrew White Jr. Savanah E. Williams' *The Role of the African United Baptist Association in the Development of Indigenous Afro-Canadians in Nova Scotia, 1782 to 1978*, an essay in B. M. Moody's *Repent and Believe: The Baptist Experience in Maritime Canada*, chronicles the black struggle to build a distinctive black Baptist church and identity in Nova Scotia; it details the establishment of the black Baptist church and its pastors—from Richard Preston to William Andrew White Jr. However, the extent of the information on White was limited to a brief description of his involvement in the No. 2 Battalion during the Great War, his role as Moderator of the African United Baptist Association, and his creation of the academic programs that supported the activities of the church and community. Charles Bruce Fergusson's *A Documentary Study of the Establishment of the Negroes in Nova Scotia Between the War of 1812 and the Winning of Responsible Government* is a slightly hagiographic account of the condition of African Canadians in Nova Scotia prior to and after 1812; it details the Loyalists' and Refugees' situation, giving an overview of their settlements, but makes no mention of black religion, black Baptists, or William Andrew White Jr.

All these scholars follow a similar pattern of delineating the history of black Baptists in Nova Scotia by highlighting the significant figures that played an important role in the establishment of black Baptist churches and associations in Nova Scotia. They speak to the harsh northern wind of racism and segregation that led to the departure of many African Canadians to the potentially friendlier environments of Sierra Leone and Trinidad—their treatment of William Andrew White Jr. is cursory at best and often non-existent.

Nevertheless, there are significant works on William Andrew White Jr. which include Gordon D. Pollock's *Black Soldiers in a White Man's War: Race, Good Order, and Discipline in a Great War Labour Battalion*. Pollock's book, while dispelling familiar myths about the life and labours of the battalion, recounts the experiences of the soldiers (including White) as it pertains to war, racism, and full Canadian citizenship. Catherine Reef's *African Americans in the Military,* Lian Goodall's *Singing Toward the Future: The Story of Portia White,*[48] and articles such as Betty Nygaard King's "Portia White," George Elliott Clarke and John Boileau's "William A. White" and Donna Nurse's "Great Canadian Musical Figures: Portia White 1911–1968" all provide brief accounts of the life of William Andrew White Jr. through a quick overview of his early beginnings, military service, post-war experiences, and comment on his legacy.

Other important works include Gordon Heath's article "The Wartime Diaries of Canadian Baptist military Chaplain William A. White, 1917–1918." Heath's article gives the experiences of White as the black Baptist Chaplin of the No. 2 Construction Battalion through his wartime diaries; this unique glimpse reveals a commitment to nation and empire that transcended the prejudices and hostility that were directed towards blacks in Canada at that time. Two

[48] The paucity of research on William White often necessitates accessing his story through his famous daughter.

documentary films have been produced about William Andrew White: *Captain of Souls: Rev. William White* (1999) and *Honour Before Glory* (2001); *Captain of Souls* is a fitting tribute to an inspirational man that broke colour barriers and brought solace and pride to the black community of Nova Scotia; *Honour Before Glory* chronicles the journey of black Canadians attempt to fight for their country in WWI (No. 2 Battalion) through the words of their decedents and the diary of William Andrew White Jr. Although all accomplished works, that speak to the significant contributions of the battalion and White specifically, most (if not all) treatments of the life of William Andrew White Jr. do not give an in-depth treatment of his life, faith, theology, praxis, and profound place in Canadian society; what is most evident is the woeful paucity of research on such a historic figure.

Andrew Manis's *A Fire You Can't Put Out: The Civil Rights Life of Birmingham's Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth* is a scholarly treatment of the African American black Baptist preacher Fred Shuttlesworth. Shuttlesworth's focus on racial harmony and social justice mirrors that of William White's. Like White's virtual forgotten situation in Canada, Manis deals with an often overlooked or forgotten champion of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States. Manis delineates how Shuttleworth's experiences, before and during the Civil Rights Movement, helped shape his thoughts, his theological view, and ultimately directed his actions towards civil rights and racial harmony—this dissertation will mirror this treatment.

Research Methodology/Model/Framework

In order to provide the most holistic treatment of the life and legacy of William Andrew White Jr., this dissertation includes a number of sections that build upon each other—each section providing greater clarity into the environment (temporally and spatially) of William Andrew White Jr. and into his life (beliefs and actions). The first sections provides a historical and cultural background to White's life and environment. In order to achieve this goal, the dissertation will follow the historical method employed by W. Stewart MacNutt in *The Atlantic Provinces 1712–1857: The Emergence of Colonial Society***.** This work explores primary and secondary sources from a political, civil, social, and religious point of view to build a comprehensive picture of the world of the early eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century Maritime Region.[49] MacNutt embodies a historian's commitment to the specificity of time and place but does not attempt to unify his whole study around a specific theoretical approach. This flexible methodological approach permits the complex motivations and allegiances of people to show through and guide the story of the emergence of a colonial society that was at once uncertain of its attachments yet achieved a strong and distinct character. Mirroring MacNutt's methodology has the benefit of providing a wide scope of research, not limiting the historical viewpoint to purely political considerations but tracing the main lines of development to provide a comprehensive history.[50]

The methodology of the first section of the study will also be furthered by references to James W. St. G. Walker's *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone* and Harvey Amani Whitfield's *Blacks on the Border: The Black Refugees in British North America, 1815-1860*. Walker's work will add much needed specificity in terms of

[49] MacNutt, *Atlantic Provinces*, xi.
[50] MacNutt, *Atlantic Provinces*, x–xi.

the historical and cultural background of the Black Loyalists in the British Atlantic colonies. Walker seeks to treat Black Loyalists as a historical entity; he uses primary and secondary sources from inside and outside the Black Loyalist community to trace their internal evolution, initiatives, and responses (notably the formative and cohesive influences of religion) to assess their contributions to the larger society and contextualize the effects upon them by outside forces.[51] An examination of the Black Loyalists in Nova Scotia can contribute to an awareness of the multi-racial and socially heterogeneous nature of the Loyalist establishment, and since blacks were at the lowest end of the Loyalist scale, their experience helps to illustrate the hardships and struggles of the eighteenth and nineteenth-century pioneer life in Atlantic Canada. Furthermore, as the founder of British North America's (later Canada's) first free black community, their concerns, initiatives, and responses to racial discrimination and economic exploitation shaped the development of separate institutions and a distinct social identity within the Nova Scotian population.[52]

Whitefield's monograph of the Black Refugees of the War of 1812 allows for a reexamination of the problems of nationality, location, identity, and historical memory by highlighting the transnational experience of the lives of the Refugees through an analysis of how former American slaves from disparate backgrounds became a distinct group of black people before the American Civil War.[53] Employing both Canadian and American primary and secondary sources, Whitefield builds on and extends a body of scholarship that provided the structure for the investigation and understanding of the history of black immigrants in the British maritime colonies.[54] This first section will follow the example of these approaches to study the

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[51] Walker, Loyalists, ix–x.
[52] Walker, Loyalists, ix–x.
[53] Whitfield, *Blacks*, xi; the Black Refugee experience stands at the crossroads of several histories and historiographies including Canadian, British, American, African American, and African Canadian.
[54] Whitfield, *Blacks*, xi–xii.

historical development of issues of British colonial practice, and the Black Loyalist and Refugee community establishment from the beginning of the eighteenth century through to White's day. Essential to this development is understanding the role the religion of the Black Loyalists and Refugees played in the growth of the black identity, community, and the theology of the black church.

The use of these approaches underscores the importance of building a compelling picture of the historical context of White's world in order to understand the forces that contributed to his theological foundations and subsequent decisions throughout his days in Nova Scotia. This section will not be an exhaustive study of every conceivable angle, but rather will seek to achieve a necessary view of the world in which White lived in order to give context in which to focus the main argument of the study. The first section will end with a particular study of White's early life leading up to the time of his entry into the Nova Scotian black community; thereby, providing a historical framework upon which the study can build as it shifts to its second methodology of studying the primary and secondary sources (see below)—including materials produced by White.[55] The study of White's early life will follow the methodology outlined in Richard Allen's *The View from Murney Tower*, Allen's biographical study of Social Gospel advocate Salem Bland.[56]

Richard Allen's purpose in writing was to return serious theological study into Canadian historiography, providing a deep study of the "social, intellectual, and ethical inputs" that shaped Bland's social focuses in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[57] Focusing on the intersection of Bland's religious, political, and social thought, Allen's biography provides an

[55] This is done in the hope of gaining insight into his personal beliefs regarding theology, race, politics, black identity and community building, and the role of the church in social justice.

[56] Allen, *Murney Tower*, xxxiv.

[57] Allen, *Murney Tower*, xxxiv.

excellent template for the present study's mission to place White's socio-political theology in context. Allen's careful use of primary sources, coupled with input from secondary sources to expand upon the details of Bland's thoughts, will provide the model for the sections' archival research and secondary source integration. The charge of this section will be to systematically evaluate White's own words to determine his thoughts and beliefs on the subject of socio-political theology—building a picture of those beliefs and the subsequent actions that followed. These statements and understandings will then be critically evaluated in light of the historical context in which White dwelt to draw some conclusions as to the motivations, fears, and aspirations that led him to believe the way he did on the various issues evaluated within the section.

The next section of the dissertation will build upon the former by presenting a historical narrative of the key events of White's religious, and socio-political life in Nova Scotia, evaluating the ways in which White attempted to put his social justice theology into action. This section will combine archival research to present his views of each of these situations, plus integration of secondary sources, both positively and negatively biased, to fill in the picture and provide a well-rounded study of White's role in the shaping of the African Canadian church, community, and identity. It is important to note that the black community did not succumb to the racism, discrimination, and segregation of the dominant white community but engaged in a collaborative effort in acquiring agency for its members. In his study of nineteenth-century black Methodists in Nova Scotia, Allen P. Stouffer claims that the "African British North Americans, like other settlers, in large measure were self-directed autonomous people who collectively identified their needs, established their goals, and devised means to achieve them." William

Andrew White Jr. embarked on a provincial, if not national praxis, of acquiring agency for which he became a prominent leader.[58]

Furthermore, as Kevin K. Gaines argues in his book, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century*, undergirding the desire for social reform and its positive impact on the churches was a "politics of respectability," the assumption that blacks would gain recognition in society by their virtuous behaviour and exemplary conduct—in time they would be given full access to resources and opportunities. This was an ideology prevalent in black communities (and leaders) both north and south of the boarder. As Melissa Shaw points out, the war (both WWI and WWII) intensified this ideology (along with race consciousness); for black Baptists and Methodists in Ontario and Nova Scotia, the chance to engage in patriotic service (which many black Christian leaders saw as providential) and moral reform were part of a larger trajectory of race advancement.[59]

Sidney Wise contends that "the explicit structures of thought from which most Canadian ideas derive lie outside Canada . . . replenished every generation from European and American sources."[60] He goes on to say, "It should be an important function of the Canadian intellectual historian to perform the sort of operations that will trace Canadian ideas to their ultimate external source."[61] Pursuant to this, primary and secondary external source materials, including but not limited to memoirs, diaries, church reviews, denominational, and secular newspapers, will be the vehicle by which this study attempts to answer stated questions and verify claims pertaining to William A. White's theology, praxis, role, and legacy in the community.

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[58] Stouffer, "Towards Community," 204.
[59] Shaw, "Country," 576–77; Gaines, *Uplifting*, 45, 161–62, 259.
[60] Wise, "Sermon Literature," 3–4.
[61] Wise, "Sermon Literature," 3–4.

The primary sources for this dissertation include William Andrew White Jr.'s peacetime and military sermons, church association minutes, and denominational publications that can all speak to his life and theology. Accessing White's service record, along with dialoguing with his descendants, is another avenue of potential primary source material. White's wartime diary will give us a unique view into his thoughts; thoughts that were foundational to his theology and direct his actions on matters ranging from religion and politics to economics and racial injustice before and after the Great War. Due to the pastoral component of his role as chaplain, looking at the service records of the men that served with White in the No. 2 Battalion is a possible avenue that will give helpful insight into his want for his men, their race, and his beliefs—particularly on issues of social justice. Additionally, the primary sources listed in the bibliography will add depth to the research on White's theology—specifically newspapers.

John Tosh points out that one of "the most important published primary sources for the historian is the press."[62] Newspapers often have a particular slant that they use to attempt to shape the readers' views. The white press rarely published news concerning the African-Canadian community; what they did publish often showed the African-Canadian in a negative light.[63] The articles pertaining to the pastor, church, and African-Canadian settlements, will give a biased opinion of their success and acceptance.[64] This perspective is very relevant to this study since it gives the white Canadian view of the actions of the African-Canadian pastor (specifically White) and his congregation/community. Furthermore, Heath asserts that the Canadian press saw itself as having an important role in nation-building and was committed to the task of building the identity of the Dominion of Canada; white Canadian newspapers such as the *Halifax Herald*,

[62] Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 63.
[63] Shreve, *AfriCanada*, 7; Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 63.
[64] Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 63; Heath, "Public Opinion," 112–13.

Acadian Recorder, and the *Tiny Tattler* will present this perspective.[65] The African-Canadian newspapers like *The Atlantic Advocate*, *The Nova Scotia Gleaner*, *The Clarion*, and *Coppertone*, (a news magazine) will present the equally biased African-Canadian perspective; like their white counterparts, they too attempted to build identity. The juxtaposition of the white and black press will assist in adding clarity to the picture and provide a rounded study of the nature of the black church/community and White's contributions along with the racial dynamic that existed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Nova Scotia.

Recommendations for Further Research

William Andrew White Jr. wrote to his wife almost everyday of his tour in the European theatre of war, further research to uncover these letters may lead to unearthing White's candid thoughts and feelings pertaining to the war, race, and the No. 2—thoughts he might only share with his wife. Also, finding copies of his sermons broadcast over the radio (tapes from broadcast or insight into its content) and his letters to prominent officials, like Prime Minister Robert Borden, would prove to be a valuable primary source that contains helpful insights into his thoughts and feelings on various issue affecting the black community.

P. E. MacKerrow reported, during the 'Great Exodus,' which impacted black Canadian church leaders, that "the women here, as in most of the churches, take the lead";[66] therefore, further research into the Canadian black women and church leadership would prove insightful in helping to complete the picture that is African Canadian history. Also, researching the links that may have existed between the African Canadian leadership bases of Ontario and Nova Scotia and their links with the African American churches/communities in the United States would help

[65] Heath, "Public Opinion," 112–13.
[66] Thomson, *Oliver*, 13.

to further define the picture of the early African Canadian community in the latter part of the 19th century and the early 20th century.

Outline/Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter 1 introduces the topic by providing general background information, a literature review, research methodology, structure of the dissertation, and recommendations for further research. Chapter 2 provides the political, social, and religious background that situates White in his specific context. It is a journey that will be underpinned by the history and development of the British North American colony of Nova Scotia, noting the evolution of the black community, church, pastor, and identity. It was an identity that was forged through the immigration of blacks via the vehicles of the Transatlantic Slave Trade (1632), the Loyalists of the American Revolution (1776), and the Black Refugees of the War of 1812. This chapter also provides a retrospective of the early life of William Andrew White Jr. including his time at Acadia University. It offers foundational insights that illuminate the theological precursors to White's eventual religious, political, and cultural goals for himself and the black community in the province of Nova Scotia.

Chapter 3 is structured around the periods in his life that had a significant effect on his theology; these include: pastorship of Second Baptist Church and Zion Baptist Church in New Glasgow and Truro, Nova Scotia respectively, an overview of the treatment of African Canadians that wanted to serve their country along with William Andrew White Jr.'s experiences during the Great War (as Military Chaplain) through both the perspectives of the soldiers in the No. 2 Battalion and the unique view of White's diary. Additionally, secondary materials and the historical research from previous chapters are employed to determine the possible experiences

and influences that led White to take his particular theological positions before and after World War I.

Chapters 4 and 5 outline the ways White put his theology into practice. Chapter 4 pays particular attention to the shifting ideologies of William Andrew White Jr. after the Great War; this chapter will compare his pre-war hopes for African Canadians with the reality that followed the Armistice. It engages with White's sermons, personal writings, and publications to produce a systematic catalogue of his religious, social, and political theology (through his oration and writing) especially as it relates to his beliefs on race relations, segregation, discrimination, and the church's role in social justice. Chapter 4 outlines ways White, during his tenure as pastor of Cornwallis St. Baptist Church, put his theology into practice focusing on his actions/goals for the African Canadian community and race relations within the greater Canadian community. Chapter 5 looks at the totality of the life of William Andrew White Jr. and encapsulates its lasting effects on the African Canadian community, social justice, and civil rights in Canada.

Chapter 6 concludes the dissertation.

CHAPTER 2: THE THREE RS OF LEARNING: RECONSTRUCTION, REDEMPTION, AND RELIGION

King and Queen County, formed in 1691 from New Kent County, was virtually destroyed in the burning of Richmond during the Civil War (1864);[1] former slaves William Andrew White (often called Andrew) and Isabella Waller made their home in Cumnor, Virginia, located in the community of King and Queen Courthouse the county seat of King and Queen County. Their faith found expression at Mattaponi Baptist church since, from its beginnings (1828), Mattaponi allowed Negroes (free and enslaved) to be members—however, they were segregated and assigned white overseers to keep them in order.[2] After the Civil War, Andrew and Isabella White were part of a committee of African Americans who unanimously withdrew from Mattaponi Baptist (7 July 1866) and formed their own church—Zion Baptist in 1869.[3] Its first minister, the Rev. Beverly Sparks (one of the founding members), was born a slave in Gloucester County in 1818 but was taught to read and write by his owners—an act that allowed him to prosper in many areas (including business and land ownership);[4] seeing the opportunities schooling provided, Sparks became a staunch believer and advocate of education. The Rev. Sparks preached on the power of education as a vehicle to uplift both the individual and the entire black community;

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[1] Mason, "Churches," 440–41; "Library of Virginia," [n.d.]; Loth, ed., *Virginia*, 244; along with King County, named in honour of William III and Mary II, King and Queen County was one of the original shires into which the Virginia colony was divided in 1634.

[2] Hundley, *Mattaponi*, ix, 533; White, "A White Family History (Canadian Branch)"; Andrew and Isabella reputedly bought their freedom in 1860 or 1861, a few years before general emancipation. Andrew was a cartwright and carpenter; he and Isabella eventually owned a large amount of land in King and Queen County, Virginia.

[3] Hundley, *Mattaponi*, ix–xi, 427–28, 533, 559–60; segregation practices and paternalistic attitudes of the white congregants of Mattaponi Baptist Church may have been the impetus for Zion's formation. Those blacks that remained at Mattaponi Baptist were later asked to leave; Zion Baptist Church Memory Book, 1969, p. 4, titled the "History of the Zion Baptist Church Cumnor, Virginia," photograph of the page was taken from Church Memory Book in possession of Bessida White (White Family Historian) great-grandniece of William Andrew White Jr., received 14 April 2020.

[4] Zion Baptist Church Memory Book, 1969, "History of the Zion Baptist Church Cumnor, Virginia," 4; many of the first members performed the physical labour—hauling the materials to the building site "by the most primitive of methods"—when erecting the building that was the Zion Baptist Church of Cumnor, Virginia; the Rev. Sparks also served as pastor of Angel Visit Baptist Church in Essex County, Virginia.

Sparks infused this belief in his ministrations and exemplified it in his life by taking on the role of School Board Trustee for the newly opened black schools.[5]

After helping to found and build the Zion Baptist Church community in Cumnor, Andrew and Isabella had ten children the second to last of whom was William Andrew White Jr.— called Andrew like his father. Born 16 June 1874, in Williamsburg, Virginia, William Andrew White Jr. was nine years removed from the end of the Civil War and eleven from Emancipation.[6] Although White's parents possessed an intimate relationship with the horrors of human bondage, he was fortunate enough to grow-up under the teachings of his mother, father, and the Rev. Beverly Sparks in the age of Reconstruction.[7] Reconstruction was one of the most controversial chapters in United States history, an era of stark changes in race relations, politics, and economic futures.[8]

Reconstruction and "Redemption"

The end of the American Civil War was signaled by the formal surrender of Confederate General Robert E. Lee to Union General Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Courthouse, Appomattox, Virginia on 9 April 1865. The daunting task of healing a fractured nation fell upon the beleaguered shoulders of President Abraham Lincoln; part of that healing involved dressing and healing the deep wound of slavery—a task given to Reconstruction, America's first attempt at

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[5] Zion Baptist Church Memory Book, 1969, "History of the Zion Baptist Church Cumnor, Virginia," 4; the Rev. Beverly Sparks owned 140 acres of land in 1868 and sent all his children to the schools that were available. His son John became a lawyer, Spurgeon a doctor, Horace a teacher, his daughter Stephena became a dentist, and his son Marcus became the pastor that eventually took his dad's role as leader of Zion Baptist.

[6] Cahill "White," para 1; Heath, "White," 3; "Government of Canada: Library and Archives Canada," [n.d.]; KirkConnell, *Acadia Record*, 83; audio recording of excerpts from a family discussion in 1962 with Bill White (father of Sheila White), Portia White and their cousin Mattie White Ashton received from Sheila White (granddaughter of William Andrew White Jr.) attesting to the fact William Andrew White Jr. went by the name Andrew, 12 July 2020.

[7] Boileau, "White," para 1; Cahill "White," para 1; "New City Pastor Son of Bondage," 9 August 1925; W. Andrew White Sr. was the slave of the father of William L. Wilson, Post Master General to President Grover Cleveland.

[8] Foner, *Reconstruction*, xv, xvii; Guelzo, *Reconstruction*, 1.

integration. The American scholar, Eric Foner, stated that no other era in American history has been the subject of such varied and conflicting interpretations—starting with its indefinite chronology.[9] The scholarly study of Reconstruction began early in the century with the words of William Dunning, John W. Burgess, and their students. The Dunning School of thought promulgated the notion that, with the end of the Civil War, white southerners genuinely accepted the reality of military defeat, stood ready to do justice to the emancipated slaves, and desired nothing more than a quick reintegration back into the fabric of national life.[10] Furthermore, before his death, Abraham Lincoln had embarked on a course of sectional reconciliation; said course taken up by his successor, Andrew Johnson (succeeding Lincoln as President after the latter's assassination), who attempted to carry out Lincoln's policies but had his efforts opposed and eventually thwarted by the Radical Republicans in Congress. These Republicans, motivated by their hatred of the South and their desire to consolidate political power, dissolved the southern government Johnson had established and burdened the defeated South with free blacks seeking full citizenship in the Republic.[11]

The Dunning School cited that the Reconstruction period, that followed the war, was corrupt;[12] presided over by unscrupulous "carpet baggers" from the north, unprincipled Southern white "scalawags," and ignorant blacks. After all this suffering, the South's white community banded together to overthrow these governments and restore the South as near as possible to a time before the war—often was called "Redemption," these actions were buttressed by movies

[9] Foner, *Reconstruction*, xv, xvii; Guelzo, *Reconstruction*, 1; often called 'America's unfinished revolution, Reconstruction, according to scholars, had no definitive start date and can be said to start as early as 1861 (with the creation of West Virginia) or 1865 the end of the Civil War and end as late as the Compromise of 1877 or 1954 and the conclusion of Brown versus Topeka.

[10] Dunning, *Reconstruction*, 63–135, 353–57; Foner, *Founding*, xxi–xxv.

[11] Dunning, *Reconstruction*, 353–57; Scaturro, *Reconstruction,* 11–12. Foner, *Founding*, xxi–xxv.

[12] Dunning, *Reconstruction*, 353–57.

like *Birth of a Nation* and *Gone with the Wind.*[13] Ultimately, Dunning and Burgess believed Reconstruction was the darkest era in American history. The foundations of this interpretation lay with the belief in the "negro's incapacity" to exercise the political rights and civil liberties thrust upon them by misguided Northerners.[14]

From its first appearance, the Dunning School's interpretation had dissenters—a limited number of survivors of the Reconstruction era and a small number of black historians. Of the latter group were Howard K. Beal and W. E. B. Du Bois—Du Bois published his interpretation of Reconstruction called "*Black Reconstruction in American*"; his book interpreted Reconstruction as an idealistic effort to construct a democratic interracial nation from the ashes of the Civil War and a time of economic struggle (between capital and labour) for the control of the South's economic resources. He goes on to point out that the Dunning school failed to mention one of the principal players in the entire drama, namely the African American slave.[15]

While it held a place in the popular imagination of the American people for a long time, more reputable scholarship rendered the Dunning School's racist assumptions untenable—this led to the inevitable demise of the Dunning school of thought. However, so ingrained was the myth and fear of "Negro rule" in the South that it took an entire decade of scholarship to prove that Reconstruction was not "the blackout of honest government."[16] What its detractors failed to recognize was that Reconstruction saw to the establishment of the public school systems, granted equal citizenship to blacks, and revitalized the devastated Southern economy. By the 1960s, the Dunning interpretation had been reversed; Radical Republicans and freed blacks were now the

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[13] Dunning, *Reconstruction*, 353–57; Weinberger, "*Birth of a Nation*," 77–93; Rommel-Ruiz, *Movies*, 55–56, 60–63; Gates, *Stoney Road*, xv.

[14] Dunning, *Reconstruction*, 353–57; Du Bois, *Black*, 717; Foner, *Founding*, xxi–xxv.

[15] Du Bois, *Black*, viii-ix; Foner, *Founding*, xxi–xxv.

[16] Foner, *Founding*, xxi–xxv; Du Bois, *Black*, 717.

heroes, while white supremacists were the villains, and Reconstruction was a time of extraordinary social and political progress for blacks—for a short time.[17]

During Reconstruction[18] black solidarity and empowerment grew through organized autonomous organizations, institutions, and communities; distancing themselves, physically and spiritually, from the slavery experience, blacks made astonishing advances in the political, civil, and social spheres.[19] Politically, under the new state constitutions, blacks were elected to public office in all Southern states. Although they held some political power and influence, they were never completely in control; even in states where blacks constituted a majority of the population, black legislators were still disproportionately under-represented.[20] Despite these advances, blacks in the North and South remained trapped in poverty and confined to inferior housing.[21] In the immediate post-Civil War period, the outlawing of slavery by the Thirteenth Amendment was, for some, all that was required to create African American citizenship. Others believed that the abolition of slavery merely created additional free blacks.[22]

In many Southern states, regulations on long-free blacks and newly-freed slaves continued in the form of newly passed Black Codes; the nature of these codes made it clear that many whites did not accept free blacks as citizens. The Black Codes helped trigger the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1866;[23] the Act commanded what the Thirteenth Amendment did not— i.e., that former slaves born in the United States were citizens. The Fourteenth Amendment supplanted the 1866 Civil Rights Act and granted citizenship to all native-born black Americans,

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[17] Du Bois, *Black*, ix; Foner, *Founding*, xxi–xxv.

[18] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 35; the key issues of Reconstruction surrounded the terms for the reuniting of the defeated Confederacy with the Union; this included what system of labour should replace plantation slavery and what should be the place of blacks in the political and social life of the South particularly and the nation generally.

[19] Keita Cha-Jua, *Black Town*, 18; Farrar, *Baltimore*, xiii.

[20] Jenkins, *Glory*, 211; Smith, *Supremacy*, 20–21.

[21] Jenkins, *Glory*, 219–20.

[22] Scaturro, *Reconstruction,* 9–10; Chambers, "Slavery," 503–6.

[23] Chambers, "Slavery," 503–6; Foner, *Founding*, 63–68.

making African American citizenship a part of the Constitution. The Fifteenth Amendment followed a few years later formally making African American men full voting members.[24]

White's home state of Virginia became the only state of the former Confederacy to avoid post-war military rule by agreeing to a new constitution (1869) that granted suffrage to black men. During the first election since the Civil War, black men flocked to the polls and consequently, twenty-seven blacks were elected to the Virginia General Assembly—not an overwhelming number given that blacks outnumbered whites in forty of Virginia's ninety-nine counties. The ruling Conservative Party, through a series of laws that chipped away at black political and social rights, successfully campaigned on the dangers of black domination.[25] By 1894, the Democratic Party had taken significant strides towards disfranchising black Virginians when it passed the Walton Act; a measure aimed at illiterates, who were disproportionately black—The Act had the desired effect of causing a sharp decline in black voting. Now firmly in control, the Democratic Party set out to reclaim Virginia's antebellum tradition—'Jim Crow' had come to Virginia.[26]

As Reconstruction progressed, recently gained civil rights protections for blacks began to surrender to the wave of white "Redemption" sweeping the Southern United States as the nation entered the second iteration of human slavery.[27] White supremacy launched a social, economic, and political campaign not only to stop black progress but also to return them as near as possible to a state of slavery. Whether social, political, or economic the black method of acculturation met with stern resistance from the white establishment; failing to truly understand

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[24] Chambers, "Slavery," 503–6; Foner, *Founding*, xix–xxii.

[25] Smith, *Supremacy*, 20–21; Jenkins, *Glory*, 211; the Conservative Party later became the Democratic Party.

[26] Smith, *Supremacy*, 24; 50 percent of black Virginians were illiterate.

[27] "Du Bois, *Reconstruction*, 14; "Maryland State Archive," [n.d.]; Dally, Review of *Slavery,* 652; with Reconstruction's end came the Supreme Court approval of segregation in 1892; it saw "separate but equal" come into being and a long series of "Jim Crow" laws ended the political activity for African Americans.

this resistance the black community responded the only way it knew how—through the church and Christianity.[28]

Religion: Black Christianity

The global expansion of the Christian church brought with it a number of issues; these varied topics touched on the theological, political, cultural, and historical aspects of an expanding Christian church. One of Christianity's foundational pillars is an understanding of how humanity relates to one another and how humanity relates to God. It is enlightening to know that the first Christians (Nazarenes or Jesus followers) saw themselves as Jews who believed the much-anticipated Messiah had come in the form of Jesus; therefore, Jews simply saw these first Christians as another Jewish sect.[29] However, problems between these two factions quickly arose for two reasons. One, those Jews who followed Jesus believed that He was God. To the Jew, this meant Judaism was no longer monotheistic; this was against Jewish law and the Jewish people saw this as the reason for their persecution by the Romans. Two, their Messiah was a poor carpenter from Galilee that died an ignominious death on the cross, not the saviour the Orthodox Jews expected.[30]

Jesus brought the good news of humanity's impending redemption but good news is not always well received—especially if it does not come in the form and actions one is expecting. Who in the prevailing Roman and Middle Eastern culture was drawn to Jesus and his ministry and how did they receive and understand the word through their illiteracy—a situation that the African slaves, brought in bondage to North America, soon faced? Christianity was a religion of the great unwashed, the poor, and those of the lower classes; they heard the word, watched it in

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[28] Jenkins, *Glory*, 230–31; Foner, *Forever Free*, xxi–xxii; Hamilton, *Black Preacher,* 116.
[29] Eusebius, *Church History*, 80; Gonzalez, *Christianity*, 31.
[30] Gonzalez, *Christianity*, 32–33.

practice, and communed with one another in order to grow in the faith—again, a situation that was found in the African American 'secret meetings'—later dubbed the 'invisible institution.'[31] By the time Christianity was able to expand to the new world, it had three distinct forms, Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Protestant. In North America, Christianity is often seen as a white European religion, due in part to its forceful delivery to First Peoples and African slaves, but this is not so; it originated in the Middle East and spread to Asia and Africa.[32] When it came to the new world, it became a source of hope for those brought to North America in chains.

In the plantation system of the southern United States, the great mass of slaves built for themselves the structure of an 'invisible institution'; built on spirituality it put meaning into their existence.[33] The 'secret meeting' arose where slaves were expressly forbidden to attend religious services; these weekly religious meetings were often held in hovels, arbors, and pits.[34] The slaves discussed the events of the day and gain new strength from the communal reality of slavery.[35] Those religious meetings emphasized and tightened the social bonds among slaves.[36] They celebrated the maintenance of life in the midst of adversity and determined the communal strategies and tactics for continued survival, protest, and overt resistance.[37] Often called the 'invisible institution' those secret meetings were the origin of what became the modern African American church.[38]

Slave theology was formed by the confluence of reinterpreted white European Christianity with the remains of African religion—specifically the Old Testament emphasis on

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[31] Hicks, *Black Preacher,* 29; Cone, *Black Power*, 100; Gonzalez, *Christianity*, 50–51.
[32] Oden, *Africa*, 9–15; Jenkins, *Christianity*, 3, 47; Eusebius, *Church History*, 185; Gonzalez, *Christianity*, 217–18, 379.
[33] Hicks, *Black Preacher,* 27–28; Marx, "Religion," 364; Cone, *Black Power*, 95.
[34] Manis, "Birmingham's," 75–76; Hicks, *Black Preacher,* 27–28; Montgomery, *Fig Tree*, 33–34.
[35] Glenn, "Negro," 629; Marx, "Religion," 364; Montgomery, *Fig Tree*, 33–35.
[36] Frazier, *Negro Church*, 24–25; Montgomery, *Fig Tree*, 33–35.
[37] Rawick, "From Sun Up," 37; Cone, *Black Power*, 92; Marx, "Religion," 364.
[38] Hicks, *Black Preacher,* 29; Cone, *Black Power*, 100; Manis, "Birmingham's," 75–76.

spiritual and physical freedom.[39] The importance placed on the sacrament of baptism reminded American slaves of water rituals practiced back in Africa; also, the importance of the felt presence of the Holy Spirit harkened back to similar practices in spirit possession practiced in West African religious ceremonies. The religion of the slave had a distinct pneumatological focus with a realized eschatology, namely freedom from bondage.[40] In those secret services, the Holy Spirit was believed to be moving among them and through them, possessing them, until one or another's body moved in response to the Spirit's call. Through Emancipation, Reconstruction, and "Redemption," the African American church responded to those circumstances by becoming more unified and structured;[41] the church provided an organization and structuring of African American social, cultural, and political life that has persisted until the present day—it also became the protest arm of the black community.[42]

The Reverend Dr. Harvey Johnson

During the 'Redemptive' period, William Andrew White Jr. moved east to Baltimore, Maryland (1890) where he worshiped within the crusading environment of the Union Baptist Church—a church that was extremely active in the cause of civil rights.[43] Starting in 1892, White's church withdrew from the Maryland Baptist Union Association because of its discriminatory practises—instead, its pastor, Reverend Dr. Harvey Johnson, chose to organize the Coloured Baptist Convention, urging all black Baptist churches to join him. Furthermore, in 1897, Reverend

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[39] Huggins, *Black Odyssey,* 73; Pinn and Pinn, *Black Church*, 29; Bennett, "Hermeneutics," 39.
[40] Glenn, "Negro," 628; Manis, "Birmingham," 75–76; Westbrook, "MLK," 27.
[41] Frazier, *Negro Church*, 35; Montgomery, *Fig Tree*, 225; Lincoln and Mamiya, *Black Church*, 202.
[42] Gadzekpo, "Black Church," 95–96; Bynum, *A. Philip,* 29; Frazier, *Negro Church*, 36–37.
[43] Cahill "White," para 2; "Maryland State Archive," [n.d.]; Oliver, *Baptist*, 45–46; White," The Whites of King and Queen Courthouse"; White was 16–18 years of age and was known to reside in Baltimore as late as July of 1900 (he joined his brothers Milton and Hezekiah in Baltimore and was thought to stay with his brother Charles and his wife Daisy); William Andrew White Jr.'s schooling in Baltimore saw him take private lessons during the day and attend night school during the evenings before eventually attending Wayland.

Johnson, Union Baptist Church's fifth Pastor, filed a lawsuit to gain equal pay for black teachers and to make it possible for black lawyers to practice in the state of Maryland.[44] He fought its bastardy law that punished African American women and its jury selection system that excluded black Marylanders.[45] Johnson also filed a lawsuit and won the first case in the United States striking down the identification of Negroes as cargo in interstate commerce. Moreover, with what became one of his most important initiatives, Johnson, a friend of W.E.B. Du Bois, was instrumental in establishing the Niagara Movement, a body that became the precursor to the NAACP.[46]

At the Union Baptist Church, William Andrew White Jr. continued to learn that the black church was the bastion of African American leadership, activism, and protest. As African Americans in Baltimore sought to redefine themselves in the 1880s, none of the pastorate stood taller or closer to the vanguard than the Rev. Dr. Harvey Johnson. Throughout his illustrious career, Johnson did much to improve the standing of Baltimore blacks; he took the skills honed in this battle for equality among all Baptists and transferred those skills to the fight for equality

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[44] "Maryland State Archive," [n.d.]; Pegues, *Ministers*, 291–93; born a slave on 4 August 1843, Johnson enrolled at Washington D. C's Wayland Theological Seminary in 1868—he became pastor of Union Baptist in 1872; Johnson's reason for leaving the Maryland Baptist Union Association stemmed from its paternalism towards blacks churches and the unequal political power within the denomination.

[45] Halpin, *Liberty*, 43.

[46] "Maryland State Archive," [n.d.]; Jones, *Niagara Movement*, 1–3; Meier, "NAACP," 69–73; the birth of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP 1909–1910) evolved among the blacks who were in opposition to the accommodating philosophy of the Tuskegee institution and its leader Booker T. Washington (an example of the Revolution of Expectation that will be dealt with later). Washington sincerely believed that an approach stressing economic development and vocational education, attacking mob violence tactfully and only occasional, and flattering southern upper class whites and north industrialists, eventually accommodate the acceptance of blacks as full citizens—unbeknownst to his detractors, Washington was secretly working politically through the Roosevelt administration and the Supreme Court to foster black enfranchisement, uplift, and citizenship. In 1903, W. E. B. Du Bois, after his book *Souls of Black Folk* was released, was critical (in the book and publicly) "of Booker T. Washington and others." Du Bois organizes detractors of Washington's ideology and attempts to unset "the Wizard" (as Washington was often called) from his control of Afro-American Council—the leading Negro rights organization at the time. Washington felt that the Movement's attack upon his leadership jeopardized the success of the program (and undoubtedly a threat to his power and prestige). Well-established publications like the Chicago *Conservator*, the Washington *Bee*, and *The Voice of the Negro* (considered the most outstanding black magazine of the period) consistently criticized Washington and his methods. Ultimately, in 1905, came the Niagara Movement along with the Constitutional League—whose purpose was to attack disfranchisement, peonage, and mob violence by court action, legislation, and propaganda—it became the precursor of the NAACP.

in the secular world.[47] Indeed, Harvey Johnson's work served notice to the rest of black and white America that Baltimore would maintain, into the twentieth century, the rights and privileges guaranteed by the constitution.[48] Being in the sphere of influence of such activism, especially on the part of his pastor, could only serve to impact the young mind of William Andrew White Jr.—especially given his post-Reconstruction experiences in the heart of the former Confederacy. In 1890, young Andrew followed in Johnson's footsteps and attended Wayland Seminary in Washington D. C.[49]

Wayland Seminary

On 29 May 1862, the Reverend Nathaniel Colver of Illinois recommended that the emancipated slaves in the District of Columbia be supplied with missionaries and teachers. By 1865, the American Baptist Home Mission Society appointed twelve teachers who had 812 students under their instruction—this was the birth of Wayland Seminary and its sister organization The National Theological Institution. Wayland Seminary began its existence in the vestry of the Nineteenth Street Baptist Church—finding some degree of permanence with the purchase of property on I Street in 1866. Funds were secured from the government funded Freedmen's Bureau (under the administration of General Howard, 1865); additional monies—from the same fund—were appropriated to erect a two-story building on the site. The Rev. S. B. Gregory was

[47] "Maryland State Archive," [n.d.]; Halpin, *Liberty*, 3; Johnson also created the Mutual United Brotherhood of Liberty (MUBL) an institution that used the courts to procure and maintain the rights of blacks during Reconstruction and the "redemptive" aftermath that swept through the South.

[48] "Maryland State Archive," [n.d.]; Pegues, *Ministers*, 291; a renaissance man and visionary, the Rev. Dr. Harvey Johnson's political crusade was focused on black economic independence and the institutional autonomy of black churches—Johnson was similar in motivation and response to Richard Allen and his movement in the Methodist denomination a century earlier; Allen, *The life*, 8–18.

[49] KirkConnell, *Acadia Record*, 83; Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1; it is believed that White attended either Bunker Hill or Paces Elementary School before going to Wayland Seminary in Washington D.C.

appointed president in 1867, and the institution was named Wayland Seminary as a memorial to the eminent President Francis Wayland of Brown University.[50]

One of Wayland Seminary's chief goals was to provide education and training for black men to enter into the ministry;[51] with the Reverend Harvey Johnson, of Baltimore's Union Baptist Church, responsible for the order at Wayland and the Theological Institute, the seminary quickly exerted a beneficent influence upon the black community. It had broadened its outlook, renewed courage, and provided a liberal education to hundreds—the educational faculty's courses of study had risen to include normal, academic, industrial, and theological. The sacrificial principles of the early teachers had inspired men to deny themselves as they laboured among their race as missionaries, preachers, teachers, farmers, and social workers. Consequently, the enrolment of Wayland increased and students came from all over the United States, the West Indies, and Africa—it was said that "Wayland Seminary was indeed an example of the possibilities of the Negro."[52]

Rev. Taylor, Chairman of the District Baptist meeting, stated that Wayland Seminary "graduates some of the best men and women of the race";[53] alumni like Booker T. Washington, prominent educator, political figure, and leader of the black community, lent credence to this statement.[54] Other prominent Wayland graduates include: Adam Clayton Powell pastor, civil rights activist, speaker, and author; John Wesley Terry Baptist pastor and Chicago labour leader; and George Washington Williams the first black to be elected to the state legislature, author of

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[50] Fisher, ed., *Virginia Union University*, 23; the land was purchased for 1500 dollars with an additional 1500 (from the same funds) used to erect the two-story building. The National Theological Institute, at Washington D.C., was founded in 1864 but saw its beginnings in 1865 under the care of one of its founders Doctor Edmund Turney (until 1867); eventually, the Rev. George Mellen Prentiss King became principal of the Institute.

[51] Fisher, ed., *Virginia Union University,* 24; Peques, *Baptist*, 561–63; Hylton, *Union*, 7; "Wayland Seminary and College," I1; Wayland merged with Richmond Theological School for Freedmen in Virginia to form Virginia Union University in Richmond.

[52] Fisher, ed., *Virginia Union University*, 25, 27–28; Wayland Seminary admitted women on equal terms as men.

[53] "The Greater Wayland," I4.

[54] White and Dierenfield, *Leadership*, 33.

the first (two-volume) historical work to document the history of black America, lawyer, soldier in the Civil War, and Baptist pastor.[55] Insight into the origins of Wayland's legacy of service was illuminated at White's graduating class address.

Professor George R. Hovey gave the address to the graduating class at Wayland Seminary's ceremony and he spoke to the doctrine of the seminary. Professor Hovey, after extoling the virtues of a liberal education, stated, "only by a life of constant labour and bravery and self-denial for others can you meet your obligations to society and live a life worthy of the Christian faith"—a liberal education must free our powers from selfish use and must teach us to employ them for the good of all." He urged the graduates to see their academic achievement as a reminder of a greater responsibility to their fellow human beings.[56] After hearing principles he became accustomed to during his stay at Wayland, William Andrew White Jr. graduated from Wayland (in 1897) well aware of the legacy of the institution, the path of activism being blazed by his contemporaries, and the torch he was expected to hold high.[57]

At this juncture, White's exposure to social justice initiatives, overt altruism, and social protest could only serve to support the burgeoning leadership qualities of a young and impressionable man of God. His education started with his pioneering parents, who decided to create their own church instead of suffering the indignities of segregation and overseers, was advanced by their founding partner and pastor Beverly Sparks—a staunch advocate of black enhancement through education—continued with the civil rights crusading of Harvey Johnson,

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[55] Hall, *Leaders*, 298; Smith, *Firsts*, 259; Simmons and Turner, *Men*, 242; William's work is entitled *The History of the Negro Race from 1619 to 1880*.

[56] "Wayland Seminary Class," 11–14; Hovey (new President of Wayland) defines an elementary, professional, and technical education as all being "in danger of becoming narrow, prejudiced, untouched by many of the best things in the world, and unblessed by them." Extolling the liberal education above them all, Hovey saw it in its original meaning of an education 'adapted to freepersons,' one that is suitable for freepersons with the duties of citizenship who need a broad outlook on affairs and life.

[57] Wayland's Normal Class," 14; " Graduating Class of 1897, Wayland Seminary," 5; Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1; White graduated president of his class with both a degree from the Normal Department and a degree in Theology; he also addressed the graduation assemblage on the topic of "Abreast with the Times."

and culminated with the altruistic, avant-garde ideological climate prevalent at the Wayland Seminary. This selflessness and care continued when one of his white teachers at Wayland, Mary Helena Blackadar from Nova Scotia, encouraged him to travel to her hometown and attend Acadia University—her alma mater.[58] Blackadar, in her time as a teacher and missionary, gave freely of herself and her resources always encouraging both young men and young women to seek further education. She reportedly offered her support to White in gaining admission and obtaining the funding for the college. White accepted and travelled to enroll at Acadia University in Wolfville, Nova Scotia, Canada—Blackadar believed things were better for black people in Canada.[59]

The Canadian Province of Nova Scotia

The North American Maritime region has been characterised as being "to the western hemisphere what Greece was to Europe, a conveyor of civilization from the Old World to the New."[60] Although the Bay of Fundy was likened to the sunlit Aegean (although much colder), many early European travellers who approached the coast were reminded of the bold peninsulas, rocky coastlines, and treacherous littorals they had seen in Scandinavia. The North American winter made certain that no part of the region enjoyed much more than four months of freedom from frost. Furthermore, great banks of fog lined the seaward approach for one hundred days in

[58] Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1; "Miss H. Blackadar Former Missionary In India Mourned", Obit; a former Missionary in India (under the Canadian Baptist Missions) Mary Helena Blackadar, the daughter of the Rev. Thomas A. and Emily Miles Blackadar, born in Harvey, New Brunswick 6 January 1872, studied at Acadia University where she earned a B.A. in 1894 and her M.A. in 1909. She taught at Wayland Seminary between 1895 and 1899 but eventually returned to her love of missions—moving to India where she served until 1945 completing 50 years of missionary service.

[59] Cahill "White," para 2; Heath, "White," 3–4; Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1.

[60] Macnutt, *Atlantic*, 1.

the year and the agricultural concerns of the terrain made settlement of the region unlikely.[61] However, what the terrain took away it also gave in the form of magnificent conditions for fisheries. The North Atlantic fishery was one of the great industries of the Western European economy; far older, and more lucrative, than the fur trade, it was a wealth-producing engine for all participating European nations—time and circumstances soon left this industry with the French and English as its principal capitalists. Additionally, by 1712, the less than favourable terrain succumbed to civilization, although, in most places, a somewhat less than permanent settlement.[62]

One of the few permanent shore populations that were augmented by natural increase was at Acadie (later Nova Scotia); the Acadians were the descendants of the French settlers brought to Port Royal by early entrepreneurs and the French government's promotion of the colonization of New France (1632–1755).[63] They were a peasant society that possessed republican leanings born of years of slack government and, for long periods, by no government at all. They learned to ignore corrupt governors and acknowledged neither royal authority nor courts of law. Illiterate and communal, decisions were arrived at by general expression of public will.[64] Often, during their Sunday church service, their enslaved Africans accompanied the Acadians to church.[65] These slaves were foundational to the African Canadian community in which William Andrew

[61] Macnutt, *Atlantic*, 1; there was no great river to the interior of the continent, large portions of land were unfit for cultivation, and the barren Gaspe region had no easy access to the St. Lawrence; Forbes et al., eds., *Atlantic*, 3.

[62] Macnutt, *Atlantic*, 2–3, 5; French and English domination of the fishing industry was primarily due to the collapse of Spanish and Portuguese sea power; Forbes et al., eds., *Atlantic*, 3.

[63] Macnutt, *Atlantic*, 6–7; Forbes et al., eds., *Atlantic*, 5. Caron, *Acadians*, 5–6; their population climbed to between 10,000–18,000 people by 1755. Most Acadians in Nova Scotia today were descended from about seventy families.

[64] Macnutt, *Atlantic*, 7–8; Caron, *Acadians*, 5, 8; some scholars believed the parish priests held the decisive voice in community matters, while others believed the Acadians no more submitted to Rome than they did to political authorities.

[65] Donovan, "Slaves," 6–7.

White Jr. became an integral part; it was a community that continued to develop as a consequence of future French/English hostilities.

For twenty-five years prior to the Peace of Utrecht, familiar animosities between France and England caused alarms of war to echo around Acadie; ever since Samuel Argall's attempt to enforce the forty-fifth Parallel of Latitude, the northern boundary of Virginia, Acadie had been claimed by both crowns. By 1713 and the Treaty of Utrecht, England acquired sovereignty over Acadie;[66] renamed Nova Scotia, no plans were made and nothing was done to consolidate British rule over the vast Nova Scotian region. Encouraged to immigrate to Ile Royale (later Cape Breton) by both French and English emissaries, the Acadians refused to go; furthermore, they refused an unqualified oath of allegiance to the British Crown.[67] By 1755, 13,000 French-speaking Acadians lived in Nova Scotia and British sovereignty over them was still in question. Nova Scotia's Governor Charles Lawrence declared that the Acadians must give absolute allegiance to Britain or leave immediately; 7,000 refused and were expelled. Shortly afterwards (1756) the Seven Years War began; Britain's eventual victory ostensibly ended French sovereignty in North America.[68]

With the loss of the deported Acadians, Nova Scotia was faced with a need for a large number of settlers (especially in the West).[69] The circumstance brought about by the Treaty of Paris along with Governor Lawrence's Charter of Nova Scotia—essentially ensuring religious

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[66] Choquette, *Religions*, 137–38; Caron, *Acadians*, 7; Macnutt, *Atlantic*, 7–8; the treaty also gave England sovereignty over Plaisance and Hudson Bay but the French retained parts of Acadie—namely Ile Saint-Jean (later Prince Edward Island) and Ile Royale (later Cape Breton).

[67] Caron, *Acadians*, 9; Forbes et al., eds., *Atlantic*, 5; Macnutt, *Atlantic*, 7–9; in the intervening period prior to 1755, the British government revoked their right to emigrate for fear of strengthening the French on Ile Royale and leaving English settlers vulnerable to Native attack.

[68] Renfree, *Baptist*, 12–13; Fay, *Catholics*, 30; Caron, *Acadians*, 9; Winks, "Slavery," 28; the signing of the Treaty of Paris (1763) saw France cede all its North American territories east of the Mississippi to the English. For Nova Scotia, this entailed the lands that became New Brunswick (1784), Prince Edward Island (1769), and Cape Breton.

[69] Whitfield, ed., *Slavery*, 3: Renfree, *Baptist*, 13; a number of German Protestants had been persuaded to come to Nova Scotia by the early 1750s but settled along the Atlantic shore where they became fishermen.

freedom—caused Nova Scotia to become more attractive to the British colonist to the south; Congregationalists and Baptists from New England made the journey north in great numbers (five to six thousand in just a few months)—the Baptists were attracted by the promise of full religious liberty in the Charter. Washed by the wave of religious revivalism sweeping the American colonies, the Baptist contingence from New England (now well over half the Protestant population) set the religious tone in Nova Scotia[70]—today the Annapolis Valley is one of the strongholds of the Baptist church.[71] Along with a number of free blacks that came from the New England colonies to stake their claims in parts of Nova Scotia, the white New England settlers brought with them, as part of their possessions, their black slaves. The coming American Revolutionary War of Independence and subsequent War of 1812 expanded both the number of slaves and free blacks in Nova Scotia.[72]

In 1783, a new nation, the United States of America, was established in the southern portion of the continent as a result of the American Revolutionary War. Those citizens of the former Thirteen Colonies who continued their allegiance to Great Britain were expelled from the new republic. The 25,000 United Empire Loyalists (and their black slaves) that poured across the new border created problems for the pre-Loyalist New England Planters (especially the Baptists) because the Loyalists adhered to the Church of England. Due to what transpired with the thirteen colonies, the British government now used the Anglican Church to cement its imperial hold on Nova Scotia and the rest of British North America; consequently, the Planters suffered losses to

[70] Christie, "Religion," 9; Walker, *Loyalists,* 65; Renfree, *Baptist*, 23; Henry Alline, "more than any other man, molded the moral life of the people of [Nova Scotia]"; Alline was called the "father of fathers" because of the mark he left on a number of young men who later became the "fathers" of the Baptist denomination in Canada; he was also remembered as the "Nova Scotia Whitefield" because his ministry closely paralleled that of the Great Awakenings in New England.

[71] Renfree, *Baptist*, 14; Ebenezer Moulton was one of the vanguard Baptists to settle Nova Scotia—becoming the first Baptist minister and erecting the first Baptist church in Canada (1771).

[72] Paschai and Bishop, *Black*, 2; Christie, "Religion," 9; Renfree, *Baptist*, 28, 42.

some of the cherished rights and liberties that first led them north[73]—this trend was heightened after the War of 1812.[74] In response, the Baptists of the Maritimes established an association (23–24 June 1800); the association accelerated Baptist self-awareness shown through mutual reliance, cooperative effort, and a willingness to continually sue for religious freedom in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Canada's.[75] It was a body that later appealed to the British government on the questions surrounding the monopolization of the clergy reserve and control over marriage/baptism and universities by the Presbyterian and Anglican churches.[76] The resolution of thoses issues, particularly that of universities, allowed the Baptist to fulfil their want for higher education.

The fathers and mothers of the Canadian Baptists shared many traits; in nearly every instance their experience of conversion was climatic and emanated from a deep conviction of sin—their call to ministry was without doubt. Also, with few exceptions, they started on their task with pitifully meagre educational qualifications, however, the experience led them to a rich appreciation of educational opportunities and the need for higher education—especially for ministers.[77] Pursuant to that, the Association of Baptist Churches in Nova Scotia decided to form The Nova Scotia Baptist Education Society.[78] This society established a suitable seminary for the education of young Baptist men in Horton Township at Wolfville. On 1 May 1829, Horton Academy was opened; due to its success, the society decided to add a college, The Queen's

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[73] Christie, "Religion," 9; Renfree, *Baptist*, 28, 42; Loyalists' pressure also resulted in the division of Nova Scotia and the formation of New Brunswick; Paschai and Bishop, *Black*, 2–3.

[74] Christie, "Religion," 41–43; Renfree, *Baptist*, 56, 104; Bishops John Strachan in Upper Canada and Charles Inglis in Nova Scotia ensured strong ties to the British Crown and church-state rule of law.

[75] Renfree, *Baptist*, 56–58.

[76] Renfree, *Baptist*, 50–53, 105–07; by 1800, Congregationalists lost their ministers to the American side of the Revolution—dealing a near-fatal blow to their cause in Nova Scotia—and the New-Light ministers had all led their flocks to immersion; Murphy and Perin, *Christianity*, 133; stated that support of the Anglican Church soon dried up allowing other denominations to flourish.

[77] Renfree, *Baptist*, 39, 119; McCormick, *Faith*, 119–22.

[78] Acadia, *Records*, 3, 5–7; the seminary was to be opened to persons of any religious denominations, it was to be affordable to all, free of distinctions of wealth, and financial assistance was to be given to those in need; Saunders, *Baptist*, 201, 206–07; McCormick, *Faith*, 119–22.

College in 1839. Later (1841), a charter was granted and the name of the institution was changed to Acadia University[79]—William Andrew White Jr. attended the University in 1899.

It is evident that Nova Scotia's geographic location in North America had for centuries made it a cultural milieu for a number of diverse groups—including First Peoples, French, British, and African; the subsequent interactions of these various groups profoundly affected the Province of Nova Scotia's historical and cultural development. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Nova Scotia's history was intimately tied to the development of both the French and British empires' struggles in the New World; as a result of commerce, politics, and culture, Nova Scotia remained an important economic terminus and strategic military outpost for both France and Britain as the two battled for control of North America. Although the British eventually gained control of Nova Scotia, elements of French culture remained and were soon joined by diverse elements of British American culture. [80]

At this juncture, it is apparent that the Acadians' wanted to protect their culture and resist British imperialism, and the Baptists' persistence on religious freedom, civil disobedience, and civil liberties were part of the fabric that made up what became the province of Nova Scotia. That cultural trend continued in the creation of the Nova Scotian black community, as people of African descent played an important role in the development of Nova Scotia.

Transatlantic and Transnational: The Establishment of the Black Community

The black community that William Andrew White Jr. joined was very different than the African American community in which he was born and raised. The United States was a unique slave society; the slave population reproduced naturally soon outnumbering African imports whereas,

[79] Public Archives of Nova Scotia, *Places*, 742; Acadia, *Records*, 7–8; Saunders, *Baptist*, 201, 206–7.
[80] Whitefield, *Blacks,* 9.

elsewhere in the New World slave deaths exceeded births and planters depended on continual imports from Africa to sustain their labour force and profits.[81] This was important because it led to the development of the African American culture in the United States. The slaves' rapid assimilation of American cultural traits led to the formation of an original and mildly syncretistic African American culture.[82] It was a culture that had at its foundation the Christian church (mostly Methodists and Baptists); both the southern slaves' "invisible institution"[83] and the free blacks of the northern African Methodist Episcopal (Zion) Churches (AME and AMEZ) declared their solidarity[84] under the guidance of the Reverend Richard Allen.[85] It was a community that fought initially for freedom (1865) but ultimately for full citizenship.

Unlike the organic origins of the African American community, the African Canadian community of Nova Scotia grew piecemeal—starting with the transatlantic African slaves of the French (Acadians). One of the key factors in its development (or lack thereof) was the limited number of slaves in Acadie (compared to the American colonies);[86] this coupled with the domestic nature of their toil, the slaves' disinclination toward Roman Catholicism,[87] and the fact

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[81] Hicks, *Black Preacher,* 27–28; Schneider, *Slavery*, 53; Dal Lago, *American*, 44.

[82] Dal Lago, *American*, 44; Montgomery, *Fig Tree*, 11.

[83] Huggins, *Black Odyssey,* 73; Bennett, "Hermeneutics," 39; Hicks, *Black Preacher,* 29; Cone, *Black Power*, 100; slave theology was formed by the confluence of reinterpreted white Christianity with the remains of African religion, specifically the Old Testament's emphasis on spiritual and physical freedom. The slaves' secret religious services, often called the 'invisible institution,' was the origin of what became the modern African American church.

[84] Hicks, *Black Preacher,* 29; Cone, *Black Power*, 100; Newman, *Freedom's Prophet*, 15; slave solidarity was not a given, especially in the Caribbean where freed slaves often supported the slave system and those that prospered had slaves of their own.

[85] Newman, *Freedom's Prophet*, 6; Allen, *The Life* 15; DeVeaux, "Christian Faith," 86; Cannon, *Methodist*, 9; Richard Allen created the first independent black church and denomination in the United States—becoming its first Bishop.

[86] Donovan, "Slaves," 5; Schneider and Schneider, *Slavery*, 53; between 1681–1818 New France contained 4100 African slaves, in contrast, the United States had an estimated 140,000 African slaves labouring in the plantation economy of the southern states in the same time frame—there was a total of 559,800 slaves in the American colonies at that time.

[87] Brushett, Review of *Forgotten Slaves*, 264; Clairmont and Magill, *Africville*, 67; Von Germeten, *Peter Claver*, 30; Huggins, *Black Odyssey*, 68–70; Green, *Politics of Prayer*, 245; Davis, "Black Catholic," 660; though the Roman Catholic colony of New France had a significant slave population in the 1600s, no indigenous black Catholic tradition arose in Canada. This was due to many factors that included but are not limited to: the fact that the Catholic Church was less involved with the plight of the Negro slaves than with their souls; that the church was

they laboured alongside Native slaves (called *panis*) contributed to the lack of any recorded early African Canadian culture.[88] After the Treaty of Utrecht, the black population of Nova Scotia received periodic infusions of enslaved Africans and free blacks from future North American conflicts—this began with the expulsion of the Acadians and continued with the United Empire Loyalists.

Following the Acadian expulsion and the granting of religious freedoms to the English settlers of New England (1759–1774), Governor Lawrence further enticed the settlers by allotting an additional fifty acres of land for each black slave brought to the colony by the Planters. [89] As a result, the New England Planters added to the slave population of Nova Scotia—further strengthening the bonds of servitude in the region. The arrival of the Empire Loyalists and their slaves not only significantly increased the black population in Nova Scotia but also heralded the entrenchment of widespread slavery and racism.[90] However, In July of 1776, the British army committed to freeing any rebel-owned slave who reported to the Loyalist standard—this was the origin of the Black Loyalists.[91]

Most Black Loyalists were runaway slaves but unlike other runaway slaves they deliberately sought the British and chose the Loyalist cause for a specific purpose; those Black Loyalists held to the ideal that their freedom was a conduit to self-sufficiency and secured rights

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directly implicated in the slave trade; the Catholic Church's disfranchisement and racializing of emancipated black people; and finally, Roman Catholic formalism was daunting and constraining for the American/Canadian slave.

[88] Donovan, "Slaves," 3, 5; there is no record of the *Panis* and the African slave developing a solidarity as bondsmen which may have encouraged an African Canadian culture and church; Schneider, *Slavery*, 53.

[89] Whitfield, ed., *Slavery*, 1, 3–4; Clarke, *Odysseys*, 33; history does not record the exact number of slaves the Planters brought to Nova Scotia (it is estimated at several hundred). Additionally, most maritime slaves had to live in the same house (not slave cabins) as their owners, making them on-call twenty-four hours a day; Walker, *Legal*, 12.

[90] Whitfield, ed., *Slavery*, 4; Clairmont and Magill, *Africville*, 32; Winks, "Slavery," 30, 33; Paschai and Bishop, *Black*, 2–3.

[91] Riddell, *Slavery*, 364–65; Walker, *Loyalists*, 2; this proclamation came about by accident and was not an abolitionists sentiment. What Lord Dunmore proclaimed in crisis, and Britain (in the 1779 Philipsburg Proclamation) extend due to its success, can only be viewed in isolation as a desperate attempt to bring the rebellious colonist to their knees by any means necessary.

as British subjects of the crown. Fundamental to this ideal was the acquisition of land for without it no true independence was believed possible.[92] This was not to be so in the colony of Nova Scotia; an inefficient land-granting system and systemic prejudices precluded the Black Loyalists from gaining the land promised to them and the independence foundational to their ideal.[93] Generally, few blacks received any land at all and those that did found it meted out in smaller quantities than promised, in areas of the colony's worst soil, and often located so far from major settlements that establishing a viable farm was extremely difficult.[94] In spite of these difficulties, the Black Loyalists persevered and became the founders of Nova Scotia's, and what became Canada's, first free black community.[95]

The Black Loyalists Contribution to the Black Community

The Black Loyalists embraced the message brought by Henry Alline and the Nova Scotia Great Awakening (1776); however, Alline's disregard for authority, attack on established religions (Anglican in particular), and his success in converting thousands brought immediate enmity from the Church of England and the British Government.[96] Although the Anglican Church welcomed blacks—allowing them to services, take communion, and even showed concern for their

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[92] Walker, *Loyalists*, 18; Heath, "White," 2; Whitfield, *Blacks*, 4–5; it is important to note that blacks did not shed their African American ideals because they entered Nova Scotia; as they engaged their new northern environment, they retained important aspects of their experience in the United States—particular the politics surrounding slavery; this informed many of their actions and attitudes.

[93] Brown, "Loyalists," 106; Walker, *Loyalists*, 18; Paschai and Bishop, *Black*, 3.

[94] Brown, "Loyalists," 106; Walker, *Loyalists*, 18–19, 43; sadly, the same promise of government support (provisions)—primarily to sustain then during their first few years in Nova Scotia until they could become self-sufficient—were as woefully inadequate as the land grants.

[95] Walker, *Loyalists*, x; Chopra, *Maroons*, 81; Paschai and Bishop, *Black*, 2–3; Nova Scotia embraced the slave system and its racial prejudices that precluded blacks from integrating into society; slaves and free blacks received harsh indications of their servile place in society—public whippings, as painful reminders of their status, were not uncommon.

[96] Walker, *Loyalists*, 65–66; the Black Loyalist quickly took to religion and the church; whether this was due to the discouragement or prevention in the American colonies, their association of Christianity with freedom, or through what the "invisible institution" taught them about the equality offered by a welcoming Christian God is unclear; MacKerrow, *Coloured Baptists*, 8–9.

education and employment—they did not permit them to mingle with the white congregants.[97] In time, the blacks were asked to leave and gather in their own homes—this scenario was played out in nearly all "integrated" parts of the colony irrespective of denomination. Even though there was a slow recession of slavery, racism seamlessly filled the space; segregation had become the norm, and the establishment of separate houses of worship was generally accepted as an "enlightened" example of progressive race relations and practical Christianity in Nova Scotia.[98] Ultimately, blacks in the colony of Nova Scotia did not form any integral part of the Anglican structure and they drifted to denominations like the Huntingdonians and Methodists;[99] however, it was with the Baptist faith where blacks found acceptance and succour.[100]

The black Baptist chapels of Nova Scotia were founded and sustained by blacks without white agency; though they were assisted by Alline and his New Lights, who built a considerable following among the slaves, the black New Lights were generally inclined towards the Baptist denomination. When the Baptist preacher David George arrived with the other Black Loyalists there was a ready potential flock awaiting his call.[101]

Born a slave in Virginia (1742), George was illiterate but taught himself how to read and was converted through the witness of a fellow slave (George Liele) and baptised by Brother Palmer. He began to preach among the black people and eventually set-up a Baptist church in

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[97] Gillard, "Black Church," 16–18; Walker, *Loyalists*, 67; a special gallery was constructed in St. Paul's Church to confine the blacks during worship services.

[98] Gillard, "Black Church," 16–18; Cahill "White," para 4; Walker, *Loyalists*, 74.

[99] Walker, *Loyalists*, 68, 71, 76–78; in areas with concentrated black populations, the blacks were left on their own to develop independent black Anglican churches under black lay-leaders like Joseph Leonard. The black populace of Little Tracadie, who expressed some early interest in the Roman Catholic denomination, were rebuffed by the local Acadians who objected to the 'bad odour' the blacks brought to church.

[100] Walker, *Loyalists*, 74; although the Black Loyalist had an affinity for the Methodist denomination (25 per cent of Nova Scotia's 800 Methodist were Black Loyalists in 1790), their fate was identical to that of their brothers/sisters of the Anglican faith; Barss, ""African" Churches in Nova Scotia," 3; while there are black churches attached to the American Methodist Episcopal Conference, practically all the rest of the black people in Nova Scotia (95 per cent) were Baptist.

[101] MacKerrow, *Coloured Baptists*, 8–14; Walker, *Loyalists*, 74; Clifford, *Freetown*, 21; George, "Life," 475–76; Davidson, *Birchtown*, 65; David George was among the group of slaves and free blacks who founded the Silver Bluff Baptist Church in South Carolina (1773), considered North America's first black church.

Shelburne. A superb orator, George's open-air meetings gradually attracted some whites. When he dared to baptize Deborah Holmes, a white woman of Jone's Harbour, her relatives "were very angry [and] raised a mob."[102] Subsequently, a gang of disbanded soldiers joined the fray and destroyed George's home, beat him, and chased him into a swamp. George's furtherance of salvation was the spark that lit the powder keg of racial tension in Nova Scotia—leading to The Shelburne Race Riots. So fierce was the opposition to blacks (George specifically) that his family (and that of other blacks) had to move temporarily to nearby Birchtown (a black community).[103]

David George soon returned to Shelburne where his congregation grew and his fame spread. Much of George's success came from his preaching ability; John Clarkson, on attending a George service, commented, "I never remember to have heard the Psalms, sung so charmingly, in my life before."[104] A Shelburne citizen described a scene where George's congregation was so overcome that the people could not refrain from crying out hosannas and George himself was obliged to interrupt his sermon for the tears streaming down his face.[105] With a preaching style reminiscent of Alline, George undoubtedly benefited from the social urges of his congregation. A modern black scholar wrote, "The desire for freedom is the central theme, the motivating force, in the history of the American Negro people. This has always determined their actions,

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[102] George, "Life," 473, 478–80; Renfree, *Baptist*, 33; Walker, *Loyalists*, 75; MacKerrow, *Coloured Baptists*, 10–14; Davidson, *Birchtown*, 65.

[103] George, "Life," 478–80; Walker, *Loyalists,* 76–77; Davidson, *Birchtown*, 65; frustrated by the lack of the promised land, Black Loyalists worked for lower wages from the more prosperous white settlers to survive. The ex-servicemen in similar straits refused to work for the same wages as blacks. George's baptism of a white congregant was all it took to exacerbate latent racial tensions and ignite days of riots. Arming themselves, the ex-soldiers set upon attacking anyone of African descent in an attempt to destroy Shelburne's black community. The riots lasted ten days but the racial attacks continued for a full month—only ending when troops arrived from Halifax to restore order; the government did nothing to aid or assist the persecuted blacks and made no effort to provide restitution for lost property; Walker, *Racial,* 3; an excerpt from W. O. Raymond's "The Founding of Shelburne and Early Miramichi: Marston's Diary." In *The Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society* Volume III (1907) 265, reads "Great Riot today (26 July 1784). The disbanded soldiers have risen against the free Negroes to drive them out of town, because they labor cheaper than they—the soldiers. (27 July) Riot continues. The soldiers force the Negroes to quit the town—pulled down about 20 of their houses."

[104] Walker, *Loyalists*, 75–76; George, "Life," 480–81.

[105] Walker, *Loyalists*, 75–76; George, "Life," 480–81.

policies, and efforts, and has, indeed, permeated their religions . . . and filled their incomparably beautiful hymns and spirituals." The black Canadian church was a sanctuary from the monotony of poverty and second-class citizenry for the black community. [106]

David George and the Baptist church offered freedom on a scale beyond that offered by the other denominations; his exciting sermons and rousing hymns promised to free them forever from the shackles of sin. Moreover, because of the inherent autonomous nature of a Baptist church, a people desiring freedom, equality, local democracy, and participation in the affairs of their church found these things in the Baptist chapels. David George travelled to Fredericton, Horton, Preston, Halifax, Digby, and Liverpool founding chapels in each city;[107] he ministered to the majority of Shelburne's black inhabitants and his following among the blacks in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia was unmatched by any other preacher, white or black.[108] Over time, the white prejudice and indifference that forced the black church to grow separately caused an unforeseen consequence.

The anti-establishment/authority and the religious anarchy, that were the legacy of Nova Scotia's revival, augmented with the segregation of black congregants by the white church, had a peculiar effect on the Black Loyalist churches (something not seen in the black churches of the United States); whether Anglican, Baptist, Huntingdonian, or Methodist the Black Loyalists shared an image of themselves as a select group uncontaminated by the sins of the white world.[109] Over time, the Black Loyalist noticed that God did not speak to the older (white) churches as he did to them—evidenced by the fact that evoking an immediate spiritual awareness in the listener was the cornerstone of the black church and the litmus test of any preacher. This

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[106] Walker, *Loyalists*, 75–76; Thomson, Oliver, 13.

[107] MacKerrow, *Coloured Baptists*, 10–14; George, "Life," 478–83; Walker, *Loyalists*, 75. Davidson, *Birchtown*, 65; Brooks, " Negro," 11–15.

[108] Walker, *Loyalists*, 75–76.

[109] Walker, *Loyalists*, 78–79.

dynamic inevitably produced a feeling of being closer to God, of being a chosen people, a Christian elite. As a result, the Black Loyalists' chief concerns were the acquisition of land and the liberty to practise their brand of Christianity.[110]

In white society, from which the Black Loyalists were alienated, the black churches took on great importance in their lives; like their southern counterparts, there was a lack of distinction between the church and the community. Moreover, the pastor transcended the role of spiritual/religious leader; in many instances, they were the undisputed leader of the community—this included the social, political, and educational arenas.[111] The religion of the Black Loyalist influenced their economic, social, and political outlook; knowing that the local officials ignored their interests, and fearful of their interference in their Christian life and pursuit of happiness, led the Black Loyalists to acquire an ambivalence towards white people. Though they admired whites to the point of emulation in certain things, the Black Loyalists looked down upon them because of their laxness and injustice. Confident in their spiritual superiority, Black Loyalists continued to feel uncomfortably inferior in the physical presence of whites and began to search for a place where this was not so.[112]

Exodus: Another Promised Land?

The Black Loyalists were isolated from the rest of Nova Scotian society; they were settled in segregated communities, attend segregated churches, schools, suffered cruelty, and injustice at the hands of officials that treated them differently when allocating land, provisions, and even under the law. At the outset, their ideals were founded on the acquisition of land that afforded

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[110] Walker, *Loyalists*, 78–79; Whitefield, *Blacks*, 18–20.

[111] Brown, " Loyalists," 107; Walker, *Loyalists*, 79–80, 85; the strength of family ties among Black Loyalist's communities extended beyond the normal British definition to include godchildren, children of others, or simply people from the community—causing the community to act as one.

[112] Walker, *Loyalists*, 86.

them their independence and security; after seven or eight years in Nova Scotia, this urge went unfulfilled but not undiminished. Carrying the belief in their exclusivity, the land promised and then denied by the Nova Scotian officials soon took on the meaning of a 'Promised Land' where they could realize their temporal and spiritual security. By 1791, many Black Loyalists had come to doubt that Nova Scotia was their Promised Land.[113]

By the last two decades of the eighteenth century, a weak economic climate and the 1789 famine in British North America took its toll on Nova Scotia—its full measure manifesting itself in the black community.[114] Moreover, the fact that many attempts were made to enslave the free blacks of Nova Scotia was an indication of the insecurity in which the Black Loyalists lived; in fact, this was a prominent reason offered by numerous blacks anxious to leave Nova Scotia in 1791.[115] This situation, together with the ever-present spectre of racism and discrimination, culminateed in 1793, only ten years after their original settlement in Nova Scotia, with nearly 1,200 Black Loyalists emigrating rather than submitting to white hostility—The Black Loyalists' desperation to leave Nova Scotia was a telling comment on the quality of life they were afforded. Unfortunately, the great Baptist preacher and leader David George was among those that eventually left Nova Scotia for Sierra Leone.[116]

With the loss of so many Black Loyalists to Sierra Leone, towns like Preston suffered serious depopulation. A partial amelioration of this condition (principally cheap black labour for

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[113] Brown, " Loyalists," 107–08; Walker, *Loyalists*, 87; Whitefield, *Blacks*, 19–20.

[114] Walker, *Loyalists*, 53, 57; Whitfield, *Blacks*, 20; Paschai and Bishop, *Black*, 2–3; unemployment wiped out the black companies of Birchtown; many blacks were forced to indenture their families and some even sold themselves as slaves. Many blacks died of starvation and exposure after selling all their belongings for food.

[115] Walker, *Loyalists*, 51; Brown, " Loyalists," 107; Paschai and Bishop, *Black*, 2–3.

[116] Renfree, *Baptist*, 32–33; Walker, *Loyalists*, 75; Whitfield, *Blacks*, 20; Brown, " Loyalists," 107–08; scholars like Wallace Brown believe that the vast majority of Black Loyalists would have left if they had had the chance; the government, and whites in general, dreading the loss of cheap labour, forbade Black Loyalists from leaving Nova Scotia unless they could clear their financial obligations—which was unlikely.

the white community) may have been seen in the coming deportation of over five hundred Jamaican Maroons to Nova Scotia.[117]

The Coming of the Jamaican Maroons

The island that became Jamaica was discovered in 1494 by the Spanish and remained in their possession for over a century and a half. The British conquest of the island in 1655 precipitated the transfer of the Spanish inhabitants to Cuba, however, a considerable number of their "Negro slaves" (initially with their Spanish owners) escaped and fled to the hills in the interior of the island. This Spanish resistance movement fought the British until they capitulated in 1660; by 1663, when the British called upon the Spanish slaves to come down from the hills they refused to comply. Instead, they established their own settlements, learned the art of self-governance, and mastered the skills of guerrilla warfare.[118] The now former slaves augmented their numbers with fugitive slaves escaping their British masters. Over time, a formidable body of "Negros" was established in the interior of the island—these intrepid former slaves soon became called Maroons. They enjoyed independence, conducted wars against, and eventually made treaties with the white elite—they were allowed to reside in certain parts of the island exempt from the jurisdiction of the white Jamaican government but their habits continually brought them into conflict with these same authorities.[119]

Those conflicts saw the Maroons combat superiour British military technology with intelligence and unorthodox tactics; they were adept at surviving in the mountainous wooded

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[117] Chopra, *Maroons*, 85–86; Whitfield, *Blacks*, 22–23; Riddell, *Slavery*, 365.

[118] Grant, *Maroons*, 18; Don Christoval Arnaldo de Ysassi led a hard core Spanish resistance movement that fought the British until 1660; Campbell, *Maroons*, 15; Chopra, *Maroons*, 15–16.

[119] Grant, *Maroons*, 18; the term 'maroon' has various origins; from a "fugitive slave who betakes himself to the woods," to a general term used to describe a runaway slave, or to describe the act of escaping slavery; Campbell, *Maroons*, 15; Chopra, *Maroons*, 15–16; Archibald, "Deportation of Negroes," 150; Maroon communities buttressed their military acumen by absorbing skilled and armed runaway slaves (the blacksmiths were of particular usefulness as they could build and repair weapons of war)

terrain of the island and knew how to use its natural fortifications. Also, using provisions from the slaves, they engaged in systematic incursions plundering the homes and cattle of white settlers then using guerrilla tactics against British troops to cover their egress.[120] Their incursions dissuaded landowners from cultivating frontiers areas—the best and most fertile parts of the island could not be accessed due to the Maroon activities. The most threatening Maroon act (to the white elite) was that they provide the growing slave population with an example of how to live on the island without suffering the misery of bondage. By the 1720s, Maroon activities against the plantations began to increase largely because of the government's aggressive campaign against them; the British Military's attempts at suppressing Maroon activities often met with failure and their "successes" were quickly countered with numerous, diversified, and savage reprisals.[121]

The relatively few white men on the island[122] resulted in a lack of an effective white militia; the island's defense was therefore left in the hands of free blacks and what were called coloureds (light-skinned people of African ancestry) who comprised a third of the island's militia and had little military experience or discipline.[123] With white militiamen not wanting to serve beside blacks and British troops dreading service in the West Indies (25 percent of troops died from disease alone), the Jamaican white elites saw negotiation with the Maroons as their

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[120] Chopra, *Maroons*, 15–16; in his writings (1790), Captain Philip Thicknesse recalled the successive military failures that had led the Jamaican elite to sign the treaties with the Maroons: he stated, "Such who are unacquainted with that island will be surprised when they are told that all regular troops in Europe could not have conquered the wild Negroes by force of arms." Thicknesse's remarks echoed those of the Jamaican governor, John Gregory, who conceded that diplomacy was most suitable against the dauntless Maroons: "For my part I know but two ways of dealing with an enemy, either by force or treaty; the first we have often tried"; Campbell, *Maroons*, 14, 53, 67; Maroon raids often led whites to abandon their settlements.

[121] Chopra, *Maroons*, 15–16; Campbell 14, 53, 67; initially Maroon populations were primarily male, by the 1730s—through raids, that furnished the Maroons arms, provisions, and for a period women—the number of women and children exceeded that of the men.

[122] Chopra, *Maroons*, 20; those that joined the militia had to abandoned their plantations to the discretion of black slaves—ostensibly relying on slaves to protect their homes and families; this was a disquieting development to the majority of white plantation owners—one they were hesitant to entertain.

[123] Chopra, *Maroons*, 20.

only recourse. In the years 1738 and 1739 the beginning of negotiations between the Maroons in the northwest village of Trelawney Town (far from the urban centres of Spanish Town and Kingston) and the white elite ended the long period of guerrilla warfare. It was agreed that, in exchange for their autonomy, the Maroons became, in essence, an auxiliary military force for the white Jamaican elite; they collaborated with the slave regime to preserve the institution—patrolling the woods for fugitive slaves and suppressing slave rebellions. In exchange for this internal police force, the Maroons received patronage in the form of money, clothes, guns, and cattle.[124] Additionally, the treaties of the 1730s not only set Maroon against slave but also set slave against Maroon—each doing their best to undermine the position of the other in the eyes of the white elite; this state policy of creating a division between slave and Maroon held the white elite in good stead during the upcoming war. Over time, the enmity between the slave population and the Maroons built reaching its full expression during the Trelawney War of 1795.[125]

The Trelawney War of 1795—like most wars—was fought for a number of reasons not, the least of which was the tension that was steadily building between the government and the Maroon communities. As is the case in the origins of major conflicts, there is always an immediate "objective cause" as well as the more cumulative cause(s) that fuel the seemingly inevitable outcome.[126] The "objective cause" of The Trelawney War of 1795 occurred when two Maroons from Trelawney Town were convicted, "by the evidence of two white people, of killing tame hogs"; they were punished by flogging in the common workhouse, at the behest of the

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[124] Campbell, *Maroons*, 62–63, 127–28; Chopra, *Maroons*, 1, 5, 15, 20–21; this truce lasted for almost fifty years. It should be noted that the slave system in Jamaica had many gradations; black Jamaican society had adopted the racial prejudices and hierarchy of the white Jamaican leadership. This included the Maroons who thought themselves superior to plantation slaves—some even owned slaves, which they brought with them to Nova Scotia. Ultimately, the Maroons did not receive anything from the treaty they did not already have; they simply became a policing force for the white elites' continuation of the subjugation of their brethren/sistren.

[125] Campbell, *Maroons*, 127–28; Chopra, *Maroons*, 32, 35; initially the white elite feared a slave–Maroon alliance, however, during the war many slaves voiced their animosity toward the Maroons—testifying against them before the colonial government while others sought protection from white slave owners against Maroon kidnappers.

[126] Campbell, *Maroons*, 211.

white elite, by a slave they (the two Maroons) had previously recovered (for the white elite) and delivered for punishment in the very same workhouse. This delighted the other slaves. To them it was an opportunity to triumph and exact revenge over the hated Maroons; much of their rancor was due to the Maroons' part in quelling what may have been successful slave rebellions during the 1760s—in particular a rebellion led by a plantation slave by the name Tacky. For the Maroons, with their inherent contempt for slaves, this public flogging was a deep humiliation that demanded redress.[127]

Ultimately, the Maroon community soon came to realize that no matter how loyal their service was to the white elite they were seen in the same light, and suffered the same indignities, as their black brothers and sisters for any perceived trespass[128]—this was the demarcation point for the war. The Trelawney War of 1795 shattered fifty-seven years of coexistence the white elite had reached with the six Maroon communities.[129] Despite their lack of clothing, salt, and, gunpowder, the Trelawney Town Maroons fought the British military and Jamaican militia to a stalemate for four months; with no end in sight, the British leadership decided to threaten the Maroons by sanctioning the use of Cuban bloodhounds—dogs bred specifically to track and feed on human flesh. This threat was what ultimately ended the Trelawney War, not British military might—the Maroons did not surrender as much as yielded.[130]

The Maroon insurrection came as a surprise and their eventual capitulation created a problem for the white leadership, i.e., they believed the Maroons would "corrupt" the other

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[127] Campbell, *Maroons*, 211–14, 222; Chopra, *Maroons*, 22–23; the Maroons left in a rage to the laughter, hisses, and hoots of the slaves—a Maroon representative complained, "Do not subject us to insult and humiliation from the very people to whom we are set in opposition."

[128] Chopra, *Maroons*, 22.

[129] Grant, *Maroons*, 22; Campbell, *Maroons*, 164–65, 211–15; names and numbers of Maroon settlements were in question—"towns" were named and unnamed while others eventually disappeared from official documents. Some of the names of Maroon communities include Accompong, Trelawney Town, Nanny Town, New Crawford Town, Scotts Hall, Moore Town; Chopra, *Maroons*, 12–15.

[130] Chopra, *Maroons*, 42–47, 66–67; Campbell, *Maroons*, 216, 231–34; Archibald, "Deportation of Negroes," 150; 1500 British Troops and 2000 Jamaican Militia were held at bay by 500 Maroon of which only 167 were men and of those only 30 were considered "young and stout."

enslaved Africans (who comprised ninety per cent of the island's population). The Lieutenant Governor of Jamaica, Lord Balcarres, declared that, due to their late surrender and the heavy casualties they inflicted on the British regulars and white militia, the Maroons would be removed permanently from the island. Skillful warriors and undefeated outlaws, the Maroons serve as a powerful symbol of bravery and tenacity in the face of insurmountable odds; two centuries later this is the remarkable legacy of fewer than six hundred Maroons.[131] Their exile came as a consequence of many factors, not the least of which was their guerrilla warfare campaign waged against the British. On 6 June 1796, the ships Dover, Mary, and Ann set sail for Halifax, Nova Scotia with a complement of 568 Maroons—of whom 401 were old men, women and children, and 167 arms-bearing men; the Maroons arrived in Halifax on 21 and 22 July 1796.[132]

Sir John Wentworth, Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia welcomed the generous Jamaican government funds and the potential cheap labour that came with the Maroons. In short order, on 25 July 1796, an arrangement had been made with His Royal Highness (Prince Edward) for the Maroons to be employed as labourers on Fort George (Citadel Hill) for the refortification of Halifax.[133] The city of Halifax owed its existence to its strategic military position and that position ebbed and flowed on the tides of the military presence. The war between France and England was a worldwide conflict for political, economic, and military dominance. Parts of the community of Halifax were rough and characterized with having loose morals; it was said that Halifax was "garrisoned by one regiment of artillery, two of infantry and

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[131] Chopra, *Maroons*, 11; Grant, *Maroons*, 24; Archibald, "Deportation of Negroes," 151.

[132] Grant, *Maroons*, 29; Campbell, *Maroons*, 236; Chopra, *Maroons*, 59–61, 74, 85–86; other factors for the Maroon exile included worry of Maroon vengeance over the use of bloodhounds, increased slave and Maroon cooperation, the valuable land the Maroon's possessed, and the proximity, both spatially and temporally, to Saint-Domingue and its historic slave rebellion; Whitfield, *Blacks*, 22–23; Riddell, *Slavery*, 365.

[133] Chopra, *Maroons*, 2; Grant, *Maroons*, 35–37; "A Negress Speaks," 277; Paschai and Bishop, *Black*, 13–16; the war with France continued unabated since 1793 and the French squadron under Admiral Richery was then off the coast expected to threaten Halifax. The Maroons were paid nine dollars per diem and given provision, lodging, and clothing for their work fortifying Halifax; this allowed the men of the provincial militia, who were currently repairing Halifax's fortifications, to go back to the harvest and other civil occupations that were distressed for lack of hands.

three of whores."[134] Henry Alline, the great evangelist of the new Light Movement, wrote of his visit to Halifax in 1783, "I preached in different parts of town and have reason to believe that there were two or three souls that received the Lord Jesus Christ. But the people in general are almost as dark and vile as Sodom."[135]

Initially, the Maroons earned goodwill with the government; reassuring Lieutenant Governor Sir John Wentworth that they regretted the war and had only sought self-preservation—yet memories of the bloodhounds that compelled their capitulation had not faded. Maroons noticed that the smaller number of slaves in Canada did not blur the racial divide; slaves, as well as free blacks, were often reminded of their servile place in Nova Scotian society.[136] Wentworth strategically moved The Trelawney Town Maroons to Preston (locally called Maroon Town)—mostly abandoned by the Black Loyalist exodus—to learn agriculture, supply cheap labour to the white community, but most of all to separate them from the white inhabitants. Wentworth saw Maroons as a useful addition to the defense of the colony; he also maintained, at least in the beginning, the Maroon traditions of a semi-military form of government in a quasi-independent relationship with the central authority in Nova Scotia.[137]

The Maroon settlement plans of Wentworth were rife with problems; by the winter of 1796–97 (a very severe winter), the self-serving leadership, financial woes, and internal disputes[138] had taken their toll on the Maroons of Nova Scotia, but of chief concern was the weather. The Maroons did not like the Nova Scotian weather (a stark contrast to their native Jamaica) and saw no reason for its continuance. Colonel Montague James—a title he was

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[134] Grant, *Maroons*, 49–50; Paschai and Bishop, *Black*, 13–16.
[135] Grant, *Maroons*, 49–50; Paschai and Bishop, *Black*, 13–16.
[136] Chopra, *Maroons*, 80–81, 86; Grant, *Maroons*, 42–46; Paschai and Bishop, *Black*, 13–16.
[137] Grant, *Maroons*, 50–51; Chopra, *Maroons*, 81; Paschai and Bishop, *Black*, 13–16.
[138] Grant, *Maroons*, 113; Paschai and Bishop, *Black*, 13–16; the Maroons were a warrior society where fighting was preferable to peace—whether that was with each other or against a common foe; this naturally led discussions to disagreements which, over time, could, and did, lead to vendettas.

granted in Nova Scotia—the recognized leader of the Maroons in Nova Scotia, asked, on behalf of his people, to be moved "to a warmer climate"; James again became a resistance leader, this time against the weather. The Maroons refused to labour complaining of illness, the cold, and physical intimidation. What Lieutenant Governor John Wentworth did not predict was that, unlike the Black Loyalists, Maroons were not slaves, did not regard the British as liberators, and resented the colony's attempt to use them as cheap labour. They were in constant protest against and cultural conflict with the local government. [139]

On 22 March 1799, the Sierra Leone Company agreed to the terms of settlement of the Maroons. Like the Black Loyalist of 1793, when the chance came to leave in 1800, nearly all left for the shores of Sierra Leone. The Maroon spirit is their legacy to the Nova Scotian black community, that spirit of group pride, inner dignity, cohesion, and strength to resist domination.[140]

Both the Black Loyalists and the Maroons left important legacies that affected the Black Refugees of The War of 1812. The white populace believed blacks were only fit for slavery and could not handle the burden of freedom; consequently, they could never allow them to fully integrate into the colony—citing their race and former status as slaves as primary deterrents.[141] Furthermore, the white populace agreed they should never be given land because they would abandon it squandering any money the government spent on them; as a result, Black Refugee settlers did not become owners of their land but simply squatters. This situation allowed the government to use them as a semi-captive cheap labour force—a condition they attempted with

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[139] Grant, *Maroons*, 74–76, 85; Paschai and Bishop, *Black*, 13–16.

[140] Chopra, *Maroons*, 101, 119, 122, 128–34; Whitfield, *Blacks*, 22–23; Riddell, *Slavery*, 365; Archibald, "Deportation of Negroes," 154; the Maroons spent forty years in Sierra Leone but longed for the island of Jamaica; the bulk of them soon returned to the island leaving only a remnant of their stay in their few descendants.

[141] Whitfield, *Blacks*, 23–24; Paschai and Bishop, *Black*, 13–16; Archibald, "Deportation of Negroes,"152; Archibald states, the "Negroes like an idle and lazy life, and have no aim or ambition for anything beyond mere animal existence."

the Black Loyalists and Jamaican Maroons.[142] However, these conditions did not deter American slaves from seeking their freedom in Nova Scotia.

The Coming of The Black Refugee: The War of 1812

The lingering feelings of discord between the new United States and the British Empire—that stemmed from the Revolutionary War—were the primary impetus for the War of 1812.[143] To the American slave, these new sounds of war echoed the old opportunities presented by the last conflict. The American slaves that left the United States to engage in a quest for freedom during the War of 1812, sustained the black struggle towards emancipation, autonomy, and citizenship in Nova Scotia.[144] The call to freedom was once again extended to the slaves by the British forces; thousands of black American slaves escaped from their masters and attempted to reach British military encampments. As a result, a large contingent of Black Refugees left the southern United States under British protection to settle in Nova Scotia.[145] Without leaders like David George to embrace and guide them on their journey of freedom and self-sufficiency, the start of their quest was harrowing. Fortunately, a few years after David George's departure from Nova Scotia, John Burton took up the work he laid down by establishing a Baptist church (on

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[142] Whitfield, *Blacks*, 23–24, 85; upon their arrival, just like their counterparts in the New England states, the Black Refugees were denigrated and harassed in an effort to reinforce notions of black inferiority. The local Nova Scotian press engaged in a consistent campaign to depict the Refugees as fit only for slavery, unendingly stupid, and depraved beyond redemption.

[143] Whitfield, *Blacks*, 30–31; other factors included Britain's Royal Navy's search and seizure of American vessels and Britain's want to teach this new United States a lesson upon the world stage. In the United States House of Representative, young southern and western congressmen fanned the flames of conflict in order to potentially annex parts of British North America for the new Republic. Britain devoted few resources toward the war (keeping its focus on Napoleon) and the United States had limited means, support, and preparedness for such a conflict.

[144] Riddell, *Slavery*, 368; Whitfield, *Blacks*, xi.

[145] MacKerrow, *Coloured Baptists*, 17; Whitfield, *Blacks*, 1, 84–85; the Black Refugees intertwined their abolitionist beliefs with Britain because of their original liberation from slavery. Their identity—that is their consciousness of shared experience and group understanding of their social position—revolved around assertions of loyalty to Great Britain and British institutions. Moreover, public displays of loyalty to the British Crown helped them define themselves as a distinct group; it also signified one of the ways in which the Black Refugees sharply drew the border between freedom in Nova Scotia and the British world in opposition to the slaveholding Republic of the United States; Clairmont and Magill, *Africville*, 33; Riddell, *Slavery*, 368; this proclamation was issued by Admiral Cochrane in April 1814.

Barrington Street) where he ministered to the black community in many of the black settlements—the newly arrived Black Refugees found a home in Father Burton's church. One of his congregants was a man by the name of Richard Preston. [146]

The relatives of former Virginian slave Richard Preston were among the runaway slaves of the War of 1812 that found refuge with the British Royal Navy. Preston was a tall man of imposing bearing who possessed outstanding speaking abilities honed as a slave preacher—he obtained his freedom shortly after the war. In the hope of finding his mother, Richard traveled to British North America where his search proved fruitless until he made his way to Nova Scotia; there he found his mother in the largest settlement of Black Refugees, a town called Preston just outside Halifax.[147] Throughout his life, Preston attempted to create a distinct and cohesive identity among the blacks in Nova Scotia by establishing a church and several political and social organizations. In 1846, he founded Halifax's African Abolition Society (AAS) dedicated to the eradication of slavery and in 1854 he created the African Baptist Association (ABA);[148] the ABA, the result of Preston's tireless travels throughout the colony, brought together people of African descent from various backgrounds under the auspices of the independent black church.[149]

For more than three decades, Preston performed his congregational duties, as the first pastor and founder of the African Baptist Church (becoming Cornwallis Street Baptist Church in 1892), while being the spokesperson for the local black community. Preston became not only the

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[146] Renfree, *Baptist*, 32; MacKerrow, *Coloured Baptists*, 8–9, 15–17; Davidson, "Burton, John" para 3; Burton became known as "an apostle to the coloured people."

[147] Love-Joy, "Richard Preston ex-Slave," 3; Whitfield, *Blacks*, 1; Boyd, "Preston, Richard" para 2.

[148] Love-Joy, "Richard Preston ex-Slave," 3; Boyd, "Preston, Richard" para 7; Whitfield, *Blacks*, 1; the AAS dedicated itself to the eradication of an institution that had been illegal in the British Empire since 1834. It held parades celebrating British emancipation, sponsored lectures about the American Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, and harboured runaway slaves from the United States.

[149] Whitfield, *Blacks*, 1; MacKerrow, *Coloured Baptists*, 17; Boyd, "Preston, Richard" para 9; Love-Joy, "Richard Preston ex-Slave," 3; despite Preston's death in 1861, the ABA remained an integral part of the black community to this day.

pastor of the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church but, it is believed, also pastor of the entire black constituency of the province of Nova Scotia; he travelled from Halifax to Yarmouth organizing churches in all the districts where the struggling blacks were settled—Dartmouth, Preston, Beechville, and Hammond Plains.[150] In each area he picked out the man most fit to serve and make him local pastor to superintend the work in his absence—Preston periodically revisited each area to ensure it was functioning correctly. In short, amid all the limitations and handicaps, Preston welded together heterogeneous communities of ex-slaves that had come from widely different parts of the United States into a United Christian brother/sisterhood. Preston died in 1861 leaving no writings, no undisputed likeness, and no descendants, however, he did leave disciples, followers, and ideological heirs; a true colossus in the annals of the history of black Nova Scotians, it would not be hyperbolic to state that Richard Preston was considered the father of the Nova Scotia's black community.[151] It was a community that continued to fight for the freedom of Nova Scotia's slave population.

Those blacks that were still in the throes of thralldom (Acadian, New England Planters, and White Loyalists' slaves) found that although slavery remained strong, its foundations were legally insecure and unstable because while it was recognized under common law (private property) there was no statutory basis (such as a slave code).[152] Additionally, it was highly

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[150] Love-Joy, "Richard Preston ex-Slave," 4; Boyd, "Preston, Richard" para 6; New Horizon Baptist Church History [n.d.]; African Baptist Church (later renamed Cornwallis Street Church, still later renamed New Horizons Baptist Church) was founded April 14, 1832, registering pride in the black community for it was cogent evidence that former slaves could establish their own institutions in the face of impediments imposed by the white population.

[151] Clarke, *Directions*, 53; depictions of Preston and his accomplishments for the black community of Nova Scotia verge on the hagiographic; Love-Joy, "Richard Preston ex-Slave," 4–5; Africville Genealogy Society ed., *Africville,* 120.

[152] Riddell, *Slavery*, 368; Whitfield, ed., *Slavery*, 9–10; after the mid 1790s Chief Justices Thomas Strange and S. S. Blower made it nearly impossible for owners to prove they held legal title to their slaves; as a result, the institution of slavery was slowly eroded and largely cease to exist by the end of the 1820s.

contested by anti-slavery legislators, judges, lawyers, and religious groups[153]—a fact that saw a gradual end to the institution in Nova Scotia.[154]

Ultimately, between 1605–1820, the colony that became the province of Nova Scotia received African Canadians from sources that included: an unknown number of Acadian slaves and several hundred slaves in Cape Breton (1632–1755),[155] an unknown number—possibly up to 200—of free blacks from New England, an unknown number New England Planter slaves (1759–1774), 3,000 Black Loyalists, 1,500–2,000 Loyalist slaves (1783–1812), 550 Jamaican Maroons (1796–1800), a small number of slaves brought up from the coastal slave trade, approximately 3,200 Black Refugees from the War of 1812 (1812–1815), and fugitive slaves from the United States (1850–1865). This black diaspora was the building block of the black community of Nova Scotia.[156] It was a community neglected in the allotment of land, provisions, and the law; one who lost a third of its free inhabitants to emigration only to have them replaced years later by yet another conflict. An inchoate community initially nurtured then laided down by David George, taken up and sustained by John Burton, and finally cohered, expanded, and consolidated by Richard Preston—the fundamental thread of the community and its foundation was the Christian Church.

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[153] Riddell, *Slavery*, 368; Whitfield, ed., "Struggle," 21–22; Whitfield, ed., *Slavery*, 4–5, 9; the region did not adopt any legislation ending slavery, like Upper and Lower Canada, because there was no statue law protecting slavery; Winks, "Slavery," 30.

[154] Whitfield, ed., *Slavery*, 10; it must be noted that although the ending of slavery can be seen as a positive example of black-white humanitarian cooperation, the other reason it ended was due to the use of free black labour that began in the 1780s and expanded during the next twenty-five years—making chattel bondage unnecessary. Ultimately, maritime slavery lasted until the early 1820s.

[155] Donovan, "Slaves," 3; Caron, *Acadians*, 4.

[156] Whitfield, ed., *Slavery*, 5; Clarke, *Odysseys*, 33; Walker, *Loyalists,* 12, 40; the exact number of Black Loyalist and Loyalist slaves is hard to determine due to the fact that after the War of Independence, which saw the transport and accounting of all Loyalists, the number of Negroes (slave and free) transported came down to the list of Negroes (Book of Negroes) indiscriminate use of the terms "slave" and "servant"—although most servants were slaves others were free blacks, children, or indentured adults.

Thirty-eight years after the passing of Richard Preston, William Andrew White Jr. entered this black community as an undergraduate of Acadia University at Wolfville; it was a community that he later nurtured and moved toward full citizenship.

Acadia University

In 1822, the Nova Scotia Association of Baptist Churches was created as a result of their break from the union with the New Brunswick Baptist churches—the Nova Scotia Association met that same year in Horton, Nova Scotia. In 1828, during its seventh session, the Association met in a conference room in Fowler's Hotel (now known as the American House) in Wolfville, Nova Scotia, with the desire to do something to advance education among the people—during this meeting they formed an education society. Believing that "education has a powerful influence on the interests of religion, and the well-being of individuals and society," the Association founded the Nova Scotia Baptist Education Society. The Society quickly set upon creating an institution that provided suitable instruction within the reach of young persons. Opening the school to persons of any religious denomination and ensuring that financial concerns were not a barrier to entrance, the Society opened the College that became Acadia University.[157]

Being academically prepared to attend an institution of higher education in a region that did not foster black academic achievement was one thing; being financially able to attend a seminary or university given that many economic opportunities were closed to black residents was another. Moreover, not having one's education impeded by hostile treatment on account of race was also a matter of concern. Racial segregation in the three nineteenth-century Maritime Provinces could only be characterized as normative. Schools were not exempt because white parents and their school children shunned their darker-skinned parents and classmates; a situation

[157] Acadia University, *Historical*, 3–6, 11; the university was open on 21 January 1839.

that eventually produced segregated schools—black children were excluded from most public schools and segregated schools operated haphazardly or not at all. The Baptist elements in the foundations of the province of Nova Scotia once again sowed the seeds of opportunity for William Andrew White Jr. The Baptist Education Association's theology of creating a school (Acadia University) accessible to all was not idle rhetoric; they endeavoured to make higher education available to all regardless of religious affiliation, financial need, or, in point of fact, race—W. Andrew White was the third black admitted.[158] However, for black residents of the Maritimes, education was neither a right nor even a privilege.[159] At higher learning institutions in the Maritimes, it seems likely that (by unwritten agreement) both male and female dormitories were reserved for white students. It would be presumptuous to suggest that Acadia University differed significantly in its practices since Liala Halfkenny and Edwin Howard Borden, whose terms overlapped, boarded off-campus—White suffered a similar fate.[160]

Acadia University: *Per quod dicimus et quid facimus*

Until this point in his life, William Andrew White Jr. had lived (not by choice) in a segregated black community; his journey to Wolfville was the first time he ventured into the white community for an extended period. Becoming only the second black man to be accepted at the school (the third person of African heritage), White's presence on an all-white campus is a testament to his perseverance and courage.[161] These innate traits allowed White to weather any

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[158] Acadia, *Records*, 3, 5–7.

[159] Harris, "'Ushered'," 50–52.

[160] Harris, "'Ushered'," 57; both were accommodated in the homes of relatives. Edwin Howard Borden had to board elsewhere even as an MA student in the 1890s. It must be noted that where US Universities would have summarily rejected White based on the colour of his skin, Canada, specifically Nova Scotia, accepted him—it is a matter of degrees; while there was no shortage of racism and discrimination in Canada, there were also greater degrees of acceptance and opportunity; Meredith, *Mississippi*, i–ii; it was not until 1962 that James Meredith became the first black to go to an all-white University.

[161] Prime, "White," para. 1; "Acadia Recognizes African Heritage Month by Adding First Black Student Advisor Position to Student Services" [n.d.]; Harris, "'Ushered'," 49; Clarke, *Directions*, 33; University of Chicago,

incidents of discrimination and overt racism he undoubtedly faced on the Acadia campus. As the only African Canadian on campus, White's life experiences (both in the Southern United States and Canada) taught him to be prudent in his actions and, more importantly, in his oration. Although this was the case, attending Acadia University also assisted White in nurturing his considerable oratory skills—as evidenced in the school newspaper (the *Acadia Athenaeum*) identifying White as a "good speaker."[162] Chosen as such for the university's "Junior Exhibition," White's speech on the late President William McKinley again had the *Athenaeum* commenting on his oratory stating, "White had pulpit manners" and that his gestures (while speaking) were "profuse."[163] The *Acadia Athenaeum* goes on to state, "The speakers of the evening were well chosen in regard to diversity of both thought and manner of presentation. In nearly every case the individuals exhibit clearly their natural tendencies in the selection and composition of the subject matter"—White's "natural tendency" was toward leadership.

Although his status as the only black student on campus came with its daily indignities, White became deservedly popular; by his gentlemanly bearing, his genuine humility, his spontaneous humour, and his kindly nature, he readily won the esteem of his peers and professors alike. A faithful and diligent student, he made good progress in his studies—stories illustrative of the high regard in which his fellow students held him have come down from those days.[164] A true student-athlete, White was active in the YMCA and excelled in track and field

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Divinity School, 63; Nova Scotia Archives, Acadia University, 1882; Edwin Howard Borden was the first black male graduate of Acadia University earning a Bachelor of Arts in 1892, his Master of Arts in 1896, Bachelor of Divinity from the University of Chicago, honorary Doctor of Divinity from Baptist College in Texas (1910), and PhD from Milton University in Baltimore, Maryland in 1924. Borden made his name and career as a pastor, professor, and author in the United States where he became known as the dean of Negro Baptist preachers in Texas.

[162] "Notes on 03," 327.

[163] "The Junior Exhibition," 120; it is interesting to note that the *Acadia Athenaeum* states that "The speakers of the evening were well chosen in regard to diversity of both thought and manner of presentation. In nearly every case the individuals exhibit clearly their natural tendencies in the selection and composition of the subject matter."

[164] Warren, "William Andrew White, D. D., 03," 7; it is a testament to the burden shouldered by any black that ventured outside his/her allotted space (a spaced meted out by the greater white society) that he/she must excel

and rugby/football; White was said to have "Distinguished himself as an all-around field and track athlete, was a pretty good football player, and a good fellow generally. He was also prominent in the Y. M. C. A. and stood well in his classes."[165] During Field Day and the first Intercollegiate Field and Track meet of the Maritime provinces, evidence to support claims of White's athletic prowess was evident in his first and second place finishes in Field Day (June 1902) and the two first place and a second place finishes in the Intercollegiate Field Meet (June 1903).[166]

White's participation on the athletic field, as the only black member of any team did not go without the spectre of racism entering the scrimmage. On one occasion, when the team travelled the Maritimes to play, the proprietor of the hotel where they were registered stated that his hotel "did not take coloured folks." To the proprietor, the team courteously but firmly declared, "If you can't take White, you can't take us." It would seem in athletics, where White was concerned, no Acadia student would draw the colour line.[167] Another incident occurred prior to a football match with the Truro football team. On 11 October 1902, the much-anticipated football match with Truro was greeted with great weather and excitement on campus; however, a rumour passed swiftly along that the Truro team would not play if Acadia fielded a black man. The truth of the rumour was soon verified and the Truro team was "quite willing [to

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in many if not all aspects of his/her current circumstance to be held in any regard (in White's case academics and athletics); Acadia University, "Turn Out & Cheer: Sports in Wolfville, 1870–1950, [n.d.]; during the annual field day in 1901, White helped his team to the title, placing first in the shot put and third in both the 100 yard dash and the hammer throw. "Notes On 03," 321; the school's student newspaper, the *Athenaeum*, remarked, upon White's graduation in June 1903, that White "distinguished himself as an all-around track and field athlete, and (was) a good fellow generally."

[165] "Notes on 03," 327.

[166] "The Sports: Field Day," 341–42; "Year in Athletics: The First Intercollegiate Field Meet," 344, 346–48, 357; White placed third in Running Board Jump, third in Hammer Throw, second in Shot Putt, and first in Running High Jump (Field Day June 1902); he also represented Acadia University at the Intercollegiate Field Meet in Weights and Sprints placing first in Shot Putt and the Hammer Throw, second in the High Jump, and third in the 100 Yard Dash—White also participated in Baseball at the University.

[167] Harris, "'Ushered'," 57; Prime, "White," para. 3; Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1; "Library and Archives of Canada," [n.d.].

play the match] if he [White] was set aside"—they agreed to drop one of their men to keep the sides even and the game fair.[168]

The Acadia team was swift to respond stating, "This proposition was simply beyond reason and true athletic principle for the sons of Acadia" who, although White wished that they play without him said: "Truro you can play us as we have arranged or return. Take your choice but we are anxious for the game." The Truro squad choose not to play and "for this reason the game did not take place." While the support of White (and against racism) was laudable, the *Acadia Athenaeum* goes on to state (what they believed to be words of support for White), "True, Mr. White is a colored man but we claim for him a high standing in the scale of gradation."[169] The article goes on to state, "We further think that a man who so deservedly merits the utmost confidence of both faculty and students, is assuredly not to be questioned, as to whether it would be in consonance with Truro's or any Maritime principle to break faith with a University team with color their ground of action." This statement of White's high character, (further evidenced by his willingness to put aside his goals and beliefs for the good of the team) coupled with their previous statement of "White [being] a colored man but . . . " makes it unclear whether the Acadia team took issue with Truro's ultimatum because it was based on skin colour or that they took issue with it because they believed White's character compensated for the colour of his skin. Further confusion arises when the article seems to lean toward being an apologist for the Truro team when it claims, "We are happy to say that the sportsmen of Truro do not generally support their team's action."[170]

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[168] "The Sports," 45; Prime, "White," para. 2; Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1; "Library and Archives of Canada," [n.d.]; Cahill "White," para 3; White, "A White Family History (Canadian Branch)"; Warren, "William Andrew White, D. D., 03," 7.

[169] "The Sports," 45.

[170] "The Sports," 45.

The Acadia team's response notwithstanding, White's verbal response in the matter is particularly significant because it gives a snapshot of his theology and his character during his undergraduate years; White states that he was willing to step aside to allow the game to proceed. His willingness to step aside for the good of the team speaks to his high character but it also shows a theological view that has yet to evolve to its final state; his views on the participation of blacks (in this instance in sport) may be seen as a metaphor for their full participation in Canadian society, i.e., he was willing to accept segregation as a tool for black uplift—in this case to avoid racial confrontation. This was an ideology that was prevalent in the black community at the time and resurfaced later in his life during the school segregation situation in the Halifax school system. By the end of his time at Acadia and service to his country, his theology had experienced a significant shift.

In his day, William Andrew White Jr. was one of the most popular men on the mostly white campus—a situation that was portent his role as envoy for the black community. However, it was evident that his story at Acadia was not without its reminders of his race and his place in the societal hierarchy.[171] Nevertheless, White's actions on the Acadia campus continued to hold him in good stead with his teachers and classmates. White subsequently graduated with a BA in theology and become an ordained minister in 1903; his missionary post saw the beginnings of his service to the black community and[172] a shift began in his aforementioned theology when he became a missionary in New Glasgow, Nova Scotia.

[171] Harris, "'Ushered'," 57; Prime, "White," para. 3; Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1; "Library and Archives of Canada," [n.d.].

[172] Prime, "White," para. 3; Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1; "Library and Archives of Canada," [n.d.]; Cahill "White," para 3; 6, "William Andrew White, D. D., 03," 6–8.

Chapter Summary

William Andrew White Jr.'s life was indelibly touched with the spirit of activism and the idea of an individual's right to human dignity. His inculcation began with his pioneering, activist, former slave parents, his activist pastor in Baltimore's Union Church, and his exposure to Wayland Seminary's avant-garde culture and the many activist leaders among its alumni. This ideological suffusion was further reinforced when he attended Acadia University in Nova Scotia, Canada. It was a province built initially with the pioneering, republican, and civil rights beliefs of the Acadians, followed by the championing of the social gospel and the immutable stance of religious freedom taken by the Baptists, strengthened by the defiance of the Jamaican Maroons,[173] and finally, buttressed by the pioneering activism of the Black Loyalists—who were brave enough to leave Nova Scotia for liberty's sake and also bold enough to stay and fight for its eventual realization. The foundation of the colony (later the province) of Nova Scotia was suffused with the spirit of human rights, self-determination, and social justice.

Early in his life, William Andrew White Jr.'s primary existence was in the segregated black communities of the United States and Canada; although he knew racism and discrimination were prevalent in society, he did not have significant personal experiences with their egregious touch until his journey to Acadia University. These experiences began to cause a coalescence of his theology on matters of race relations, segregation, discrimination, temperance, and the church's role in social justice.

[173] Campbell, *Maroons*, 13; although the Maroon communities were more "restorationist" or "isolationist," rather than revolutionary, their fight for self-determination represents a chapter in the history of human struggle for the extension of freedom.

CHAPTER 3: MINISTRY, LEADERSHIP, AND THE GREAT WAR: EXPERIENCE INFORMS THEOLOGY

> I heard a Negro preacher praying one time just as though he knew God personally and was talking to Him face to face. I thought: what unutterable conceit, to think that God would stop to talk with that Darkey. But God was real to that colored preacher. They walked together.[1]

True to the fact that U. S. blacks, when they engaged their new northern environment, retained important aspects of their experience in the United States[2]—William Andrew White Jr.'s experiences (before he departed for Canada) affected his religious, social, political, and theological views— especially as they relate to his beliefs on race relations, segregation, discrimination, and the church's role in social justice. These experiences were added to a period in his life that had a significant impact on his theology; theses experiences and influences informed his particular theological positions before and after World War I. They began after his graduation when he started his ministry and leadership in the black community as a missionary.

"In Service of Our Lord ": In the Footsteps of David George and Richard Preston

After he graduated from Acadia, the Baptist Convention of the Maritime Provinces ordained William Andrew White Jr. its second black minister (Wellington Ney States had been the first); White immediately became a missionary for the African Baptist Churches of Nova Scotia for two years—he was appointed the Home Mission Board's general missionary to people of colour. He toured Nova Scotia's black settlements and churches from Cape Breton Island to Yarmouth

[1] "God Hasn't Changed But I Have," 1.
[2] Whitfield, *Blacks*, 4–5.

County (a journey reminiscent of David George and Richard Preston) and, during his journey, he established Second Baptist Church in New Glasgow.[3]

Second Baptist Church, New Glasgow

The 1881 census for Pictou County lists thirteen persons of African origin residing in the town of New Glasgow; however, in the Home Mission Board-General Work Report for 1903, it was estimated that two hundred African Canadians could be found in the area—settled on the periphery of town.[4] Many of these new residences, moving to New Glasgow for employment, leased shacks that were owned by the white citizens of New Glasgow—they later built houses in the community. There is no record of this new black community establishing their own churches or being offered the opportunity to attend the existing white churches (First Baptist). Their only spiritual guidance came in the form of laymen for the Presbyterian Church who held services at one of the homes on Vale road. Samuel Turner, David Cameron, and Fraser Cunningham conducted singing and reading of passages from the Bible to the black community of New Glasgow on Sunday afternoon during the late 1890s and early 1900s.[5]

However, this arrangement for religious observance fell short of the purpose of the black church. Organizing a local church in a black community meant more than assembling people for

[3] Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Yearbook, 1904; Daye Learning Institute, "A New Era of Race Consciousness," 8; KirkConnell, *Acadia Record*, 83; Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1; "Library and Archives of Canada," [n.d.]; Cahill "White," para 3; Sealey, *Zion*, 87; White received a yearly salary of 500 dollars as General Missionary; during the summer of 1902 White was supply minister at Cornwallis Street Baptist Church.

[4] MacInnis, "New Glasgow Churches Unite to Break Down Racial Barriers"; Acadia Archives, Second United Baptist Church New Glasgow; First Baptist Church (an all white congregation) was established in New Glasgow in 1875, Second Baptist Church (an all black congregation) was established in 1903; the creation of the two churches was rooted in the racial segregation of New Glasgow in the early 1900s; Census Records, Pictou County, 1881; The Year Book of the United Baptist of the Maritime Provinces of Canada, 1904; Knight, "Wellington Ney States," 28–29; the population increase was probably the result of blacks, relocating from Antigonish County and Guysborough County, seeking employment in this industrial town; Oliver, *Baptist*, 36; Pearleen Oliver states that there were fifty families—mostly descendants of the Loyalist Negroes of Guysborough and Tracadie.

[5] Knight, "Wellington Ney States," 28–29; weddings and funerals were also held in their homes (officiated by the town's Protestant clergy) but ceremonies like communion and baptism were absent.

worship; it also signified the establishment of a centre of hope, a place where black people could utilize their racial consciousness to develop an identity and cohesiveness. During a period of obvious economic and social restrictions in New Glasgow, the church would have been the place where the new black community of New Glasgow could find solace. In addition, under the direction of a pastor, various committees would be created that allowed certain individuals to have self-respect and recognition in their community because of their position of service to the black community.[6] In his role as Home Mission Board's general missionary to people of colour, this situation changed with the coming of William Andrew White Jr.

In the spring of 1903, the Home Mission Board of Nova Scotia recruited Rev. William Andrew White Jr. to begin mission work among the African Canadians of New Glasgow.[7] White often visited the blacks of Vale Road and held revival services in the McLean Street building—ironically once known as the White School. White's oratory, evangelism, and great care for the community were rewarded with an enthusiastic turnout at his services; this gave him the impetus to intercede at the Home Mission Board for permission to establish a Church. Subsequent meetings, involving members of the community and several Baptist ministers, led to a charter for the Second Baptist Church to be constituted.[8]

White purchased land on Washington Street for the construction of Second Baptist during his six months tenure—he paid for the land (through the Home Mission Board) and made preparations for the construction of the building. He was elected temporary pastor of the newly formed Second Baptist Church in November of 1905; by February 1906, the members of Second

[6] Knight, "Wellington Ney States," 3, 29.

[7] The Year Book of the United Baptist of the Maritime Provinces of Canada, 1904; Knight, "Wellington Ney States," 30–31.

[8] The Year Book of the United Baptist of the Maritime Provinces of Canada, 1904; Knight, "Wellington Ney States," 30–31; the ministers included Rev. William Smallman, Pastor of the New Glasgow Baptist Church; Rev. B. B. Johnson and Rev. Abraham Clements from the Auxiliary Home Mission Board of the African Baptist Association, and Rev. Edward J. Grant, the secretary of the Baptist Home Mission Board of Nova Scotia—the church was seven members strong at its inception; Rev. Grant appointed Rev. W. Andrew White to coordinate the building of Second Baptist Church,

Baptist Church, through the Home Mission Board of Nova Scotia appealed to the Reverend Wellington Ney States for his leadership—he accepted the charge on 4 March 1906 allowing White to depart for other ministerial opportunities.[9] During his first six months, Rev. States (using his considerable carpentry skills) finished the work on the exterior and interior of Second Baptist, increased the membership, and created programs and services to serve and uplift the black community. Having established Second Baptist—soon to see it flourish in the very capable hands of Rev. States—by 1905, White was assigned the pastorate of Zion Baptist Church in Truro, Nova Scotia.[10]

Zion Baptist Church, Truro

Established 5 November 1896, Zion Baptist Church at Truro, Nova Scotia was formed by a secession of black people from the local white Baptist congregation. Unwilling to continue to accept second-class status (segregated to the gallery seats), the black community of Truro addressed a letter, what George Elliott Clarke called a "proclamation of independence," to the white members of Truro's Prince Street Baptist Church; in the letter, the people stated, "We the coloured members in fellowship with you, having come to believe that the number and needs of the coloured population of Truro require their own, we request that you will dismiss us to organize a regular Baptist Church." They went on to state, "And while we thank you from our hearts for all the help you and your pastor have rendered us, we trust you will continue to aid us to complete the object we have in view." Rev. H. F. Adams read the letter on 4 September 1896

[9] Knight, "Wellington Ney States," 31–32; Sealey, *Zion*, 81–82, 87–88; the involvement of Zion Baptist's minister (then the Rev. Green as church Clerk, later Rev. White) in the founding of Second Baptist, coupled with the familial ties between the two churches, fostered a friendly, supportive, spiritual bond that continues to this day.

[10] Cahill "White," para, 4; Sealey, *Zion*, 87; White's role as ordained missionary was undermined and ultimately derailed by tensions between the white Baptist Convention and the African Baptist Association; the latter resented the intrusion of a convention minister just after it had appointed Wellington Ney States as its own field missionary. With a view to maintaining good relations, the Home Mission Board decided to release White so that he could find a permanent post.

and the Prince St. Church granted the request on 7 October 1896; the twenty-five members of what became Zion Baptist Church met in the vestry of Prince Street Baptist on 5 November 1896. [11]

Zion's first minister was the Rev. Abraham (Abram) Clements (starting in 1897); after responding positively to the call to Zion he was invited to a seat on the council and preached the Recognition Sermon from the Gospel of St. Luke 5:4—Rev. Clements ended his tenure at Zion in 1899 six years before the arrival of White.[12] William Andrew White Jr. began to endear himself to the people of Zion Baptist as early as 7 June 1903 when he, as a recent graduate of Acadia University and a missionary, assisted Rev. Green during the morning service. White preached from Matthew 20: 6–7 saying, "And about the eleventh hour he went out, and found others standing idle, and saith unto them, Why stand ye here all the day idle?" They say unto him, because no man hath hired us. He saith unto them, go ye also into the vineyard; and whatsoever is right, that shall ye receive." On the subject of "God's call for labourers," White replied to the question, "what is our life worth?" He responded to the Zion congregation through his experiences (at Wayland, Acadia, and New Glasgow) stating, "it is not to enjoy; it is not accumulate; it is not to be idle; but it is to do, to become, to accomplish; it is to persevere; and it is to love."[13]

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[11] Sealey, *Zion*, 15–16, 24–25; like other black churches Zion Baptist became the nucleus of the black community. It was a community made up of three distinct areas: the "Marsh," consisting of people descended from the Black Loyalists of Guysborough and the Black Refugees of Preston; the "Hill" (Foundry Hill), were descendants of the Black Loyalists of Guysborough along with blacks from different places such as Barbados, Bermuda, St. Lucia, Virginia, Windsor Plains, and New Brunswick; lastly, the "Island" (Smith's Island), primarily the descendants of Guysborough Black Loyalists. It was not unusually to have the prefix (and racial epithet) 'N_' affixed to each area by whites, i.e., 'N_' Marsh or 'N_' Island. Clarke, *Directions*, 52; "Library and Archives of Canada," [n.d.]; Oliver, *Baptist*, 45–46; Cahill "White," para 3,4; Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1; KirkConnell, *Acadia Record*, 83; Heath, "White," 3–4.

[12] Sealey, *Zion*, 27–30; Zion Baptist was accepted into the Nova Scotia Eastern Baptist Association in June 1897.

[13] Sealey, *Zion*, 87.

White's installation service (as pastor) was held at Zion on Tuesday 9 May 1905 with Rev. W.N. Hutchins of first Baptist Church presiding; during the service, Rev. M. R. McLean made reference to the class prophecy at Acadia that foretold of Rev. White's call to the pastorate at Zion.[14] As he did at Second Baptist Church in New Glasgow, White quickly settled into a program of church and community uplift. He became a member of the Truro Ministerial Association; he represented Zion at the Eastern Baptist Association and the African Baptist Association; he exchanged pulpits; he preached and converted the sinner, preached and strengthen the saved, married and buried members, adherents, and friends; he was also cognizant of the socio-economic situation that necessitated an inordinate amount of time be spent appealing for and raising funds-—mostly due to the low, marginal wage paid to the hard working blacks of the community of Zion (when work was even available).[15] White, in response to hard times, conducted special services (during March of 1909) that reminded the older people of the meetings they used to have in the old "Island Hall"; the meetings were so successful and so well attended that they were continued into the following week in the main body of the church.

White, as Donna Byard Sealey framed it, "seized upon the opportunity for gathering in the loose money belonging to the Lord; she goes on to say that Rev. White was "in his element" when Zion burned the mortgage on 29 December 1910. After the mortgage was burned the choir immediately lifted their voices to sing, "Put Your Trust in Jesus"; although much praise was given to the congregation of Zion (and its pastor) the celebration left no doubt that the glory was

[14] Sealey, *Zion*, 88; Boileau, "White," para 5; as the pastor of Zion Baptist Church (1906), it was around this time that White met and married Izie Dora White; the Whites' had thirteen children together; White, "A White Family History (Canadian Branch)"; born of mixed parentage (black, white, and aboriginal—MicMac) Izie Dora was musically gifted—she played piano, organ, and sang; Oliver, *Baptist*, 45–46; Cahill "White," para 3, 4; Sealey, *Zion*, 88–89; on 28 June 1906, the 32 year old bachelor preacher married 18 year old Izie Dora White of Mill Village, NS. The marriage was performed by Rev. M. A. McLean and witnessed by Norman Green and Mrs. Arthur Paris.

[15] Sealey, *Zion*, 88–89; there were times when the church was behind on the pastor's salary.

given to God.[16] The AUBA committee stated, "There has been much improvement made in the Zion church of Truro which enhances the value of the property and renders it more attractive as a social and religious center in the life of the community," it goes on to say that Zion Baptist Church "is a credit to the people of the Town of Truro and an illustration of the deep interest and devotion of the pastor [William Andrew White Jr.], his flock, and speaks well for the cause in that community."[17] White remained at Zion until 1917 when talk of war darkened the Canadian horizon.[18] The Great War was be a crucible in which White's experiences—prior to and during the conflict—shaped him as a national leader; prior to that time, he was one of four dynamic leaders in the province of Nova Scotia.

The Black Leadership Dynamic in Nova Scotia Prior to the Great War

The hierarchy of the African Baptist Church and Association, which traditionally supplied the elite leadership of the African Canadian community, gifted the Nova Scotian black community with the leadership of four contemporaneous careers, two clerical and two lay—William Andrew White Jr., Wellington Ney States, J. A. R. Kinney, and James R. Johnston respectively. Robin Winks characterized the leadership of the African Canadian community in Nova Scotia as akin to the Roman republic which saw a singular leader replaced by a triumvirate. James R. Johnston,

[16] Sealey, *Zion*, 91, 36–38; on 21 August 1914, Rev. White attended an auction of the buildings that occupied the site of the present Willow St. School. White purchased a house and a barn for eighty-four dollars. The house, in need of repairs, was moved to the church property and became the parsonage. In order to make repairs, Zion was compelled to take out another mortgage. On 28 October 1920, Zion Baptist witnessed a second 'mortgage burning' carried out by Mayor A. R. Coffin with former pastor Rev. White (now pastor at Cornwallis St.) in attendance.

[17] Minutes of the 60th Annual Session of the ABA, 8; Sealey, *Zion*, 38; financed through subscriptions by members and friends, gifts from patron and benefactors, fundraising events throughout the Maritimes, loans, and mortgages, Zion Baptist Church was free of debt by 1920 and the entire property became a monument to the efforts of its people rendering Zion the social centre of the community.

[18] "Library and Archives of Canada," [n.d.]; Oliver, *Baptist*, 45–46; Cahill "White," para 3; Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1; KirkConnell, *Acadia Record*, 83; Heath, "White," 3–4; a highlight of his time at Zion United was the ceremonial burning of the church's mortgage in December 1910.

who had led the Nova Scotian black community during the immediate prewar years, was that singular leader and with his passing the mantel of leadership spread to three.[19]

J. R. Johnston

James Robinson Johnson was a man whom many looked at as an example of what was possible for the black community; Oliver stated, "his ideas and aspirations were like a spring breeze." She goes on to say that "his ideas were listened to with respect and admiration" and "he became a necessary part" of the black community because of his "deep and sincere love for his race." An accomplished lawyer, church layman, and community leader, Johnson worked tirelessly towards better education, housing, and treatment for the black community of Nova Scotia. Johnston was born in Halifax, Nova Scotia on 12 March 1876 the son of a shoemaker, William Johnston, and grandson of the influential Rev. Thomas. Gifted with a sharp mind, Johnston made his way through the common schools of Halifax and entered the Faculty of Law at Dalhousie University—the first African Canadian admitted. He graduated from the Law Faculty in 1898 and was be admitted as a Barrister of the Supreme Court (Nova Scotia Bar) in 1900. As the first and only black lawyer in the Province of Nova Scotia, Johnston was the pride of the black community; he was their leader and he often lovely referred to the community as "my people."[20]

Said to be genial and cheerful, Johnston's leadership in the community was vast: he was a master mason of Union Lodge, past Grand Master of Wilberforce Lodge, a prominent member of the Cornwallis Street Baptist church where he held the position of Sunday School Superintendent, Church Clerk, Secretary of the African Baptist Association (later African United

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[19] Cahill, "Colored," 377–78; Oliver, *Baptist*, 38.

[20] Oliver, *Baptist*, 38; Cahill, "Colored," 345; Johnston wrote, to his closest friend the Rev. Wellington Ney States, "I was formally admitted to the Bar on Wednesday the 18th which was a red letter day in my life," "and now I am a full fledged practicing Barrister"; Pachai, *Promised Land*, 74; Riley, "Towards An Encultured Pedagogy," 71–72; Fingard, "Johnston," para 1–3; DeCosta, "The Late J. R. Johnston," 2; Johnston had a successful law career working in the John Thomas Bulmer Firm.

Baptist Association (AUBA), and was organizer and president of the church's Baptist Youth Provincial Union (BYPU)—a group that became a model for other churches in the AUBA.[21] After becoming the clerk of the AUBA in 1906, Johnson used his influence to spearhead plans for an Industrial School for Nova Scotia Blacks following the ideas of Booker T. Washington. It took five years, but with the help of Rev. Moses Puryear,[22] pastor of Cornwallis Street Baptist Church, the plans for the school were approved by civic leaders and endorsed by the AUBA—unfortunately, the creation of The Industrial School of Nova Scotia for Colored Children did not reach fruition. Nevertheless, the efforts of these men, particularly that of J. A. R. Kinney with support from William Andrew White Jr., eventually led to the creation of the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children.[23] Moreover, Johnston publicly denounced white racism, mobilized his people in cultural activities that contributed to race pride, and regularly attended to individual concerns of the black community.[24]

Although Johnston represented Nova Scotian blacks in criminal and civil cases and acted as their advocate in property, probate, and rights issues, his clientele was much broader. Within the black community, he performed all the important functions save that of pastor—although he often gave ceremonial addresses in the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church. James Robinson

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[21] Pachai, *Promised Land*, 74, 90; Riley, "Towards An Encultured Pedagogy," 71–72; DeCosta, "The Late J. R. Johnston," 2; Fingard, "Johnston," para 6, 7; Johnston succeeded Peter McKerrow as secretary of the AUBA; Oliver, *Baptist*, 38.

[22] Saunders, *Share and Care*, 24, 30; Lafferty, "Child Welfare in Halifax," 95; the Rev. Moses Puryear arrived in Halifax from Pennsylvania in 1909 to take over the congregation at Cornwallis Street Baptist Church. Puryear was deeply committed to black community development and black uplift along the lines advocated by Booker T. Washington. Puryear believed that a "practical, industrial education (was) the best vehicle for black progress." Due to his personal acquaintance with the Hampton Institute, Puryear was well positioned to support J. R. Johnston's plan for an industrial school. After the shift in the direction of the school, Puryear decided to leave Halifax in 1919—a direct result of this "shift in direction," one in which he "could not in good conscience abide." William Andrew White Jr. replaced Moses Puryear.

[23] Saunders, *Share and Care*, 24; Lafferty, "Child Welfare in Halifax," 95, 98; Johnston's original plan was to establish an industrial/normal college in the Nova Scotia. However, over the course of the second decade in the twentieth century, this purpose was gradually replaced with the intention of opening an institution for neglected and dependent children. While the precise reasoning for this change is unclear, there were several indications that a dispute arose among the institution's original promoters.

[24] Pachai, *Promised Land,* 74; Riley, "Towards An Encultured Pedagogy," 71–72; Fingard, "Johnston," para 7.

Johnston was murdered by his brother–in-law (Harry Allen) in his own home on 3 March 1915. Johnson's death came as a shock to the community and the circumstances of the subsequent trial resulted in Johnston's death becoming "a monumental embarrassment" to the black community. The black community's leaders rallied to Allen's cause to save him from the hangman's noose—to the detriment of Johnson's memory and legacy in the black community.[25] In a tribute in honour of Johnston's memory, W. A. Henry stated, "In his relations to his brother lawyers, he was courtesy itself . . . If he made a bargain, he kept it. You need no written agreement with Johnston. He was straight as a die, and though his skin was dark, he was pure white in all else"—the last comment epitomizes the state of race relations in Nova Scotia. The black community considered Johnston's premature and unforeseeable death "irreparable"; no other black Nova Scotian leader has achieved a standing of equal prestige and celebrity in the community at large. Paradoxically, none sank deeper into oblivion after death.[26]

W. Andrew White followed Johnston, not just as secretary of the AUBA, in his influence and care of the black community; through Johnston's example, White sought to, and eventually, emulated this aspect of Johnston's character, furthermore, he exceeded Johnston's access to the white community becoming an accepted envoy of the black community. Johnston's example was key to helping White attain the aforementioned position in the general Nova Scotia community. During his time at the John Thomas Bulmer Firm, Johnston had the chance to meet and work with another inspirational leader in the black community, J. A. R Kinney; Johnston and Kinney engaged in many enterprises to uplift the black community.

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[25] Cahill, "Colored" 368; Rev. Moses Puryear was willing to cooperate with counsel for the defense in trying to save Harry Allen from the gallows—for the sake of what they perceived to be the greater good of the black community. Johnston was dead; he could not be resurrected by the judicial murder of his killer. The black community of Halifax thus closed ranks in the attempt to spare Allen's life—ostensibly damning Johnston's memory through the larger Halifax community.

[26] Cahill "Colored", 376; Fingard, "Johnston," para 4, 6, 8; Oliver, *Baptist*, 38; DeCosta, " The Late J. R. Johnston," 2; Sealey, *Zion*, 91; White preached at the funeral of J.R. Robinson.

J. A. R. Kinney

James Alexander Ross Kinney—born 25 February 1879 in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia—was one of the most highly trained black citizens of his time; a graduate of the Halifax Business School in 1897, Kinney found work as a stenographic clerk in the law office of John Thomas Bulmer—Bulmer had long been an advocate for improving the status of black Nova Scotians. He left Bulmer's employ about the same time that James Robinson Johnston joined the firm.

One of Kinney and Johnston's joint enterprises was the Maritime Colored Hockey League. Founded in the1870s—although mention of the league did not appear until 1895—it was a league organized using religious leadership as the guiding organizational force—the league's rule book was the *Bible* and the *Baptist Articles of Faith* their *Oath of Allegiance*. Their strategy was to uplift the black community to the level of their white brethren/sistren while instilling a sense of leadership, duty, and pride in the hearts and minds of young black men. The Colored Hockey League was more than a sports organization; it was, in fact, the first black pride sports movement in history—the American Negro Baseball League was not founded until 1920.[27]

Under the leadership of Kinney and Johnston (league officials), and their many connections in the black community, the Maritime Coloured Hockey League secured itself as a viable organization that expanded through Nova Scotia and eventually across the Maritimes. The black Baptist Church continued to be the impetus behind the organizing of teams in all the regions where a substantial black population resided—the Cornwallis Street Church Eurekas (managed by Kinney) became the league's flagship team.[28]

Kinney's many accomplishments enabled him to step into Johnston's shoes as the lay leader of the local black community after the latter's untimely death. Like Johnston, Kinney's

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[27] Oliver, *Baptist*, 47; Fosty, *Black Ice*, 6–7, 59, 63, 76; Riley, "Towards An Encultured Pedagogy," 75; Fingard, "Johnston," para 1–3; Lanctot, *Negro Baseball*, 5.

[28] Fosty, *Black Ice*, 6, 52, 76, 80; the league continued into the 1920s. Along with Johnston and Kinney, Henry Sylvester Williams (classmate of Johnston at Dalhousie) was also a league official.

leadership in the black community was vast: he was advertising manager for the firm of Stairs, Son and Marrow, clerk of the AUBA (becoming incorporated under his leadership in 1919), and as one of the founding fathers of the Home for Coloured Children (along with Johnston), Kinney "became Secretary-Treasurer of the institution and was the guiding force of the entire undertaking. Kinney's exceptional ability as an organizer and fundraiser, with the support of leading citizens in the Halifax community (like William Andrew White Jr.), resulted in the Nova Scotia Home For Colored Children being opened on 6 June 1921."[29]

Kinney's other activities flowed from his determination to better the prospects of black Nova Scotians. Identifying the African Baptist church as key to his goal, he became a member of Cornwallis Street Baptist Church as a teenager—although his mother was a Methodist and his marriage was conducted according to Methodist rites. Within a month Kinney was leading the men's Bible class of Cornwallis Street Baptist Church—striving to foster "spiritual uplift" and inculcate "race pride." Along with Johnston, Kinney emerged as a major advocate for an educational institution specifically for black children, a project that had been dear to Johnston's heart. Kinney, Johnston, and their associates were interested in the idea of black self-reliance embodied in the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in Alabama; their aim was to provide vocational and technical training based on the Tuskegee model. Kinney conferred with its founder, Booker T. Washington, in Halifax during August 1915—like Washington (and many black leaders of the time) Kinney preached separation (segregation) and black determination.[30]

However, the lack of facilities for black children in need of care, whose number increased following the Halifax explosion of 6 December 1917, suggested that a welfare institution should take priority over an educational one—the building intended for the school was also destroyed in

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[29] Oliver, *Baptist*, 47; Pachai, *Promised Land,* 144–45, 176; Riley, "Towards An Encultured Pedagogy," 75; Fingard, "Johnston," para 1–3; the Halifax Business School amalgamated with the Halifax Commercial College.

[30] Fosty, *Black Ice*, 77,78; Pachai, *Promised Land,* 144–45, 176; Riley, "Towards An Encultured Pedagogy," 75; Fingard, "Johnston," para 1–3.

the catastrophe. The decision to focus on an orphanage with a school, rather than a school with a trades orientation, proved to be irreversible. In the end, the poverty experienced by African Canadian Nova Scotians after the explosion, during the post-war depression of the 1920s, and the Great Depression of the 1930s precluded the possibility of reviving the earlier more ambitious project—a matter of regret for Kinney.[31] Pearlean Oliver said of J. A. R. Kinney, "he was perhaps the most outstanding layman [of his time]"; Historians George and Darril Fosty added that J. A. R. Kinney was "one of the greatest Canadian leaders never known," they go on to say that if Kinney had been white he would have been the Mayor of Halifax.[32]

William Andrew White Jr.'s friendship and association with Kinney offered an example of a man whose tireless efforts to uplift the black community transcended denominational and occupational affiliations. Kinney's close work with the Baptist church, and keen abilities in the areas of organization and fundraising, served to augment the skills the already considerable skills of Rev. White; their work together on projects, like the Home for Coloured Children, were an example of their ability to adapt to the changing needs of the black community—a skill that will be shown (in the next chapter) in the segregated school incident. Kinney, Johnston, and White shared the mutual friendship of yet another black community leader, the Rev. Wellington Ney States.

[31] Oliver, *Baptist*, 47; Fingard, "Johnston," para 3–4.
[32] Fosty, *Black Ice*, 77, 78.

Rev. Wellington Ney States.

Intelligent, articulate, personable, better educated than most of the indigenous black Baptist clergy, and, in the words of historian Robin W. Winks "inordinately handsome"—Rev. Wellington Ney States could not fail to command attention. Born in Wolfville, Nova Scotia, 1 November 1877, the youngest child of an interracial marriage, States suffered the loss of both his Anglican mother (in 1880) and his Baptist father (in 1887) before the age of nine. Gifted with a bright mind and a thirst for knowledge, States was ill-treated by his white maternal grandparents with whom he went to live after his father's death. The following year, at age fourteen, he ran away to sea as a stowaway on a ship sailing to Kingsport—States became a deckhand before the end of his journey at sea.[33]

He returned to Nova Scotia to live with his paternal grandmother (Mrs. George States) who led him to Christ. By 1891, States was a student at Horton Academy in Wolfville the preparatory school for Acadia University. Leaving the academy in 1895, he went to Annapolis Royal as factotum to the pastor of the local Baptist church, Gilbert James Coulter White, who baptized him and became his mentor. States returned to Horton in 1897, perhaps with a view of attending university, however, he did not attend Acadia but moved on to Halifax where he was ordained in 1899 (the first black to do so in Nova Scotia). States joined the African Baptist Church on Cornwallis Street and partnered with his long-time friend, lawyer James Robinson Johnston, to endeavour to uplift the black community. The two remained intimate friends until Johnston's murder in 1915.[34]

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[33] "The Life of Rev. W. N. States"; Cahill "White," para 2, 4; Oliver, *Baptist*, 44–45; Knight "Wellington Ney States," 10, 15; Winks, *Blacks*, 350.

[34] Cahill "White," para 2, 4; Oliver, *Baptist*, 44–45; "The Life of Rev. W. N. States"; Knight "Wellington Ney States,"4–5, 15, 18; States obtained his license from Cornwallis St. Baptist Church in 1898 and was ordained at Inglewood Baptist Church in 1899.

W. N. States was considered the most outstanding black clergyman of his generation. As a carpenter, he was quite literally a builder of churches and he was also a builder of the African Canadian community. W. N. States recognised that the church was a vehicle for the facilitation of social programs for black people subsequently he expended a great deal of energy organizing and building churches—a theology he and White had in common. Yet States longest and most productive pastorate was with a newly established congregation that he purposely kept out of the AUBA. As noted earlier, New Glasgow was the only town in the industrial heartland of Pictou County where black people were allowed to reside—the Rev. White brought Second Baptist Church into existence because black people were not welcome at the white First Baptist.[35]

States took over as pastor (from Rev. White) and, like the long-serving clerk of the ABA, Peter Evander McKerrow, was an integrationist not a separatist. States believed that his congregants were better served in The Eastern Association—the only racially integrated association within the convention. For States, the church was more Baptist than black, and he believed that a racial church association did not necessarily best serve the needs and interests of the black community—this was a theology not lost on White. From a theological perspective, States' true successor was a fellow native of Wolfville, the Reverend Dr. William Pearly Oliver (a man that became important in Rev. White's story), who in 1960 became the first AUBA clergyman to be elected president of the white convention.[36]

As a field missionary, interim pastor, settled pastor, officer, and life member of the AUBA, Wellington Ney States served the association not only by leading it in many capacities but also by ministering, at one time or another, to nearly all of its constituent churches. The tenacity of his character in later years seemed to have inspired men and women to execute tasks

[35] Knight "Wellington Ney States," 4–5, 28–31; Cahill "White," para 8;"The Life of Rev. W. N. States."
[36] Knight "Wellington Ney States," 32; Cahill "White," para 5, 8; the associations' liberalism did not extend to the segregated local churches.

that they believed were impossible. This was apparent in New Glasgow, in 1912, when major renovations of the Second United Baptist Church were begun. Not only was the construction completed by the following year, but the mortgage was also paid.[37]

States was three times moderator of the AUBA (1902–3, 1914–15, and 1923–24) during the same time his good friend James R. Johnston was clerk of the AUBA in succession to McKerrow.[38] Mildly tubercular, States had been prevented in 1917 from going overseas as Chaplain of the No. 2 Construction Battalion of the Canadian Expeditionary Force. It was a crushing blow since his friendly rival William Andrew White Jr. went in his place—this friendly rivalry benefited both men through their increased desire to care and uplift the black community. In 1919, driven from Second Baptist, New Glasgow, by the congregation's inability to pay his salary, States assumed his final pastorate, Victoria Road in Dartmouth, a venerable but also impoverished AUBA church. By 1926, States had, in Rev. White's words, "been laid aside, perhaps permanently, by illness." In the spring of 1927, in his 53rd year, he succumbed to pneumonia. [39]

The *Halifax Evening Mail Star* wrote, in regard to States' passing, "In whose, death at Dartmouth on Tues, the colored people of Nova Scotia suffered a great loss. The late Mr. States was a leader of great force and his wise counsel was always at the disposal of any just case."[40] The Home Mission Board of Nova Scotia wrote of States: "the Baptist cause and especially the work of the colored people has suffered an irreparable loss." Rev. States was a race leader; he was revered for his contributions to the black community through education, race consciousness,

[37] Knight "Wellington Ney States," 4, 27; "The Life of Rev. W. N. States."
[38] Cahill "White," para 4–8.
[39] Knight "Wellington Ney States," 41; Cahill "White," para 6.
[40] "Rendered Many Fine Services"; Knight "Wellington Ney States," 57.

and advocacy.[41] Rev. White conducted a memorial service at the home of States before his body was removed to the church.[42]

During his life, States strove to preserve the legacy of his friend Johnston, especially in regard to the proposed educational institute that, after Johnston's death, became the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children. The devastating loss of Johnston, the black community's paramount leader, during States' second term, was followed by the emergence of a triumvirate of leaders consisting of States, the Reverend William Andrew White Jr., and James Alexander Ross Kinney, Johnston's successor as clerk—these three men guided the African Nova Scotian community in the interwar years.[43]

Prior to Johnston and State's passing, the four men (Johnston, States, White, and Kinney) were preeminent leaders of the African Canadian community of Nova Scotia—through friendship/partnership all four lives intertwined finding a nexus for there leadership at the Cornwallis St. Baptist Church. However, with the premature passing of both Johnston and States, the leadership role fell heavily on the shoulders of J. A. R. Kinney and William Andrew White Jr. —White's leadership role reached the national stage during World War I.[44]

The Great War and African Canadian Enlistment

The tactical sciences of war possess two indispensable bases, first, the science of arms and secondly the science of human nature. There are moral forces that play a great part in war; social

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[41] Year Book of the Maritime Baptists, Record of Obituaries, 1927; Knight "Wellington Ney States," 58, 61–63.

[42] Knight "Wellington Ney States," 59; Minutes of the 76th Annual Session of the AUBA of Nova Scotia, 13–14.

[43] Cahill "White," para 6, 8.

[44] Cahill "White," para 4; in 1915, White replaced the deceased James Johnston as secretary (also style clerk) of the African Baptist Association, a position in which James Alexander Ross Kinney substituted after White departed overseas. In 1922, White resumed his work with the organization, now called the African United Baptist Association (AUBA), and went on to become moderator from 1929 to 1931. He was re-elected moderator *in absentia* just two days before his death.

restraints partially conceals the true nature of a nation, and when these restraints are removed it reappears—"It is only under the stress of war that the more important moral factors betray themselves." In the case of the Canadian Expeditionary Force—and the Country as a whole— it pulled back the curtain on a system of racial beliefs.[45] The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand is universally seen as the objective cause of the Great War; it was an incident that led to a chain reaction of events that systematically brought the world into a conflict that had enormous economic, mortal, and moral consequences.[46] African Americans in the United States believed that combat in the Great War would give equality to blacks; black leaders viewed participation in the war as a chance to accelerate racial progress and solidify citizenship. African American leaders, like W. E. B. Du Bois, called for blacks to forgo the struggle for civil rights for the duration of the war and "close ranks." This was also the case in Canada.

African Canadian leaders maintained that participation in the Great War must have an impact on the "progress of our race."[47] The Reverend William Andrew White Jr. believed that if blacks could win the right to serve patriotically alongside white Canadians (even if under segregation) then, surely, post-war, they would face fewer obstacles to socioeconomic equality[48] —this was also true of the African Canadian community in central Canada.[49] As the editor of the only African Canadian newspaper circulated across Canada at this time (the *Canadian*

[45] Eltinge, *Psychology*, 6; Le Bon ed., *Psychology*, 396.
[46] Ross, *Causes*, 6; Rosecrance and Miller eds., *Great War*, ix–x.
[47] Mjagki, *Loyalty*, xix–xxii; Lentz-Smith, *Freedom*, 5; Heath, "White," 17; Walker, "Race," 6.
[48] Mjagki, *Loyalty*, xix–xxii; Lentz-Smith, *Freedom*, 5; Clarke, "Black Officer," para 10; "The Urgent Demand of the Present Day"; the *Atlantic Advocate* wrote, "in the very near future we will be in a position to open doors hitherto closed to us."
[49] Riddell, "Slave," 260–261; the black population of the Maritimes grew from slightly different sources than that of Ontario. As stated earlier, the Maritimes' black population grew from varied sources: the slaves of the settlers of New France, New England Planters' slaves and free Black New England Planters, the slaves of the white Loyalist's and free Black Loyalist, Black Refugees from The War of 1812, enslaved Africans from the United States slave economy, and Black Fugitives via the Underground Railroad. Upper Canada saw its black population start with the slaves of New France (and those of English elite after 1763), some Loyalists (slaves of White Loyalist and Black Loyalists) from the Revolutionary War, and the War of 1812; the population then grew from a slow trickle of fugitive slaves via the Underground Railroad—between 1792 and 1834.

Observer), J. R. B. Whitney had a unique platform to launch African Canadian activism in Ontario.[50] The newspaper publicly disseminated critical Black Canadian responses intentionally produced for consumption by an interracial audience.[51] Like his counterparts in the Maritimes (States, Kinney, and White) Whitney and a number of esteemed pastors of the British Methodist Episcopal (BME) Church believed that full black citizenship in the Dominion would be strengthened by full black participation in the fight against the Central Powers in Europe—this theology was also true for the second world conflict (against the Axis Powers). They believed the white power structure would respond to black patriotism and sacrifice like the pastor in this story:

> Sitting beside a young Negro soldier on the train between New York and Philadelphia recently I noticed his left arm in a cast and expressed the hope that he was recovering speedily from his wound. He said that he had been hit by machine gun bullets in the Philippines in the attack on Luzon. His arm had been badly smashed, but the doctors had saved it and he had flown back across the Pacific and the American Continent in five or six days for hospitalization on the East Coast. I sat there, looking out at the peaceful New

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[50] Shaw, "Country," 560; Pease and Pease, *Utopia*, 109; the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 saw a flood of fugitive slaves headed north to Upper Canada. This Act precipitated the development of segregated black settlements like the Colonial Settlement at Wilberforce (1829), Dawn Settlement in Dresden (1842), The Refugees' Home Society (1852), and Elgin Settlement at Buxton (1849); During and at the end of the United States Civil War, there was the 'Great Exodus' (1870 to1900) were many blacks left Ontario in great numbers to return to the United States. By the start of the Great War, the majority of the black population of Canada resided in the Maritimes but, despite the 'Great Exodus,' Ontario still had a significant black population that found a voice and advocacy in the *Canadian Observer*; Walters, *Railroad*, 115–17; Rhodes, "Identity," 175–178; Milan and Tran, "Blacks In Canada," 2–3; the black population in Canada actually decreased from 21,400 in 1871 to 16,900 in 1911; Boileau, "Pride," 22, 25; Multicultural History Society of Ontario [hereafter MHSO] Rev. Al Brown, "Among Negroes of Ontario West," 4; the black population of Canada at the time was approximately 18,000, the majority of them in Nova Scotia (7000) and Ontario (5000), with lesser numbers in New Brunswick (1000) and the western provinces; it was not be until the 1940s that the black population of Ontario exceeded that of the Maritimes.

[51] Shaw, "Country," 546–47, 549; MHSO, "We Want a Revolution of Thought by Our People," 4; the *Canadian Observer* was a nationally distributed black-focused newspaper published out of Toronto, Ontario; through it, African Canadians challenged the government to protect blacks from discrimination based on race, colour, or creed. The newspaper fought for the liberal principles represented by the Union Jack. Whitney wanted to start a "Revolution of Thought by Our People," stating, that if they honestly assessed their situation he believed black Canadians would agree that "as a race, we are not, in Canada, making the progress we should be making." In the summer of 1915, Whitney posed ten questions to figure out why blacks were "not a factor in the national life of this country." The ten question were as follows: Why are we not making the progress we should? Is it lack of brainpower? Is it for lack of initiative? Is it for lack of confidence in one another? Is it from dislike of labor? Is it from prejudice on the part of our white fellow countrymen? Is the prejudice greater than it was 60 years ago? If so, why? What are we to do to start our people on the real road to achievement? Will organization along co-operative club lines do? If a movement is needed, what name should it be under? Successive issues of the publication saw readers send in their views and answers to the questions posed by Whitney.

> Jersey landscape flashing past the windows of the speeding train, and I wondered about life. Here was an intelligent young Negro man, who had been working in Newark, N. J. when the Army called him up, put him through the training camps and sent him across the Pacific to kill Japanese soldiers who had made a treacherous attack on our lives and liberties. He had rushed a Japanese machine gun nest and had nearly lost an arm. He had been fortunate in not losing his life. Suddenly it came upon me so vividly that he had done all this for me. He had gone away and jeopardized his life in order that I might carry on my life work and live with my family and preach the Gospel at my church in the largest measure of security and liberty back here in the Homeland. He was a Negro and he had never been given the full measure of these opportunities and privileges that I enjoyed himself, but he was carrying wounds in his body for their defense nevertheless. Suddenly a strange sense of the Master's presence came to me, and I seemed to hear an ancient prophecy being repeated by Him and the young Negro soldier in concert: "He was wounded for our transgressions, and by His stripes are we healed." The sacred text glowed with a new meaning and the fundamental principle of life which it reveals got a stronger grip on my mind.[52]

Black leaders in Ontario, like their Nova Scotian brothers and sisters, believed the conscience of the white majority would mirror that of the pastor's in this story—ultimately aiding in the acquisition of full citizenship.[53] They were instead awakened to the fact that they did not share the rights and responsibilities of citizenship in kind with other Canadians; however, just like their maritime brethren/sistren, it did provide a racial awakening.[54]

The Reverend White, like his southern counterpart Booker T. Washington, believed integration would be the result of education, morals, and economic development in the black community; although he did not welcome segregation, the popular ideology of many black leaders of the time (both north and south) was to use the imposed environment to create community, establish self-help institutions, and uplift the race to earn a place in society as equals (giving some insight into White's thoughts in the above-mentioned Truro football incident).[55]

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[52] Moncrief, "The Amen Corner," 14.
[53] Shaw, "Country," 576–77.
[54] Shaw, "Country," 576–77.
[55] Norrell, *History*, 15–16; Harlan and Smock, *Papers*, 6.

The Great War was seen as a providential opportunity for the black community and a proving ground for the aforementioned praxis.[56]

When the First World War erupted, in August 1914, African Canadians flocked to recruiting centres just as their European Canadian counterparts. Although blacks fought for the British Crown in previous wars, in this conflict African Canadians were no longer welcomed. Their exclusion was not part of an official policy maintained by the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF); Colonel Samuel Hughes, minister of militia and defense, declared that black Canadians should be allowed to enlist, however, those who tried to do so were often rejected by local battalion commanders.[57] In response, African Canadians turned to writing petitions to the government and commanders of the CEF regarding their want to enlist; complaints came from North Buxton, Hamilton, and Saint John where MP William Pugsley raised the issue in the House of Commons. Newspapers like the Toronto-based *Canadian Observer*, as well as The Maritime *Atlantic Advocate*, put pressure on the government to enlist blacks and even to form black platoons.[58]

As this fundamental privilege of citizenship continued to be denied to African Canadians, they continued to pragmatically responded using a variety of political activist methods and strategies that raised black Canadians' political and racial consciousness.[59] On 15 April 1916, an

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[56] Pollock, *Black Soldiers*, 180; Daye Learning Institute, "A New Era of Race Consciousness," 8.

[57] Boileau, "Pride," 22; Joost, "No. 2," 51; Cahill "White," para 5; Pittman, "African Canadian Experience During the First World War," 15; amazingly, about 1500 blacks managed to enrol in the CEF.

[58] Armstrong, "Unwelcome,"180; Walker, " Race," 5; Pittman, "African Canadian Experience During the First World War," 15; Boileau, "Pride," 22; Joost, "No. 2," 51; Heath, "White," 5; J. R. B. Whitney, the publisher of the *Canadian Observer*, claimed that the newspaper was the "official organ of the coloured race" in Canada.

[59] Shaw, "Country," 546, 567–69; African Canadians in Ontario began to open up to the possibility that intra-racial associations were the best means to challenge racial injustices and support each other in ways that the Canadian government clearly did not. It is no coincidence that after being exasperated by the enlistment battle and then insulted by conscription, African Canadians in Toronto responded to these racial slights by aligning with the NAACP—the first of four Canadian NAACP branches in Toronto (November 1917). The records of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Toronto branch, in addition to the earliest records of Toronto's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) branch, reveal the embryonic stages of emerging race consciousness. African Canadians in Ontario connected to these transnational black diaspora activism networks to improve the conditions they faced in Canadian society.

editorial, in the *Canadian Observer*, entitled "Recruiting and the Colored Man" asked all Canadians "what right have we to rebuke Germany if we are going to let what we are fighting against exist here under our own flag?" Hoping to explain African Canadians' eagerness to fight in the war to his Anglo-Canadian readers, Whitney published Rev. R. A. Ball's article in the *Observer*. Here, the esteemed black Canadian BME pastor clarified that they were going to "contend for our rights" to enlist, when word came down that a separate "Colored Platoon" was being formed it was not universally accepted by the black community, however, given their limited options black Canadian nationally supported the recruitment of what became the No. 2 Construction Battalion.[60] During a "patriotic lecture" in Windsor at the local African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church on 5 February 1916, Reverend M. Newsome used his pulpit to show his African Canadian congregation why "we, as a race, should rally to the support of the Union Jack."[61] Eventually, as previously stated, the CEF did acquiesce to African Canadians' demands and in July of 1916, just four days after the opening of the Somme offensive on the Western Front, the Canadian government agreed to recruit black volunteers (to be led by white officers) to serve in what became the No. 2 Construction Battalion (also known as the No. 2 Canadian Construction Company).[62]

[60] Shaw, "Country," 544–45, 560.
[61] Shaw, "Country," 564.
[62] Pollock, *Black Soldiers*, 1; in 1916, Moses Puryear, a week after the No. 2 Battalion was authorized by the Canadian government, urged all faithful African Baptists to rally to their nation's flag; Joost, "No. 2," 51; Cahill "White," para 5; Pittman, "African Canadian Experience During the First World War," 1; Daye Learning Institute, "A New Era of Race Consciousness," 8; Boileau, "Pride," 22; "Acadia University Archives, [n.d.]"; posters were created to recruit the "colored men of Canada" to the No. 2 Construction Battalion to perform "all kinds of construction work" overseas.

The No. 2 Construction Battalion: Morally Infectious

In the earliest months of the unit, the Canadian government was leery of concentrating blacks in Canada while the unit was being formed—fears founded on assumptions of black misconduct and white reactions to being in the proximity of so many blacks.[63] However, there were a number of advantages for the government to have an all-black unit. It provided an avenue for Canada's blacks to serve; it relieved the government of having to face the awkward forcing of integration among white units and mitigated the negative impact of blacks in units on recruiting.[64] Not all were pleased with the formation of the unit, especially the No. 1 Construction Battalion. Instead of assuming their desired role as frontline combatants, the No. 2 Construction Battalion was instead converted to a construction unit with the role of laying track and maintaining railways alongside the men of the No.1 Construction Battalion—a unit composed of soldiers of European extraction. That all-white unit with a similar name was upset because they did not want people to think they did the same things as blacks.[65]

The Reverend William Andrew White Jr., who helped lead recruitment efforts, attested in Truro on 1 February 1917 and, was given the honorary rank of Captain of the No. 2 Battalion—becoming the only black commissioned officer in the Battalion during the First World War.[66]

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[63] Heath, "White," 15; Armstrong, "Unwelcome,"184; Boileau, "Pride," 22; Cahill "White," para 6; Walker, "Race," 7; Library Archives of Canada, C.F.C 297-1-21; in an attempt to have twenty new black soldiers removed from his unit, Lieutenant-Colonel George Fowler, commanding the 104th Battalion, wrote "I have been fortunate to have secured a very fine class of recruits, and I did not think it fair to these men that they should have to mingle with Negros."

[64] Heath, "White," 15; Armstrong, "Unwelcome," 178–9; Daye Learning Institute, "A New Era of Race Consciousness," 8; it is important to note that African Canadians did serve in integrated units and often on the front lines during WWI—including fighting in significant battles like Passchendale and Vimy Ridge.

[65] Armstrong, "Unwelcome," 182–3; Heath, "White," 15; Pollock, *Black Soldiers*, 1, 11–13; Pittman, "African Canadian Experience During the First World War," 1; Daye Learning Institute, "A New Era of Race Consciousness," 8.

[66] Armstrong, "Unwelcome,"180; Prime, "White," para. 3; KirkConnell, *Acadia Record*, 83; Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1; he was Chaplin from 1917 until 1919; "Library and Archives of Canada," [n.d.]; Daye Learning Institute, "A New Era of Race Consciousness," 8; Boileau, "Pride," 22, 25; Milan and Tran, "Blacks In Canada," 2–3; the black population of Canada at the time was approximately 18,000, the majority of them in Nova Scotia. Because of its large black population, the army selected Nova Scotia as the location of the new unit; Cahill "White," para 6; Pollock, *Black Soldiers*, 6; National Library Archives of Canada, C.F.C 40–1–160;

White worked hard and was always concerned about his soldiers' physical and spiritual well-being; but even in uniform, black soldiers were treated as second-class citizens. In Truro, they had to sit upstairs in the movie theatre until some unit officers intervened.[67] The company was usually given its supplies last, and occasionally its soldiers did not even get regular replacements of socks and underwear.[68] In White's role as chaplain he quickly discovered that white soldiers would not accept his ministrations even when they otherwise lacked the services of a clergyman.[69] Upon the No. 2's arrival in France, British military command hesitated to commit black troops to such duty fearing "the moral effect of mixing these men with whites."[70] The battalion quickly found themselves fighting battles on several fronts.

The No. 2 Construction Battalion: France and Combat

Trouble for the No. 2 Battalion did not end with their fight to enlist[71] but continued with their goal to fight the enemy established by the Entente Powers—they fought for the opportunity to fight. Their hope to see action at the front was summarily dashed as early as 28 March 1917; a letter to Lieutenant-Colonel A. McDonnell confirms that they were never going to get the opportunity. In the letter the Major states, "It is felt that the presence of these coloured troops may cause a certain amount of trouble, especially should they have to be reinforced." He goes on

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some members of the battalion trained in Windsor, Ontario, and the rest in Pictou, Nova Scotia (their base), and later Truro—the unit was comprised of 603 men many of whom were from Nova Scotia, some from the West Indies, and some even from the United States (one-third of the battalion).

[67] Boileau, "Pride," 25; Pittman, "African Canadian Experience During the First World War," 72; Boileau, "Pride," 26; Rev. White and Captain Murray (medical officer) often visited soldiers in the same hospital in order to provide additional medical care and spiritual support—Captain Murray was the grandfather of the famous Canadian singer Ann Murray.

[68] Boileau, "Pride," 27; Joost, "No. 2," 57; Walker, "Race," 22; Pollock, *Black Soldiers*, 13.

[69] Cahill "White," para 6; Heath, "White," 15; Boileau, "White," para 8; Walker, "Race," 22; Armstrong, "Unwelcome,"190; the senior Canadian Chaplin in France claimed, "the Negro Chaplin is not acceptable to the white units."

[70] Pollock, *Black Soldiers*, 1, 11–13; Pittman, "African Canadian Experience During the First World War," 1; Daye Learning Institute, "A New Era of Race Consciousness," 8.

[71] Pollock, *Black Soldiers*, 180.

to say, if they were "attached to the Railway Troops as a Labour Battalion" this would "solve the difficulty."[72] The trouble continued in the fall of 1917 where the view of senior leadership fostered a belief that the men of the No. 2 were a "constant menace to the inhabitants" and being certain of the incorrigibility of these men, recommended that they not "be retained in France";[73] this type of prejudice was evident early on in France.

A church was established upon the battalion's arrival in France, and in White's earliest services blacks and whites had both attended a common service. However, it was not too long before a white chaplain had to be sent because many whites deemed a black chaplain to be unacceptable.[74] White acknowledged this in a letter, noting he "could not even gain acceptance by troops in adjacent units, even though they lacked a chaplain."[75] Similarly, during a benefit concert for the Group Hospital, White stated that on Sunday "Visitors were here . . . to attend the concert to benefit the Group Hospital."[76] However, on Monday he wrote, "The concert for the benefit of Group Hospital had the last performance. The colored boys voted 500 francs but declined to go. If they were not good enough to go when others went they would not take the leavings."[77] White alluded to the troubles he and the battalion were facing with his national correspondence in the *Canadian Observer*.

Introduced as the esteemed Rev. White, the *Canadian Observer* and the *Maritime*

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[72] National Library Archives of Canada, A. P.O., s. 33, B.E.F.

[73] National Library Archives of Canada, A. H. 7429; with convictions of rape and assault of three members of the battalion, it was requested that fifty of the most undesirable of the men be removed.

[74] Dreisziger, *Ethnic Armies*, 190; Heath, "White," 15; Armstrong, "Unwelcome," 190.

[75] Crerar, *Padres*, 68; Heath, "White," 15.

[76] Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 7 October 1917; Heath, "White," 13–14; Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 28 October 1917, 30 October, 1917; there were other comments in the diary that may have been related to race. White noted that "Some trouble with soldiers in Pontarlier"; whether this was a racially charged incident is not revealed in the diary, however, two days later White records that a consequence of the conflict was that "Pontarlier (was) put out of bounds for our men."

[77] Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 8 October 1917, 28 October 2017, 30 October 1917; Heath, "White," 14; the No. 2 Construction Battalion soldiers being excluded from participating in the benefit concert is just one more piece of evidence that points to the injustice, inequities, and segregation continually faced by African Canadians.

Baptist article of 1 September 1917, entitled "Our boys Of No. 2 Cons. Batt. Are Anxious To Get into the Trenches"—not knowing they would never get the chance to fight—reports a letter obtained by the Rev. S. R. Drake Supt. of the B. M. E. Church that states, "(Capt.) W. A. White who is one of the race and former pastor of the Baptist Church in Halifax Nova Scotia and Rev. Drake holds him in the highest esteem."[78] White's introduction to the Ontario, and the national, black community comes in the form of a letter he writes to Rev. Drake—it is a letter that the *Canadian Observer* deemed significant enough to print. In the letter, White states, "Dear brother—I have intended to drop you a line ever since I came over from Canada to let you know that the boys were getting along nicely. We are not at the very front, but doing work some distance back of the lines, where there is the least danger." Still with the belief that they will get a chance to fight for their country, White goes on to say, "Some of the boys are anxious to be put into the thick of the fray. I tell them to be content with our present lot as we may have to go into the trenches at any time."[79] This trend of disappointment and racial animus would continue; by the late fall of that year, the battalion's troubles had shifted from alleged poor conduct and overt discrimination to the perceived inability to withstand the weather.

The men of the No. 2 Battalion were declared unfit to serve in La Joux, France due to the "severity of the climate"; the medical officers insisted, "The West Indian and American Negroes should be moved to a warmer climate." Significant debate ensued among the higher command over what to do with winter approaching; the decision was made to send 180 West Indian and

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[78] MHSO, "Another Colored Man Granted Commission in Const. Battalion," 1; the article stated, "Word has been received recently that the rank of captain has been given to Rev. W. A. White of Truro, Nova Scotia who is a colored man"; MHSO, "Religion and the Forces: Appointed Colored Chaplain," 8; during the second world conflict White's name once again resurfaced as his successor, "The Rev. William Oliver, pastor of Cornwallis Street Baptist Church, Halifax," was "named Chaplain to care for the men of the African race now in service in the Maritimes." The article goes on to say, " Captain Oliver's appointment is unique in that he is commissioned to care for the African members of the R.C.AF, the Army, and the Navy." Lastly, it states, "The above paragraph is from the current issue of the *Maritime Baptist*, and remembers "Rev. W. A. White who was an overseas chaplain in the last war and had the distinction of being the only one of his race with such a commission in the British army."

[79] MHSO, "Our Boys of No.2 Cons. Batt. Are Anxious To Get into the Trenches," 1.

southern U. S. blacks to a location near Bordeaux.[80] Although White's diary made no additional comments on the issue, it also gave no indication that the weather was a deterrent to the normal functioning of the battalion; instead, the weather seemed to act as a pathetic fallacy—it mirrored the treatment and disappointment of the battalion and their longing for combat. White's lament "Cold, O so cold" encompassed the struggles and suffering that came with a European winter; and his diary illustrates that the members of the No. 2 Battalion were not receiving enough clothing to shield them from its severity. White viewed the black soldiers' illnesses as a consequence of receiving standard provisions last or not at all.[81]

White remarked that "Private Brent gave out on his way to work . . . brought into hospital" and links this to the circumstance that caused him to be without "underwear and socks"—alluding to the fact that the lack of necessary provisions may have been the cause of preventable illnesses.[82] White's reporting of additional soldiers' illnesses—"Boone very sick" and "Johnson trenchfoot"—furthered this belief. Johnson's infection, as well as Brent's collapse and subsequent diagnosis of influenza, were clearly significant to Reverend White—who did not record the details of every illness in his diary, thus, these cases likely exemplified the most extreme reactions to the lack of clothing issued to members of the No. 2 Battalion.[83] Before these incidences, White had a more personal situation.

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[80] National Library Archives of Canada, C.F.C 40–1–160, A.D. 261117; Diaries of Rev. William A. White Diary, 25 November 1917; White comments, "Talk of moving West Indians & leaving Canadians—we shall see"; Heath, "White," 14; Armstrong, "Unwelcome," 191–2; a common racial assumption of that day was that northern European races were hardier, more capable of dealing with the cold weather than other races. Geography, and the natural selection process, was deemed to have contributed to the making of a superior race; for the cold northern climate made the 'northern races' (which included Britain, and especially Canada) superior to the 'southern races.'

[81] Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 30 December 1917; in his diary Rev. William Andrew White Jr. regularly spoke of the weather specifically its dreary condition stating, "Rain, O how it did rain!"

[82] Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 22 October 1917, 30 November 1917; on 22 October 1917, Private Robert Brent reportedly collapsed on his way to work. He remained outside all day and was not brought to a hospital until late that night—according to Rev. White, Brent was not wearing socks or underwear that day. On 30 November 1917, Rev. White reported that soldiers Boone and Johnson were in the hospital, Boone very ill and Johnson being treated for trench foot.

[83] Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 22 October 1917.

On 6 November 1917 Reverend White writes, "Col. Johnson came into quarters without rapping, " the Colonel then states, "don't you know enough to rise when your commanding officer comes into the room." White was clearly distressed by Johnson's scolding when he (Johnson) had not even indicated that he was entering the room. Gordon Heath asks the question "was Johnson's 'don't you know enough'" a racial slur, casting doubt on his competency? Or was it just an incident of an officer's imprudent use of power and poor judgement?"[84] While Reverend White's diary does not provide a definitive answer, one must take into account that White was a child of the south, one born of Reconstruction but suckled at the teat of 'Redemption' and 'Jim Crow'; coupled with the fact that White wrote down the incident in his diary, and being mindful of all the issues of race that White and the No. 2 Battalion had to deal with from the beginning of the battalion's inception, is an indication of its significance. This was due, in part, to the fact that he may have found the all too familiar tenor of racism and discrimination clearly audible in Col. Johnson's discourse. Despite the barriers to their service White continued to encourage his men to fight for the cause.

Much like other preachers during the war, White often appropriated the biblical text in such a way as to bolster support for the cause, and his preaching echoed themes similar to what he had heard on the home front. Military motifs in scripture were an obvious source to use when preaching to soldiers; White made use of the metaphor of the soldier in 2 Tim 2:3 and of 'fighting the good fight' in 2 Tim 4:7. He drew on passages from Esth 4:14 that spoke of being raised up by God for a specific time, or from Job that spoke of the renewal that came after suffering. He also sought to instil in his hearers a sense of focus and determination by appropriating the Apostle Paul's sporting metaphor of 'pressing on to win the prize' in Phil

[84] Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 6 November 1917; Heath, "White," 13; Pittman, "African Canadian Experience During the First World War," 87; the Col. Johnson, Rev. White is referring to, is the commanding officer of the No. 5 District, Jura Group—Lieutenant Colonel George Johnson.

3:13–14 or 1 Cor 9:24, a message especially necessary for soldiers whose endurance was waning.[85]

White writes (in his letter in the *Canadian Observer*), "The work with the boys is very pleasant. We have two services every Sunday morning. Some of the boys tell me that they look forward from Sunday to Sunday for the benefit they receive from the service."[86] White goes on to tell Rev. H. F. Logan of London, Ontario, "On Sunday I hold two services at which I preach a short sermon. The boys listen eagerly and seem to enjoy them. He keeps the black troops focused on what they do have instead of what they do not when he says, "Last Sunday we had a Thanksgiving service; in my sermon I tried to point out five reasons why we as soldiers should be thankful" for a Bountiful Harvest, Divine Help, Splendid Hope, Unbroken Homes, Promise of Heaven.[87] Lastly, his empathy and care for his men and the black community are evident when he implores the pastor to, "Kindly remember me to any of the friends. Tell them that I am doing my best for the boys, and if at any time any of them want me to do any thing for their boy, to please write. Let me hear from you at your earliest convenience."[88] White will not only care for "the boys" but offers to serve the entire black community nationally through his offer of personal service to their families—a portent of his provincial if not national intensions.

An additional letter, printed in the *Canadian Observer*, has White keeping his promise to personally serve the entire black community; White tells Rev. Logan, "I know your boy very well, he was sick in the hospital for a while but I am glad to say that he is better now. You spoke of not having received letters from him for some weeks. I am sure you have received them before now for he writes regularly. Being the censor I am in a position to know when the boys write."

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[85] Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 28 October 1917; Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 2 June 1918; Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 9 December 1917; Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 2 December 1917; Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 3 February 1918; Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 11 August 1918.

[86] MHSO, "Our Boys of No.2 Cons. Batt. Are Anxious To Get into the Trenches," 1.

[87] MHSO, "Chaplain White, No. 2 Cons. Battalion, Says Boys in Good Spirits," 1, 5.

[88] MHSO, "Our Boys of No.2 Cons. Batt. Are Anxious To Get into the Trenches," 1.

White alludes to the problems the battalion faced due to race when he says, "I am glad to say that we are doing the very best work we know how; but there are always obstacles to be overcome." White, showing his love of country, states in his salutation: "My Dear Brother (speaking to the Rev. Logan) I was very much pleased to receive your letter of September 12th last night. It not only brought the thoughts of Canada and home fresh to my memory, but it also gave the assurance that the Christians at home are praying for the boys."[89]

Like Bishop Richard Allen in his eulogy of George Washington,[90] the Reverend White, despite—or because of—prejudice at home and the front, delivered a message in regards to the Great War that included exhortations for patriotism.[91] Like Allen, he aimed to promote black Canadian patriotism and citizenship.[92] White exhorted the black soldiers to be obedient in like manner to God's vision in their day; conflating war aims, the Entente Powers, and the Kingdom of Christ, White declared that their vision was a 'Vision of duty to smaller nations ... of unlimited sacrifice . . . of [a] world free for democracy . . . [and] of [the] extension of [the] kingdom of Christ.'[93] White's sermons indicate a robust view of the empire, for despite its apparent faults—ubiquitous racism included—he argued that its history was proof of its relative goodness and that the empire had brought the benefits of good governance and western civilization to its subjects—that would equate to greater opportunities for the African Canadian

[89] MHSO, "Chaplain White, No. 2 Cons. Battalion, Says Boys in Good Spirits," 1, 5.

[90] DeVeaux, "Christian Faith," 86, 94; Wilmore, *Black Religion,* 134–35; Richard Allen was the first black Bishop in the United States and founder of the black (AME) church. Allen, in homage to Washington, told blacks not just to honour Washington by being pious, respectful, and patriotic but also to "love your country" just as the great general did—Allen turned the eulogy into a display of black citizenship. Richard Allen's contributions to ecclesiology, the social landscape, his use of nonviolent protest, pursuit of reconciliation, black unity and uplift, and brother/sisterhood of humanity in the eighteenth century show him as the progenitor of the modern African American Civil Rights Movement.

[91] Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 23 June 1918; Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 28 July 1918; Heath, "White," 12.

[92] Newman, *Freedom's Prophet*, 137–38.

[93] Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 4 August 1918; Heath, "White," 12.

community.[94] That White held a relatively high view of the empire could be considered striking when one considers what he and his men sometimes experienced in Canada and France.[95]

White's military diary also chronicled his lamentations on the weather and how it both depressed him and fuelled his longing to "to go back to Canada," yet, in this state, he believed " the deeper thoughts flow through the soul." These "deeper thoughts" came through in his writings; his love of God and country were clear and his sermons on Isa 44:17, Job 14:14, 2 Cor 9:15 expresses his frequent contemplation over his role in the war, Canadian society, and the black community—insofar as his contribution to its betterment. White states, "are we using our opportunities to the best for ourselves and for God?"[96] It is the phantasmagoria that haunts those in authority, those with the power to affect change; as a black pastor and chaplain, White's worry was always, 'Am I doing enough for the black soldiers of my unit?'

White loved his men, whom he called his "boys," and cared deeply for them; he took pride in their talents as musicians and athletes—noting their performances at concerts and games.[97] His chronicling of his day-to-day struggles with the men included passages like "Johnson asleep on duty," "the boys went absent from 2 Coy," "Young Jackson ran off with motto truck," and "Sullivan in trouble again. Knives as usual." His diary entries of the soldiers' woes and missteps contained a level of empathy and fatherly concern.[98] White often shared time with his men, offered them his services in financial matters (showing their trust in him and his care for them), and often visited his men in hospitals to comfort them during their

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[94] Heath, "White," 13–14; White's expressions of appreciation for the benefits of British imperial rule were shared by black Baptists back home in Nova Scotia.

[95] Heath, "White," 13.

[96] Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 7, 12, 18, 21, 22 October 1917, 25, 26 November 1917, 2, 7, 23 December 1917; White's diary contained many examples of him questioning if he is doing enough for his men, for humanity, and God; Heath, "White," 6, 7,14; White not only provided spiritual succor to his charges but financial assistance—he seemed to be a banker of sorts for soldiers; this gives a glimpse into the unique relationship and degree of trust between White and the black soldiers.

[97] Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 6, 8, 13, 15, 17 March 1918; Heath "White," 8.

[98] Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 15, 22, 26 November 1917, 23 April 1918; Heath "White," 8–9.

convalescence.[99] His friendship, advocacy, and ministrations did not go unappreciated by his "boys"; when he formally "gave (the) boys (a) farewell address at the (train) station" the men showed their appreciation of White's efforts by shouting "three cheers for our chaplain."[100]

At this juncture in this life, we begin to see how White's experiences begin to merge with his leadership acumen and this confluence ultimately led to his future advocacy for the African Canadian community. White's optimistic vision of the nation echoed earlier visions of Canada as a promised land for slaves fleeing the United States (along The Underground Railroad). Drawing on exilic images from Ps 137, one sermon made parallels between Jerusalem and Canada.[101] It was not lost on White that the empire abolished slavery in 1833—and did not need a civil war to do so—and that the ability to attend an institution of higher learning was not afforded him by his native United States but by Canadian beneficence.[102] This love of empire might lead one to think this was the reason White was circumspect in his diary when it came to issues of discrimination based on race.

White's circumspection surrounding the mentioning of controversial issues, like race and equality, may be a product of the praxis for equality used by black leaders of the time; he was simply being prudent to not include anything in his diary that could jeopardize his position or the reputation of his unit—as Heath states, "even the contents of a private diary could inadvertently be made public."[103] Cordial relations with a wide number of people and organizations (specifically with the white power structure) were integral to the aforementioned praxis.[104]

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[99] Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 23 October 1917, 12, 30 November 1917, 2, 9, 15, 22, 25 December 1918, 7, 24 January 1918, 2 Mar 1918, 19 May 1918, 9, 16 July 1918, 21August 1918, 23 October 1918; Heath "White," 9.

[100] Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 12 November 1917; Heath, "White," 8.

[101] Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 30 June 1918; Heath, "White," 13; just as Jerusalem and surrounding environs were the lands of promise for the ancient Jews, so was Canada for blacks. Both were lands of opportunity that should elicit loyalty among citizens and soldiers.

[102] Heath, "White," 14; Walker, "Race," 26.

[103] Heath, "White," 13; Norrell, *History*, 60; Keller, *Booker T.*, 11

[104] Keller, *Booker T.*, 11–12; Norrell, *History*, 4;

Proving the black community had indeed earned the right to full citizenship was intertwined with the amelioration of the white power structure because any expression of discontent could potentially enflame and reinforce age-old prejudices; ultimately, he wanted whites to cultivate the illusion that blacks had no reason to complain about racial conditions and to prevent blacks from dangerous accusations about their treatment.[105] Behind the scenes, like his counterpart Booker T. Washington, White began to challenge the white power structure through a measured and calculated attack on racial injustice.[106]

White advocated for better conditions for the troops; he wrote "Sent Major Sutherland a letter asking for fair treatment in regards to transportation."[107] He supported his men in taking a stance when discrimination and unfair treatment were blatant—evident in the concert affair with his support of the soldier's unwillingness to act as second-class citizens and take what White called the "leavings."[108] White sought to keep the unit from being broken up, and wrote a member of parliament in Nova Scotia to ensure that did not happen;[109] he also wrote an impassioned letter to Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden stating, "the coloured people are proud that they have at least one definite unit representing them in France"; he went on to urge the Prime Minister to ensure that black conscripts would be sent to reinforce the No. 2 Construction Battalion—[110] an act reminiscent of A. Philip Randolph's letter to Franklin Delano Roosevelt.[111]

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[105] Norrell, *History*, 60; Keller, *Booker T.*, 11; this is something the black pastor understood very well; Heath, "White," 13.

[106] Smock, *Black Leadership*, 6; Foner, *Forever Free*, xxii; Norrell, *History*, 15–16, 57, 60; modern critics of Booker T. Washington's gradualist praxis for African American citizenship were fueled by an anachronistic view of black leadership—the desires of the 1960s and the example of Martin Luther King Jr.—were superimposed on a man (Booker T. Washington) and his situational dynamics (e.g. Jim Crow). Unlike his critics, Washington understood the racial and political climate that African Americans existed in post-reconstruction; moreover, Washington (behind the scenes) challenged 'Jim Crow' and developed an underground attack on racial injustice.

[107] Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 20 June 1918; Heath, "White," 13; White's diary is not definitive on this being a racial issue but, given the history of the battalion's treatment, it does seem to allude to that conclusion.

[108] Heath, "White," 14.

[109] Heath, "White," 9; Armstrong, "Unwelcome," 192.

[110] Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 11 August 1918; White's diary entry reads, "Wrote Izie, (and) Sir R. Borden; Heath, "White," 9; Walker, "Race," 20–21; White's plea to the Prime Minister for intercession did not bear fruit.

In one of his many sermons (in this instance based on Rev 3:11), he urged his men to wear a 'crown' of "self-respect"—an obvious reference to avoiding sinful conduct, but also to hold one's head high in the face of racism.[112]

During his war service, Rev. William Andrew White Jr.'s personal qualities showed themselves in his love for his God, his fellow human, his country, and his wife and children—writing to his wife virtually every day during his tour of duty.[113] White did not drink[114] and, although he took pride in his men as soldiers, baseball players, and musicians—faithfully recording game scores in his journal and noting their performances at various concerts—the[115] Rev. White had a problem with them playing cards on Sundays, bemoaning, "Why do our officers play cards so much on Sundays?"[116] Urging his men to never be ashamed to "do right in the face of discouragement," White implored them to fully embrace the "Gospel of Christ." Elsewhere he advised his men to have "self-respect." And by referring to what he called "noble womanhood," he was probably exhorting his men to stay out of the brothels, or at least be less promiscuous and avoid venereal disease.[117] Notwithstanding exhortations to live a pure life, White reminded his listeners that Jesus was gracious and kind, for he had sought out sinners and

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[111] Dickerson, "African-American," 226; Kersten, A. Philip, 45–46; Pfeffer, *A. Philip*, 23; the son of an AME pastor, A. Philip Randolph was a labour leader that challenged the African American pastors and their churches to pursue social changes through grassroots mobilization against racial discrimination. Randolph wrote a letter to Roosevelt threatening to march on Washington to force the President to initiate the integration of the wartime factories.

[112] Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 28 July 1918; Heath, "White," 11.

[113] Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 18 October 1917; Heath, "White," 7; in his diary White writes, "I want Izie and the kids—I love my little wife and those kids. God bless and keep them."

[114] Audio recording of excerpts from a White family discussion in 1962 with Bill White (father of Sheila White), Portia White, and their cousin Mattie White Ashton. The story goes that White, not one to imbibe, once had a drink through a ruse. The story involves White's penchant for always having a glass of water before bed (placed on this night stand); when he was in the bathroom preparing for bed, his friends knowing of his pre-slumber habits and abstinence from imbibing, in fun, exchanged the water with gin—the pastor's drink before his slumber became a rude awakening.

[115] Heath, "White," 8; Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 6 March 1918, 8 March 1918, 13 March 1918, 15 March 1918, 17 March 1918, 23 May 1918, 27 May 1918, 28 May 1918, 5 June 1918, 23 June 1918, 29 June 1918, 8 August 1918, 10 August 1918, 11 August 1918, 18 August 1918.

[116] Heath, "White," 8; Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 3 February 1918

[117] Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 28 July 1918; Heath, "White," 11; the men had been lectured by the medial officer some days prior on the need to avoid 'venereal disease.'

ate with them (Luke 15:2). White stated that Jesus "taught the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of (humanity)"[118]—this was a principal component of White's praxis for black uplift.[119] However, the plight of the No. 2 did not end with the signing of the Armistice.

The No. 2 Construction Battalion: Armistice and Demobilization

Issues of race led to the birth of No. 2 Construction and followed it until demobilization, these included: the formation of a segregated unit, the appointment of all white officers, the non-combat role of the unit, the location of the unit far from British and Canadian combats units, and, noted below, in the violence around demobilization after the war.[120] While Canada did not have the history of southern slavery and Jim Crow laws, Canadians of African decent faced discrimination nonetheless. What White and others in No. 2 Construction had to cope with was a potent mix of patriotic fervour, imperial loyalty, and national identity, all fused to racial assumptions of Anglo-Saxon superiority. Those racial assumptions also shaped wartime discourse in the Great War, and blacks facing discrimination and marginalization were up against a national vision that was exclusively white and Western European (for even Eastern Europeans were considered suspect).[121]

Issues of race also infused the demobilization of the unit. Regretfully, White's diaries do not include commentary on those matters. However, other sources provide details on some disturbing incidents. With the Armistice signed, governments were faced with the daunting task

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[118] Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 10 March 1918; Heath, "White," 12.

[119] Minutes of the 76th Meeting of the AUBA, 36; Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1; White, "A White Family History (Canadian Branch)"; Goodall, *Portia*, 3; during the Great War, White kept in touch with Helen Blackadar; thirty-nine years after her urgings and support brought him to Acadia University as an undergraduate, as Secretary of the Executive Committee of the African United Baptist Association, White was now in a position to show his gratitude and honoured Mary Helen Blackadar by awarding her with a Silver Purse. White's gratitude went beyond mere awards, calling his first daughter Helena after Miss Blackadar and having Miss Blackadar name his second daughter Portia, the great Canadian singer.

[120] Shaw, "Country," 572–73; Heath, "White," 13.

[121] Heath, "White," 12; Shaw, "Country," 572–73.

of rapidly demobilizing soldiers and getting them home safely. Soldiers, quite naturally, wanted to return home as soon as possible. Unfortunately, the process was flawed and troops quickly became angry at bureaucratic bungling. Unrest, violence, and even mutiny ensued in what has been called the Kimmel Park Riots or Kimmel Park Mutiny (4–5 March 1919). Between November 1918 and June 1919, there were thirteen demobilization incidents with Canadian troops, leading to five deaths, twenty-three men injured, seventy arrests, and twenty-five convictions of mutiny. In the midst of the uncertainty and anticipation of demobilization, but before the riots of Kimmel Park, was an ugly incident between No. 2 Construction soldiers and white soldiers.[122]

On 7 January 1919, a black Sergeant Major arrested an insubordinate white soldier and placed him in the charge of a "coloured" escort. Other white soldiers were infuriated with what they deemed to be impertinent behaviour and quickly descended on a group of black soldiers of the No. 2 Battalion. A brawl ensued, with rocks thrown and razors used. Injuries were bruises and cuts, but no deaths. White troops also raided some huts of black soldiers and smashed windows and rifled their kits. Three days later another incident occurred when some soldiers of the No. 2 Construction sought to rescue one of their own from a guardroom; in the hubbub, a drunk corporeal hit the camp commander with the butt of a rifle. The No. 2 Construction Battalion embarked for home shortly thereafter, avoiding escalation and even worse rioting in the coming months.[123]

Just before their departure, rioting was again averted by White's high quality of leadership. White was an unmitigated force for good across racial lines; such were his courage,

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[122] Heath, "White," 15–16; Shaw, "Country," 572–73.

[123] Shaw, "Country," 572–73; Private Shepard of the No. 2 recalled that while the group marched on a "[b]ath parade under the direction of Sergeant [Edward] Sealy," a " white non-commissioned officer (NCO)" made racist comments, "ignored orders from Sealy and interfered with the line of the march. When he was arrested and locked-up, some of his comrades attempted to remove him from the guardhouse. A riot broke out, and a number of soldier ended up in the hospital"; Walker, "Race," 7, 24; Heath, "White," 15–16.

moral authority, and physical stature that he once interposed himself between his unit and a group of white men to avert a riot. White's regiment and a white regiment were doing construction work together behind the lines. The relations between them became strained, tense, and finally led to a critical point; the situation escalated rapidly, and whites and blacks lined up for attack. Angry feelings arose, bitter words were exchanged, and violent physical engagement was imminent. It was at this point that Captain William Andrew White Jr., Chaplain of the No. 2, placed himself between the two angry groups, took command of the situation, pacified the enraged men, and averted the spilling of blood in a bitter race riot. By the end of January, the No. 2 Construction Battalion arrived safely back in Canada.[124]

In the United States, it had been believed that combat would give equality to blacks but that was not the case, especially when they were denied the opportunity to fight. In fact, far from bringing racial amity, the war heightened the barriers that separated the races in the United States and caused growing resentment among blacks. There was a similar narrative in Canada. Like their southern brethren/sistren, the black Canadian community saw war as an opportunity to show their mettle as citizens in the harshest human interaction, war; with that, they would take great strides to become full citizens and part of the Canadian polity.[125] Black Canadians believed, as William Faquharson wrote in reference to the returning soldiers, "we feel a certain brotherhood towards them all," because, quoting William Shakespeare's *Henry V*, "For he today that sheds his blood with me shall be my brother."[126] However, this was not the case; especially since the black community's offer of sacrifice was unaccepted in some quarters, unwelcome in

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[124] Walker, "Race," 7, 24; Heath, "White," 15–16; Boileau, "Pride," 22; Cahill "White," para 6; Warren, "William Andrew White, D. D., '03," 7.

[125] Armstrong, "Unwelcome,"194; Heath. "White," 17, 18; Nalty, *Black Americans*, 124; "The Urgent Demand of the Present Day"; the *Atlantic Advocate* wrote, "The present struggle now raging in Europe should meet us at its termination fully prepared to stem the mighty tide of progress and not only to have a voice in internal conditions, but to assist, educate, and bring to the fore our less fortunate brother."

[126] Farquharson, "The Mission of the Church to the Returning Soldiers."

many, and unremarked in most. Blacks in Canada trying to enlist faced prejudice at every step of the way, and were never able to demonstrate fully their patriotism and potential.[127] At the close of the great conflict, black Canadians were no closer to acceptance, in fact, like their US counterparts, the war heightened the barriers that separated the races in Canada and forced black Canadians to confront the limitations of blackness in Canada.[128]

No. 2 was a classic example of the Canadian system of racism, once committed it was quickly hidden behind the curtain seemly lost to history; it was also not ensconced in law (as Colonel Samuel Hughes declared that black Canadians should be allowed to enlist) but proven in action. An examination of Canadian policy towards African Canadians and their participation in the war offered a temporary opening in the curtain. The curtain also lifts upon the determination and self-confidence of Canadian blacks and their struggle for civil rights. The struggle is further revealed in many instances as a community effort;[129] black communities encouraged, organized, and financed the enlistment of their young men, and those men volunteered in order to gain group recognition and to further the rights of the whole community.[130] It is important to note that the treatment received by black Canadians did not originate with the military; recruitment policy and overseas deployment were entirely characteristic of the general social practise in Canada and

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[127] Armstrong, "Unwelcome,"194; Heath. "White," 17–18; Pollock, *Black Soldiers*, 180; Daye Learning Institute, "A New Era of Race Consciousness," 8; the Battalion's conduct and that of other Nova Scotian Regiments belies the myth that African Canadians did not serve on the frontlines during WWI. Sydney Jones and Jeremiah Jones served with the 106th Royal Canadian Regiment; Sydney was wounded in the Battle of Passchendale and Jeremiah was at Vimy Ridge and Roy Fells was awarded the Military medal for Bravery serving with the 25th Battalion.

[128] Armstrong, "Unwelcome,"194; Heath. "White," 17–18; Walker, "Race," 25; Pollock, *Black Soldiers*, 180; Shaw, "Country," 544–45.

[129] Walker, "Race," 15; in black communities, Citizen Recruiting Committees were formed to encourage enlistment; the Rev. W. Andrew White gave "stirring" speeches, and black church elders lent moral support. In Nova Scotia a regimental band was organized and held recruitment concerts in churches and halls wherever a black audience might be attracted; Pollock, *Black Soldiers*, 15; the Rev. Moses B. Puryear (pastor of Cornwallis St. Baptist Church) urged all African Canadians to fill the ranks of the No. 2 claiming, " the instrument was now at hand with which black men could demonstrate their religious commitment and fulfill their patriotic obligations."

[130] Walker, "Race," 3, 12; The African Baptist Association, at its 1916 annual meeting, expressed the view that through the No. 2 Battalion "the African race was making history," and "pledged to do all in its power to encourage enlistment.

Canadian attitudes were merely a reflection of acceptance and respected western thought in the early twentieth century—racist perceptions were derived, not from personal experiences, but from the example of Canada's great mentors (Britain and the United States) and supported by scientific explanations.[131]

By the end of the Great War, William Andrew White Jr. was cognizant of the aforementioned facts; his hope that duty, sacrifice, and heroism would improve the situation for blacks remained unfulfilled. As black veterans returned home, they encountered a vigorous push by the KKK to establish Canadian branches, especially in Ontario and the West; schools, societies, and jobs that were segregated in 1914 remained so in 1918.[132] White's wartime experience and peacetime realization forced him—and all black Canadians—to confront the limitations of blackness in Canada.[133] White invariably revised his theology and praxis for the amelioration of this condition. What held White in good stead were the practical leadership skills he learned during his war years; as the only black officer in the No. 2, he must have used his ability to navigate among the white leadership—something that saw its origins during his time as the only black student on an all-white campus that was Acadia University. This understanding of leadership, from an outsider's perspective, through gaining the trust and confidence of his white superior officers, was proven invaluable for his next act as church/community leader and advocate.

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[131] Walker, "Race," 22–23; Higuera Smith et al., eds., *Evangelical*, 45, 49; Horsman, *Race*, 5, 9, 12, 22–23; Ross, "Christian Missions," 90; Lentz-Smith, *Freedom*, 5.

[132] Clarke, "Black Officer," para 13; Marquis, "War," 421–442; "Colored People Protest," *Toronto Daily Star*; in 1915, African Canadian residents of Toronto, Halifax, and other Canadian cities protested screenings of the popular film *The Birth of a Nation*; Weinberger, "*Nation*," 77–93; the NAACP orchestrated petitions, rallies, and protests against the film across the United States; Polgar, "Fighting," 84–103; Rylance, "Breech Birth," 1–20; the first popular film of "feature" length, *The Birth of a Nation*, was a blatantly racist work that celebrated the Ku Klux Klan's violent repression of African Americans.

[133] Shaw, "Country," 544.

In May 1918, following the termination of his leave-of-absence and his eventual return from the Great War in Europe, Zion Baptist received Rev. White's resignation from overseas telling the church to seek a permanent replacement; White was recruited by Cornwallis St. Baptist while overseas and became their pastor upon his return to Canada. White stopped in Truro, Nova Scotia, when he returned from overseas, where he received a warm welcome, from his now former congregation, when he arrived at the train station and that evening at Zion Baptist. In a retrospective, the Truro newspaper wrote of Rev. White: "Dr. White through his life has been a leader of his people, he has been, in a very true sense, the spiritual daddy of the colored people of the province, he has been an adroit, faithful, effective go between whites and colored [an often-heard refrain] he served his King and country during the Great War."

Zion had a very successful Garden Party (August of 1920) where they were honoured with an appearance of "their beloved former pastor," Rev. William Andrew White Jr.; he was accompanied by Reverends W. N. State and A. W. Thompson. A temporary platform was erected and each gentleman was called upon to speak. "The applause for Rev. White was deafening," his oratory skills were again evident when Sealey remarks that, "he told in his humorous way how he first arrived" in Truro; his care for the black community is also evident and prosaic when "he urged Zion's people to stick together."[134] Rev. White's portrait and military photograph still hangs today in the main vestry of the church and is a constant reminder of the love, respect, and esteem that the people of Zion Baptist had for Rev. White.[135] Prior to his return from Europe and World War I, White had much to say about himself and the men of the No. 2 Construction Battalion.

[134] Sealey, *Zion*, 61.
[135] Sealey, *Zion*, 96–97.

The men of No. 2 signed up to do front line duty in the hopes of getting "a chance at Fritz," however, even during the German offensive of 1918, attacks that devastated allied lines, the men of the No. 2 remained unarmed—confined to their labours in the mountains bordering Switzerland and the forests of France.[136] This was a source of immense disappointment to the battalion.[137] When the war ended, No. 2 Construction Battalion sailed for Halifax in January 1919;[138] on 15 September 1920, soon after the Armistice was announced, the unit officially disbanded—with almost unseemly haste. Always regarded as a problem and never seriously appreciated, the No. 2 Battalion was treated with indifference upon their return; their service was dismissed by the very Corps in which they served and with little known of their involvement in the war, Canada's first and only black military unit was lost to history.[139]

Ultimately, White viewed the Great Conflict as a God-sent opportunity to prove the courage and worth of the black people to the white citizenry; the demonstration of black capabilities, Christian civic virtue, and patriotism would disprove their inferiority claims and assist in gaining full citizenship.[140] As the newly appointed pastor of the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church—the mother church of black Baptists in Nova Scotia—White was again in a position to put his advocacy skills into practice.

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[136] *Presbyterian Witness*, 31 August 1918; names like 'Fritz,' the 'Huns,' and even references to the devil were not uncommon in daily publications in Canada—such was the disdain for the German war machine.

[137] Pollock, *Black Soldiers*, 11–13; this disappointment was especially true for the men who enlisted from the United States; since, in post-war American black communities, service in a foreign labour battalion could not compare to the likes of the 369th, the Harlem Hellfighters, and other celebrated black units. Often American veterans of the No. 2 responded in the negative to U.S. census-takers questions concerning their service in the Great War.

[138] National Library Archives of Canada, C.F.C. 40–10.

[139] Boileau, "Pride," 27; Joost, "No. 2," 57; Walker, "Race," 22; Pollock, *Black Soldiers*, 13, 189–90; they were quickly disbanded even though the demand for forestry products remained high. Pollock believes the treatments on the battalion, that include Anthony Sherwood's film *Honour Before Glory*, the website "Historica.ca," and Calvin Ruck's *Canada's Black Battalion*, contribute to the prevailing mythic-heroic construct of the No. 2 Battalion, distorting the history of the men and the battalion's formation.

[140] Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 2 June 1918; Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 9 December 1917; Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 4 August 1918; Heath, "White," 9; Allen, *The Life*, 33.

Chapter Summary

William Andrew White Jr.'s ministerial duties and his partnership/friendship with the other black leaders in Nova Scotia sharpened his leadership acumen and broaden the scope of his efforts. White's experiences were filtered through his Baptist faith and his praxis for black uplift was built on a theological foundation that emanated from his commitment to God. Moreover, while the quest to fight and show black patriotism (during the Great War) was met with resistance from enlistment to demobilization, White's military diary provided a rare glimpse into his thoughts and chronicled the coalescence of his theology; it was the demarcation point for the formation of his praxis for black uplift. This praxis included: temperance in the black community to encourage engagement in acts that uplifted the race; a belief in social justice and its tenets of brother/sisterhood of humanity and the oneness in Christ; and the reliance on Christian love as a foundational principle. White began to engage his praxis at the pulpit of Cornwallis St. Baptist church.

CHAPTER 4:
THEOLOGY DICTATES ACTIONS: ENGAGING PRAXIS

By all accounts, White was a great orator; his sermons were often characterized as powerful, splendid, and inspiring—those are significant statements when one considers that black congregations held their pastors to the highest standards when it came to their ability to evoke an immediate spiritual awareness in the listener.[1] One example of his great oratory takes place at the African Baptist Association convention of Nova Scotia where the Reverend White was said to have preached a "powerful sermon" from the text contained in St. Matthew and that "splendid attention was given to every word that proceeded from the mouth of Reverend White."[2] At the African Baptist Convention's Sunday Service, the following was written: "The preacher was Brother W. A. White. The text was John 1:29 . . . the sermon was one of much earnestness, close, and beautiful language. All present felt highly gratified . . ."[3] The minutes of the African Baptist Convention contains a number of references to Reverend White's "inspiring sermon(s)" that were "very timely and powerful address(es) which were highly commended."[4] His great sermons soon reached a mass audience through the CHNS radio station in Halifax; White gained a loyal following of listeners (both Canadian and American) that looked forward to his monthly on-air sermons broadcast from the CHNS station.[5] Before gaining an on-air following, White

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[1] Walker, *Loyalists*, 78–79; Whitefield, *Blacks*, 18–20.

[2] Minutes of the 63rd Annual Session of the ABA, 7; White preached that the great objective of the African United Baptist Association was to see that the Gospel was spread to all the small poor places throughout the province.

[3] African Baptist Convention of Nova Scotia, Halifax, NS, 6–10 September 1902; White, "White Family History Update: William Andrew White."

[4] Minutes of the 68th Meeting of the AUBA, 7, 11, 22; Minutes of the 73rd Meeting of the AUBA, 15; one of the resolutions in the minutes stated, "be it resolved that a vote of thanks be extended to Rev. (Capt.) W. A. White, B. A., for the inspiring associational sermon.

[5] Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1; this was during his tenure as pastor of Cornwallis Street Baptist Church in Halifax.

returned home from the European conflict to begin his tenure as pastor of Cornwallis St. Baptist church.

Post-Armistice: Cornwallis Street Baptist Church

Like all the men of the No. 2, White returned to a Canada no different from the one he had left—a land where black citizens routinely confronted racism, segregation, and discrimination. His service overseas taught him that securing full citizenship required a much longer struggle than the one just concluded.[6] White returned to Nova Scotia and shortly thereafter took up a call to the pastorate at Cornwallis Street Baptist Church—the flagship church of the black Baptist community due, in no small measure, to its storied past and its venerated founder, Richard Preston.[7]

The founder of Cornwallis Street Baptist Church felt that the atmosphere of slavery in the United States was unsuitable for his call to Gospel ministry; therefore, Richard Preston journeyed to Canada to seek his mother and serve his God. Preston's qualities as a leader quickly became evident; a gifted orator and dynamic personality his ministrations soon found his preaching increasingly in demand—crowds waited on his sermons and were transfixed as he thundered at the pulpit. Not yet ordained, his conspicuous potential led Father Burton to gradually place the religious cause of the various black settlements under the care of Preston; Burton also sent Preston to England to further his Baptist studies and for Preston to seek funds for a new church he sought to build in Halifax.[8] Ordained at the West London Baptist Association in May of 1832, Preston also secured the funds for his new church. The church was

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[6] Pollock, *Black Soldiers*, 12–13; Heath, "White," 17.

[7] Heath, "White," 16; Prime, "White," para. 4; KirkConnell, *Acadia Record*, 83; Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1; "Library and Archives of Canada," [n.d.]; White, "A White Family History (Canadian Branch)"; when White was still overseas, he received a call from Cornwallis Street Baptist Church asking him to be their minister.

[8] Oliver, *Baptist*, 23; Preston had little if any formal education.

named the African Baptist Church at Cornwallis Street (later Cornwallis Street Baptist Church)—with twenty-nine members and Richard Preston as its first pastor.[9] Preston's spirit of advocacy and social uplift for the black community radiated from its new pastor, former Captain chaplain William Andrew White Jr.

White continued the lineage of great Cornwallis Street pastors; the spirit of its founder, Richard Preston, infused the church. An accomplished singer, William Andrew White Jr. and The White Family Singers pioneered the broadcasting of Gospel music at the fledgling Canadian Halifax Nova Scotia (CHNS) radio station;[10] he issued a regular radio broadcast that was heard across Canada and the north-eastern United States.[11] White's uplifting Cornwallis Street broadcasts were suffused with messages pertaining to racial harmony, social justice, and the full citizenship of African Canadians. Cornwallis Street Church had a history of being led by visionary pastors committed to community uplift, advocacy, and social action; at this juncture in his life, White was eager to assume the mantel and to accept the torch handed to him by his predecessors. As the moderator of AUBA from 1929 to 1931 and secretary in 1915, White preached to the black Baptist leaders the significance of race consciousness, education, and Christian nonviolent advocacy as the foundation for gaining equal citizenship for the black community.[12]

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[9] Oliver, *Baptist*, 24; branches in Dartmouth, Preston, Beech Hill, and Hammond Plains—African Baptist was to be the mother church. Preston accessed the wealth of English nobility as well as among his Baptist brothers/sisters to raise 3000 dollars. In 1832, he was presented with the deed of the property and he and three members of his congregation were duly constituted trustees of the corporation.

[10] MacLennan, " Radio," 21–22; CHNS, Halifax's only major radio station in 1930, was owned and operated by the Halifax Herald newspaper—the two were aligned in the realm of opinion and content.

[11] Prime, "White," para. 4; KirkConnell, *Acadia Record*, 83; Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1; Jenkins, Pan-African, 453; Daye Learning Institute, "A New Era of Race Consciousness," 8–9; the broadcast was ostensibly the Cornwallis Street Baptist church service—including White's sermon. Unfortunately, there are no extant copies of his broadcast available; Forster, *Heroines*, 273; it was a family affair with Izie leading the choir, playing the piano, and Portia and her siblings making up the bulk of the singers.

[12] Minutes of the 76th Annual Session of the AUBA, 1; Minutes of the 77th Annual Session of the AUBA, 1; Minutes of the 78th Annual Session of the AUBA, 1; Minutes of the 62th Annual Session of the AUBA, 2.

Although White returned to an unchanged Canada, there was the glimmer of hope for possible change provided once again by the Maritime Baptist Association. Canadian churches hoped that the war would contribute to many of their social reform aims: the elimination of oppression, an increased spirit of sacrifice among citizens, the establishment of a more cooperative and less exploitive way of doing business, and a removal of class barriers. In this way the social gospel agenda and war effort were amalgamated. In the matter of social reform, black and white Methodists and Baptists spoke the same language and shared the same agenda of evangelism and creating a Christian Canada.[13] In 1921, the United Baptist Convention of the Maritime Provinces adopted a nineteen-point Social Gospel Platform. The document that it adhered to was ideologically ahead of its time and would neatly fit into today's sociopolitical milieu. It was a social justice movement that had at its foundations an adherence to Christian principles in public and national life—a Social Gospel whose roots were the equality of individuals in a society.[14] The resulting Forward Moment of the Maritime Baptist Association and its churches could only have been viewed by Rev. White as a potential ally in the battle for racial harmony, social justice, and the full citizenship of African Canadians. At first glance, it seemed that he would garner assistance from the Maritime Baptist Association and the Social Gospel movement.

Prelude to the Social Gospel

Following the Great War, the country was discontent and in turmoil; the churches of Canada assessment of the situation concluded that the church needed to be the stabilizing influence in

[13] Wright, "Protestant," 143–45; Allen, *The Social Passion*, 9–11.

[14] Feltmate, "The Help Should Be Greatest Where the Need is Most," 1–2, 58–59; this included theology that stated, "every life is entitled to a place in society, a good opportunity in life and a fair equity in the common heritage and every life is entitled to such conditions as shall enable it to grow up tall and straight and pure."

society.[15] The Interchurch Forward Movement was an idea developed to be the instrument of salvation for Canadian society; it was a society that would be brought back to stand for the things for which Christ lived and died. The Forward Movement was intended to be a Canada-wide movement of various denominations interested in evangelism and church growth under the slogan "The Greatest Need of our world today is Christ in the Individual Heart and Christian Principles in Public and National Life."[16] But there was difficulty reconciling social service and evangelism; this impasse was addressed by Avery Shaw, D. D.,[17] in an article published in the *Maritime Baptist.* Shaw concluded that:

> Personal religion and social service are not twain but one flesh. Personal religion to be Christian must have a social vision, social passion, and a purpose to equip itself to serve the present age. Social service is the normal life of Christian people who have caught this vision, who share this passion, who graft their lives into the tree of human society so vitally that it becomes a tree of life bearing twelve manner of fruit, whose leaves are for the healing of the nations[18]

Shaw reported that many who had accepted the social vision had embraced it to the point of seeing little else in religion. He observed as well that many good people affirmed that Christians were to save the world by saving individuals while other good people felt that the world was to be saved through social improvement. Both sides were convinced that the world needed saving and that it was the church's province and obligation. Shaw regarded personal religion to be of no worth without social vision and passion. "That vision was expected to reach ultimate causes and to be matched with a social passion; the only adequate motive for which could be love so

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[15]Goertz, "Missed Opportunity," 304; Felmate, "Greatest Where the Need is Most," 57–58.

[16] Felmate, "Greatest Where the Need is Most," 59; Goertz, "Missed Opportunity," 304–07.

[17] Felmate, "Greatest Where the Need is Most," 57–59; Goertz, "Missed Opportunity," 304–07. *Acadia Record*, 46–7; Dr. Shaw had studied at Rochester Theological Seminary immediately prior to the coming of Dr. Rauschenbusch to that institution. Shaw received his B.A., M.A. and D.D. degrees as well as an honorary D.C.L. degree, all from Acadia University; he also received an LL.D. from McMaster and Buckley, and a Litt. D. from Denison University, Ohio. He pastored churches in Winnipeg, Man., Brookline, Mass., and Cleveland, Ohio as well as in his native Maritime Provinces. At the time he wrote this article he was pastoring Emmanuel Baptist Church in Brooklyn, New York, a short distance from Rochester where he had studied and where Rauschenbusch had taught until his death the previous year, 1918.

[18] Felmate, "Greatest Where the Need is Most," 59; Shaw, "Personal Religion and Social Service," 2–3.

profound that it desired to meet the ultimate religious needs of humanity." This was a theology William Andrew White Jr. was very familiar with during his days at Wayland Seminary.[19]

White's diary entries pertaining to Jesus' hope for the brother/sisterhood of humanity expressed the language of Social Gospel proponents. The extent of White's acceptance and advocacy of Social Gospel ideals cannot be determined by his diaries, but this brief statement, plus his post-war pastoral concerns for social justice, suggests he was at least sympathetic to some aspects of the movement.[20]

The Maritime Baptist Interchurch Forward Movement addressed the following concerns: First, the enthronement of God as the central fact in the national, political, industrial, economic, social, and religious phase of life. This will ensure a program in harmony with the will of God. Second, the living of one's way into the very heart of God and His eternal principle so that the individual becomes conscious of oneness with God and the eternalness of His being—this will guarantee the spiritual power necessary for putting the program into effect. Third, the forming of life's judgments by the standard of the spirit—rather than the material. This alone will preserve the soul of our nation. Fourth, the fusing of the fifty-three races speaking eighty-nine languages and dialects, subscribing to seventy-nine religions and creeds, and forming a very large portion of our entire population into one strong, clean Christian Canadian citizenship. This was fundamental condition of national success and greatness, and the principal tenet that led William Andrew White Jr. to believe this theology would extend to African Canadians and run congruent to his praxis. The program goes on to state that: Fifth, providing a wise and adequate program of religious instruction and training for the youth of Canada. Such a program fully realized will guarantee a Christian nation in another generation. Sixth, the cleansing of politics, the

[19] Shaw, "Personal Religion and Social Service," 2–3; "Wayland Seminary Class," 11–14.
[20] Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 10 March 1918; Heath, "White,"12.

Christianizing of social relations, the bringing together of capital and labour in a fellowship of mutual trust and service, and securing for all justice, fair play, and equal opportunity for development and work.[21]

Realizing that there were many other insistent needs for Canada and its people, the aims of the Forward Movement were implemented through individual churches that were able to interpret the aspirations of the Movement for themselves. The Maritime Baptist Convention embraced the Forward Movement—this led to a developed theology that enabled the Social Service Board to present the Social Gospel Platform of 1921.[22]

The Social Gospel

Scholars such as Phyllis Airhart state that Confederation was an idea that was not well received by most protestant clergy; Terence Fay adds that the Maritimes (with its then booming economy) could not see the benefits derived from such a union—citing increased taxes and tariffs in exchange for a railroad was not in their best interests. Scholars like John Webster Grant and Fay spoke of the less than decisive French Catholic acquiescence into the union; what did ignite the Protestant clergy was John Tilley's statement pertaining to the biblical text that referred to creating God's Dominion from sea to sea. This, as Airhart states, energized the clergy to marshal their congregations, through the press and the pulpit, to unify around the idea of Confederation.[23] The social gospel is a natural outcrop of the idea of a Dominion of Canada and its corollary the

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[21] Felmate, "Greatest Where the Need is Most," 57–58; D. R. Sharpe "Why Should We Make the Forward Movement an Unqualified Success?"

[22] Levy, *Baptists*, 295; Felmate, "Greatest Where the Need is Most," 65; Minutes of the United Baptist Convention, 11; The Five-Year Program was the instrument that tied the ideas together to form a distinctive theology for the Maritime Convention to implement a Social Gospel program from an evangelical base. Adopted by the convention in 1916, it contained five major objectives for the denomination not the least of which was to "crystallize, express, and apply the moral feeling of the Convention so that it shall make itself felt on all vital moral problems, and in all forms of important social service."

[23] Airhart, "New Nation," 98–101; Grant, *Canadian Era*, 24–26; Fay, *Canada's Catholics*, 121,125–26.

creation of the Kingdom of God in Canada. Canadian scholar Richard Allen states that the Social Gospel of 1890 was predicated on the building of the Kingdom of God through a co-operative commonwealth; its ideals encompass social reform and the equitable distribution of wealth and opportunity to all in the commonwealth. As Allen states, social gospel advocates like J. S. Woodworth, Salem Bland, and Ernst Thomas believed that unbridled capitalism should be eschewed, they promoted the equality of men and women, government control of industry to ensure that the ultimate goal of industry is to ensure it benefits the common citizen and finally, that individual competition for possessions and wealth should be deterred. The aforementioned social gospel figures set upon accomplishing these goals through social, political, and religious means.[24]

The Social Gospel advocates (most of whom were clergy)[25] saw the Great War as a boon to the Social Gospel because it allowed for social reforms.[26] In the time of social, economic, and cultural upheaval, the country was more conducive to social change and toppling injustice—evidenced by the government's take-over of industry during the war and the benefits it brought to Canadian society. It also pushed for Temperance, the Lord's Day, Native affairs, Child Welfare, and spoke to the role of men and women in an industrial society. It pursued this agenda through the political system—the Labour and Agrarian parties.[27] The Social Gospel's influence on Canadian society showed itself with the passing of the Lord's Day act in 1906 and, for all intents and purposes, temperance in all the provinces by 1919. It also sought to police the morality of the press, uphold decency in cinema, and looked to enhance and maintain the overall

[24] Allen, *Social Passion*, 9–11, 16, 47, 49, 61–62.
[25] Specifically, Anglican, Presbyterian, and Methodists with some Congregationalists and Baptists.
[26] They also believed the men were fighting for God in a just war.
[27] The Labour Party lobbied for collective bargaining and better working conditions and the Agrarian Party fought the loss of the farm population and for government aid; the party was also split along progressive (radical) and conservative (businessmen) lines.

moral tone in society. However, scholars like Allen, Grant, and Robert A. Wright believed, by 1925, its influence had started to wane.

For a number of reasons (not the least of which is social, political, and religious changes in society) theses scholars believed the Social Gospel began to falter or had simply run its course and from failing hands passed the torch—Allen sees its demise rooted in its moralism, financial problems, and being supplanted by the coming of the United Church.[28] Grant takes a harder stance; he sees it as a bourgeoisie attempt at the perfection of humanity, furthermore, he believes that the leadership never went beyond the clergy and never pulled into the fold the businessman, labour, and the farmer. Finally, Grant sees the problem residing with the Social Gospel's inability to understand the reality of power and believing in the perfectibility of man. Structurally, Wright sees the Gospel's demise in Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King's treatment of the Social Gospel's political arm. Prime Minister Mackenzie King took the radical members of the Social Gospel's, and their ideals, into his Liberal Party rendering the Social Gospel's party obsolete.[29] However, some scholars believed the Social Gospel did not wane but its effects on Canadian society increased.

Scholars like Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau argued that the change in the Canadian government to the social welfare state was a consequence of the Social Gospel; they examined the movement from the perspective of the Protestant churches in the context of popular culture, social reform, the rise of the social sciences, and the growth of the modern welfare state.[30] Christie and Gauvreau contend that in the same period, that the previous scholars saw the churches and the Social Gospel wane was, in fact, the cultural apex of the authority of the churches and the influence of the Social Gospel. What the Protestants ministers saw in the

[28] There was also confusion that came when its social programs were being commandeered by the secular agencies.

[29] Grant, *Canadian Era*, 101–03; Wright, "Tradition," 188–90.

[30] Christie and Gauvreau, *Full-Orbed*, xi, xii.

exaltation by the social services of the practical day-to-day experience of the individual, which made religion accessible to the ordinary woman and man, was the best safeguard to Christianity in a world increasingly divided into social classes. Ultimately, the Social Gospel ushered in a period that saw the church move away from the socially irrelevant, denominationally divisive, and elitist dimensions of the church in favour of popular revivalism and social evangelism—it was a church that expanded into all facets of social and cultural life especially through the church-sponsored Social Service Council of Canada.[31]

The Social Gospel movement was a natural outgrowth of the goals of Confederation and the United Church is a natural outgrowth of the Social Gospel movement (the United Church's impact on the nation is shared by the Social Gospel).[32] The Social Gospel helped build this country's national identity. It is an identity built on diversity in religion and union for the primary goal of building a cooperative commonwealth; one built on the idea of social responsibility, respectability, and moral absolutes. It would not be unreasonable that such a wide-reaching theology, which speaks of equality, might extend to the African Canadian community and its full citizenship—and although there are no extant personal writings stating his position, it is a supposition for which Rev. White had hoped; however, the Social Gospel platform, for its all its well-meaning principles (not the least of which was the brother/sisterhood of humanity), did not seem to extend to the black community. It was not until his tenure at Cornwallis Street Baptist church that White fully engaged the black community to begin a measured, determined fight for full citizenship in the Dominion.

Acquiring the position at Cornwallis St. Baptist Church (just before the end of the Great War) must have seemed providential to White as a man of the cloth. All his education (at

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[31] Christie and Gauvreau, *Full-Orbed*, xi, xii.

[32] Anglicans notwithstanding, the same religious denominations were present for the birth of the United Church and the Social Gospel.

Wayland and Acadia), his mission to fight the righteous battles (impressed upon him by his parents, Zion, and Union pastors), and to live a life in service for others (Wayland and the Great War) seemed to have led White to this very moment. He may have felt daunted by the task before him, having just lost great allies like J. R. Johnston and Wellington Ney States, but he had the likes of J. A. R. Kinney to rely on in his continuing pursuit of black uplift and full citizenship; he began again freshly clothed in a theology born of experience and tempered with the care of the gospel.

Cornwallis Street Baptist Church: Uplift and Advocacy

In his new role as pastor of Cornwallis Street Baptist, White felt the weight of the role through the legacy of its predecessors and as an African Canadian leader in an era critical to the black community. As the leader of the mother church, he became more active and influential in the wider Baptist and Protestant community in the city. White stated that as "each race [strove] for a place in the sun," the black community was obligated to obtain "a clearer view of the possibilities within us, for our latent natures must be stirred and we must work out our own salvation, by . . . Realization of Self . . Race Confidence . . . [and] race Regeneration." "If we so strive," he concluded, "when Jesus comes to gather His loved ones, we shall not be found wanting."[33] White's speeches and sermons throughout his days at Cornwallis Street encompassed this dynamic; he continued to lay the foundation for his praxis by frequently embracing three prominent themes: (1) race consciousness; (2) education; and (3) Christian non-violence.

[33] Minutes of the 67th Meeting of the AUBA, 11–12; white oratorical prowess were again on display at the convention; the minutes stated, the rev. gentlemen preached a sermon on race consciousness, which might well be considered one of his greatest efforts.

Race Consciousness

In an effort to make the African Canadian people see themselves as equal rather than less than, the Rev. White's sermon pulled from Rom 10:1, which reads, "Brethren my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is that they might, be saved"; after reviewing Paul's early life, his love, zeal for his people, and his experience on the road to Damascus, White paralleled Paul's thoughts and feeling for his people and, "wanted them saved for their own sake, because there is an intrinsic value in every soul." He was interested to see them saved because "they are a part of a great whole" and that "(they) are interwoven" and "are dependent creatures," because "(they) have an intellectual contribution to make for the benefit of all mankind." Lastly, White believed that African Canadians will inevitably "make a special contribution in this ungodly age." White attempts to infuse a sense of dignity, worth, and solidarity into the black psyche in order to foster racial pride and a sense of identity within the African Canadian community[34]—demonstrating more than an acquaintance with Garveyism.[35]

Garveyism was an ideological movement begun in the Harlem community in the spring of 1918; it was a movement that burgeoned throughout the black world within the brief span of seven years—nearly a thousand Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) divisions were formed and tens of thousand of members enrolled. The movement was said to have "awakened a race consciousness in the black community that made Harlem felt around the world"—the UNIA eschewed nationalism in exchange for the international benefits of blacks worldwide. Garveyism became synonymous with black racial pride—as well as intellectual, economic, and political development. Marcus Garvey was born 17 August 1887 in St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica as a black colonialist in the Edwardian era—he passed 10 June 1940. Encouraged

[34] Minutes of the 76th Meeting of the AUBA, 32.
[35] Hill and Bair eds., *Marcus Garvey*, xv, xx, xix; Cronon, *Black Moses*, 3–5, 18, 21.

by Booker T. Washington, Garvey had come to America hoping to gather support for a school, patterned after the model of the Tuskegee Institute (not unlike J. R. Robinson of Nova Scotia), to be built in Jamaica—unfortunately Washington passed away before Garvey reached the United States.

Garvey pressed on, and, starting with a nucleus of thirteen black citizens in a Harlem Lodge room, in a few short years was catapulted to the head of black leadership as the leader of a social movement unprecedented for its sheer size and scope. Garvey rose from obscurity through sheer indomitability of will—since if judged by external appraisement there was nothing distinguishing about his person—projecting a propaganda and commanded a great following—even Garvey voiced the marvelous nature of his own rise when he asked, in 1924, "how comes this new Negro? How comes this stunned awakening?" His answer came in the form of the work that was done by great black leaders working in the fields of the black community sowing the harvest that Garvey reaped; black leaders like Hubert H. Harrison, A. Philip Randolph, Chandier Owen, and W. A. Domingo laid the foundations for what became the Harlem Renaissance. The Renaissance brought with it a new sense of race consciousness not lost on White. He continued to promulgate this message during his speech to the predominantly white audience at the United Baptist Convention in Wolfville, Nova Scotia 28 August 1929.[36] Owing to the high regard in which the white Baptist community held him, White was asked to speak on the race issue in Canada and the United States; the culmination of White's theological journey concerning the subject found its full voice in his oration at the Convention.

In a speech entitled "Race-Readjustment," he spoke on the question of race and the stark divisions between them in North America. White told the white audience that as a black man he

[36] White was the first black clergyman to preach before the Baptist Convention and was a member of its ordination council. In addition, he was appointed secretary of the Halifax and Dartmouth Ministerial Association in 1926.

can "look with sympathy on both sides of the question, and understand something of what we all want." He began by speaking to the long history of racial differences and borrowed from the Bible by using the folly of Moses and his use of violence in trying to settle the problem—an error that led to his flight from Egypt. In the story of Ben Hur, he pointed out that the great chariot race was not a test of skill but a forum to "put up all of the old hatred and prejudices of the Jewish and Roman worlds."[37] He then pointedly states that the "problem today which overshadows all other world problems is the problem of race"; that is, how can we live together in peace "each [race] receiving justice at the hand of the other, and each retaining its own self-respect"—an obvious overture to the current state of affairs for blacks in Canada and the United States. White took a historical perspective when looking at the roots of the situation; he deliberately pointed out that the situation, as it stood in his day, had been built up through the ages.

White began his retrospective with the preamble that at one time "the white man . . . was content to make his home in Europe," but soon capitalism and the "years of growth and development" made him "sail farther and farther from his native shores" until his international arms of imperialism and colonization took "everything in sight until today they have control of nine tenths of the habitable area of the world."[38] This "naturally gave him the feeling of superiority"; that led him to, "not only . . . appropriate to himself the land source of the world, but he undertook to subjugate the other peoples of the world"—taking "the native Africans [he] brought them to America to grow his cotton and work his plantations"[39]—at the same time "establishing his government and control (of) the destinies of the millions in these countries"—a reference to the plight of the indigenous peoples. White ended his retrospective by saying, "the

[37] William Andrew White Jr., "Race Re-adjustment," 1–2; White was asked by the convention to speak on the subject of race relations from the black perspective.
[38] William Andrew White Jr., "Race Re-adjustment," 3–4.
[39] William Andrew White Jr., "Race Re-adjustment," 4.

mere statement of these facts leads us at once to see that a problem was being created that would sooner or later demand readjustment."[40] He believed that as humans "we [do not] [inherently] hate a man simply because he happens to be brown or yellow" but that "there are causes real or imaginary which produce this state of affairs."

White cited capitalism as one of the causes, stating, "native labour is employed . . . while others profit."[41] This led to artificial relationships between the races, relationships "fraught with prejudice and suspicion."[42] Other causes include politics, culture—"each culture naturally feeling that their way is the better and is loath to change"—and racism (which he calls the air of superiority) where each race is "prone to see the worse in the other race rather than the best."[43] White saw the latter cause as "due largely to the curse of slavery." He went on to say, "White men for generations were trained to think of colored men as so much property to be bought and sold in the market" and "colored men were trained to look up to 'Master' as the superior creation of the Almighty." In a polemic reminiscent of Malcolm X,[44] White argued, "Emancipation turned the colored man loose without the training to look out for himself. And he became the prey of all who chose to take advantage of him." White went on to say, "when schools were established . . . the colored man was taught to think for himself and to see that there were rights

[40] William Andrew White Jr., "Race Re-adjustment," 5.
[41] William Andrew White Jr., "Race Re-adjustment," 5.
[42] William Andrew White Jr., "Race Re-adjustment," 6; White cites the example of India under British rule.
[43] William Andrew White Jr., "Race Re-adjustment," 7–8.
[44] X and Haley, *Autobiography*, ix-xiv; Malcolm X was a black militant Muslim leader that, as the scholar M. S. Handler stated, "had the physical bearing and the inner self-confidence of a born aristocrat"—a quality that made him "feared and hated by the white power structure because in him they sensed and implacable foe who could not be had for any price." His nascent Negro nationalistic movement was committed to the liberation of the black community in American society. An expert polemicist, with the ability to marshal facts and logic in an instant, Malcolm attribute the degradation of the Negro people to the white power structure—he was also certain that white society would never concede full integration. X inspired self-respect and devotion in the black community because they felt that he was a man that would never betray them; one who spoke of black sovereignty outside of white American society and articulated the anger that spoke for ages of misery.

which belonged to him as a human being"; this revelation caused "friction . . . between he and the white man"—"resulting in riots and bloodshed."[45]

White put it to the assemblage, that "now the question before us is how [can] the races be readjusted." Adding to this is the fact that "there is greater demand for this than [at] any other period in the world's history."[46] Using the Great War as an example, White made one of his first public statements about the war and its failure to yield the fruits of citizenship he once believed it might, when he stated how "colored men . . . the Indian, the Chinese, the Japanese, and men from all quarters of the globe dressed in the uniform of the Allies doing their bit in the cause of what they called the cause of freedom and democracy." It was a time when "all barriers of race and colour were broken down" and there was a shared humanity. But when they returned home not only did they not "find the same conditions" they found instead "other barriers they had never known before."[47] This led to strife within and between countries; White urged his listeners to understand that "these . . . problems cannot be set aside lightly . . . but must be met by men who will stop to deliberate the way that you are doing this morning."[48]

White showed his vision when he spoke of how technology has and will continue to make the world a global village; therefore the races need mutual understanding to peacefully exist and flourish. He saw race superiority as the downfall to this goal; offering socio-scientific insight concerning the evidentiary burden that is on those that presume superiority based on race, when as he stated, "for after all we have no adequate test by which we may determine where the superiority lies: (1) physical; (2) mental; (3) moral."[49] In an astonishing turn, White ended his speech with a cutting rebuke of race-mixing; not seeing it as a solution to the problem but instead

[45] William Andrew White Jr., "Race Re-adjustment," 8–9.
[46] William Andrew White Jr., "Race Re-adjustment," 9.
[47] William Andrew White Jr., "Race Re-adjustment," 10.
[48] William Andrew White Jr., "Race Re-adjustment," 11.
[49] William Andrew White Jr., "Race Re-adjustment," 11–12.

he "confess[ed] that in each case [of racial intermarriage] there was something in it that was nauseating" he went on to say, "both races as a rule lose something by such unions."[50] It was a startling departure from his thesis of race readjustment and cooperation for a common good that permeated the majority of his speech. One can only speculate that after such a scathing indictment of white supremacy and imperialism, coupled with the prevailing ideology concerning miscegenation (inter-racial marriage),[51] White's embrace of this ideology may have been an attempt to assuage a white audience that would have been, at the very least, disquieted by the candor of his oratory.[52]

His thoughts on race-mixing notwithstanding,[53] White's speech fits neatly into today's socio-political and cultural milieu; it possesses strong elements of Marcus Garvey's race consciousness, hints of Malcolm X's fiery polemicizing, the empathy of Martin Luther King Jr.'s brotherhood of humanity, and the Black Lives Matter's view on racial readjustment. This speech is evidence to the fact that White was a progenitor of the Civil Rights Movement in Canada and that the one-time circumspective Andrew White was gone, replaced by the direct polemicist; this stance and theology continued with White's building of the foundational element for his praxis for full citizenship, education.

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[50] William Andrew White Jr., "Race Re-adjustment," 12; the phrase White uses is taken directly from the lexicon of the white supremacist.

[51] William Andrew White Jr., "Race Re-adjustment," 12; White states, concerning the fact that Fredrick Douglas married his white stenographer, "he was never again held in the same esteem by either race."

[52] Lemire, "*Miscegenation*," 1–2; Pascoe, *Miscegenation*, 1–2; the term miscegenation is derived from the confluence of the belief that interracial marriage is unnatural (and harms both races), and the acceptance of white supremacy. The ideology has been woven effectively into the fabric of North American law and society. One of its main fears was the black acquisition of social, political, and economic power through the blending of the races. Waves of hysteria and anxiety accompanied the thought of or engagement in interracial marriage between 1776 and 1960; this led to riots and the enacting of laws prohibiting the act in close to 90 percent of the United States.

[53] Since integration was one of the goals of the black community, and interracial marriage was the most socially intimate form of integration, White's thoughts on interracial marriage were not commonly held by black leaders or the black community.

Education

Like his Southern Baptist brothers and sisters, the foundational component of White's praxis was education; he believed the black community could improve their social status through hard work, impeccable educational credentials, and a reliance on Christian nonviolence.[54] White articulated his theology to the AUBA, expressing to the Association (as part of the Executive Committee), that for the black community the "only hope of taking a place of civil equality with other races that make up the Citizenship of the Province is through Christian Character, Wealth, and Education," he continues with the statement, "we would urge that some definite stand be taken by this Association to lay plan's for the higher education and better training of the younger members of our race for their life." It was early in his ministry that Rev. White began to see education as an essential part of the black praxis for community uplift and social equality. As an integral member of the African Baptist Associations Committee on Education, White, through the committee, stated:

> As the age demands education in every walk of life, we (the back community) should encourage our people to take advantage of every means of advancement. Especially do we emphasize the early home training and the benefits of public schools. We should also express our appreciation of the privileges offered to us by the institution at Wolfville (Acadia University), and we would recommend to our churches to seek out Godly young men who are apt to teach and send them to these institutions where they can receive the necessary preparation for useful work in the service of our Lord and Master.[55]

With education as the foundation, the Rev. William Andrew White Jr. spoke definitively in regard to the direction African Canadians should go (black Baptists of the Maritimes specifically) when he preached, "that our watchword should be forward," "we must go ahead or die."[56] Now, as the chairman of the Education Committee, White and the committee's "Report On Education" admonished the black community that because of "the constant demand for

[54] Hopkins, *Black Theology*, 60–61; Keller, *Booker T.*, 11; Norrell, *History*, 16, 57.
[55] Minutes of the 54th Meeting of the AUBA, 8.
[56] Minutes of the 54th Meeting of the AUBA, 4.

educated persons in all walks of life," " if we as a people . . . are to keep pace with the onward march of other peoples . . . we must place more stress than ever upon the training of those for whose education we are responsible." He went on to recommend "that we use our best influence to stimulate better attendance at our public schools and to encourage our young men and women to look forward to entering schools of higher training to prepare themselves for better services of our people and humanity at large."[57]

White (and the Education Committee) urged parents to "strive to secure the educational advantages offered" and that "no parent should regard themselves blameless as having carried out their full responsibility." Furthermore, we as a black community should "endeavor to inspire upon the children who come under our influence to accept the privileges which our educational system offers to them."[58] In later years, White buttressed his declarations to ensure there were no divisions in the black community based on relative social status, with a "splendid address" highlighting "the need of education for all classes in the present day struggle for existence, and that no community could attain its highest and best unless all made progress together."[59] Because the province of Nova Scotia did not adequately provide for the education of black children, it was incumbent upon the black community (particularly its leadership) to look for an amelioration of the situation.

Through his role as Secretary of the AUBA and its Association on Education, White resolved to propose and quickly implement a number of augmentative measures that included urging the black community "by all lawful means to use to the limit (all educational) opportunities"; that the community appeal to the Government "to see that all the (black) rural schools are well manned by competent teachers and that a sufficient grant be given to guarantee

[57] Minutes of the 69th Meeting of the AUBA, 19.
[58] Minutes of the 60th Meeting of the AUBA, 8.
[59] Minutes of the 69th Meeting of the AUBA, 32.

good teachers and good results." Moreover, that African Canadians "endorse, by moral and financial aid, the proposed institution that has been incorporated by the local government"—known as the Industrial School of Nova Scotia for Colored Children; and lastly, that the community "urgently request all of our pastors and leaders organize an educational society whose business it shall be to stimulate interest and education among our people."[60] White furthered his goals for the black community by elucidating the method of engagement of his praxis for social uplift was through the black church.

Christian Non-Violence

Scholars of the black church have consistently noted the rapid and efficient transmission of information to the black community from the pulpit; this reliable channel greatly enhanced the possibility for mass action.[61] As part of the Executive Committee of the AUBA, White used that conduit to buttress the notion that the strength of the black community is the church (and vice versa) when he stated, "We urge with all our might the thought that the local church is the Community Leader, and that through her influence the great uplift work of the Colored Race is to be carried to a successful conclusion" he went on to say, "for we are co-laborers together with God. The local church is only strong as she touches every man, woman and child in the community, and sees to it that each one does a part in caring for his brother and subscribing, little or much, toward race uplift."[62]

Later, as moderator for the African United Baptist Association, the Reverend White continued to reinforce the link between the black church and community ensuring their cohesion and focus. He wanted to ensure that everyone understood that they were as important as any

[60] Minutes of the 62nd Meeting of the AUBA, 7.
[61] Morris, "SCLC," 33.
[62] Minutes of the 67th Meeting of the AUBA, 22–24.

chosen leader in regard to the goals of prospering the church and the black community. In his annual message he stated:

> It is our hope that we are at the beginning of a new era of prosperity in the churches and among our people as a whole. If this is to become a reality, there are some things which must be borne in mind by all the members and adherents . . . First, we would lay stress on the necessity for united efforts on the part of all those who would see the work progress . . . to accomplish the task before us every individual must hold himself in readiness to do his bit for the advancement of all. Then, there must be faith in the task which we have assigned ourselves . . . next year, we hope to be able to give a good account of our stewardship to: the glory of God and the edification of our people.[63]

The manner in which Rev. White engaged his praxis of Christian non-violent protest is reminiscent of James Cone, father of black theology, who lamented that the African American church was born in protest; whether in the secret meetings of the "invisible institution" or Richard Allen and his followers walking out of St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia,[64] freedom and equality, in the light of the gospel of Jesus Christ, made up the central theme of the African Canadian/American church—non-violent protest and action were the early marks of its uniqueness.[65] White's contemporary Mahatma Gandhi (who labeled it Satyagraha), and later the black minister and activist the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Often referred to as "the moral equivalent to war" (a phrase used by William James in his famous essay), non-violent protest is not a substitute for war, it is war, just one guided by a nobler purpose. According to Dr. Nirmal Kumar Bose, the essential difference between non-violent protest and war amounts to their respective goals—the former aims at coercion the latter aims at conversion. In war, one inflicts punishment upon the adversary, in Christian non-violent protest one draws suffering upon oneself without a trace of bitterness against that opponent as a human

[63] Minutes of the 76th Meeting of the AUBA, 3.
[64] Cone, *Black Power,* 95; Harding "Religion," 180–81; Marx, "Religion," 364.
[65] Cone*, Black Power,* 94, 207*;* Harding "Religion," 180–81.

being—this is in the hope of sparking their sense of shared humanity and fostering brother/sisterhood.[66]

White's aforementioned sermon on "Race-Readjustment," spoke definitively, using the folly of Moses, on the problems that come with the use of violence in trying to settle the problem. White spread the notion of Christian non-violence, and of using it as the cornerstone of all the actions of the black community, in his sermon entitled "Christian Doctrine."

White started his sermon with an abridged version of the Apostle's Creed stating, "I believe in one and only one true and living God . . . worthy of all honor; that in the Godhead there are three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit equal in every perfection and executing distinct but harmonious offices in the great work of Redemption." White then situated humankind's folly with God's work through the Bible as a book, "written by men divinely inspired by God, . . . (with) God for its author, salvation for its end, absolute truth for its matter," that "makes known the principles upon which God will judge the world"; he states that "Man was first holy, under the law of his Creator," and he made sure to reinforce the fact "that (it was) by his own choice he fell from his first happy state."[67] White ended his preamble with the somber declaration that humankind was separated from God, "inclined to evil and under eternal condemnation without excuse."

White started his second verse with the hope of salvation declaring, "that (he believes) the way of salvation is wholly of grace through what Christ has done"; recounting the sacrifices Jesus made, in life and death, for humanity's sins, White preached his belief in "the doctrine of election" citing Rom 8:28, 29 and that "election (to the Kingdom) is in perfect harmony with the

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[66] Sharma, *Gandhi*, 219; Allen, *The Life* 13; Chappell, *Agitators*, 81; Manis, "Birmingham's," 68; Carson, *Autobiography*, 59–60.

[67] Black Cultural Centre of Nova Scotia (Hereafter BCCNS), William Andrew White Jr., "Christian Doctrine," 1.

doctrine of man's free agency."[68] He went on to say (citing 2 Pet 1:10) that this harmony, "encourages the exercise of faith and hope in the Lord Jesus," and that people were justified by faith in Jesus and "that judicial act of God, by which He declares sinners to be no longer under the penalty of the law, but restored to His favour, because of the faith which the sinners have exercised in the saving power of Christ"—"it is the act by which God imputes to us the righteousness of his Son." Furthermore, White went on to expresses the belief that "sanctification is that continuous operation of the Holy Spirit by which . . . the holy disposition imparted by regeneration is maintained and strengthened" a "continual growth …completed at death"; moreover, our role as humankind is knowing "the word of God, prayer, self-examination, self-denial, and our own activity in Christian work."[69]

It was this Christian work that White preached that is the foundation of his praxis. He believed that "repentance and faith are complementary graces planted in the soul by the Holy Spirit"; that "repentance is found in the purpose of turning from sin after recognizing personal guilt and faith, the ability to accept the promise of salvation." He ended his sermon in the belief that "the church of Christ is the whole company of regenerated persons in all lands and ages," and that the visible church is a congregation of baptized believers associated by covenant in the faith and fellowship of the gospel."[70] White's sermon makes plain that his Christian beliefs are the foundation from which flows all of his words and actions; he believed that the fellowship of humanity must be the cornerstone of change in the social fabric of the Dominion, a notion espoused by another seeker of brother/sisterhood of humanity.

Preaching from his pulpit in Montgomery, Alabama's Holt Street Church, the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. stated, "We must keep God in the forefront. Let us be Christian in all our

[68] BCCNS, William Andrew White Jr., "Christian Doctrine," 1–2.
[69] BCCNS, William Andrew White Jr., "Christian Doctrine," 2–4.
[70] BCCNS, William Andrew White Jr., "Christian Doctrine," 3–5.

actions."[71] Preaching from his pulpit in Halifax, Nova Scotia's Cornwallis Street Church, the Rev. William Andrew White Jr. also embodied an adherence to Christian principles as he states, "we are now at the place where the command was clearly heard, 'Go forward' (Exod 14:15)." White called attention to the great need of more men for the ministry and called for prayer that laborers might be sent into the Lord's vineyard—a metaphor for the work towards full acceptance in Canadian society.[72]

The Reverend William Andrew White Jr. displayed his aim to 'go forward' and convert souls to the peace of brother/sisterhood in a "short but powerful address"—after referring to his relationship with the (white) Home Mission Board and the (black) Windsor Plains Church at the commencement of his Ministry—he took his text from 1 John 20:20–27 where Jesus says, "Peace be with you!" after appearing to his disciples he showed them his hands. White uses the hands of Jesus by presenting them in the light of His tender hands, useful hands, wounded hands (for humanity's salvation), and inviting hands while juxtaposing it with the attitude and negligence of the disciple Thomas. White closed, "a most beautiful and instructive sermon," using the text from Rom 10:21 when Jesus states, "All day long have I stretched forth my hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying people." White likens this to his efforts, and those of the African Canadian community, in reaching out to their white brothers and sisters; their efforts thus far have been futile, because the white establishment will not believe or heed Jesus' want for the brother/sisterhood of humanity, but they remain undeterred and their faith in God and humanity is resolute.[73]

White reinforced this association of humanity in a sermon taken from the text of Luke 4:18; in it, Jesus states, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me because the Lord hath anointed me to

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[71] Carson, *Autobiography*, 59–60; Dillman, Review of *Becoming King,* 246.
[72] Minutes of the 79th and 80th Meetings of the AUBA, 5–6.
[73] Cahill "White," para 3; Minutes of the 69th Meeting of the AUBA, 10–11.

preach the Gospel to the poor." White stated, "that Jesus came to give a new idea of God and his purposes for mankind"; that Jesus and His Church came as a blessing and therefore "as individual Christians, we are to be a blessing in our worship and in our service to our fellow (humans)."[74] White later spoke of the things worthwhile and the things fundamental for this life and the life to come; that he was determined to make his life more spiritual and to use his influence with the Churches of the Association to lead all to greater spiritual progress. White sought after truth, believed in God, and went forward in the name of God forgetting the difficulties that confront us all.[75] Rev. White went on to say, "For we are laborers together with God." He dwelt upon the fact that if humans are to be co-laborers with God there must be mutual trust between God and humanity—a common goal of concerted effort; people must know the Lord Jesus Christ better, and they must know the needs of the world. White closed with this statement, "Then by working, walking, and talking with all men [/women] we bring the world to an understanding and a closer fellowship with [God].[76] It is this fellowship that he sought to build through the black church towards his white brothers/sisters.

In a sermon at the African United Baptist Association gathering, the Reverend White stated, "For we must all appear before the Judgment Seat of Christ. Knowing exactly where you stand before the all-seeing eye of God." With the certainty that all must appear before the Judgment Seat, where the acts of ones life will be weighed and the evaluation made, White "made a heart searching impression on those assembled" when he asked each one to "consider where (you) would spend eternity when the sunlight of high Heaven was shone upon (your) soul."[77] This was as much an admonition to the Baptist leaders as it was to himself—White was very conscious of the opportunity and duty before him. In one of his sermons, where he read

[74] Minutes of the 72nd Meeting of the AUBA, 10.
[75] Minutes of the 79th and 80th Meetings of the AUBA, 29.
[76] Minutes of the 79th and 80th Meetings of the AUBA, 37.
[77] Minutes of the 79th and 80th Meetings of the AUBA, 9.

from 1 Cor 2:2, White used the verse to teach the meaning of determination, observation, and opportunity; he based his interpretation on the simple fact that when an opportunity to do the Lord's work offered itself he was determined "to do (his) duty", and urged his listeners to follow his example.[78]

Chapter Summary

The Rev. William Andrew White Jr.'s experiences during his time at Acadia University, his ministrations in New Glasgow and Truro, Nova Scotia, and his service in the Great War had a pronounced effect on his theology. An accomplished orator (like David George and Richard Preston before him), his orations and writings expressed a theology that was informed through a confluence of his old experiences in the south and his new experiences in the north. Initially believing that the Great War would be a boon to the black quest for full citizenship, he instead found it to be a glimpse behind the curtain that was Canadian racism; as the full scope of racial inequality in Canada played itself out before him, White's advocacy for the black Canadian community began with his men of the No. 2. It continued with his appointment at Cornwallis Street Baptist Church where he found his voice and preached unceasingly on his theology and praxis for black citizenship and socio-economic uplift. Using his great oratory skills, he espoused his theology on race relations in a landmark speech to the white United Baptist Convention; through his speech, he embodied the rhetoric and theology of many black leaders—both present and future. White's praxis of race consciousness, education, and Christian nonviolent action began to show itself in his deeds.

[78] Minutes of the 79th and 80th Meetings of the AUBA, 39; the verse read, "For I am determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ and Him crucified."

CHAPTER 5: TOWARD A CANADIAN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

> The average little coloured boy in America does not always recline on a bed of roses; his lot is not always as happy as he would wish it to be. Like the colored man, he has a fixed place in society, and if he attempts to go beyond it he is reminded of his color.[1]

Misstep or Ingrained Ideology

There is a long history of black segregation in Canada. In education from the middle of the nineteenth century, black and whites in two provinces (Ontario and Nova Scotia) could be relegated to separate schools by law. Separate schools for blacks continued until 1891 in Chatham, 1893 in Sandwich, 1907 in Harrow, 1917 in Amherstburg, and 1965 in North Colchester and Essex counties. The Ontario statute authorizing racially segregated education was not be repealed until 1964—similar regulations in Nova Scotia dating back to 1865 were not repealed until 1950.[2] However, segregation was not a system chiefly imposed upon a passive or unwilling black population. Many leaders of the black community accepted segregation for very different reasons than those of the white establishment (the most famous being Booker T. Washington); black Nova Scotians leaders, like other black community leaders, were fully aware of the deleterious effects that racism had on their lives but believed that remaining separate and developing their own institutions was the best way of overcoming racism's blight. Thus, segregation sheltered them from the oppressive racist environment, created solidarity, and fostered race uplift chiefly through education and those convictions had an affect on White's response to an educational issue addressed later in this chapter. On top of educational concerns,

[1] Grit, "Martin Grayson—A Story for Boys," 2.
[2] Backhouse, "Desmond," 117–18. Waters, "A March from Selma to Canada," 74–75.

the black community had to also see to the care, comfort, and shelter of the orphaned and neglected in their community.[3]

In the Nova Scotian black community, problems arose due to the limited number of places that cared for the orphaned and neglected black children of Halifax.[4] Ernest Blois, the Superintendent of Neglected and Delinquent Children in Nova Scotia, referred to black children as "dirty, ill-clad, under-nourished, cross-eyed, veritable little street Arabs with 'sub-normal' written all over them"; his proposed solution was "segregation of the black child . . . [as] a natural and logical part of child saving." Blois's attitude provides insight into the province's views and their willingness to assist the black community.[5] In response, the black church/community created The Nova Scotia Home for Coloured Children; however, before the original Home for Coloured Children could begin to serve the black community, it was destroyed by the Halifax Explosion of 1917.

The Halifax Explosion was the biggest and most well-known tragedy to take place in Canada; it was the largest man-made explosion to have occurred prior to the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in World War Two. The majority of the North End of Halifax, where a high concentration of blacks lived, was completely destroyed during the explosion—including The Nova Scotia Home for Coloured Children.[6] As a result, many more African Canadian children became orphaned. William Andrew White Jr. heard about the Halifax explosion while

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[3] Lafferty, "Child Welfare In Halifax," 80, 83; Backhouse, "Desmond," 117–18; Waters, "A March from Selma to Canada," 74–75.

[4] Culligan and MacPhee, "Racism," 5–6; Riley, "Towards An Encultured Pedagogy," 74–79: Bundy "Problem of the Colored Child," 1–2, 13–14; there were a few child welfare homes that took in black Nova Scotian Children; the Home of the Guardian Angel accepted black infants if there were no other options for the child, and St. Joseph's Orphanage took in black children only if they were Roman Catholic.

[5] Bundy "Problem of the Colored Child," 14–15.

[6] Bundy "Problem of the Colored Child," 1–2, 16–17; Riley, "Towards An Encultured Pedagogy," 74–79; The Halifax Explosion took place on December 6th in 1917.

he was still overseas as Chaplain of the No. 2 Battalion.[7] As White returned to civilian life (as pastor of Cornwallis Street Baptist Church), he was once again be an integral member of the African United Baptist Association, and he found a kindred spirit, ally, fellow activist, and community leader in J. A. R. Kinney.[8] Kinney, with the support of White and the AUBA (with no help from the Government of Nova Scotia), was able to reestablish the Nova Scotia Home For Colored Children.[9] When the NSHCC was finally re-opened (6 June 1921) it was the only institution of its kind in Canada that provided care, comfort, shelter, education, and life skills to orphaned and neglected black children—the Home became a source of racial pride in the African Canadian community.[10]

This pride included the fact that some of the women that taught at the Home went on to significant careers becoming an inspiration both for the students they left behind and for the black community as a whole. A shining example was Portia White, daughter of William Andrew White Jr.; putting his words into action, in regards to the importance of education of black youth, White started in his own home with the education his daughter Portia. Before becoming the world-renowned singer, Portia White taught school at the Home and took business courses at the

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[7] Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 7 December 1917; White wrote vividly about the explosion in his diary—writing down the number of dead, injured, and homeless.

[8] White and Kinney were like-minded on the issues of race consciousness and racial uplift; Riley, "Towards An Encultured Pedagogy," 74–79; Minutes of the 65th Meeting of the AUBA, 8; in a paper presented to the Association, Kinney wrote, "A race without race consciousness or race pride has lost its greatest incentive; the paper titled, "The Negro and His Accomplishments" was followed by statistics that showed black progress since 1866 (just after emancipation in the US). It included: Economic progress (20 000 Farms in 1866 to 981 000 in 1917 and 12 000 homes owned to 600 000 in the same period); Educational progress (literacy rates went from 10 per cent in 1866 to 75 per cent in 1917); and Religious progress (700 black churches to 42 000).

[9] Thomson, *Oliver*, 10; White was in a long line of Cornwallis St. Baptist Church pastors who championed the cause of education as a means of bettering the social position of the black community; in the lineage is the Rev. A. W. Jordan (1884–1891) who "always reminded the young people of the (black) society that if they had a desire to qualify themselves [then] learning was well worth their attention." Also, the Rev. M. B. Puryear (1909–1918) called a meeting of prominent church and civil leaders (with J. R. Johnston) who were asked to support the plan to establish a Normal and Industrial School for the black community; Minutes of the 67th Meeting of the AUBA, 22–24; Thomson, *Oliver*, 10; Fosty, *Black Ice*, 239; DeCosta, "The Late J. R. Johnston," 2.

[10] Culligan and MacPhee, "Racism," 5–6; Bundy, "Problem of the Colored Child," 13–14, 16–17; Riley, "Towards An Encultured Pedagogy," 74–79; it is important to note that despite the Home's good intentions, today the Home is at the centre of a class action lawsuit alleging sexual and physical abuse suffered by the children for over several decades; see Wanda Lauren Taylor, *The Nova Scotia Home for Coloured Children: The Hurt, the Hope, and the Healing.* Halifax, NS: Nimbus, 2015.

Halifax County Academy.[11] Portia later became one of the great contraltos of her time, performing all over the world.[12] White's drive to make education the foundation for black community uplift continued to show itself during the Great Depression. During this economic crisis, African Canadians were losing their jobs ahead of their European Canadian counterparts; in an effort to enhance black Canadian employment, White launched The Five-Year Program to raise 2,500 dollars annually to establish vocational schools within the black churches.[13] However, this did not mean that with all his direct action to engage his praxis that White did not take any missteps.

Early in the twentieth century, an incident in the Halifax school system occurred that, at first glance, shed doubt upon the civil rights acumen of the Reverend William Andrew White Jr. But, in actuality, was an example of the phenomena surrounding young African Canadians dissatisfaction and impatience with the pace of change in the society, the Revolution of Expectations and the generational gap. In 1929, Halifax's public schools sought to reinstate a policy of racial segregation. Couched as a solution to alleviate classroom overcrowding, references to "racial differences and prejudices" in the teachers' presentation suggested that their primary motivation was to end racial integration in Halifax's public schools. Political pressure from within and without soon had the School Board agreeing to establish Cunard Street School as an all-black institution—provided the plan was acceptable to the black population. Initially, William Andrew White Jr. and W. J. Davidson (pastor of Zion Methodist Episcopal) agreed to the proposal. Contrary opinions immediately began to be heard. Among the many voices were

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[11] "Halifax Note," 6; Fosty, *Black Ice*, 200–201.

[12] Fosty, *Black Ice*, 200–201; Riley, "Towards An Encultured Pedagogy," 75–76; on 28 October 1997, at the first session of the 36th Parliament of Canada, the Honourable Donald H. Oliver had this to say about the impact of Portia White: "Portia's accomplishments in both her life and musical career were outstanding for a person of African descent in the Canada of her day. She achieved international success and acclaim, and overcame the negative perceptions accorded her race."

[13] Daye Learning Institute, "A New Era of Race Consciousness," 8–9; Boileau, "White," para 9.

black leaders like lawyer Joseph E. Griffiths, Charles H. Pinhiero, a leader among black railway porters, Clarence H. Johnston, Sunday School Superintendent at Cornwallis Street Baptist Church, and James A. R. Kinney, co-founder and manager of the Home for Colored Children. These black leaders condemned the proposal as an attempt to introduce "Jim Crow" into the public education system reversing forty years of black struggle for emancipation and a violation of the "civil rights" of the black populace.[14]

A quickly formed black leadership coalition drafted and circulated a petition in protest against the School Board's plans—In a twenty-four hour period, Rev. White (quickly changing his position of the issue), along with three-hundred other black residents, signed the document. That evening, a black delegation appeared before the Halifax City Council and presented their opposition to the return of racial segregation in city schools. Two days later, Rev. William Andrew White Jr., speaking from the pulpit of Cornwallis Street Baptist Church, issued a "strong sermon" against racial segregation of schooling saying that past experience with such a policy "had been a disgrace to the city." As a revered figure in the black community, his words helped solidify black community support behind racially integrated schooling. The black community's support of integration, coupled with the emerging support of non-black voices, helped the School Board change its position—the Board quickly went on record as being opposed to school segregation. The black leadership coalition responded by thanking the Board and, in a show of solidarity, absolved Reverend White of any perceived misstep in the debate over school policy.[15]

To understand the impetus for White's "misstep" one must understand the psyche and praxis of the black leader of the late eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries. Until the mid-1950s, middle-class black pastors and black leaders used a conciliatory approach toward

[14] Sutherland, "Race Prejudice," 69–70; Thomson, *Oliver*, 11; black acceptance of separate schools displayed an attitude of accommodation—pointing to the acceptance of second class citizenship and white "racial superiority."

[15] Sutherland, "Race Prejudice," 69–70.

racial equality. Black leadership cautiously attacked one small aspect of discrimination at a time—gradually chopping away, piece by piece, at the structure of segregation.[16] Freely segregating themselves to later attain full integration seems counter-intuitive, however, if one views the act as an intervention strategy, that is, creating a place where the black psyche might be repaired and built-up from the psychological bludgeoning of the oppressive slave system (and its later iterations), then this form of segregation becomes a methodology. This methodology was first instituted in the black church. The church became a much-needed sanctuary from a repressive society—where the black mind and soul could be built-up to a level where the African American could actively participate in the goals of socio-economic uplift, brother/sisterhood, and full citizenship.[17] This was the ideology White had for the black students of Halifax; his "misstep" was not unique to the black leader before and during his time.

In the late eighteenth century, Richard Allen became the first bishop and founder of the black (AME) church in the United States; their merger and solidarity with the 'invisible institution' of the south added great structure to the communal life of African Americans. Allen's use of nonviolent protest, the pursuit of reconciliation, black unity and uplift, and brother/sisterhood of humanity in the eighteenth century, shows him as the progenitor of the modern civil rights movement in the United States.[18] However, when the American Colonization Society promoted black emigration as a way of dealing with the free black population in the U.S.—sending them back to Africa—Allen did not initially oppose it because he believed that all

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[16] Killian and Smith, "Negro," 335; Marx, "Religion," 365; Glenn, "Negro," 627, 631; Mays and Nicholson, *Negro's*, 6–7; Cone, *Black Power*, 105–7; Wharton, "Race," 377; the rise of segregation and discrimination caused this caution on the part of the black pastor; in order not to offend the white power structure, and place their lives and the lives of their people in danger, the pastor felt it prudent not to aggressively pursue equality and civil rights.

[17] Vinci, "Between Blacks and Whites," 7–15; Henry Bibb, an ex-slave who immigrated to Canada after 1850, editor of the *Voice of the Fugitive* from 1851–1853 (based in Sandwich, Ontario), supported segregation to buttress black nationalism that called for a separate black identity within Canada and a more gradual process of integration; Newman, *Freedom's Prophet*, 4, 10; Frazier, *Negro Church*, 36–37; DeVeaux, "Christian Faith," 86; Jenkins, *Glory*, 197–98; [17] Wilmore, *Black Religion,* 134–35; DeVeaux, "Christian Faith," 94.

[18] Frazier, *Negro Church*, 36–37; Newman, *Freedom's Prophet*, 4, 10; Allen, *The Life,* 18.

options for black uplift and alleviation of slavery's oppressive system must be vetted;[19] he quickly came to see such a course of action as detrimental to free and enslaved blacks alike.

At the turn of the twentieth century, Booker T. Washington[20]was the most famous and powerful black man in America, a nominal leader of the African American community, and friend to President Theodore Roosevelt.[21] An excellent orator, Washington spoke all over the United States often to audiences numbering in the thousands; his speeches centred on the hope for both peaceful race relations and the African American rise in American society.[22] Instead of protests, which Washington thought would garner the race a reputation as complainers, he proposed blacks foster a reputation as hard workers, patriots, and intelligent thinkers.[23] Washington believed integration would be their reward if blacks could show they deserved it; in his own words "rights should be earned not given."[24] Many African Americans disapproved of Washington's ideology, thinking that, given his status, he should have been suing for equal rights—those disapproving African Americans were unaware of Washington's clandestine fight for equal rights.[25]

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[19] Mills, "Allen," 21; George, *Segregated*, 138–39.

[20] Norrell, *History*, 8–9; Harlan and Smock, *Papers*, 9; Booker T. Washington was principal of the Tuskegee Institute in 1905; born a slave, self-educated, admired by the wealthiest men in America—including Andrew Carnegie, J.D. Rockefeller, J.P. Morgan, Jon Wanamaker, George Eastman—his writing was admired by the likes of Mark Twain and William Dean Howells; he was also given honorary degrees by Harvard and Dartmouth.

[21] Norrell, *History*, 1.

[22] Keller, *Booker T.*, 11–12; Norrell, *History*, 4; Washington et al., *African-American*, 105–6.

[23] Keller, *Booker T.*, 11; Washington, *Tuskegee*, 3–4; Foner, *Forever Free*, xxii; Norrell, *History*, 16, 57; Washington et al., *African-American*, 98; the education of blacks was popularly disparaged; no one did more to stir popular opposition than Bill Arp (pseudonym of Charles Henry Smith) a rustic humorist whose weekly column in the *Atlanta Constitution*—reprinted in hundreds of weekly newspapers in the south—alleged the pernicious effects of education on the black population, citing idleness, criminality, and a persistent interest in politics—which white nationalist feared.

[24] Keller, *Booker T.*, 11; Norrell, *History*, 16.

[25] Keller, *Booker T.*, 11; Harlan and Smock, *Papers*, xxi; Smock, *Black Leadership*, 6; Foner, *Forever Free*, xxii; Norrell, *History*, 57,60; Keller, *Booker T.*, 11; this is something the black pastor also understood; Cone, *Black Power*, 107; Wharton, "Race," 377. Unlike his critics, Washington understood the racial and political climate that African Americans experienced in post-reconstruction, moreover, he knew how to survive and thrive within it. In an environment where "Jim Crow's" racial discrimination, segregation, and disenfranchisement were so blatantly oppressive, he wanted whites to cultivate the illusion that blacks had no reason to complain about racial conditions and to prevent blacks from dangerous accusations about their treatment; while, behind the scenes, Washington

Black leaders like W.E.B Du Bois have taken similar "missteps"; his call for blacks to forgo the struggle for civil rights for the duration of the Great War turned out to be a decision that caused the goal of citizenship to regress;[26] and black editors imploring blacks to meet with middle-class values regarding education, temperance, morality, thrift, and genteel social life—thinking whites would notice and grant them full equality (termed the "politics of respectability")—[27] soon saw this approach fail at its stated goals. Like the great black leaders before and of his time, William Andrew White Jr. believed that the Negro race should earn citizenship by showing the white power structure that they deserved it; he saw segregation (of Halifax schools) as a necessary, if unwelcomed, evil where blacks could come together uplift the mind, body, and spirits of their young charges to fight for the twin goals of full citizenship and brother/sisterhood of humanity—in a gradual step towards full integration. But, why did the younger and more progressive black leaders like Kinney react contrary to White's initial reaction?

The Generational Gap and The Revolution in Expectation

Young African Canadians dissatisfaction and impatience with the pace of change in the society created by leaders such as White is not new in North American black freedom movements; it all boiled down to what sociologists like Thomas Pettigrew call a "Revolution of Expectations."[28] Conventional wisdom dictated that African Canadians should have higher morale today than any

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challenged "Jim Crow" and developed an underground attack on racial injustice; this include using the judicial system to change discriminatory laws and garnering support from the white elite in the north for socio-political causes that supported black uplift while alleviating any concerns of the white southern elite as to black societal progress.

[26] Mjagki, *Loyalty*, xix–xxii; Lentz-Smith, *Freedom*, 5.

[27] Starkey, *Racial Loyalty*, 12; Thomas, *Life*, 322; Farrar, *Afro-American*, xiii; the black press provided a potent arena for black self-definition; by stressing the primacy of racial pride and ethnic solidarity, the black press became, along with the church, a central institution in the black community. Black editors were leaders in the community because they were able to communicate information vital to the community and necessary for its cohesion. Like its white counterpart, black print media gives us the point of view of the average free black.

[28] Meier and Rudwick, *Plantation,* 257; Pettigrew, "Actual Gains," 317.

previous point in Canadian history; after all the gains had been faster in recent decades than any period since emancipation day 1834.[29] Why were so many young black Canadians impatient for further gains?[30] The reason for this is elucidated by an example from the American military.

Using the relative morale of the Air Corps and the Military Police during World War II, one of America's greatest sociologists Samuel Stouffer illustrated the fact that many behavioral science findings appear obvious only after the fact.[31] Promotions were rapid and widespread in the Air Corps, but slow and piecemeal in the Military Police.[32] Conventional wisdom predicts that the Air Corpsmen would be more optimistic about their chances for promotion for the "obvious" reason that they were moving ahead faster than the Military Police.[33] But as a matter of empirical fact, Stouffer found that the Air Corpsmen were considerably more frustrated over promotions than their brethren in the Military Police.[34] The reason was that the Airmen's accelerated promotion system led them to have exceedingly high aspirations; even with their generous promotion system, they were still relatively dissatisfied.[35] By contrast, morale was reasonably high among the Military Police; they did not expect rapid promotions and learned to be content with what few advances they did achieve.[36]

The question as to why so many African Americans/Canadians were so unusually restive, angry, and impatient for further social gains can be explained by the phenomenon of the "Revolution of Expectations."[37] The great majority of black Canadians in the past dared not cherish high aspirations for themselves.[38] Like the Military Police, they expected very little out

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[29] Pettigrew, "Actual Gains," 317.
[30] Pettigrew, "Actual Gains," 317.
[31] Pettigrew, "Actual Gains," 317; Stouffer, *American*, 249–52.
[32] Pettigrew, "Actual Gains," 318; Stouffer, *American*, 249–52.
[33] Pettigrew, "Actual Gains," 318; Stouffer, *American*, 249–52.
[34] Stouffer, *American*, 249–52; Pettigrew, "Actual Gains," 318.
[35] Stouffer, *American,* 249–52; Pettigrew, "Actual Gains," 318.
[36] Pettigrew, "Actual Gains," 318; Stouffer, American, 249–52.
[37] Pettigrew, "Actual Gains," 319; Clayborne, *Autobiography*, 197–98.
[38] Meier and Rudwick, *Plantation,* 219; Pettigrew, "Actual Gains," 317.

of life and had to be content with what crumbs they did receive.[39] But, in later decades black Canadians, like Kinney, hungered for much more; like the Air Corpsmen, they had tasted significant progress and could fully appreciate what further progress would mean to their lives and that of their children. Indeed, the aspirations of African Canadians had risen far more swiftly than their advances.[40]

In the United States, this phenomenon showed itself in their Civil Rights Movement. It was the NAACP's very success in the legislature and the courts that more than any other single factor led to this 'revolution in expectation' and the resultant dissatisfaction with the limitations of the NAACP's program.[41] The NAACP was piling up victory upon victory in the courts, successfully attacked racially restrictive covenants in housing, interstate transportation, and public recreation facilities.[42] At the same time, Booker T. Washington, and his Afro-American Council, felt the NAACP were a threat to black citizenship due to their aggressive tactics—the NAACP formed as a direct result of what it perceived as Washington's passive methods.[43] By the mid-1950s, following the lead of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE),[44] the NAACP now cautiously adopted direct-action strategies with the youth in the organization pushing reluctant adults into backing direct-action.[45]

The gains accrued by parareligious groups like the NAACP and CORE helped push the African American pastors out of their gradualist stance; by 1955 the new breed of pastors like

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[39] Pettigrew, "Actual Gains," 319.
[40] Pettigrew, "Actual Gains," 319; Clayborne, *Autobiography*, 197–98.
[41] Meier and Rudwick, *Plantation,* 257.
[42] Meier and Rudwick, *Plantation,* 254.
[43] Jones, *Civil Rights*, 1–3; Meier, "Rise of the NAACP," 69–73.
[44] Pettigrew, "Actual Gains," 317; Meier, "Role," 353; Meier and Rudwick, *Plantation,* 253; CORE was a Christian pacifist organization founded in 1942 that began the nonviolent direct-action strategy in the freedom movement (called the Negro Revolt at the time). In 1947, it tested a Supreme Court decision that declared segregation on interstate buses unconstitutional. Called the Journey of Reconciliation, the ride challenged bus segregation in the upper parts of the South.
[45] Killian and Smith, "Negro," 334; Meier and Rudwick, *Plantation,* 255–60; Meier, "Role," 353.

Farmer (CORE) and King (NAACP) led bus boycotts, sit-ins, and marches in the deep south.[46] This was a prelude to marshaling all the different African American ideologies under one nonviolent direct-action umbrella called the Civil Rights Movement.[47] Like its American counterpart, the African Canadian church pastor asked for a better afterlife rather than demanding temporal equality and advancement. African Canadian church leaders stressed racial solidary rather than racial pride, ultimately, the church allowed blacks to be accommodating to the wishes of the white community by encouraging compassion, patience, temperance, and resignation.[48] By 1929 the new breed of African Canadian leaders like Griffiths, Pinhiero, Johnston, and Kinney help push African Canadian pastors out of their gradualist stance; this allowed pastors like White to lay down the foundations that later led to The Canadian Civil Rights Movement.

In Thomas Pettigrew's essay on the discrepancy between the rapid escalation of expectations instilled by the "Negro Revolt" and its actual accomplishments, he was unable to foresee the subsequent disillusionment of young African American/Canadian radicals. [49] Nevertheless, his analysis held true for this new generation of young radicals created by the "secularization" of the African American and African Canadian churches.[50] More parareligious groups were formed to assuage the aspirations of a new generation of African Americans/Canadians seeking freedom and equality.[51] By the 1960's young radical parareligious civil rights organizations like Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), The Black

[46] Walker, "Disunity," 342.
[47] Walker, "Disunity," 342; Gadzekpo, "Black Church," 104.
[48] Thomson*, Oliver*, 12–13.
[49] Pettigrew, "Actual Gains," 318.
[50] Pettigrew, "Actual Gains," 318.
[51] Meier and Rudwick, *Plantation,* 251–52.

Nationalists in the United States and the Canadian Friends of SNCC criticized the African American pastor and the NAACP for its now "conservative" stance on civil rights.[52]

Benjamin E. Mays, Dean of Howard University Divinity School, has been credited with educating "an insurgent Negro clergy."[53] He shaped a professionally trained African American clergy as educated religious leaders and insurgent militants to defeat Jim Crow laws in the 1920s and 30s; his students included James Farmer of CORE and Martin King of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).[54] Prior to this time in the United States, the black pastor was in a state of apostasy in regards to his role as advocate and leader of the civil rights movement; he needed to be shocked out of this state to begin to once again actively advocate for the full civil liberties of the black community. The pastors' had been in a state of suspended animation when it came to civil protest—in exchange for protecting their congregants from the moral dangers of a system set-up to keep blacks in a servile position by force. They had become accustomed to being subservient to the white power structure. The response that followed this realization saw a merger of the 'expectant black church' with the new 'militant black church' that aspired to the 'triumphant black Church'—its triumph was be the eschatological realization of full citizenship.[55]

Like the United States, in Canada, the most powerful and intellectually based black organization was the local black church and, in the province of Nova Scotia, that included Cornwallis Street and Zion Baptist churches. A professionally trained African Canadian clergy was being shaped, at various educational institutions, as educated religious leaders seeking to

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[52] Meier and Rudwick, *Plantation,* 251–52; Marsh, "Drama," 235; Waters, "A March From Selma To Canada," 26–27; African Canadian parareligious groups included the NSAACP, the Canadian Negro Women's Association (CNWA) based out of Toronto, and Southwestern Ontario's South Essex Citizen's Advancement Association (SECAA), Guardian Club, and National Unity Association.

[53] Dickerson, "African-American," 219; Jelks, *Benjamin*, 116.

[54] Jelks, *Benjamin*, 117–20; Dickerson, "African-American," 220–24; Mays and Nicholson, "Negro's," 16.

[55] Mays and Nicholson, "Negro's," 6–7; Cone *Black Theology*, 105; Walker, "Disunity," 347–48; Glenn, "Negro," 627.

uplift the black community. In the era of 1900–1930, the AUBA was a centre of intellectual activity with many ministers publishing books or booklets, giving lectures (that were later published), and staging plays for the edification of the black community.[56] During Whites installation service at Zion Baptist, the Rev. M. R. McLean told the congregation not to expect the pastor to return their call every time they went to church because time is needed for study as well as for visitation—alluding to the erudite nature of the collective pastorate of the time and the premium they placed on higher education. This was furthered by Rev. J. W. Aiken's statement that a minister should be called, soundly converted, and educated.[57]

It was commonplace in this community of learned pastors to often exchange pulpits with many local and provincial erudite speakers—Rev. White also welcomed notable African Americans to Zion. One was well-known preacher-actor the Rev. Prof. David S. Cincore of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Prof. Cincore presented Othello to a full house and by popular demand gave a repeat performance under the auspices of Zion Baptist Church.[58] On Sunday 24 November 1914, Rev. White assisted at the reopening of Cornwallis Street Baptist Church (after its renovations) where Rev. William A. Creditt preached the Dedicatory Sermon; Dr. Creditt's theme was "The divine purpose with regard to the human race in general and the colored race in particular." He related how he felt handicapped as the only black graduate in his class, and how he envied the young white men with all their possibilities—possibilities not open to him. However, he realized that God had a divine purpose for his people and a work for him to do, so

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[56] Sealey, *Zion*, 86–97; Fosty, *Black Ice*, 53.

[57] Sealey, *Zion*, 88; this intellectualism was in stark contrast to Robin Winks' assertion that the African Canadian churches were "divisive, schematic, petty feudatories based upon isolated and impoverished followings and that the church was relatively more backward at the end of the nineteenth century than at the beginning"; Winks goes on to say that their leaders were "begging ministers, [presiding over] poverty-stricken churches, and had a narrow anti-intellectualism that contributed to a sense of separation from the Christian community as a whole." He cited "illiterate preachers who . . . indulged in "religious burlesque . . . (that) hurt the Negro in his slow climb toward acceptance"; Winks, *Blacks*, 344, 340, 361; Clarke, *Directions*, 50.

[58] Sealey, *Zion*, 92–93; the cast for the play on included Prof. Cincore as Othello and the Rev. White as the Duke of Venice.

he began to study how to help his people. Dr. Creditt presented a bright vision of the future for the Negro race and emphasized the grand doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of humanity—his educational story was very familiar to White and Dr. Creditt's doctrine was one White embraced and took with him to war later in that decade.[59]

On 3–6 September 1904, at the Jubilee Session (1854–1904) of the African Baptist Association, convened at Cornwallis Street Baptist Church, the Rev. Adam Simpson Green presented a scholarly paper entitled "The Future of the Canadian Negro," Outlining the history of slavery in the New World and Nova Scotia specifically; Rev. Green illustrated Canada's material greatness and the strength of the Negro element. He elaborated on the tremendous responsibility of parents and the government for training black children for useful, intelligent citizenship.[60]

The international relationship between the black churches in Canada and the United States saw a connection in their similar praxis for citizenship. Returning from the African United Baptist Association of Nova Scotia, which convened at Weymouth Falls (1921), it was with great zeal that the message given to the Associated African Baptist Churches was "Lift Up a Standard for the People"—the same message the Lord gave to Isaiah. The "Standard" was the praxis that churches adopted for the quest of full citizenship into Canadian society. The standard consisted of Christian love—the great panacea for all social troubles—moral excellence, education, and Industry; the African American praxis was very similar entailing Christian Fellowship, cleanliness, gentility, education, and industry.[61]

Incidents like that of the Halifax school system situation, caused men like Kinney, in an attempt to push the African Canadian pastor (like White) out of a gradualist mindset, to show

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[59] Sealey, *Zion*, 93–94; in April 1915, noted evangelist, Rev. Dr. Alex Gordon, was welcomed to Zion—Gordon was considered one of the strongest preachers in the United States at the time.

[60] Sealey, *Zion*, 86; White replaced Rev. Green when Green's tenure at Zion ended on 7 October 1904.

[61] Minutes of the 68th Meeting of the AUBA, 3, 4, 15; this particular session was said to have been the greatest sessions in the history of the Association; the moderator, M. P. Montgomery stated, "with hearts charged with new inspiration let us enter into the work of the ensuing year with greater zeal than ever before."

that success in the movement to gain full citizenship depended on a modernized African Canadian church outlook and a robust African Canadian theology capable of stirring the African Canadian masses to courageous confrontation with an oppressive social and judicial system—to see a merger of the 'expectant black church' with the new 'militant black church' that aspired to the 'triumphant black Church'; this thinking bore fruit with the saga of Viola Irene Desmond. The Halifax school system incident ultimately became a boon for White because it gave him an understanding of the wants of a new generation of civil rights activists (forcing him out of his ideology around segregation), one that augmented his praxis. It also showed White as a leader; he quickly realized his mistake and, being sensitive and receptive to change in his thoughts, theology, and praxis, reoriented himself for a new age and immediately contributed to its success.[62] White's ability to be fluid and adaptive to respond to the adversity and changes within the community and culture continued as he helped lay the foundation for the Canadian Civil Rights Movement.

White's Foundational Contributions to the Canadian Civil Rights Movement

A Medium to Cast Broad his Message

By 1930, White's praxis for full African Canadian citizenship was solidified; and, while the pulpit of the black church allowed for an expedited message precipitating mast action, it paled in comparison to a medium that reached thousands in seconds. This medium was radio. The power to communicate to the masses—creating the hitherto uncommon shared experience. What radio

[62] Carson, *Autobiography*, 61, 70; this situation was similar to Martin Luther King Jr.'s initial thoughts on bus segregation in Birmingham, Alabama. Rev. King, in negotiations with the white power structure, was initially looking to improve the segregation system of the buses for its black patrons, not to remove it completely; it is during these discussions that he was enlightened about the adverse affects such a system had on its victims and its perpetrators. It was only then that King was shocked out of his complacency with the system in this regard and began to see segregation as a sin—a realization that changed his thoughts, theology, and praxis.

did for White's mission[63] paralleled the impact that television had on Martin Luther King Jr. and his mission.[64] The fact that White had the vision to see the communicative possibilities that this new medium offered, moreover, to then seek to use it to further the black cause—through its primary institution (the black church)—casts him in the image of a visionary whose deliberate and purposeful acts were emblematic of a true leader.

In 1930, the fledgling Canadian radio station CHNS made White the first black preacher to broadcast his sermons across the Maritimes and the northern-eastern United States. It is worth noting that the fact that a white-owned radio station—in an era of segregation—had a black preacher as one of its first broadcasters, speaks to the scope of White's ministry and the esteem that the black and white communities held him. White's sermons regularly reinforced his praxis for black attainment of full citizenship, including calling for racial unity and understanding. Although no copies of his monthly broadcasted sermons are extant, examples of his sermons from his wartime diary, those of the AUBA, and his sermon given at the United Baptist Convention gave a clear picture of his hope for his congregants and the country.[65] White was fiercely patriotic and hopeful that the British Empire, Canada specifically, would live up to its principles and ideals (and those of its Creator)—seeing those principles come to fruition in the

[63] Vipond, *Listening*, 3; most Canadians first became aware of radio broadcasting through reading press reports of a concert heard in The Chateau Laurier Hotel, but transmitted from Montreal over a 100 miles away by The Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company of Canada (20 May 1920). Broadcasting—the literal sending out of radio signals to a random, anonymous, and potentially unlimited audience—was very new in 1920; Greb and Adams, *Herrold*, 92; MacLennan, " Radio," 21–22; CHNS was Halifax's only major radio station in 1930.Whether White approached the radio station or vice versa is unknown, however, the fact that a black Baptist pastor was featured on a white radio station in 1930 suggested some initiative on the part of White.

[64] Macdonald, *Black*, 67, 71; Streitmatter, *Mightier*, 155–56; Larson, "Media," 153; Chappell, *Agitators*, 82; Westbrook, "MLK," 23; the pastor galvanized the community in a revolution to expose their shared humanity; television became a much needed ally helping the pastors' to broadcast their message of hope and brother/sisterhood to the United States and the world. Television was still in its infancy at the end of 1949, the medium started coming of age during The American Civil Rights Movement. Its simultaneous emergence with the movement was fortuitous for those advocating reform in race relations. It was the most effective medium for relating the Civil Rights Movement to the American people; this was due mostly to its ability to convey the emotions of the movement more dramatically than print or radio.

[65] William Andrew White Jr., "Race Re-adjustment," 1–12.

full citizenship of the black community in Canada.[66] His sermons were grounded in the love of God and the brother/sisterhood of humanity. He believed that the black community, through racial unity and pride, education, industry, and the love of Christ would come together with their white brothers and sisters and embody the desires of the founders of the Dominion of Canada—i.e., for it to be a Dominion to God from sea to sea.[67]

It is hard to overstate the power of radio during the turn of the century and the impact a broadcast—both in its scope and ideology—could have on its listeners, especially a black audience longing to hear their desires so eloquently expressed. The influence White's sermons had on the thoughts of the listener, both in Canada and the northern United States, could be measured by the fact that he had a loyal following of listeners (both Canadian and American) that looked forward to his monthly on-air sermons broadcast from the CHNS station in Halifax.[68] It was said that he toppled racial barriers and gave a voice to a silenced community; through his ministry and efforts at unity between blacks and whites, he offered solace and hope for an entire generation of Nova Scotians.[69] White's message of hope for egalitarian human relations in Canada was once again evident in this involvement in the infamous case of Daniel Perry Sampson.

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[66] Heath, "White," 13–14.

[67] Heath, "White," 13–14; Smale, "Kingdom," 345; the founders vision of Canada was a nation that was "His Dominion"; this implied a population which shared a heritage of political democracy and evangelical Protestant Christianity.

[68] Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1; Vipond, *Listening*, 3; Westbrook, "MLK," 23; Chappell, *Agitators*, 84–85; like Martin Luther King Jr., White's basis for winning civil rights for blacks in Canada was predicated on winning the hearts and minds of the white moderate populace by galvanizing the community in a revolution to expose their shared humanity.

[69] Prime, "White," para. 5; KirkConnell, *Acadia Record*, 83; "Library and Archives of Canada," [n.d.]; Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1.

A Very Proper Canadian 'Lynching'

Daniel Perry Sampson, an African Canadian, veteran of the Great War, and a member of No.2 Battalion was arrested for the brutal murders of two young white boys. After two sets of trials and appeals before Nova Scotia jurists and the Supreme Court of Canada, Sampson was found guilty on 7 March 1935—becoming the last person hanged in Halifax, Nova Scotia.[70] David Steeves believes racialization and marginalization of violent crime in Nova Scotia rendered Sampson guilty in the minds of many, even before his trial began.[71] This case was another example of the pervasive impact of systemic discrimination towards African Canadians—who often found themselves before the city's courts—where once again both the Crown and the defense had conspicuously avoided the issue of race.[72] Sampson was said to be mentally deficient and/or suffering from PTSD (known as shell-shock at that time) but the Judge, Justice John Doull, refused to place any weight on Dr. Murray Mackay's assessment of Sampson's mental deficiencies[73]—the same refusal to see the facts of the case could be said of the jurors.

The two boys' dead bodies were hurled violently into the woods adjacent to the train tracks. There was copious evidence that pointed to the boys being hit by a train, but citizens were aroused and called upon the police to "solve" the case. Months went by with no arrest. The Coroner's inquest said death was a result of accident or murder, but nothing definitive. A woman emerged to state that she saw a black man walking in a direction opposite to the boys. Soon, an RCMP officer began to pay friendly visits—daily for two weeks—to the home of the mentally challenged Daniel P. Sampson (where he lived with his mother). After two weeks of gentle

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[70] Steeves, " Sampson," 201; Sampson's counsel cited bias, procedural unfairness, and judicial error in the case; Pollock, *Black Soldiers*, 199.

[71] Steeves, " Sampson," 233, 235; the racialization of crime in Nova Scotia led to a belief that African Nova Scotians demonstrated a criminal disposition towards acts of violence. It is notable that all African Canadians in Halifax were excluded from jury selection.

[72] Steeves, " Sampson," 228.

[73] Steeves, " Sampson," 227–28; Gadoury and Lechasseur, *Sentenced To Death*, Government Archives, 272; CTV Atlantic, "Halifax's Final Execution," para 24.

persuasion, Sampson was brought to the Halifax RCMP station where he signed—with an "x"—a confession that was typed in legalistic language that could not have come from him nor could he have understood; he then led police to a location from which a rusted knife was found. The knife was so rusty that no bloodstains could be lifted from it—nor was the blade consistent with the wounds on the boys.

When the first trial occurred, the woman who had reported seeing a "Negro" in the vicinity of the boys could not be produced and the confession was "lost"—this forced a successful appeal. Sampson's lawyer was effective in asking that a record be kept of the racial bias of jurors; this was done, but racist jurors were still allowed to decide the case. Sampson was convicted a second time. The motive given by The Crown was that Sampson had been angered by the boys' use of racial slurs—words Sampson had heard throughout his life and grown accustomed to in 1933 Nova Scotia. Moreover, the boys' bodies had been hurled 60 feet from the tracks, a superhuman feat for any man. Furthermore, Sampson's mental challenges increased the probability that "if" he had killed the boys out of rage, then the charge must be manslaughter, not a planned homicide. His lawyer made these arguments to the Supreme Court of Canada that, divided 5–4 against Sampson, hanged him on 7 March 1935.

In a constant fight to always look after his men and his community, as he did throughout the Great War, the Rev. William Andrew White Jr. was eager to render assistance in a fight for the fair and equitable treatment of any member of the black community—this was evident in the Sampson case. White became Sampson's spiritual advisor;[74] not convinced of Sampson's guilt or responsibility in the deaths, he is said to have wrote a letter to the Minister of Justice to that

[74] Library and Archives of Canada: Sampson, Daniel P., RG 13, vol. 1587, 1593; Steeves, " Sampson," 232; had J.R. Johnston not been murdered, he most absurdly would have been in partnership with Rev. White in their support and advocacy in Sampson's defense.

affect.[75] In it, White, along with Sampson's lawyer, is said to have espoused the fact that, one, there is evidence that it might not have been murder but a railway or hunting accident, two, if it was indeed murder, it was not committed by Sampson, or three, If murder, and committed by Sampson, the penalty should have been considered manslaughter at best, but certainly not a capital offense.[76] White fought for his release and marshaled black Canadian sentiment against Sampson's execution. It is clear that White was conscious that he was fulfilling both a pastoral and a national role as the black community's representative; in comforting Sampson, attending to Sampson in his last hours, and accompanying him to the gallows White was simultaneously protesting the Crown's action.[77]

At this juncture, it is important to remember that the black population of Canada resided primarily in Ontario and the Maritimes (with nearly half in the Maritimes). That population's principal institution was the black church; and as stated previously, the black church is the black community and their leader,[78] in more than religion, is the African Canadian pastor.[79] The AUBA stated, "The Colored Race in Nova Scotia has no other institution to look up to but the

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[75] Library and Archives of Canada: Sampson, Daniel P., RG 13, vol. 1587, 1593; Dickerson, "African-American," 226; A. Philip Randolph wrote a letter to President Franklin D. Roosevelt and W. Andrew White also wrote to Prime Minister Borden and Supreme Court of Canada; both men wrote to initiate relief for racial discrimination and although White was not as successful as Randolph, his leadership helped marshal black cause and solidify the objective of black civil rights in Canada.

[76] Library and Archives of Canada: Sampson, Daniel P., RG 13, vol. 1587, 1593; Steeves, " Sampson," 204–05, 211; having been found by the railroad tracks, it was thought that the boys were victims of a tragic encounter with a train. The *Halifax Chronicle* reported a theory, that cited the expertise of veteran woodsman Thomas Kennedy who believed, that the deaths were the result of an arrow sped by the hand of an archer—whether purposefully or by accident, the evidence obtained during the examination of the boys' bodies was consistent with the wounds; Dominion Law Reports, *Rex v. Sampson*, 199–208; this was a conclusion reached by at least two of the Supreme Court Justices.

[77] Steeves, "Sampson," 205–33; Dominion Law Reports, *Rex v. Sampson*, 199–208.

[78] Walters, *Railroad*, 115–17; Rhodes, "Identity," 175–178; Thomson, *Oliver*, 12; the black Canadian congregations grew smaller as the twentieth century approached due to the 'Great Exodus' (1870 to1900). In 1861, shots fired at Fort Sumter heralded the beginning of the American Civil War; by 1862, the Union Army started recruiting black soldiers. Hundreds of black settlers returned to the U.S. to join the fight; their departure signalled the slow decline of many black settlements. The Union victory saw many blacks return to re-join family and friends with a renewed hope of better race-relations—it also took many black Canadian church leaders.

[79] Gadzekpo, "Black Church," 95; Bennett, "Hermeneutics," 39; Milan and Tran, "Blacks In Canada," 2–3; the black population in Canada actually decreased from 21,400 in 1881 to 19,500 in 1931. The number in Canada by the time of White's passing (1936) was approximately 20 000, a number closely resembling the figure during the Great War.

church. All our movements of uplift emanate from her, and the higher her vision and greater her foresight, the higher will the status of citizenship be for those who keep within gunshot of her aims." From the pulpit, the pastor had the ability to rapidly and efficiently transmit information to the black community—this reliable channel greatly enhanced the possibility for mass action.[80] In the Maritimes, the Cornwallis Street Baptist church was the mother church of the black Baptist churches in Nova Scotia and its pastor was The Rev. William Andrew White Jr. The church wrote an address to the African United Baptist Association of Nova Scotia in regards to their pastor and his deeds; in it, they stated "Pastor (White), whose services have been continued with this church, has been signally blessed, and received with much appreciation. Brother White fails not to declare the whole gospel in terms of no uncertain sound, true to the Faith of the Fathers."[81]

According to historians, the Rev. William Andrew White Jr. achieved "almost mythic status" as "the universally recognized leader of the province's Negroes regardless of faith or heritage," he was "beloved throughout Nova Scotia, both by the coloured population to whom he ministered and by all others who knew him, irrespective of race or creed"—his fellow white Baptists held Mr. White in the highest regard. This made White, like Martin Luther King Jr. in the United States, an envoy to the white community—like Martin Luther King Jr., White was a strong and gifted speaker;[82] he communicated African Canadian aspirations for full citizenship to white Canada more effectively than anyone else.[83] White's leadership soon transcended that of the province of Nova Scotia, and he, in fact, became the de facto leader of African Canadians nationally. This was due partially to his "brilliant overseas record as Chaplain with the Canadian

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[80] Minutes of the 65th Meeting of the AUBA, 1; Morris, "SCLC," 33; Sutherland, "Race Prejudice," 69–70; evidenced by the Halifax school segregation incident

[81] Minutes of the 72nd Meeting of the AUBA, 19.

[82] Thomson, *Oliver*, 11; Pollock, *Black Soldiers*, 180; Warren, "William Andrew White, D. D., '03," 6–8; "Library and Archives of Canada," [n.d.]; Jenkins, *Pan-African*, 453; Boileau, "White," para 10.

[83] Meier, "Role," 355.

military forces," but showed itself most vibrantly in his civilian duties; notwithstanding his war service as an advocate of the black soldiers, the previous two representative examples are illustrative of White's great impact on the black community and the issues that encroached on their full citizenship and highlighted their present and future struggles.[84]

Although he was taken from this plane before he could complete his goals, White left a legacy that is both broad and deep. Whether he was espousing his ideas of black citizenship and racial harmony or advocating for the black community as a whole or a single individual, White's words and actions heralded the black community's rise to protest and advocacy for an equal share of God's Dominion of Canada.

William Andrew White Jr.'s Legacy

In August of 1936, with the help of his Halifax church community, William Andrew White Jr., his wife Izie Dora White, and their daughter Portia White traveled to visit White's family in King and Queen County, Virginia. White visited his home church of Zion Baptist and preached the homecoming sermon at Angel Visit Baptist in Dunnsville. He died the following month on 9 September 1936 in Halifax, Nova Scotia. In a fitting tribute, his funeral was broadcast over Radio Station CHNS in Halifax, and school children were given leave from school.[85]

The son of former Virginia slaves, William Andrew White Jr. moved to Nova Scotia, Canada in 1899 to seek higher education and a life in service to God; from there his life became a series of 'firsts,' and near firsts, as he laid the groundwork for a brighter future for generations of black Canadians.[86] White was the first black person to be awarded an honorary doctorate in Canada when Acadia University presented him with the Honorary Doctorate of Divinity in

[84] "Library and Archives of Canada," [n.d.]; Jenkins, Pan-African, 453; Clarke, "Black Officer," para 13.
[85] Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1.
[86] Pittman, "Wartime," para 1.

1936.[87] He was the first and only black commissioned officer in the No. 2 Battalion of the British and Dominion forces during WWI and its only black Chaplin. He was the first black clergyman to preach before the Baptist Convention and a member of the Ordination Council. His near firsts include: the second black male to be accepted into and graduate from Acadia University, and the second black minister ordained by the Maritime Provinces.[88] Although he died at an early age, his impact on Acadia, Nova Scotia, and Canada was profound.[89]

His significant contributions to the African United Baptist Association were remembered by the Association in a statement that read "after some 36 years of vigorous and fruitful ministry Rev. W. A. White, D.D. passed away leaving the legacy of a crowded life spent in unselfish service to advance the welfare of the Colored people of this Province."[90] They go on to say, "Dr. White has laboured ceaselessly for over thirty years, during which time he has ennobled the work of the African United Baptist Association of Nova Scotia, assisting in raising it to a high plane."[91] On his death, the *Halifax Herald* declared, "It is impossible to measure the value and extent of his labors and influence among the colored citizens of Nova Scotia. Sincere, earnest and unselfish, he was a man trusted, honored and beloved."[92] Another publication stated, "It is said he toppled racial barriers and gave a voice to a silenced community, and it all started in King and Queen County."[93] Finally, historians considered White "one of Nova Scotia's finest personalities" of the twentieth century and one of the most "significant people in the history of black Atlantic Canada."[94]

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[87] Prime, "White," para. 5; KirkConnell, *Acadia Record*, 83; "Library and Archives of Canada," [n.d.]; Pittman, "Wartime," para 1; White was given the honour in May of 1936, four months before his death.
[88] Pittman, "Wartime," para 1.
[89] Prime, "White," para. 5; KirkConnell, *Acadia Record*, 83; "Library and Archives of Canada," [n.d.].
[90] Minutes of the 81st, 82nd, and 83rd Sessions of the AUBA, 34, 47.
[91] Minutes of the 81st, 82nd, and 83rd Sessions of the AUBA, 47.
[92] "A Christian Gentleman," 6.
[93] Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1.
[94] Boileau, "White," para 10.

The funeral for the Rev. William Andrew White Jr. was held at Cornwallis Baptist Church in Halifax on 12 September 1936; its attendees included political dignitaries, prominent church figures, as well as the Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia. The church overflowed with hundreds turned away at the door, and thousands who lined the streets observed the funeral cortège that departed the service. The black community of Nova Scotia was grief-stricken by the passing of their recognized leader and beloved pastor. [95] Baptist ministers from near and far came to pay tribute to their departed colleague; among them was the Rev. Dr. E. S. Mason, Superintendent of Home Mission and personal friend of White, who gave the funeral address. Perhaps as a mark of respect, or more probably in hopes of avoiding civic embarrassment arising from this well-publicized event, the Reverend William Andrew White Jr. was not buried in the segregated black section of the city cemetery, before gathered dignitaries, he was instead, interred a dozen paces or so to the south of the boundary beyond the known 'coloured section' of the cemetery.[96] A few months after White's funeral, a fitting eulogistic article was written in the *Acadian Bulletin* that gave a vignette of his legacy as an advocate for the black community; the article read:

> For a generation Mr. White gave strong, constructive leadership to the coloured Baptists of Nova Scotia. They gladly recognized him as their trusted and capable leader. Never domineering but always courteous and considerate, he was a tower of strength to the African Baptist Association, and ministered helpfully to his coloured brethren. When difficulties arose in the churches, his broad common sense, his abounding goodwill, and his unfailing humour were always effective in finding a solution. He made the interests of the coloured people in his adopted country his own. On his heart he carried the moral and spiritual needs of his brethren. His fellow Baptists of the white race held Mr. White in highest regard. At Convention gatherings he was always a most welcome visitor. His address in moving or seconding the Home Mission report became a feature of the annual session. It was always lightened with his never-failing humour. In recognition of his

[95] Warren, "William Andrew White, D. D., '03," 6–8.

[96] Pollock, *Black Soldiers*, 181; on the same Saturday, William R. Parker, former Private in Rev. White's battalion and long time member of his congregation, was interred with far less ceremony in the 'Coloured Section' of the cemetery.

> eminently successful pastoral service, his capable leadership of the coloured race in Nova Scotia, and his splendid record as Chaplain during the World War, his Alma Mater conferred on him the degree of Doctor in Divinity *honoris causa* at its Convocation last May. Few more popular degrees were ever conferred at Acadia than that on Captain White. [97]

White's great-grandson, Poet-Laureate George Elliott Clark, exclaimed, "I'm sorry I never got the chance to know him as an individual, he was a person that was virtuous and committed to his people and to his calling, and his family" It is his family that holds the real legacy.[98]

Family

William Andrew White Jr. and his wife Izie Dora had thirteen children; many of whom, and their descendants, became accomplished Canadian figures. Their daughter Portia White is a famed Canadian contralto. Nova Scotia established an annual award called the Portia White Prize; it is given to Nova Scotians who have excelled in the arts and letters.[99] William Andrew White III was a composer, social justice activist, and the first Black Canadian to run for federal political office; White's son, Jack White, was a well-known labour union leader/activist and one of first two black Canadians to run for provincial office in Ontario; Jack's son, Bill, was a pioneering Canadian politician.[100]

White's other grand and great-grandchildren include Senator Donald Oliver, the first black Canadian man appointed to the Senate; folk musician (grandson) Chris White, granddaughter Sheila White, a media consultant, activist, and political candidate; grandson Lorne White, a teacher, actor, and singer; great-grandson George Elliott Clarke, a playwright,

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[97] Warren, "William Andrew White, D. D., '03," 6–8.

[98] Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1.

[99] Portia's nephew (and great grandson of William Andrew White Jr.) won the award the very first year that it was given (1998) and in 2002, Portia White biographer Sylvia Hamilton was the recipient.

[100] Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1; Boileau, "White," para 10; White, "A White Family History (Canadian Branch)."

university professor, novelist, and Poet Laureate; and great-nephew Anthony Sherwood, an actor and documentary filmmaker—Sherwood acted and directed the film *Honour Before Glory*, a documentary treatment of the No. 2 Battalion and Captain William Andrew White Jr.[101] In 1999, the Canadian History Channel made "Captain of Souls: Reverend William Andrew White" as a part of its series "A Scattering of Seeds" on Canadian immigrants. The filmmakers visited King and Queen County and filmed scenes of Zion Baptist and Carlton Corner Road near where White lived. Since 1984, the White family has been hosting family reunions alternating between the Reverend White's beginnings in Virginia and his place of mission in Canada.[102] White also left a significant legacy as a progenitor (due to his foundational contributions) of the Canadian Civil Rights Movement.

Through social, religious, and judicial channels Rev. White laid down the foundations for the Canadian Civil Rights Movement by attacking the white power structure and marshaling the forces of black solidary to systematically attack racial injustice and challenge unjust laws. His work continued to build inertia until at some point a single seemingly insignificant incident from a single individual would be enough to set the wheels of change in motion—Viola Desmond and the Roseland Theatre was that one person and that one incident.

The Canadian Rosa Parks

> In Sunday School sometimes our teacher asks us kids who our favourite person in the Bible is and why. Once I raised my hand and said, "That's easy, I like Esther, because she's brave and she's smart and she's a girl—and I'm all of that, too. Just ask God, He'll tell you.[103]

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[101] Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1; Boileau, "White," para 10; White, "A White Family History (Canadian Branch)".

[102] Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1; Boileau, "White," para 10; White, "A White Family History (Canadian Branch)".

[103] Riley, "Towards An Encultured Pedagogy," 101; the child has also learned that God is present and aware of her in an intimate sense; He knows she is brave and smart and will affirm that to the world. This give us a

The story of Rosa Parks and her act of taking a stance for equality by sitting down, an act that sparked the beginning of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, is well-known; not as recognized is the story of Viola Irene Desmond. A decade after the passing of William Andrew White Jr. (1936) and nineteen years before Rosa Parks, Viola Desmond (of Halifax, Nova Scotia), through a series of unfortunate events, maintained a righteous stance for equality by sitting down.[104] Like Parks, Desmond was arrested and charged for her act of civil disobedience. And like Parks, upon her release, Desmond proceeded to embark upon a more premeditated course of action against racial segregation that started in Halifax but grew to encompass all of Canada.[105]

During a trip to Sydney on Friday 8 November 1946, Viola Desmond was forced to stay overnight in New Glasgow because her sedan had broken down and needed repair. Deciding to take in a movie, Desmond headed to the Roseland Theatre.[106] When she asked the ticket-seller at the theatre for a seat downstairs the ticket-seller refused and told Desmond "I'm sorry but I'm not permitted to sell downstairs tickets to you people"—the terms black, Negro, or coloured were never mentioned.[107] Desmond recognized instantly that she was being denied seating based on her race and made the decision to challenge racial segregation. She returned to the interior of the theatre and sat in a downstairs seat refusing to yield it when asked. That decision ultimately led

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look into the manner in which the black church/community views God's role in their past liberation and future citizenship; like the child, they know that God is aware of their plight in an intimate sense.

[104] Clayborne, *Autobiography*, 51; Backhouse, "Viola," 201.

[105] "Takes Action,"; Backhouse, "Viola," 106; Parks and Desmond were also both well known in their respective black communities. Rosa Parks was a secretary in the NAACP and Viola Desmond was a successful black entrepreneur. Parks had the backing of the NAAACP and Desmond that of the NSAACP.

[106] Backhouse, "Viola," 101–02; "Colored People Protest," *Toronto Daily Star*; the Roseland Theatre was the premier movie theatre in New Glasgow. The theatre premiered one of the most popular films at the time, the American blockbuster "Birth of a Nation"—containing overt anti-Negro themes. The theatre also premiered Al Jolson's celebrated blackface performance in "The Jazz Singer."

[107] Backhouse, "Viola," 101–02; "Takes Action."

to her arrest and conviction. Desmond, a member of the Cornwallis St. Baptist Church, sought advice from the pastor and his wife.[108]

William Pearly Oliver took the mantel of pastor of Cornwallis Street Baptist Church from the deceased William Andrew White Jr.—Oliver and White shared many similarities in experiences, thoughts, and actions.[109] Like White, Oliver was the only black chaplain during his time of service (WWII) and a confirmed proponent and activist for racial equality;[110] the Cornwallis Street Church had a history of being led by visionary pastors committed to community uplift, advocacy, and social action, Oliver was no exception. Rev. White, whose daughter had married Oliver's father, helped to persuade Oliver to enter the ministry. Oliver said of White, upon succeeding him at Cornwallis St., "he was a highly respected clergyman and WWI veteran." He goes on to say, "Dr. White brought a new image to the black church in that he was able to relate to the white community as well. He was an outstanding preacher and an able leader of men."[111]

After William Pearly Oliver met with Viola, Mrs. Desmond proceeded to launch a civil suit against the theatre. The Olivers (both William Pearly and his wife Pearleen) marshaled assistance for Desmond's legal battle through the NSAACP (Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People)—an act very reminiscent of William Andrew White Jr. and his ceaseless support of the black community. As Pearleen Oliver told the Halifax Chronicle, the NSAACP intends to fight Mrs. Desmond's case to prevent the "spread of color-bar tactics"

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[108] "Takes Action"; Backhouse, "Viola," 104–05; her fine was twenty-six dollars or one month in jail for not paying the one cent tax on a forty cent ticket.

[109] Backhouse, "Viola," 114; in 1937, William Pearly Oliver became the minister of Cornwallis St. Baptist Church and by 1945 he and the church developed the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Church was instrumental in supporting the case of Viola Desmond through the courts in the first year Oliver was the minister. Oliver worked at the church for twenty-five years, until 1962; "Takes Action"; Waters, "A March from Selma to Canada," 2–3.

[110] Thomson, *Oliver*, 33–37, 81, 101; like White, Oliver believed in "education (as) the cornerstone" for black uplift, pushed race consciousness and pride, believed the war would help in acquiring full citizenship, was a superb multi-sport athlete, and garnered the same race discrimination as White during his time at Acadia University.

[111] Thomson, Oliver, 37, 49.

across the province. Her husband realized that the time for defined, aggressive action against racism and discrimination had arrived; he sought to push black Baptists and the black community out of its gradualistic mindset and toward this defined aggressive action—in Oliver's words, militant but within the law.[112]

Desmond's suit ultimately failed but, in its failure, it illuminated many aspects of Canadian law, particularly its stance on race and civil liberties. The lawsuit's failure is attributed to Desmond's white Lawyer's narrow focus in the lawsuit—opting for judicial review rather than an appeal of the original conviction. Like the Supreme Court Justices who turned their backs on black claims of racial inequality—in certain respects openly condoning racial segregation—Fredrick William Bissett (Desmond's Lawyer) chose to argue the case in a conservative and traditional fashion; he framed the case in such a manner that caused the real issues of racism and discrimination to be shrouded in procedural technicalities.[113] The conspicuous absence of any overt discussion of racial issues was evident in what became a landmark case for the Canadian Civil Rights Movement and the hallmark of racism and segregation in Canada. In the best tradition of Canadian "racelessness" the prosecution witnesses never explained that Viola Desmond had been denied the more expensive downstairs ticket on the basis of her race.[114]

The Canadian scholar Barrington Walker states that the "legal dimension of black Canadian social history is a consequence of the era of European empire and slavery where

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[112] Backhouse, "Viola," 114; "Takes Action"; Bridglal, *Human Rights*, 36; Thomson, *Oliver*, 78, 94–95; Oliver was the founding father of the NSAACP, the Nova Scotia Human Rights commission, the Black United Front, and the Black Cultural Centre.

[113] Backhouse, "Viola," 113, 130–34, 136; although Desmond's incident became a point of demarcation in the Canadian Civil Rights Movement, it did not initially start out that way. While a considerable portion of the black community in Halifax shared Desmond's anger and concern over the incident, others believed the whole incident should be left alone—it was the leaders of the black community that felt differently and used the incident to start a slow process towards full black citizenship. The incident's aftermath saw Viola Desmond lose her husband, withdraw from the public gaze, and engage in a numbers of financial ventures that ultimately took her to the U.S.—she fell ill and pass away at the age of fifty on 07 February 1965.

[114] Backhouse, "Viola," 106, 112–13; Desmond was not given a legitimate opportunity to pay the tax; "Takes Action," *The Clarion*.

questions of blacks' legal and citizenship status, the nature and quality of their freedom, and even their very humanity often hinged upon questions of law." Walker further states that, after the slave Emancipation of 1834, blacks enjoyed legal freedoms, however, the law's role in their lives was ambiguous and the quality of their freedoms was limited. Unlike the segregation laws of the United States (Jim Crow), the laws in Canada did not support anti-black discrimination throughout its history. Canadian law tended to passively support white supremacy by accepting the conditions that allowed it to thrive.[115] These "James Loon" laws were more subtle and hidden in technicalities and not as overt as those of the "Jim Crow" south—Jim is the diminutive form of the more formal James and Loon, not Crow, due to its place as the Canadian bird of national, social, and economic record.

The parallels that exist between race relations in Canada and the United States, circa 1947, are summed up succinctly in a quote from James Calbert Best, associate editor of the *Clarion*, when he writes,

> True, we are not forced into separate parts of public conveyances, nor are we forced to drink from separate faucets or use separate washrooms, but we are often refused meals in restaurants and beds in hotels, with no good reason. Nowhere do we encounter signs that read "No Colored" or the more diplomatic . . . "Select Clientele," but at times it might be better. At least much consequent embarrassment might be saved for all concerned.[116]

The fundamental principles competing against each other—in Desmond's case and that of all African Canadians—were the doctrines of freedom of commerce versus the doctrine of equality within a democratic society. This was the crux of racism in Canada and its legal arm segregation. The task of obtaining civil rights for African Canadians was predicated on striving for the creation of positive laws upholding the rights of all citizens (as opposed to fighting existing segregation laws like their African American counterparts in the United States); this would

[115] Walker, *African Canadian*, 4; Thornhill, "Blacks and the Law," 330; Waters, "A March from Selma to Canada," 2–3.

[116] Best, "No Discrimination"; Backhouse, "Viola," 135.

prevent Judges (regional and in the Supreme Court of Canada), with a predilection toward freedom of commerce over individual rights, from exercising their discretion.[117]

Therefore, the reason for the different modes of acquiring black citizenship between Canada and the United States is summed up by the Canadian news publication *Saturday Night* when it states, "Racial segregation is so deeply entrenched in what the American people are accustomed to calling their way of life, that the problems which it raises in a democracy will not be solved . . . without a good deal of conflict." Moreover, "Canada is in a position to avoid most of that conflict if she avoids getting tied to the American way of life"; lastly, it states that "now is the time to take action to avoid it."[118]

Remembering that Martin Luther King Jr.'s initial impetus for the boycott of the buses in Birmingham, Alabama was to improve the segregation system on the buses for its black patrons, not to remove it. King's subsequent discussions with the white authorities enlightened him on how the segregation system oppressed both the black and white communities. It was that moment King was shocked out of his complacency; he began to see segregation as a sin and decided not only to fight segregation in busing but also fight the Jim Crow system.[119] The Reverends White and Oliver, Viola Desmond, and James Best discovered a similar system in Canada—not as overt but just as sinful, Jim Crow's northern cousin James Loon.

Black Citizenship: The Dominion of Canada versus the United States of America

Unlike its counterparts in the United States, the Canadian judiciary was reluctant to use the courts as an instrument of public policy and racial justice. Instead, they maintained conservative narrow rulings that carefully sidestepped the racial question at the heart of the case; they chose to

[117] Backhouse, "Viola," 123.
[118] Backhouse, "Viola," 165.
[119] Carson, *Autobiography*, 61, 70; Dickerson, "African-American," 218.

focus on principles such as freedom of association commerce and the nature of the contract between business owners and patrons—that, more often than not, reaffirmed the legal right to discriminate.[120] Without an American-style Bill of Rights, jurists inclined to change social policy had no legal support—ultimately, racial exclusion became harder to fight. In the cases Plessy versus Fergusson and Dred Scott versus Sandford—both denied black citizenship in the United States—the court rulings could be undone in the same courtroom when juxtaposed with the American Bill of Rights and Constitution. In the United States, "Jim Crow" was a tangible target this was not the case in Canada.[121] This forced blacks to consider how to use civil cases to fight racism in a social order where blacks already had formal legal equality but had suffered inequalities that were a product of social customs supported through legal rulings that granted the right to discriminate—this was Viola Desmond's fight.

Post Credits: Life After Desmond

As mentioned before, Desmond's battle was not entirely for naught; her legal challenge touched a nerve within the black community creating a dramatic surge in race consciousness—a foundation supported and strengthened by Rev. W. A. White—strengthening the fledgling NSAACP, and underpinning the ability of black organizations to lobby against other forms of race discrimination. Desmond, a business woman and entrepreneur (education), embodied White's praxis for black citizenship; her race consciousness allowed her to immediately ascertain the situation at the theatre, where she objected to her treatment in a Christian non-violent manner. Desmond's actions, reflects Dr. William Pearly Oliver, had an enormously symbolic significance to the black community. Oliver states, "this meant something to our people." He goes on to say, "Neither before or since has there been such an aggressive effort to obtain rights.

[120] Walker, *Legal*, 33.

[121] McNeese, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 8–12; Davis, *Plessy V. Ferguson*, xi-xiii; United States Supreme Court, *The Dred Scott Decision*, 2–4; McNeese, *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 9–12; Walker, *Legal*, 33.

The people arose as one and with one voice. This positive stance enhanced the prestige of the Negro community throughout the Province. It is my conviction that much of the positive actions that have since taken place stem from this."[122] The positive actions the Rev. Oliver spoke of are a reference to the less celebrated Canadian Civil Rights Movement.

The Canadian Civil Rights Movement

"In Absentia Lucis, Tenebrae Vincunt"—In the Absence of Light Darkness Prevails

Richard Preston spoke prophetically to the generations of African Canadians he would not know when he stated,

> The time will come when slavery will be just one of our many travails. Our children and their children's children will mature to become indifferent toward climate and indifferent toward race. Then we will desire . . . Nay, we will demand and we will be able to obtain our fair share of wealth, status and prestige, including political power. Our time will have come, and we will be ready . . . we must be.[123]

Preston understood not only his place in the civil rights continuum, but his great vision allowed him to understand what the future would most certainly hold for his people. From Preston's failing hands he passed a torch that was held high by great black leaders such as William Andrew White Jr.; a man whose entire life experience prepared him to take up the torch and build a foundation from where he continued the vision set out by Richard Preston. The Rev. White passed the torch of civil rights to the Rev. William Pearly Oliver to continue the long journey that began at slavery.

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[122] Backhouse, "Viola," 136; Thomson, *Oliver*, 84; Waters, "A March from Selma to Canada," 66; the Rev. W. P. Oliver of the NSAACP in Nova Scotia established personal connections with American counterparts during his travels. In 1949, he visited the NAACP headquarters in New York before continuing south to visit Morehouse College, the Tuskegee Institute, and other traditionally African American educational institutions. While there, he delivered speeches that noted similarities in experiences with discrimination in both countries. The NSAACP was not officially affiliated with the NAACP, but sustained informal connections with American organizations.

[123] Boyd, "Richard Preston," para 12.

Sadly, slavery has been a part of human history from the earliest of days. However, the type of slavery that became known as "chattel" was birthed on 8 August 1444 when the first shipment of 235 slaves was loaded onto a Portuguese ship bound for its native land. Most of the slaves came from one village in Africa—the Portuguese had attacked the village and took as many African citizens as they could. This ill-fated trip of the slaves was viewed as the first sell for profit cargo of humans from Africa.[124] There was no Harriet Beecher Stowe to tell the story of slavery in Canada, and few Canadian histories make any reference to the subject, so much of the general populace has never heard of the Canadian institution. However, we find from family traditions and local records that from 1632 to 1834 enslaved Africans lived in every part of what became Canada.[125] The extent and ubiquity of slavery in Canada are lent clarity by prosaic newspaper advertisements selling, among furniture and other household items, black slaves. Examples come from the Niagara *Gazette* (11 October 1797) that reads, "wanted, to purchase a Negro girl from seven to twelve years of age, of good disposition." Still another contribution from the *Niagara Herald* (18 January 1797) states, "for sale, a negro man and woman, the property of Mrs. Widow Clement. They have been bred to the business of the farm. Apply to Mrs. Clement." Lastly, the Hon. Peter Russell, Receiver-General of the colony of Upper Canada advertised in the *Gazette* and *Oracle* (19 February 1806):

> For sale: Peggy, age forty, 150 dollars, who, two years before had absented herself without leave; Jupiter, age fifteen, 200 dollars, payable in three years, secured by bond, but one-fourth less would be taken for ready money. The woman is a tolerable washerwoman, and perfectly understands making soap and candles.[126]

[124] Robart-Johnson, *Africa's Children*, 20.
[125] Hallam, W.T., "Slave Days in Canada, 297.
[126] Hallam, W.T., "Slave Days in Canada, 297.

From the very beginning of their history in Canada, blacks were associated with slavery and therefore with a subordinate role in society.[127] The attitude toward black citizens, in what became Canada, prevailed from coast to coast. The sentiments of Sir Adams Archibald (former) Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia tells us that "A negro with plenty to eat and to drink, with clothing and shelter, has little to care for anything else. He has no ambition. To him labour is only a last resort."[128] In London, it was lamented that "the coloured people … are practically deprive(d) …of all benefits from public schools. If any coloured child enters a school, the white children are withdrawn, the teachers are painfully oblige to decline, and the coloured people, while they acutely feel the anomaly of their painful position, yield to an injustice which they are too weak to redress . . ."[129] In regards to "coloured persons from Oklahoma" immigrating to the western provinces in 1911, W. D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration, states plainly that, "At no time has the immigration of this race been encouraged by the government . . . the Negro problem, which faces the United States is one in which Canadians have no desire to share. It is to be hoped that climatic conditions will prove unsatisfactory to those new settlers, and that the fertile lands of the West will be left to be cultivated by the white race only."[130]

In Quebec, a decision by the Quebec Court of Appeals, in the *Loew's Montreal Theatre Ltd. V. Reynolds* 1919 trial, ruled that "the management of a theatre may impose restrictions and make rules as to the place which each person should occupy. Therefore, when a coloured man . . . wants to take a seat in a part of the House which he knows is by a rule of the manager prohibited to a coloured person, he cannot complain if he is refused admission."[131] Lastly, in

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[127] Walker, *Racial*, 8; Calliste, "Civil Rights," 126; African Canadians have always occupied a subordinate position in economic, political, and social relations.

[128] Walker, *Racial*, 4–5; Adams, "Story of Deportation," 148.

[129] Walker, *Racial*, 4; excerpts of a correspondence sent to M.P. W. H. Draper by the London Auxiliary Bible Society 27 March 1847; Waters, "A March from Selma to Canada," 2–3.

[130] Walker, *Racial*, 4.

[131] Waters, "A March from Selma to Canada," 2–3.

1910, Sir Wilfrid Laurier stated, "We see in the United States what grave problems may arise from the presence of a race unable to become full members of the same social family as ourselves."[132] The thoughts of the Prime Minister (during White's ministerial years) encapsulated the Canadian *zeitgeist* and the long road to full citizenship for the African Canadian.

Racial segregation was prevalent across the Dominion of Canada—varying by region and shifting over time. Canadian employers commonly selected their workforce by race rather than by merit. Access to land grants, residential housing, jury, and military service were restricted by race. Blacks were denied equal access to some forms of public transportation. Churches, orphanages, and cemeteries were segregated and some hospitals refused black access. Lastly, while no consistent pattern ever emerged, various hotels, restaurants, theatres, athletic facilities, parks, swimming pools, beaches, dance pavilions, skating rinks, pubs, and bars were closed to blacks across the country.[133]

Visuals of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States rank among the most widely recognized and memorialized in North American history. Marches and speeches, preachers and students, sit-ins, and fire hoses all form important parts of the North American collective memory and shared experience. By contrast, images of a transformative movement in the same period rarely come to mind in popular representations of Canada. While lacking the intensity of its American counterpart, as well as a stream of equally dramatic visuals, a sustained and dynamic effort against race-based discrimination did take place in Canada at the same time.[134]

African Canadian activists joined and created multi-ethnic, multi-racial, and multi-faith campaigns for human rights in Canada. Unlike their U.S. counterparts—like the NAACP who

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[132] Walker, *Racial*, 5; Fosty, *Black Ice*, 141.

[133] Backhouse, "Desmond," 118; Frager and Patrias, "'This is Our Country," 1–2; Waters, "A March from Selma to Canada," 2–3; Clarke, "Black Officer," para 13.

[134] Waters, "A March from Selma to Canada," 1–2.

turned away from the courts to instead engage state and civil authorities—Canadian legislation was the vehicle for the acquisition of human rights in an attempt to gain equality.[135] Human rights activists, among whom blacks were prominent, fought to lift immigration restrictions to non-whites in Canada.[136] The Canadian Immigration Act of 1906, 1910, and 1952 were racially exclusionary—the term "non-preferred" attached to blacks and non-whites. The NCA lobbied the Immigration Minister in 1954 in its treatment of West Indian immigrants; along with the West Indian government, the NCA petitioned the Canadian government to allow some nurses and domestics into Canada. In an attempt not to look overtly racially exclusionary in a post-war era (most specifically post-Holocaust), Canada allowed a small number of domestics and nurses into the country by 1962. Further lobbying by those of the NCA prompted the Minister of Immigration (Ellen Fairclough) to move to eliminate racial preference from Canadian immigration policy, and by 1967 the points system was enacted essentially making the system colour blind.[137]

The Bill of Rights, Human Rights Codes, and protection of minority groups under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms—the ideological and legislative expression of Canada that sought to move away from legal support for acts of discrimination—substantiated citizenship for those deemed unsuitable in the previous era. Is this an accurate picture of post-1967 Canada, the answer is a qualified yes; because, blacks have achieved more substantive access to rights and full citizenship than at any other time in Canadian history but their access to full citizenship remained partial due to the pervasive system barriers. Starting at the social, economic, and civic fringes of society these barriers continued to mete out high unemployment rates and

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[135] Walker, *Legal*, 33; in Ontario the Racial Discrimination Act was passed in 1944, the Fair Employment Act in 1953, and the Fair Accommodation Practice Act in 1954; this trend was followed by other Canadian provinces.

[136] Walker, *Legal*, 34; Backhouse, *Colour Coded*, 433; Negro Citizenship Council later Negro Citizenship Association (NCA) led the charge.

[137] Backhouse, *Colour Coded*, 256; Walker, *Legal*, 34.

differentiated outcomes in the criminal justice system—longer sentences and higher incarceration rates than their white counterparts.[138]

A relatively small number of devoted activists drove this Canadian fight. These activists challenged officials at the municipal, provincial, and federal levels to create positive laws against racial discrimination. African Canadian and allied anti-discrimination efforts in this period generally focused on a local,[139] rather than national, scale.[140] Widespread Canadian awareness of the movement in the United States, and cross-border linkages between American and Canadian rights activists, helped to use widely publicized and embarrassing examples of racism to pressure Canadians into accepting new anti-discrimination legislation.[141] This forced politicians in Ontario and Nova Scotia to be highly attuned to shifts in public opinion towards explicit racism and the state's role in protecting human rights. Canadian Civil Rights activists achieved notable successes in moving public policy toward stronger anti-discrimination protections.[142]

The efforts of Canadian Civil Rights activists did not constitute a nationally recognizable and coordinated movement in the manner of the American Civil Rights Movement, however, their work compiling evidence and challenging discrimination at the local level, combined with strategic references to international concerns, succeeded. Their achievements included full-time

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[138] Walker, *Legal*, 35–36; Mathieu, *Color Line*, 208.

[139] Frager and Patrias, "This is Our Country," 1–2; Waters, "A March from Selma to Canada," 26–27. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters' (BSCP) and the Negro Citizenship Association's (NCA) were examples of organizations with a more explicitly national (and transnational) scope. There was great cooperation with like-minded organizations fighting racism and discrimination, such as the Jewish Labour Committee (JLC) and the Joint Public Relations Committee (JPRC) of the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC); Calliste, "Civil Rights," 123–139.

[140] Waters, "A March from Selma to Canada," 1–3, 52; while this may seem to contrast markedly with the nationally visible United States Civil Rights Movement, local efforts were actually central to the movement in the United States as well. Many American historians now question the centrality of an overarching "national" narrative to that movement.

[141] Frager and Patrias, "This is Our Country," 1; Waters, "A March from Selma to Canada," 4, 6, 8; the newest form of mass technology, the television, facilitated the swift dissemination of images from distant places into Canadian homes. These widely covered stories together provided a dramatic backdrop against which activists pressed for change in Canada; Calliste, "Civil Rights," 129.

[142] Frager and Patrias, "This is Our Country," 1–2; Waters, "A March from Selma to Canada," 8–9; government law makers understood what activists meant when they warned that Canada did not want its own "Little Rock" or "Birmingham."

human rights commissions and commissioners and new laws to outlaw discrimination on the basis of "race" in various realms of public life.[143] It is important to note that, while significant direct action protest was less common in Canada, the United States Civil Rights Movement "heartened African Canadians because it coincided with their efforts at securing their human rights in Canada." Overall, African Canadians faced distinct forms of discrimination that gave rise to particular forms of activism tailored to their experiences.[144] The leadership of W. Andrew White Jr aided the foundations of this movement. Its focus on race consciousness, its temperance, specifically its focus on education, and its Christian nonviolent actions through the court system were all components of the movement and White's praxis.

Chapter Summary

If we are truly known by our deeds, then The Reverend William Andrew White Jr.'s actions showed him to be a man of great character and service—his willingness to put himself in harms way for the advancement of peace and brotherhood, to advocate for the fair treatment of the men of the No. 2, and to be an advocate for the entire black community of Canada thereafter. Once believing that WWI would be a conduit to greater black civil liberties in Canada, White experiences showed him that the struggle was more daunting than once thought. With the enactment of his praxis for full citizenship, he worked to create educational institutions and to ensure the care, support, and employment opportunities for the black community; he preached

[143] Waters, "A March from Selma to Canada," 8–10, 26–27; advocacy organizations, like Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), proliferated in this period. Canadian UNIA branches were particularly strong between the world wars where they organized events to celebrate black heritage, and culture, and advocated racial pride and economic independence; Kallen, "*Ethnicity and Human Rights*," 211, 214; Tunnicliffe, "Life Together," 467; Clément, *Canada's Rights Revolution*, 12; it is important to note that even with the arrival of new laws and human rights commissions, the onus remained on those subjected to prejudice to press for enforcement. Also, over the years, human rights commissions have faced staffing and financial constraints. While they addressed racism in its more visible forms, they did little to tackle its systemic but less obvious manifestations, including persistent economic inequalities.

[144] Calliste, "Civil Rights," 129; Waters, "A March from Selma to Canada," 73, 82.

race-consciousness, pride, and Christian love through his promotion of black economic and socio-political issues while promulgating racial harmony in the pulpit and over the airwaves. While briefly stumbling due to the "Revolution of Expectations," he quickly readjusted his praxis and maintained his foothold as leader of the black community in Nova Scotia and de facto leader of Canada's black community. Drawing the historical line back from the beginning of the African Canadian Civil Rights Movement, one can see its foundations through the work of the Rev. William Andrew White Jr.

The Rev. William Andrew White Jr.'s legacy, in Nova Scotia specifically and Canada generally, is crowded with pioneering firsts, numerous accolades, and quiet reverence from a grateful black community, province, and country.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

Afua Cooper noted that slavery "has disappeared from Canada's historical chronicles, erased from its memory and banished to the dungeons"[1] Slavery, and its offspring discrimination and segregation, was a large part of Canadian history but does not receive widespread attention from the general Canadian public and historians alike—it is the most neglected part of pre-confederation Canada.[2] In its place, Canadian race relations are often hidden behind a curtain made of a fabric that has Canada seen as a promised land and garlanded with the brilliant trim of the Underground Railroad—an image pervasive in the Canadian imagination. This reinforced a sense of superiority among Canadians especially when juxtaposed with their American counterparts. This popular lore always fails to discuss the experiences of these fugitive slaves and free blacks once they arrived in Canada—specifically, the discrimination they faced in their daily lives and their exclusion from social institutions such as schools and churches.[3]

The Rev. William Andrew White Jr. was instrumental in building a foundation from which the African Canadian community could begin to marshal its forces to stem the tide of discrimination and racism, to acquire full citizenship, and foster a brother/sisterhood with the greater white community. White's journey from south to north, and the experiences it entailed, was a wellspring of growth for his theology; it was a theology that was audible in his words and visible in his actions—most notably during the Great War.

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[1] Whitfield, "Struggle," 17; Cooper, *Angélique*, 7.

[2] Whitfield, *Slavery*, 1.

[3] McLaren, "We had No Desire to be Set Apart," 69–70; Walcott, *Black like Who,* 35–36. Walker, *Racial*, 6; James W. Walker called it the North Star myth; the myth purports that this guiding star led fugitive blacks not just out of slavery but into freedom, equality, and full Canadian citizenship. This North Star myth entered the Canadian identity and became a major feature distinguishing Canadians from Americans.

The Great War

In his role as Chaplain for the CEF's only segregated unit, acquiring the post over his friend and ally in black uplift, Wellington Ney States, Rev. White fought for the equal treatment of black soldiers both overseas and in Canada. He promoted race-consciousness and provided advocacy and spiritual support for "the boys" of the No. 2 Construction Battalion.[4] As the lone black officer in his unit during this time of military segregation, it would have been easy for Rev. White to become embittered in the face of such injustice but instead, he used the opportunity to speak out against bigotry and discrimination.[5] White firmly believed that the conduct of the black soldier in WWI would "give both impetus and legitimacy to later black claims to a more equitable share in civil rights and obligations," particularly in Nova Scotia.[6] His war experience solidified his theology and impacted his praxis and goals for the black community. White's return to civilian guise came with the pastorship at Cornwallis Street Baptist Church.

Cornwallis Street Baptist Church

Cornwallis Street Baptist Church has continued its history of social action; visionary pastors committed to community uplift have often led the church. Starting with Preston's establishing of several political, social, and religious organizations—most notably Cornwallis St. Baptist Church and the AUBA—he used these organizations as base metals to fuse the black community together through the fire of the Holy Spirit. Preston provided for black uplift and laid the foundation for what Cornwallis became, and still is, in terms of social action and community

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[4] Pittman, "Wartime," para 2.

[5] Prime, "White," para. 3; KirkConnell, *Acadia Record*, 83; Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1; he was Chaplin from 1917 until 1919; "Library and Archives of Canada," [n.d.]; Daye Learning Institute, "A New Era of Race Consciousness," 8; Cross, " With the Colored Soldier," 13; Pittman, "African Canadian Experience During the First World War," 47; after a concert performed by the members of the No. 2 Construction Battalion, the Rev. Captain William Andrew White Jr. made a "splendid speech urging recruits to join the battalion."

[6] Heath, "White," 18.

uplift. White continued to mold the black community into a cohesive force that was ready to fight for its full citizenship. Using his skills as a pastor, orator, statesmen, and advocate he employed various vehicles for the communication of his message of civil rights, racial harmony, and the brother and sisterhood of humanity—like Preston before him, he passed the torch of progress to William Pearly Oliver. Oliver used a seminal moment in black Canadian history to advance the civil rights dreams of Richard Preston and civil rights theory and praxis of William Andrew White Jr.

The Canadian Civil Rights Movement

Love is one of the pivotal points of the ministry of Jesus of Nazareth; he sought to accomplish great change using the weapons of love and knowledge.[7] Although Jesus used healings, exorcisms, miracles, and even violence his emphasis was on love.[8] When asked by the Pharisees what is the most important law he answered, love God and love your neighbour (Mark 12:30–31); at the centre of this love is justice for the marginalized and the oppressed.[9] Christ reminded humanity of the rights and freedoms possessed by the children of God when he stated, "the Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to preach the good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim liberty to the captives, to set free the oppressed (Luke 4:18–19)."[10]
Jesus, William Andrew White Jr. proclaimed, "taught the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man" to people he loved and who needed his reassuring presence.[11] White, through word and deed, continually advocated for the black community, readying them to strive for their full civil liberties—but this was not without internal controversy.

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[7] Jelks, "Benjamin," 132; Foster, *Streams*, 1; Powell and Bauer, *Who*, 237–38.
[8] Powell and Bauer, *Who*, 237–38; Jelks, "Benjamin," 132; Foster, *Streams*, 1.
[9] Pinnock, *Flame*, 88–89; Powell and Bauer, *Who*, 237–38; Borg and Wright, *Jesus*, 36.
[10] Cone, *Black Power*, 35; Pinnock, *Flame*, 88–89; Powell and Bauer, *Who*, 237–38; Borg and Wright, *Jesus*, 36.
[11] Diaries of Rev. William A. White, 10 March 1918.

The "Revolution of Expectation" affirmed the aphorism that "one of the persistent delusions of the human mind is the feeling that conditions which came into being very recently have existed for centuries."[12] History showed that over time a civil rights platform that was initially censured for its militancy was later condemned for its gradualism.[13] White's role in the Halifax segregated school affair helped move him out of his gradualist approach and quickly embrace methods that appealed to a "new African Canadian"—one that was unafraid of physical, economic, or social reprisals for asking to be a full member of Canadian society; setting the tone, structure, and strategy for a civil rights movement that was later accepted by the white media and embraced by their white moderate brothers and sisters. The Canadian Civil Rights Movement was distinctly Canadian—it was quiet, measured, firm, and principled

White's untimely passing prevented the furtherance of his aims for the African Canadian community in Canada; had he live and maintained the pastorship of Cornwallis St. Baptist Church, Viola Desmond would have sought out pastor White and his wife Iziz—White's record of assisting and advocating for individual African Canadians would have almost certainly had him take up Desmond's fight (as William and Pearlean Oliver did). The historian Barry Cahill, writing in regard to James Robinson Johnston, stated that his contributions to the black community and life circumstances merited comparison to Martin Luther King Jr.;[14] although William Andrew White Jr. did not play the exact role in Canada as Martin Luther King Jr. did in directing the unfolding of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, his body of work still merits the same comparison to King—as well as other black influential leaders.

Cahill states that both Johnston and King were charismatic Baptists: "both were leaders born of leaders; both were orators; both were visionaries and innovators; both exercised political

[12] Luccock, "Jim Crow," 864.
[13] Meier and Rudwick, *Plantation,* 252.
[14] Cahill, "Colored Barrister," 376; Thompson et al., Fredrick Douglass, 40.

influence; both had detractors and leadership rivals within their community; both suffered character assassination; and both were murdered in their thirty-ninth year." Cahill goes on to say, "Johnston's premature death, like King's, created a vacuum of leadership which proved difficult to fill." Cahill felt that Johnston's contemporaries could not appreciate what they had lost; "that they had lost their first citizen or proconsul, whose personal magnetism, combined with the longstanding prominence of his family and the prestige of the legal profession—his entry into which had opened the way for other blacks to follow—rendered him unique and irreplaceable." Similar words were spoken by Alexander Crummell in regards to Fredrick Douglass and the prospects of black leadership after his passing; history shows Douglass was followed by W.E.B Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, A. Philip Randolph, Malcolm X, and Martin Luther King Jr. to name just a few—Johnston was followed by, States, Kinney, and White to name a few.

While Cahill may be right in regard to the remarkable life of J. R. Johnson (whose impact on the black community has sadly been mostly forgotten), White's oratory and deeds place him in the same light. It is undisputed that the black church is the black community, Johnson knew this because his base of operations (to serve the black community) was not his law offices but the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church (where he often made speeches); while his great leadership allowed him to marshal the black community, he needed the support of, then pastor of Cornwallis Street, Moses Puryear, to ensure full acceptance and participation in his projects of community uplift (e.g. The Halifax Industrial School for Blacks). In his time, White had all the characteristics possessed by Johnson with the added fact that he was the leader of the mother church of the black Baptist community.

White's increasing prominence, through his constant advocacy and protest on behalf of the African Canadian community, suggested that the arc of his leadership was headed in the same direction as King's prior to his passing. The theology heard in his oratory and witnessed in

his acts were reminiscent of many, present, and future, influential black leaders (both African American and African Canadian). Like Richard Allen, he laid the foundation for the Civil Rights Movement in Canada (that saw its demarcation point with Viola Desmond); also, like Allen, A. Philip Randolph, and Booker T. Washington, his petitioning of high ranking government officials, black uplift through education, and job creation assisted in nurturing the African Canadian psyche, race consciousness, and pride. And like Allen, Richard Preston, and Martin Luther King Jr. he promoted race solidarity, preached the brother/sisterhood of humanity, and upheld a Christian approach to racial conflict; moreover, like King, (as the black ambassador to the white community) White was asked to speak on race relations. Lastly, like Malcolm X and Marcus Garvey, he promoted race consciousness and pride while arguing that the originators and sustainers of the racial divide were those of the white power structure.

White advocated for the rights of African Canadians to fight in the Great War when initially the Canadian government declined their offer; he led the recruitment efforts on behalf of his brethren by petitioning the government at the highest levels for the fair and equitable treatment of all men during wartime. This care and advocacy continued in civilian life as evidenced by the case of Daniel P. Sampson. Working in the interest of the black Baptist church community, from the founding of Zion Baptist Church in New Glasgow to his position as pastor of the mother church at Cornwallis Street in Halifax, White adeptly marshaled the black Baptist community's efforts towards his praxis for full citizenship. Through the use of his pulpit, and the power of radio waves, he broadcasted his theology and praxis not only to the black community of Nova Scotia (as its envoy to the white community) but also to the northern United States. One of the pillars of his praxis, education, saw its many expressions in the works program he organized, the vocational schools (within the black churches), and his assistance with the Halifax School for Coloured Children—White's insistence on education echoed through his descendents.

Denouement

William Andrew White Jr. took to heart the words his professor at Wayland when he stated, "only by a life of constant labour and bravery and self-denial for others can you meet your obligations to society and live a life worthy of the Christian faith." White built his life on the gifts bestowed by education, never resisting the pursuit of the righteous fight and living a selfless life devoted to the betterment of humanity. White's life helped inaugurate a moral critique of racism and discrimination in Canada; using the deployment of democratic ideals and nationalistic ideologies, White sought to refute the notion that blacks were not full citizens of the Dominion. Reverend William Andrew White Jr. and his people, as a matter of course, were vitally involved in the social and political concerns that impacted them as black people in Canada. Many church people have lost sight of the dynamic tension that should exist between religious faith and social action[15]—as a religious leader committed to social change, White clearly related Christian faith to constructive social policy.

There are profound figures lost to history, often they lay in plain sight—the Rev. William Andrew White Jr. is one such figure. Often referred to in books and articles as the lone black officer of the only all-black Canadian battalion in WWI, pastor of Cornwallis Street Baptist Church, or the father of the famous singer Portia White, White's contribution to ecclesiology and the social landscape often stops there; his contributions, both during his time and today, have fallen out of the collective consciousness of the average Canadian. When we hear talk of the Civil Rights Movement, Martin Luther King Jr. and Rosa Park's names automatically jump to mind (and they should), but rarely do we think that there was also a Movement in Canada, and even more infrequent are the names of Viola Desmond and William Andrew White Jr. mentioned. White's use of nonviolent protest, pursuit of reconciliation, black unity and uplift,

[15] DeVeaux, "Christian Faith," 93–94.

and brother/sisterhood of humanity shows him as the progenitor of the Canadian Civil Rights Movement.

In August of 1936, White and his wife traveled to visit his family in Virginia; White visited his home church of Zion Baptist and preached at a neighboring church. White remained an advocate for black uplift, racial harmony, and social justice until his death on 9 September 1936.[16] He lived and fought for civil rights for eighteen years after his service in the Great War; his service to his people as Chaplin, pastor, and social activist transformed him into an iconic figure in the African Canadian community both in Nova Scotia and nationally. White's national presence in the black and white communities of Ontario and Nova Scotia began during the Great War and continued to grow with his radio broadcasts and his part in the Sampson affair.

His funeral was broadcast over Radio Station CHNS in Halifax; the school children of Halifax were given leave from school the day of the funeral—one of the largest funerals ever held in the city. It was a fitting tribute to a man who was instrumental in laying the foundation for what was to become the Canadian Civil Rights Movement;[17] while his national presence among the white community was not that of Martin Luther King Jr.'s, he did have a prominent presence among the black community in the Maritimes and, had he lived longer, may have become a significant national figure in Canada. Furthermore, the role he played setting the foundation for the Canadian Civil Rights Movement was similar to that of the leaders of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States. Ultimately, William Andrew White Jr.'s legacy faded to anonymity where the history of blacks in Canada often languishes.

In 1941, Cornwallis Street Baptist Church unveiled memorial stained-glass windows in Dr. White's honor. The plaque affixed to the base of the windows bears the following

[16] Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1.
[17] Heath, "White," 16; Hubbard, "From Obscurity to Prominence," B1; Boileau, "White," para 12.

inscription: “These windows were placed by the Colored People of the Province of Nova Scotia in memory of Rev. Captain W. A. White, D.D. who served as Pastor of this Church from April 1, 1919 until his death September 9, 1936 and unveiled April 13, 1941.” In 1986, the White family restored the stained-glass windows and they were rededicated during a White family reunion in Halifax on 13 July 1986.[18] This restoration carries with it a symbolic aspect; that is, it should not only apply to the stained glass commemorating White’s life of service to his fellow human but to the restoration of Rev. William Andrew White Jr. to his rightful place in Canadian history.

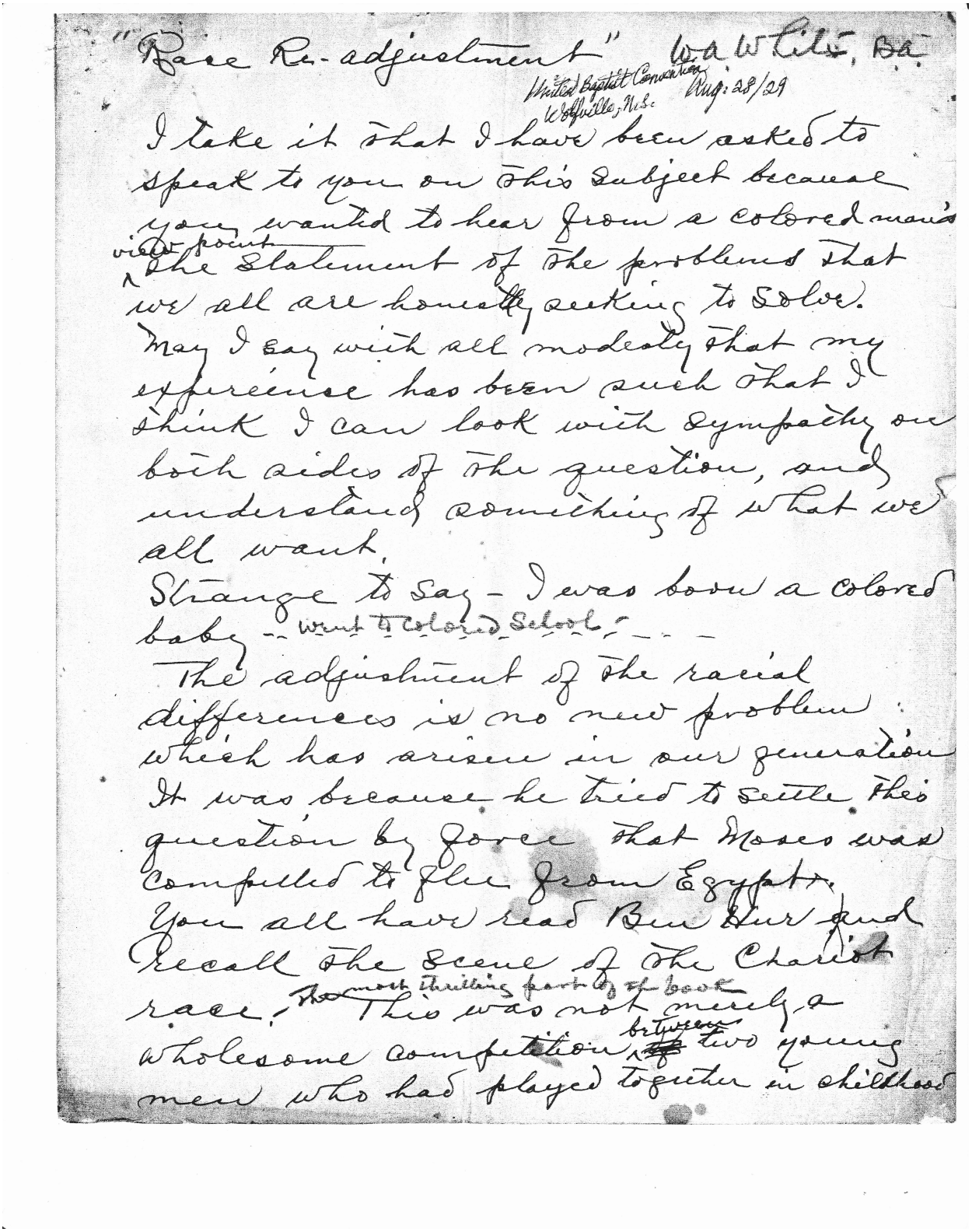
[18] Hubbard, “From Obscurity to Prominence,” B1; White, “A White Family History (Canadian Branch)”.

APPENDIX 1: CHRONOLOGY

1632	Acadians
1710–1713	Treaty of Utrecht
1755	Acadians Expelled
1759–1774	New England Planters enter Nova Scotia
1763	Treaty of Paris
1775–1783	American Revolutionary War
1783–1793	Loyalists, Black Loyalist (Rev. David George)
1784	New Brunswick becomes separate colony
1793	A large number of Black Loyalists leave for Sierra Leone
1796–1800	Jamaican Maroons in Nova Scotia
18__	Maroons leave for Sierra Leone and Trinidad
1812–1815	Black Refugees (Richard Preston comes to Nova Scotia in search of his mother)
1820	Slavery's End in Nova Scotia, Cape Briton becomes part of Nova Scotia
1833–1834	End of Slavery in British Empire
1854	Richard Preston establishes African Baptist Church (later Cornwallis Street Baptist Church, today New Horizons Baptist Church)
1874	William Andrew White Jr. born
1890	Travels to Baltimore, Maryland; attends Wayland Seminary
1897	White graduates Wayland Seminary
1899	White attends Acadia University
1903	White graduates Acadia University
1903–1905	Missionary for the African Baptist Churches of Nova Scotia, founds New Glasgow Second Baptist Church, Pastor of Zion Baptist, Truro, Nova Scotia

1917–1919	WWI, No. 2 Construction Battalion, Captain Rev. William Andrew White Jr. (Chaplain)
1919–1935	Pastor of Cornwallis Street Baptist Church, Radio Show on CHNS
1936	William Andrew White Jr. passes away

APPENDIX 2: WHITE'S SERMON TO THE MARITIME BAPTIST CONVENTION:
Source: Sheila White (granddaughter of William Andrew White Jr.)



"Race Re-adjustment" W.A. White, D.D.
United Baptist Convention Aug: 28/29
Wolfville, N.S.

I take it that I have been asked to speak to you on this subject because you wanted to hear from a colored man's viewpoint the statement of the problems that we all are honestly seeking to solve.
May I say with all modesty that my experience has been such that I think I can look with sympathy on both sides of the question, and understand something of what we all want.
Strange to say - I was born a colored baby -- went to colored School --
The adjustment of the racial differences is no new problem: which has arisen in our generation It was because he tried to settle this question by force that Moses was compelled to flee from Egypt.
You all have read Ben Hur and recall the scene of the Chariot race. The most thrilling part of the book This was not merely a wholesome competition between two young men who had played together in childhood

2/

and had now come to test their skill as charioteer. But in Ben Hur and Messala we find put up all of the old hatred and prejudices of the Jewish and Roman worlds. The problem today which overshadows all other world problems is the problem of race. How can the races of mankind live together in peace each receiving justice at the hand of the other, and Each retaining its own Selfrespect. Some one has said that the next great war will be the war between the Whites and the darker races.

In order to understand the race problem it is necessary to take into consideration the historical causes to which it owes its present form. Its real nature and true extent become apparent only when the antagonisms which confront us today are seen to be the outcome of forces that have been slowly gathering momentum through the centuries, and creating a situation in

3/

"which is now a stumbling block to the good fellowship of the races of the world.

We will not stop to consider statements made by men like the late Senator Tilman of the United States Senate who said that "A Negro has no rights which a White man is bound to respect". Our studies carry us into the still larger field where the whole question of racialism comes under our survey The problem as we have it did not come about in a day, but is the result of many years of growth. There was a time when, as far as the world knew, the preaching of John Jasper was true. The world was a saucer shaped plane around which the Sun revolved. The White man then was content to make his home in Europe and the parts of Asia and Africa bordering on the Mediterranean Sea. But the years of growth and development, and the Spirit of adventure forced him to

4/ sail farther and farther from his native shores until Diaz sailed around the Cape of Good Hope, and Columbus, sailed across the Atlantic Ocean, discovered America.

These Sturdy pioneers took for themselves and the countries they represented everything in sight until today they have controll of nine tenth of the habitable area of the world.

This naturally gave him the feeling of superiority, and made him think, as Jack London suggests in his South Sea Tales, That his business is to farm the world.

Not only did he appropriate to himself the land surface of the world, but he undertook to subjugate the other peoples of the world. Dutch trading vessels went to the coasts of Africa and took the native African and brought him to America to grow his cotton and work his plantations for him

The population of India, Africa, China and Australia was too great to remove so the White man sent out Colonies to establish his governments and controll

5/ the destinies of the
the millions in these countries
The mere statement of these facts
leads us at once to see that a
problem was being created that would
sooner or later demand readjustment
Among the causes that can be named
which are at the basis of racial
misunderstanding are the following:

→ I do not believe that we hate a man simply because he happens to be black or brown or yellow – there are causes real or imaginary which produce this state of affairs

1. Economic Causes.

European capital has been invested in
almost all of the tropical countries
of the world, and native labor is
employed to do the work while the
profits go to those who have made
the investments. This put and
artificial relationship between the
races which is fraught with
prejudice and suspicion.
Take India, for instance, When
Great Britain first took control there
she professed to believe that it was
as much for the good of India as
for herself. Perhaps it was. But
we know now that she went there
in the interest of her commerce.

6/

At first she did not give to India the needed order that was necessary to the highest development of her people, hence unrest and disorder arose. The native thought that they took should share in the profits from the investments made in their country.

On the other hand, the present difference in the standards of living between the West and the East makes Western countries unwilling to admit oriental labor lest the standard of living should be lowered. This is the great factor at the basis of the problem in California and British Columbia at the present time. When bread and butter are at stake men's passions and prejudices are easily aroused.

2. Political Causes.

In a great many of the countries where European capital is invested, the reigns of government are also in the hands Europeans. Very often

7/ Those in charge show the spirit of arrogance, and are not sympathetic towards the just Gandhi claims of the natives. Hence men like Gandhi have arisen and attempted to establish home rule for the natives.

3. Difference of Civilization

The civilization and customs of the peoples of one country may be so different from those of another that one dreads intimate contact with the other. Each naturally feels that his way is the better and is loathe to change ever though he may form the minority in any community. For instance I thought it strange in France when I found people and cattle living under the same roof and all inhaling the sweet aroma from the cow shed.

4. The air of Superiority

The chief cause of misunderstanding may be found in the haughty air of superiority. This grows out of the fact that we are prone to see

8/ the worse in the other race rather than the best. Jack Ferris

If a white man beats us in a bargain we shake our heads ~~stoic~~ ~~diddly~~ and say "That's a White man for you, he is always up to some sharp practice". If a colored man commits some crime we immediately brand the whole race as criminal. We forget that there are good and bad in all races.

5. The problem that exists in North America is due largely to the curse of Slavery. White men for generations were trained to think of colored men as so much property to be bought and sold in the markets of the land. And colored men were trained to look up to Master as the superior creation of the Almighty. Emancipation turned the colored man loose without the proper training to look out for himself. And he became the prey of all who chose to take advantage of him. But when schools were established

9/

and the Colored man was taught to think for himself, and to see that there were rights which belonged to him as a human being friction arose between him and the white man of the South which often resulted in riots and bloodshed.

Now the question before us is how may the races be readjusted. Perhaps today there is greater demand for this than at any other period in the world's history.

We are not so far removed from what we called the "Great War." What do we mean when we speak of the Armistice? On the surface we mean that there arrived a time when hostilities ceased and the parties on both side sat down around a table to discuss ways and means of settling the differences between them. But deeper it means that in a large measure our Western Civilization fails. The millions of India, the Colored men of Africa and America have stood by —

10/

may, they joined with the White man in the distruction of the great civilization of which he boasted.

I have seen on the Streets of London Colored men from America, the West Indies, the Indian, the Chinese, the Japanese and men from all quarters of the globe dressed in the uniform of the allies doing their bit in the cause of what they called the cause of freedom and democracy. For a time all barriers of race and color were broken down. They were comrades in arms.

On the return to their homes they expected to find the same conditions existing. Instead they found other barriers they had never known before.

Gandhi in India advocates non-cooperation

Marcus Garvey cries out for a Black God

W. E. Du Bois tries to awaken a new

11/

race consciousness in the Black peoples.
Japan is asking for a place in the Sun and preparing to force her demands with the sword.
These are problems that cannot be set aside lightly or left to others, but must be met by men who will stop to deliberate in the way that you are doing this morning.
We are no longer separated like we once were. Our cables and telegraph systems and radios have made the world a whispering gallery. Our flying machines have covered the great seas, your coffee comes from Java, your rubbers come from Africa, your wedding ring comes from Australia and you are grateful to India or China for your tea.
Our commerce demands that there shall be the mutual understanding.
How then can this be done.

1. Not in the proud assertion of the superiority of one race over another.

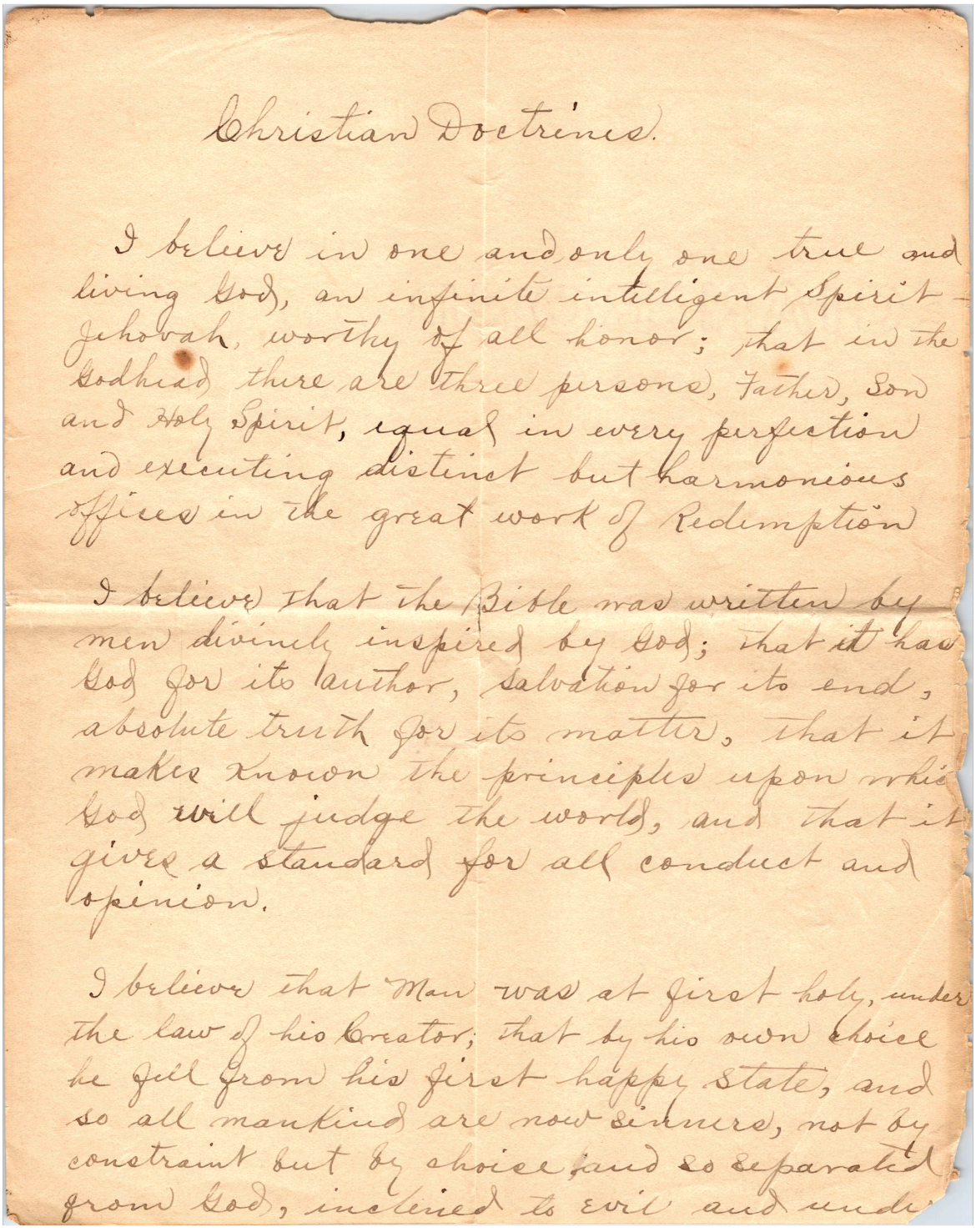
12/

For after all we have no adequate test by which we may determine where the superiority lies.
(1) Physical (2) Mental (3) Moral.

India, China, Africa all look back on a civilization far more ancient if not more honorable than the Western civilization which we enjoy.

2. It is not to be found in inter-marriage
It has been my privilege to perform some strange marriage ceremonies in my day. I have married Chinese and White, Japanese and White, Colored and White, and I must confess that in each case there was something in it that was nauseating to me. Both races as a rule lose something by such unions.
Frederick Douglass married his White Stenographer and he was never again held in the same esteem by either race.
Booker T. Washington said that it is possible to be as distinct as the fingers

APPENDIX 3: SERMON: CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE: Source: Black Cultural Centre of Nova Scotia



Christian Doctrines.

I believe in one and only one true and living God, an infinite intelligent Spirit - Jehovah, worthy of all honor; that in the Godhead there are three persons, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, equal in every perfection and executing distinct but harmonious offices in the great work of Redemption

I believe that the Bible was written by men divinely inspired by God; that it has God for its author, salvation for its end, absolute truth for its matter, that it makes known the principles upon which God will judge the world, and that it gives a standard for all conduct and opinion.

I believe that Man was at first holy, under the law of his Creator; that by his own choice he fell from his first happy state, and so all mankind are now sinners, not by constraint but by choice and so separated from God, inclined to evil and unde

eternal condemnation without excuse.

I believe that the way of salvation for sinners is wholly by grace through what Christ has done, who, by God's direction, took man's nature, without sin obeyed the law and atoned for sin by his death as a substitute for the sinner; and that having risen from the dead he is now enthroned in heaven and so can be an all sufficient Savior.

I believe that there is a doctrine of Election taught by such passages as Rom. 8:28,29: "And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according his purpose. For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the firstborn among many brethren." I believe that this election is the choice which God makes of men to be his children; that it is

personal, and not on account of any foreseen faith on the part of man.
But I believe also that election is in perfect harmony with the doctrine of man's free agency and that it does not do away with the use of means; but it rather encourages the exercise of faith and hope in the Lord Jesus. 2 Pet. 1: 10. Wherefore the rather, brethren, give diligence to make your calling and election sure, for if ye do these things ye shall never fall.

I believe that Justification is that judicial act of God, by which he declares sinners to be no longer under the ~~curse~~ penalty of the law, but restored to his favor, because of the faith which the sinners have exercised in the saving power of Christ. It is the act by which God imputes to us the righteousness of his Son — not because of any works which we may have done - but because of faith

4.

I believe that Sanctification is that continuous operation of the Holy Spirit by which, according to the will of God, the holy disposition imparted by regeneration is maintained and strengthened; that it is a continual growth and will be completed at death; that the means to be employed are: The Word of God, Prayer, self-examination, ~~self-denial~~, and our own activity in christian work.

I believe that Regeneration is an instantaneous change in the soul which is called the new birth; that in order to be saved it is necessary to be regenerated; that this change is wrought by the Holy Spirit and is above the comprehension of man; that the highest evidence of regeneration may be found in the holy fruits of Repentance and Faith and newness of life.

5.

I believe that Repentance and Faith are complementary graces ~~planted~~ in the soul by the Holy Spirit; that repentance is found in the purpose to turn from sin after recognizing personal guilt in God's sight without excuse, and of man's own choice. Faith awakens the hatred for sin and the determination to turn away from sin, and accept the promises of Salvation. The evidence of repentance and faith are found in the new life in Christ.

I believe that the Church of Christ is the whole company of regenerated persons in all lands and ages; that the visible church is the a congregation of baptized believers associated by covenant in the faith and fellowship of the gospel; governed by his laws; that the Officers of the church are bishops or pastors and deacons, and that the qualifications and duties of these are defined in the pastoral epistles.

APPENDIX 4:

COLORED HOCKEY LEAGUE DECLARATION OF FAITH

1. We believe that there is but one living and true God, who is a spirit, infinite, eternal, and unchangeable in his being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness and truth.

2. That there are three persons in the Godhead – the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost – who are but one God, the same in substance, equal in power and glory.

3. That the Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testaments are the Word of God, in which He hath given us our only rule of faith and practice.

4. That God who is infinite in knowledge, and perfectly view all things from the beginning to the end, has foreordained that whatsoever comes to pass, either by His order or permission, shall work for the eternal glory of His great name.

5. That in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth, the sea, and all that in them are; and He upholds and governs all things by the word of His power.

6. That God made man in his own image, in knowledge, righteousness and true holiness; and made with him a covenant of life, the condition of which was perfect obedience.

7. That man vein left to himself soon fell from that happy and glorious estate in which he was made, by eating the forbidden fruit, by which he brought himself and all his posterity into a state of death.

8. That man being thus dead, his help and recovery are wholly in and from God.

9. That God the Father has chosen a great multitude of the human family, whom no man can number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, and given them to His Son in covenant of His grace, that He might redeem them from all iniquity, and purify unto foundation of salvation for lost and helpless sinners; and thereby the Ministers of the Lord are encouraged to preach the Gospel to every rational creature, because the purposes of God, and the infinite value of Christ's atonement, secure the increase and establishment of Christ's kingdom, so that the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ; and He shall reign for ever and ever.

10. That Jesus, the eternal Son of God, hath come, and taken on Him our nature, and in that nature hath yielded a perfect obedience to the law which we have transgressed, and suffered death form our sins, and hath brought in a complete and everlasting righteousness, and hath risen and ascended to the right hand of God and ever liveth to make intercession for us.

11. That the Holy ghost, and He only, can and doth make particular application of the benefits of the atonement made by Christ to every elect soul.

12. That the Spirit of God applies the benefit of this atonement, by convincing us of our sinful, lost, and miserable condition; and then discovering the glorious Saviour, as He is exhibited in the gospel, in his suitableness and sufficiency, and enabling us to embrace Him with our whole sols, by which He is made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption.

13. That the life of religion consists in knowledge of God, and conformity to His commands, and brings us to live in obedience to His holy will in all our ways, and in our several places and relations.

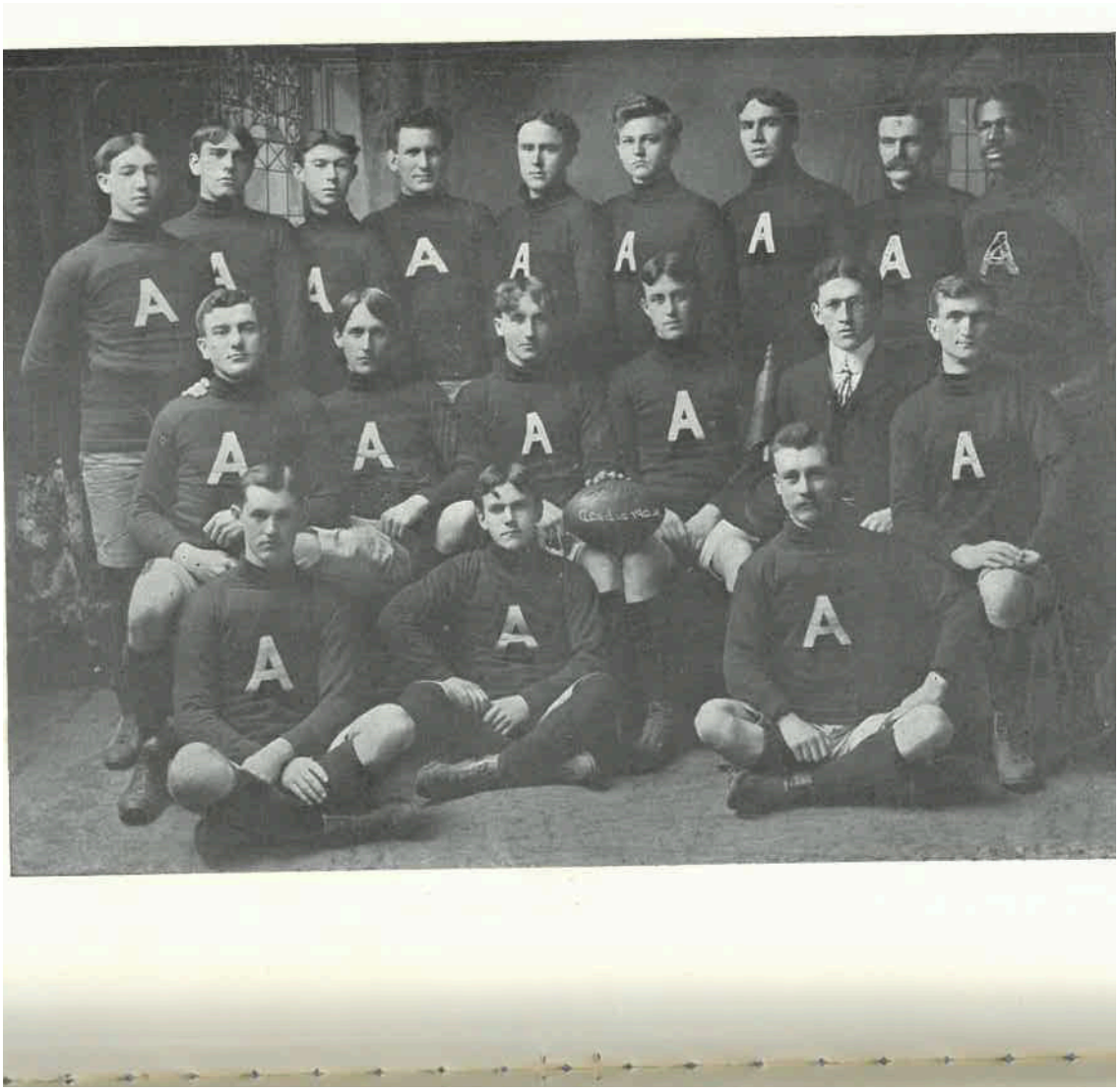
14. That true believers being united to Jesus Christ, shall never perish, but live and reign with Him forever. They have communion with God, and by His Spirit they are united with each other, and have, other's gifts and graces.

15. That the first day of the week commonly called the Lord's day, is the Christian Sabbath.

16. That God hath appointed he ordinance of civil government for defending the poor as well as the rich, in their civil rights, without infringing upon the consciences of any, or attempting to dictate or govern in worship of the eternal God, which belongs only to Jesus Christ, the great lawgiver and head of His church.

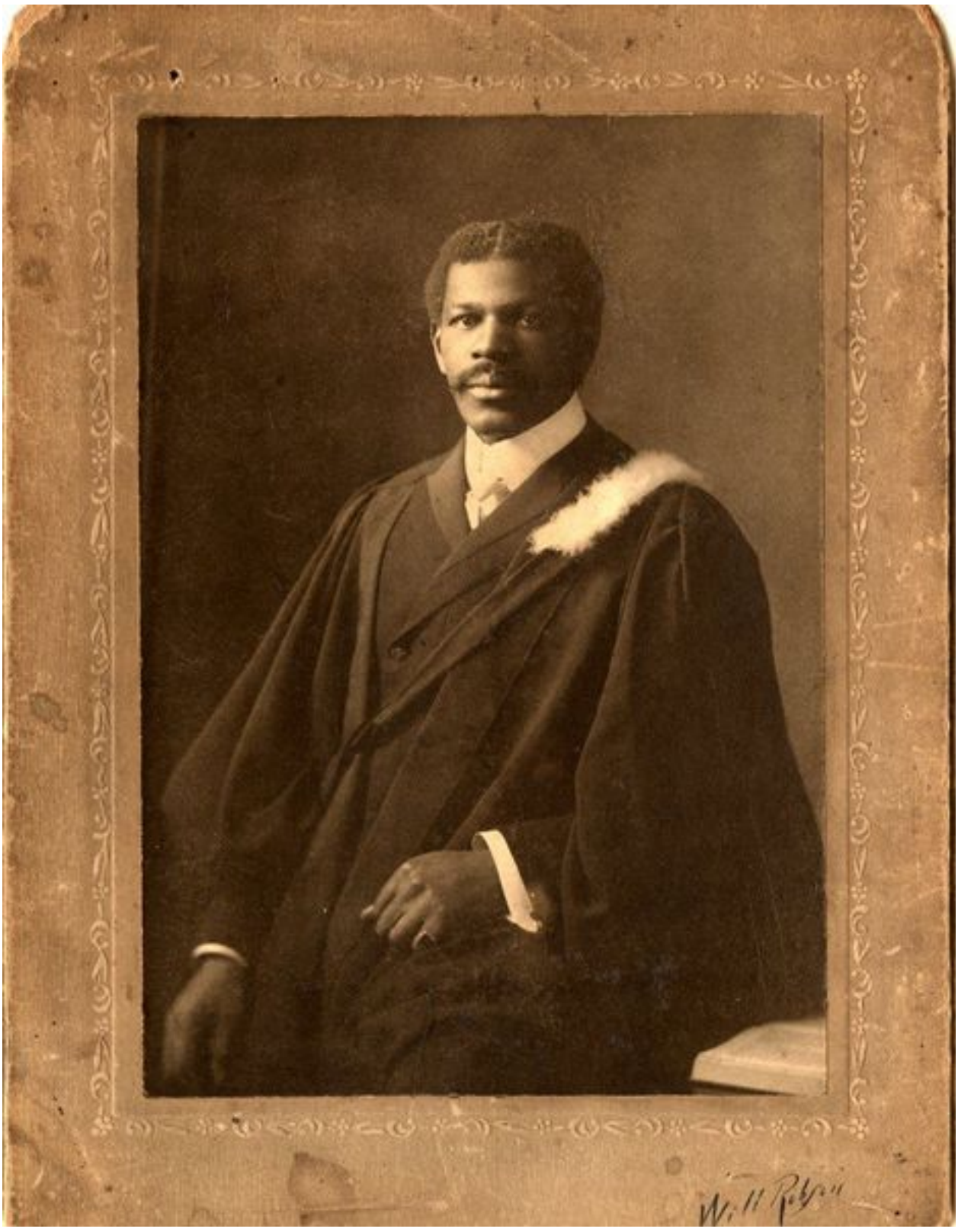
17. That there will be a general resurrection, both of the just and the unjust; and that God hath appointed a day in which He will judge the world in righteousness, by Jesus Christ, and will reward every man according to his works; when the wicked will be sent away into everlasting punishment, and the righteous received into life eternal.

APPENDIX 5: WILLIAM ANDREW WHITE JR.: ACADIA UNIVERSITY FOOTBALL TEAM

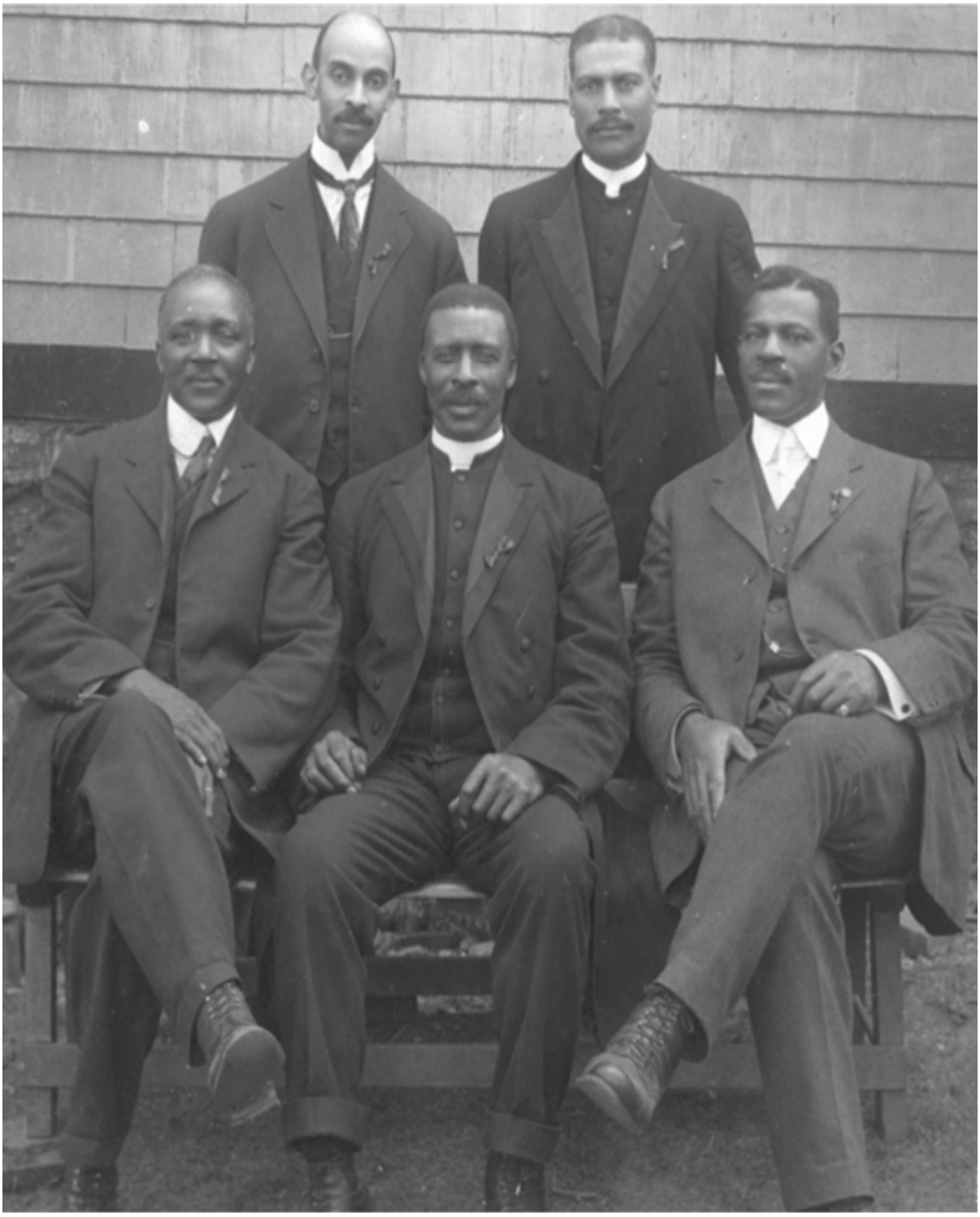


APPENDIX 6: WILLIAM ANDREW WHITE JR.: ACADIA UNIVERSITY TRACK & FIELD

APPENDIX 7: GRADUATION PORTRAIT



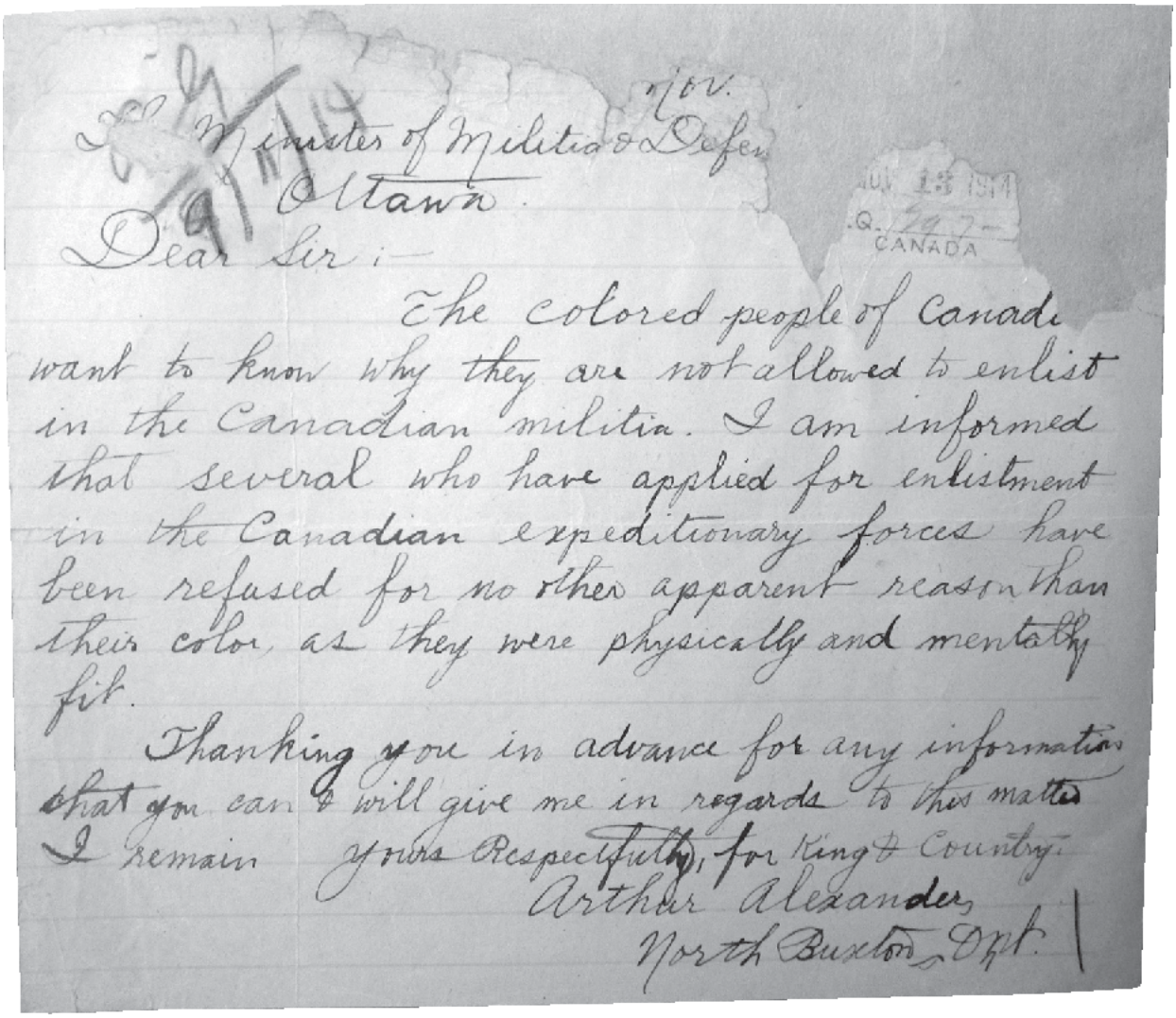
APPENDIX 8: EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF AUBA 1920



THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AFRICAN UNITED BAPTIST ASSOCIATION, 1920

BACK ROW (L-R): J. A. R. KINNEY, REV. WELLINGON STATES
FRONT ROW (L-R): DEACON JOHNSON, REV. A. A. WYSE, REV. W. A. WHITE

APPENDIX 9: LETTER TO MINISTER OF DEFENCE



Nov.

Minister of Militia & Defence
Ottawa.

AUG 13 1914
Q. 29 7-
CANADA

Dear Sir:-

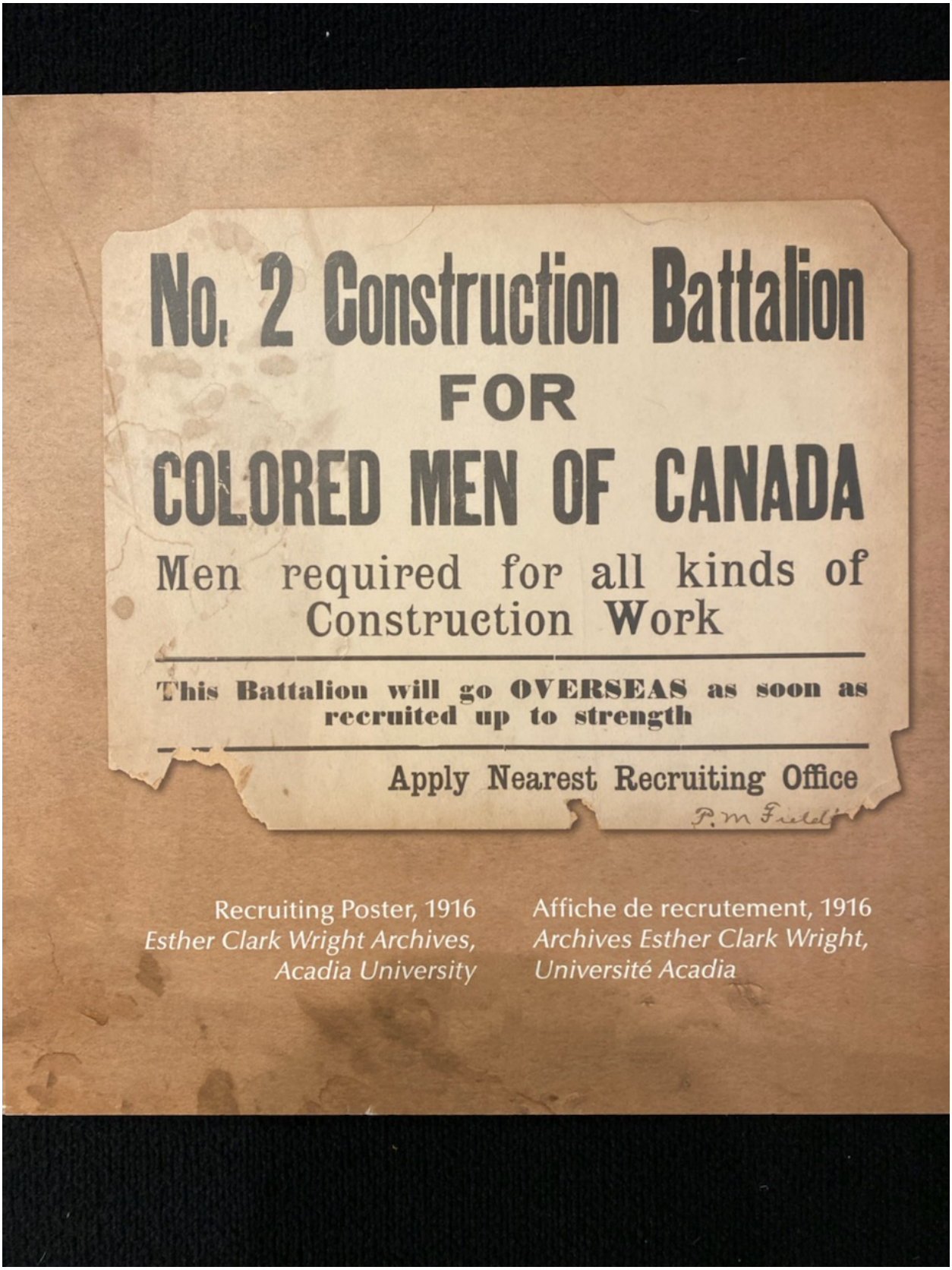
The colored people of Canada want to know why they are not allowed to enlist in the Canadian militia. I am informed that several who have applied for enlistment in the Canadian expeditionary forces have been refused for no other apparent reason than their color, as they were physically and mentally fit.

Thanking you in advance for any information that you can & will give me in regards to this matter I remain

Yours Respectfully, for King & Country.
Arthur Alexander,
North Buxton, Ont.

Figure 2: Letter from Arthur Alexander to Sam Hughes, November 6, 1914

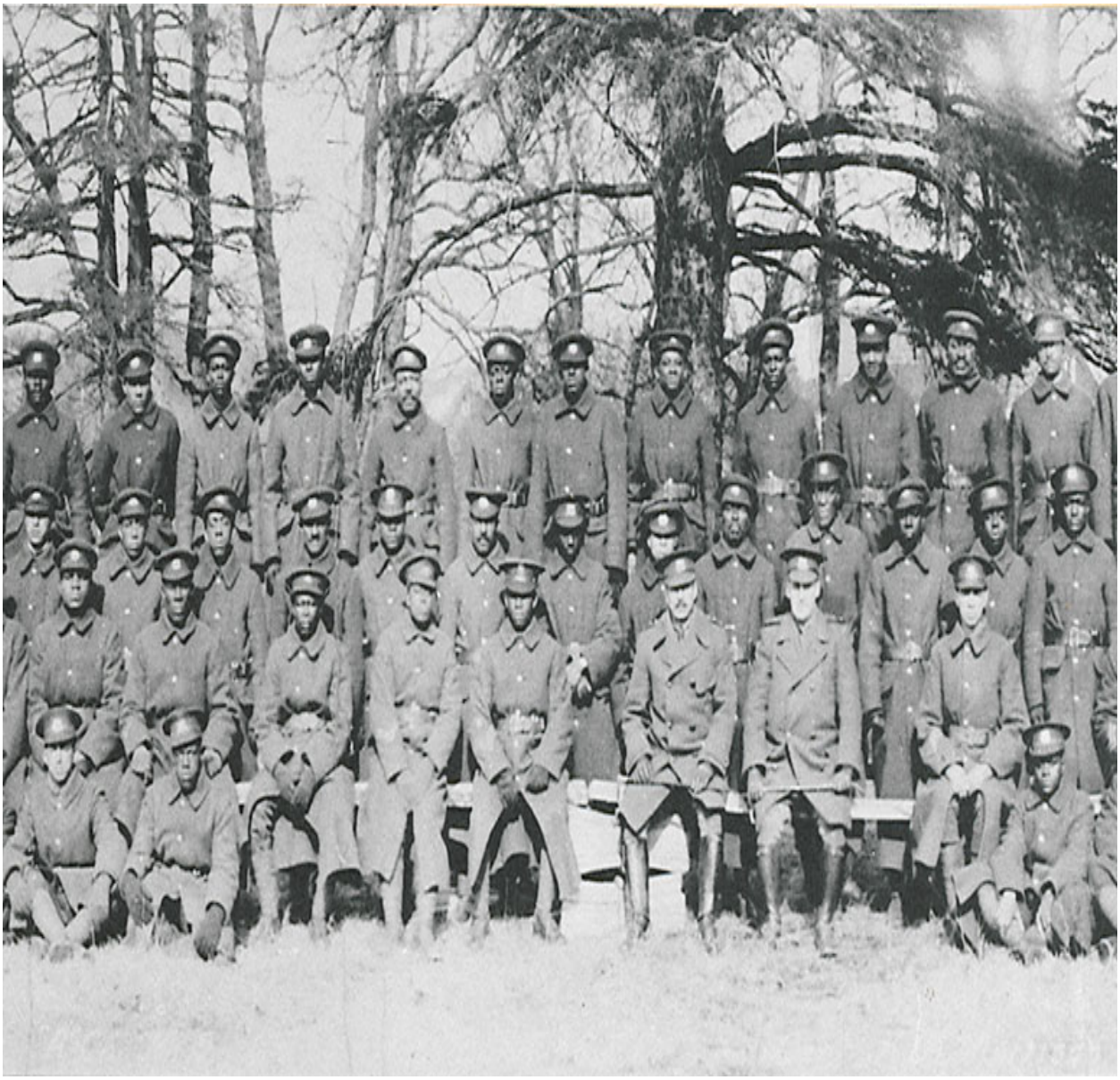
APPENDIX 10: RECRUITMENT POSTER



Recruiting Poster, 1916
Esther Clark Wright Archives, Acadia University

Affiche de recrutement, 1916
Archives Esther Clark Wright, Université Acadia

APPENDIX 11: NO. 2 CONSTRUCTION BATTALION



APPENDIX 12: OFFICERS PORTRAIT

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