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Afro-Canadian Activism in the 1960s

Peter Stamadianos

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

History

Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

March 1994

ISBN 0-315-90805-X

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ABSTRACT

AFRO-CANADIAN ACTIVISM IN THE 1960S

Peter Stamadianos

Afro-Canadian activism became increasingly militant in the 1960s. The rise in militancy in the Afro-American leadership of the 1960s was one factor contributing to the new era of black politics in Canada. Increased immigration from the West Indies also encouraged the proliferation of Afro-Canadian organizations dedicated to challenging racial discrimination.

Afro-Canadian activism, however, developed in a substantially different manner than black politics in the United States. On the whole, most Afro-Canadian organizations and leaders were considerably less militant in their tactics and strategies than their counterparts in the United States. Internecine divisions over ancestral origin were also more pronounced in Canada where the black population was ethnically heterogeneous when compared to the Afro-American community.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First, I would like to thank everyone who found the time to grant me an interview. Their patience, cooperation and helpful hints have guided me through to the completion of this project. Helpful too were the informal conversations with various church elders at the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, where the spirit of Martin Luther King Jr. still has a powerful effect.

I would also like to thank Dr. Stephen Scheinberg, Dr. Frank Chalk, Dr. Mary Vipond and Dr. Richard Diubaldo who have encouraged my interest in black history. Special thanks are in order for Dr. Graham Carr, my supervisor, whose stern but patient guidance taught me a considerable amount about scholarship.

Finally, I want to thank my immediate family all of whom have encouraged me enormously in my academic endeavours. Mostly, I want to thank my father who has never uttered a single derogatory racial comment for as long as I have known him, and who has served as a great role model.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

AAPA--Afro-American Progressive Association

BLFC--Black Liberation Front of Canada

BWC--Black Writer's Conference

BPP--Black Panther Party

BSCP--Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

BUF--Black United Front

CCC--Canadian Conference Committee

CCL--Canadian Congress of Labour

HSA--Home Service Association

JCA--Jamaican-Canadian Association

KKK--Ku Klux Klan

MLKC--Martin Luther King Committee

MLKF--Martin Luther King Fund

NBCC--National Black Coalition of Canada

NCA--Negro Citizenship Association

NCC--Negro Community Centre

NSAACP--Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Colored People

OHRC--Ontario Human Rights Commission

SCLC--Southern Christian Leadership Conference

SNCC--Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

TLC--Trades and Labour Congress

TTC--Toronto Transit Commission

UNIA--United Negro Improvement Association

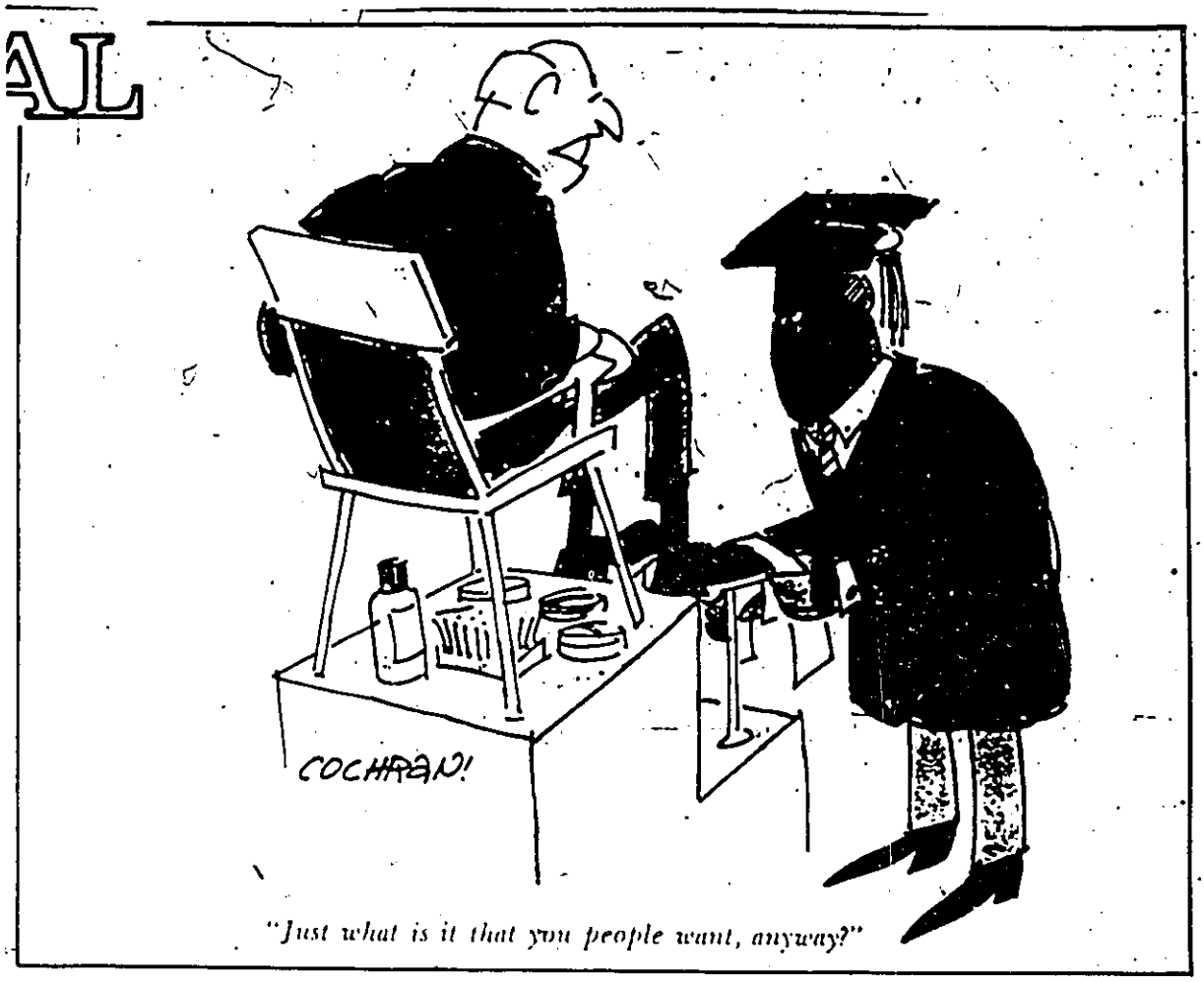

Figure 1. Contrast, 7 March 1969, vol. 1 no. 2, p. 2.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

During the 1960s, Canada experienced two fundamental changes that profoundly affected Afro-Canadians. First, the period brought a gradual reversal in Canada's restrictive immigration policy toward visible minorities, which culminated in 1967 with the introduction of the points system in immigration policy.[1] Prior to the 1960s, the few black immigrants who had entered Canada in the twentieth century came predominantly from the United States and were unskilled workers.[2] The arrival of a substantial number of black immigrants from the Caribbean, in particular from Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados greatly increased the size and altered the ethnic composition of the Afro-

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[1] Inaugurated on 1 October 1967, the points system consisted of an assessment scheme which permitted immigration officers to apply the same standards in selecting immigrants from all areas of the world. Points were awarded to prospective immigrants in the following way: (1) Education and Training; (2) Personal Assessment; (3) Occupational Demand; (4) Occupational Skill; (5) Age; (6) Arranged Employment; (7) Knowledge of French and English; (8) Relative; (9) Employment Opportunities in Area of Destination. A further discussion of this matter is provided in Freda Hawkins, Canada and Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972), pp. 374-376.

[2] See Daniel G. Hill, "Negroes In Toronto: A Sociological Study of a Minority Group" (Ph.D. dissertation: University of Toronto, 1960), p. 43; James W. St.G. Walker, The West Indians in Canada (Canadian Historical Association with the support of the Multiculturalism Program, Government of Canada, 1984), pp. 8-9.

Canadian population.[3] The influx of highly skilled and educated Afro-Caribbeans in the late 1960s also changed the economic profile of the Afro-Canadian community by introducing a wide range of professional occupations that had previously been absent in the black community. Secondly, the 1960s saw the heightened influence of Afro-American activism filter across the forty ninth parallel. The rise to international prominence of Martin Luther King and the civil rights movement in the early part of the decade, and of Stokely Carmichael and the Black Panther Party (BPP) later on, had a significant impact on the Afro-Canadian leadership.

Contrary to the conventional view expressed by historians such as Robin Winks and Keith Henry, these developments spawned a new and more militant era of Afro-Canadian activism in the 1960s.[4] During the immediate postwar era, few Afro-Canadian organizations were directly

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[3] In the period 1967-1969, 29,059 Afro Caribbeans immigrated to Canada compared to 2,792 Africans, a ratio of approximately 11 to 1. Canada Department of Manpower and Immigration, Immigration Division, Canada Immigration Statistics: 1969, table 13 p. 21; On the island origins of the West Indian immigrants, see Franklin Farmer, "Black Toronto: The Community and the Black Press, 1950-1970," Term paper presented at the University of Toronto, Spring semester 1973, p. 26.

[4] For a further discussion of this matter see: Robin Winks, The Blacks in Canada: A History (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1971), pp. 479-483; and, "The Canadian Negro: A Historical Assessment. Part II: The Problem of Identity," Journal of Negro History 54 (1969), pp. 1-2; and Keith S. Henry, Black Politics in Toronto Since World War I (Toronto: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1981), pp. 30-33.

involved in the struggle to check discrimination in Canada. Except for the Negro Citizenship Association (NCA), which was founded in 1952, and battled against discrimination by cooperating with predominantly white organizations such as labour unions, the most active groups, the Home Service Association (HSA) and the Negro Community Centre (NCC), which were founded in 1916 and 1927 respectively, concentrated their efforts on improving community and social services. Meanwhile, the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), which had reached its peak of influence in the 1920s, dwindled to the point of extinction during the 1950s and eventually ceased to perform the functions traditionally associated with it. The Canadian Negro (1953), the only Afro-Canadian newspaper published in this period, never had more than a limited circulation, focused mainly on news affecting the Toronto black community, and ceased publication after only three years in operation.

For their part, the West Indian immigrants who came to Canada in the 1960s introduced pan-Africanist ideology into Canada and were instrumental in establishing the National Black Coalition of Canada (NBCC) in 1969. By stressing the principle of racial identity the NBCC broke away from the black community's traditional dependence on sympathetic white organizations in the struggle against racial discrimination.[5] Afro-Caribbeans were also instrumental in

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[5] Winks claims that the Afro-Canadian never "embraced his Negritude" (p. 14), in a common organization that "emphasize[d] rather than softened his racial identity," (p.

establishing Contrast (1969), which was created as part of the pan-African movement in the late 1960s and represented the first successful national periodical of the Afro-Canadian population.[6] And, on another level, it was West Indian students in Canada who were primarily responsible for the black community's first politically motivated act of violence in the twentieth century--the Sir George Williams Affair on 11 February 1969--an event that polarized Afro-Canadian leadership and sparked debate on the issue of militancy.[7]

During this period, the tactics and strategies of many Afro-American activists increasingly served as models for new Afro-Canadian organizations that sprang up in the 1960s. For example, the Martin Luther King Committee (MLKC) and the Ontario Human Rights Commission (OHRC), both of which were established in Toronto in the early 1960s, adopted the tactics of interracial cooperation and non-violent direct action associated with the civil rights movement. By contrast, the Black Liberation Front of Canada (BLFC) and the Afro-American Progressive Association (AAPA), which were

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12) and "turned to interested whites who would speak for him." (p. 6) See Winks, "The Problem Of Identity."

[6] Both Winks and Keith Henry claim that Afro-Canadians have not published a successful, national publication in the twentieth century. See Henry, Black Politics in Toronto, p. 33; and Winks, "The Problem Of Identity," p. 4.

[7] This contradicts Winks's statement that Afro-Canadian activists were "not divided, as in the United States, over alternative responses to pressure, with advocates of each response vying for voice, for power, for leadership." Winks, "The Problem of Identity," p. 12.

also founded in Toronto in 1968, adopted several slogans of the BPP and introduced a new radicalism to the Afro-Canadian debate on leadership. Together these organizations overcame the inertia that had characterized Afro-Canadian voluntary organizations in the late 1940s and 1950s.[8]

Yet while external influences helped to align Afro-Canadian activists in the 1960s with broader continental trends in black politics, there were also significant differences in the Canadian experience that distinguished it from the American situation.[9] The Afro-Canadian population was much smaller, in both absolute and relative terms, than its Afro-American counterpart, and was less ghettoized. In contrast to the overt forms of discrimination, such as segregation, that were practised south of the border, blacks in Canada were subject to subtler forms of prejudice. Furthermore, divisions over ancestral origin between Afro-Caribbean and native Afro-Canadian militants were far more important in the Canadian context than in the United States where the black community was more homogeneous. The

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[8] Noting the condition of Afro-Canadian activism in Ontario's capital city, Keith Henry claimed that "the state of organization in black Toronto approached the pathological after World War II." Henry, Black Politics in Toronto, p. 30.

[9] On the similarities between the Canadian and American experience of racism see: Paula McClain, Alienation and Resistance: The Political Behaviour of Afro-Canadians (Palo Alto, California: R & E Research Associates, 1979); Allen P. Stouffer, "A "Restless Child of Change and Accident": The Black Image in Nineteenth Century Ontario," Ontario History 76 (1984), pp. 128-150; and Jason Howard Silverman, Unwelcome Guests: Canada West's Response to American Fugitive Slaves, 1800-1865 (New York: National University Publications Associated Press, 1985).

discrepancy in social conditions may have been one factor that accounts for the geographically limited level of support received by the NBCC, MLKC, AAPA, and BLFC. But the recognition of these differences by leading activists in the 1960s also took Afro-Canadian activism along a different, generally less radical path than its southern counterpart.

In focusing on the tactics and ideas of the leadership elite in the 1960s, this thesis deviates from a recent trend in Afro-American scholarship which has begun to focus on the grass roots struggle for racial equality.[10] For unlike the Afro-American historiography which has always, and continues to include a wealth of leadership studies, the relevant Canadian literature tends to ignore the issue, at least as it pertains to the post-World War II era.[11] The approach taken in this thesis concurs with that of a handful of recent studies on Afro-American activism documenting the black struggle for racial equality from the vantage point of

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[10] The most notable works belonging to this body of scholarship include: William H. Chafe, Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro North Carolina and the Black Struggle for Freedom (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980); Henry Hampton, Steve Fayer and Sarah Flynn, Voices of Freedom An Oral History of the Civil Rights Movement From the 1950s Through the 1980s (New York: Bantam Books, 1990); and Jay MacLeod, Minds Stayed on Freedom: The Civil Rights Struggle in the Rural South, an Oral History (San Francisco: Westview Press, 1991).

[11] Representative of this American scholarship are: Louis Lomax, The Negro Revolt (New York: Harper, 1962); Howard Zinn, SNCC: The New Abolitionists (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964); David Lewis, King: A Critical Biography (New York: Praeger, 1970); and August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement, 1942-1968 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).

the leadership.[12] Arguably, a study that provides a background on the leaders, organizations and tactics of Afro-Canadian activism is a necessary prerequisite to scholarship documenting the grass roots contribution to that activism.

Instead of trying to analyze Afro-Canadian leadership on a national scale, however, this study concentrates on the situations in Montreal and Toronto, which were the geographical and organizational centres of activism in the 1960s. Although there was significant protest activity in Nova Scotia in the 1960s, primarily because of the work of the Black United Front (BUF) and the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NSAACP), the majority of the black population lived in Montreal and Toronto, and it was predominantly to these two cities that Afro-Caribbeans migrated in the 1960s.[13] Furthermore, it was in Toronto and Montreal that the Afro-American influence was most profound. With the exception of the BUF, the NSAACP, and Africa Speaks, an Afro-Canadian newspaper published in Chatham, Ontario, most of the black

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[12] See: Harold Cruse, Plural But Equal: A Critical Study of Blacks and Minorities and America's Plural Society (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1987); and David J. Garrow, Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (London: Jonathan Cape, 1988).

[13] A detailed discussion of the BUF, NSAACP, and the Afro-American influence in Nova Scotian black militancy is provided in Martin O'Malley, "In The Panthers' Wake," Globe Magazine, 16 February 1969, pp. 22-25; A further discussion of this matter is provided in Walker, West Indians in Canada, p. 15.

organizations and publications that were engaged in the battle to check discrimination were located in Montreal or Toronto.

The research for this thesis draws on a combination of traditional and alternative sources. Official Canadian census estimates and immigration statistics provide the bulk of the data on the demographic structure of the black community in Montreal and Toronto. Although some commentators, such as Winks, regard census estimates as problematic because they do not take into account the substantial number of Afro-Canadians who "pass" as white, the figures are more reliable than the "unofficial" community estimates that have often been used to inflate estimates of the Afro-Canadian population.[14] Several primary sources that delve beyond statistical data and reveal the attitudes of Afro-Canadian leadership will also be used. The main Afro-Canadian publications in the postwar era, Black Liberation News, Africa Speaks, The Canadian Negro, West Indian News Observer, Expression, Umoja, Uhuru and Contrast, provide useful indications of Afro-Canadian activism and were important forums for the discussion of tactics and strategies. This material will be supported by data provided by newsletters and reports from several Afro-Canadian organizations and leaders. Together, these sources

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[14] See Winks, Blacks in Canada, pp. 488-489; and Williams, Blacks in Montreal 1628-1986: An Urban Demography (Cowansville, Quebec: Les Editions Yvon Blais, 1989), pp. 64-65.

contain the bulk of documented evidence on Afro-Canadian activism as it was defined by the leadership. Except for occasional coverage, such as the special edition of the Globe and Mail (16 February 1969), the mainstream press in Canada largely ignored the inner dynamics of the black community in Canada and is therefore not very useful to this study.

In addition to these conventional sources, this thesis draws on extensive oral evidence gathered from interviews. The use of oral evidence became a legitimate tool of the historical profession in the 1960s when the focus of history shifted away from traditional elites to examine the "forgotten people" who left few written documents behind.[15] Although this thesis focuses on a leadership group, the relative dearth of documentary evidence pertaining to the black community justifies the use of oral interviews with activists and of the general Afro-Canadian population in the 1960s. These interviews are especially valuable in uncovering the motives and strategies of the Afro-Canadian leadership and in providing details on the activities pursued by militant organizations. They are also indispensable in disclosing the number of Afro-Canadians involved with the new organizations that sprang up in the 1960s.

Despite the shortage of academic studies on Afro-

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[15] See Paul Thompson, The Voice of the Past: Oral History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 19-64.

Canadians there are five distinct phases in the historiography of this topic. The earliest literature on the Afro-Canadian experience was begun in the mid-nineteenth century by Benjamin Drew, the prominent American abolitionist. This category of scholarship which concentrated on the topic of discrimination in nineteenth century Canada, focused on white attitudes and used white sources.[16] In his book, A North Side View of Slavery: Or the Narratives of Fugitive Slaves in Canada, Drew pointed out that prejudice was widespread in British North America, the supposed land of freedom. Samuel Gridley Howe's report to the Freedman's Inquiry Commission confirmed the existence of widespread discrimination encountered by blacks who escaped from slavery a decade later, and Wilbur H. Siebert's work on the underground railroad in 1899 echoed the same theme.

The issue of racial discrimination in nineteenth century British North America remained the single dominant theme in the scholarship on people of African descent in Canada until

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[16] See Benjamin Drew, A North Side View of Slavery: Or the Narratives of Fugitive Slaves in Canada (Boston: 1856); Samuel Gridley Howe, The Refugees From Slavery in Canada West. Report to the Freedman's Inquiry Commission (Boston: 1864); Wilbur H. Siebert, The Underground Railroad From Slavery to Freedom (New York: 1899); Fred Landon, "The Buxton Settlement in Canada," Journal of Negro History 3 (1918), pp. 360-367; Fred Landon, "Canada's Part in Freeing the Slaves," Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records, pp. 74-84; William Pease and Jane Pease, "Opposition to the Founding of the Elgin Settlement," Canadian Historical Society 38 (1957), pp. 202-218; and William Pease and Jane Pease, Black Utopia: Negro Communal Experiments in America (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1963).

the 1960s. In the early part of the twentieth century Fred Landon published articles that emphasised the discrimination encountered by runaway slaves in British North America. But the depth and extent of this discrimination was most fully demonstrated in the work of William and Jane Pease. In Black Utopia: Negro Communal Experiments in North America, the Peases concluded that:

> Prejudice had gradually penetrated all areas of life. Some Canadians saw before them the spectre of amalgamation or widespread rape. Others saw in the Negroes "a numerous and troublesome element," protection against which required the presence of armed troops.[17]

Relying almost exclusively on documents written by prominent whites about the Afro-American refugees, the Peases perpetuated a broader continental tendency to adopt "the angle of vision, the perceptions, the insights, and the interpretations...of white historians and chroniclers."[18] As Richard Hofstadter pointed out in his critique of U.B. Phillip's American Negro Slavery, the literature on slavery in the United States was seldom told "from the standpoint of the slave."[19] The result was a scholarship that neglected the role blacks played in their history and amplified

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[17] William Pease and Jane Pease, Black Utopia, p. 12.

[18] Jay Saunders Redding, "The Negro in American History: As Scholar, As Subject," in The Past Before Us: Contemporary Historical Writing in the United States, ed. by Michael Kammen (New York: Ithaca, 1980), p. 290.

[19] Richard Hofstadter, "U.B. Phillips and the Plantation Legend," Journal of Negro History 29 (1944), p. 124.

knowledge of white men and white institutions.[20] By extending this approach to Canada West, the Peases shaped the history of Afro-Canadians into a mould initially defined by Drew.

With the exception of Landon, this phase of the literature was produced by American scholars. Prior to the 1960s few Canadian academics were concerned with studies of socially disadvantaged groups. Although work on disadvantaged groups was not a staple of American history, the black experience in the United States had, by comparison, been amply documented. Consequently, it was American scholars who introduced Afro-Canadian topics to the Canadian historical profession.

Although black studies were clearly marginal in Canadian historiography pre 1960s there was a minor explosion of work on the topic in the 1960s and 1970s. During this period three categories of literature emerged almost simultaneously which altered the state of Afro-Canadian scholarship. Clearly, the rise of social history, the new concern with socially disadvantaged groups, and the development of social sciences encouraged this explosion. The politics of the period, and in particular the civil rights and Black Power movements in the United States brought attention to the black presence in North America. Another factor, no doubt, was the emergence of a substantial number of black and

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[20] See John Blassingame, "Black Studies and the Role of the Historian," in his New Perspectives on Black Studies (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973), p. 217.

ethnic-Canadian scholars in the late 1970s who directed attention to topics that reflected their multicultural background.

The second body of scholarship on Afro-Canadians was pioneered by Robin Winks and dominated the historiography for a decade beginning in the late 1960s. In numerous articles and his groundbreaking monograph, The Blacks in Canada: A History, published in 1971, Winks almost singlehandedly created a new continentalist approach to Afro-Canadian history that encompassed the methods of earlier writers but with a novel interpretation.[21] The trademark of Winks's work, as articulated in the preface to Blacks in Canada, was the idea that his topic was simultaneously "an inquiry into Negro history, Canadian history, and Canadian-American relations."[22] This approach dictated that three basic themes were pursued. First, following in the tradition of Landon and the Peases, it guaranteed that the theme of discrimination was central to

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[21] See Robin Winks, "A History of Negro School Segregation in Nova Scotia and Ontario," Canadian History Review 52 (1969), pp. 64-191; "The Canadian Negro: A Historical Assessment. Part I: The Negro in the Canadian-American Relationship," Journal of Negro History 53 (1968), pp. 283-300; Blacks in Canada; and "The Problem of Identity," pp. 1-18; Donald Clairmont and Denis Magill, Nova Scotian Blacks: An Historical Overview (Halifax: Institute of Public Affairs, 1970); Donald Clairmont, Dennis Magill and Robin Winks, Africville: The Life and Death of a Canadian Black Community (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974); and Peter Woolfson, "A Question of Identity: A Review of Recent Work on Blacks in Canada," American Review of Canadian Studies 7 (1977), pp. 88-100.

[22] Winks, Blacks in Canada, p. x.

the scholarship on the Afro-Canadian experience. Winks exclaimed that: "The Ku Klux Klan, race rioting, and poll taxes were not unknown to Canadian Negroes in the twentieth century."[23] Secondly, picking up on the new "Negro History" being written in the United States, Winks explored the various adjustments to discrimination undertaken by Afro-Canadians in the twentieth century and depicted the Afro Canadian "as an actor in the context of an emerging national history, as a person who acts and reacts as well as one acted upon."[24] Finally, unlike previous scholarship on Afro-Canadians, Winks's research spawned a continental approach to history that compared the Afro-Canadian experience to its Afro-American counterpart and included broader generalizations about the black experience as a whole. This theme was vigorously pursued by Winks and Keith Henry whose numerous studies emphasized the non-militant state of Afro-Canadian activism up until the end of the 1960s. Winks's work in particular often read like a condemnation of the many ways that Afro-Canadian activists lagged behind Afro-American leaders in tactics and effectiveness. In the second of a two part series in the Journal of Negro History, Winks claimed that:

> The black man that Canadians discovered by the 1960s was, in fact, in many ways very

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[23] Winks, "The Negro in the Canadian-American Relationship," p. 284.

[24] A further discussion of the new state of Afro-American historiography in the 1970s is provided in Harris, "Coming of Age," p. 108; and Winks, Blacks in Canada, p. ix.

> different from the Negro in the United States. The Canadian Negro, despite the lack of any historical memory within most white Canadians of an indigenous slave period, and despite his comparative scarcity in Canada, has been considerably less aggressive in seeking out and laying claim to his rights.[25]

Although Winks's influence on Afro-Canadian scholarship is most evident in the decade following his initial publication, many of these themes were echoed in the late 1970s and 1980s by Paula McClain, Allen Stouffer, James W. St.G. Walker and his colleague at Yale University, Jason Howard Silverman.[26] Disillusioned with the slow rate of progress for racial equality in North America, these scholars demonstrated that Afro-Canadians faced the same difficulties as their American counterparts. As Paula McClain explained: "Canadian Blacks are subject to the same types of prejudice and discrimination than their counterparts experience in the northern United States."[27]

Beginning in the late 1960s and 1970s a third body of literature emerged that also shifted the focus away from the nature of racism or white institutions in the nineteenth century to the Afro-Canadian adjustment to discrimination in

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[25] Winks, "The Problem of Identity," p. 1; See also Keith Henry, Black Politics in Toronto, pp. 30-33.

[26] See McClain, The Political Behaviour of Afro-Canadians; Keith Henry, Black Politics in Toronto; Walker, West Indians in Canada; Stouffer, "The Black Image in Nineteenth Century Ontario"; and Silverman, Unwelcome Guests.

[27] McClain, Political Behaviour of Afro-Canadians, p. 1.

the twentieth century.[28] Written mainly by Canadian social scientists this literature is noted for its focus on individual black communities and included several treatises written by blacks, the most noteworthy being Daniel Hill's dissertation. Typical of this approach was Frances Henry's work on the Afro-Caribbean Domestic Scheme that was launched by the federal government in the mid 1950s. Henry revealed that despite their obvious difficulties with discrimination, Afro-Caribbean women created networks to ease the sting of racism, and "40 percent" of the women interviewed "said that they would migrate again because of the opportunities it provides."[29] This phase in the literature also deflected the spotlight of Afro-Canadian studies away from the nineteenth century and onto a more contemporary period. Frances Henry's study of the Nova Scotian black community in the 1960s concluded that:

> In Nova Scotia, the movement is already taking the form of increasing cohesiveness

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[28] See Harold H. Potter, "The Occupational Adjustments of Montreal Negroes, 1941-1948" (M.A. Thesis: McGill University, 1949); Hill, "Negroes in Toronto"; Don Handelmann, "West Indian Associations in Montreal" (M.A. Thesis: McGill University, 1964); Frances Henry, "The West Indian Domestic Scheme in Canada,"Social and Economic Studies 17 (1968), pp. 83-91; Bobby William Austin, "The Social Status of Blacks in Toronto" (Ph.D. dissertation: McMaster University, 1972); Frances Henry, Forgotten Canadians: The Blacks in Nova Scotia (Don Mills, Ontario: Longman Canada, 1973); Jane Sawyer Turrittin, "Networks and Mobility: The Case of West Indian Domestics from Montserrat," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 13 (1976), pp. 305-320; and Subhas Ramcharan, "The Economic Adaptation of West Indians in Toronto, Canada," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 13 (1976), pp. 295-304.

[29] Henry, "The West Indian Domestic Scheme," p. 91.

> and solidarity amongst Blacks on a community basis, and a perceptible shift away from the older, conservative status quoism and levelling values to a more militantly determined attempt to agitate for change for the Black community.[30]

Aside from Frances Henry's studies, Don Handelman, Subhas Ramcharan and Jane Turrittin also completed works on specific aspects of the black experience in the twentieth century. Unlike earlier histories, however, the case study approach of social scientists tended not to generalize about the Afro-Canadian experience as a whole, but focused instead on individual studies of particular groups or conditions. Turrittin's study of Afro-Caribbean domestics from Montserrat concluded that: "Friendships created in Canada and contacts with West Indians made at points central to the networks of several women enabled them to leave domestic work, obtain blue collar jobs, and enter the school system."[31]

Significantly, the newfound concerns of Canadian academics placed their work on a parallel course with Afro-American historiography. Most of the scholarship on Afro-Americans that "appeared during the late 1960s and early 1970s explored the status of black people in American society, the nature of white racism in determining that status and the role that Afro-Americans played in the drive

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30 Frances Henry, Forgotten Canadians, p. 175.

31 Turrittin, "Networks and Mobility," p. 305.

for freedom."[32] According to Kenneth L. Kusmer, the sociological literature on Afro-Americans was also "primarily concerned with current conditions or the recent past," but "revealed little about changes that occurred over the long run."[33] Not surprisingly, this category of literature also included the works of two scholars of American origin, Daniel Hill and Bobby Austin.

The contributionist or the fourth phase of literature in the writing of Afro-Canadian history was begun in the mid 1970s by Leo Bertley, an Afro-Canadian historian.[34] Significantly, this category of scholarship saw the introduction of black-Canadian scholars into the literature on Afro-Canadians. Produced exclusively by Afro-Canadian authors with various scholarly and non-academic interests, this literature traced the heroic achievements of Afro-

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[32] Robert Harris Jr., "Coming Of Age: The Transformation Of Afro-American Historiography," Journal of Negro History 67 (1992), p. 108.

[33] Kenneth L. Kusmer, "The Black Experience in American History," in The State of Afro-American History: Past, Present and Future, ed. by Darlene Clark Hine (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986), p. 92.

[34] See Leo Bertley, Black Tiles in the Mosaic (Pierrefonds, Quebec: Bilongo Publishers, 1974); Headly Tulloch, Black Canadians: A Long Line of Fighters (Toronto: NC Press, 1975); Leo Bertley, Montreal's Oldest Black Congregation (Pierrefonds, Quebec: Bilongo Publishers, 1975); Leo Bertley, Canada and its People of African Descent (Pierrefonds, Quebec: Bilongo Publishers, 1977); Daniel Hill, The Freedom-Seekers Blacks in Early Canada (Agincourt, Ontario: The Book Society of Canada Limited, 1981); Donald Moore, Don Moore: An Autobiography (Toronto: William-Wallace Publishers, 1985); and Stephen L. Hubbard, Against All Odds: The Story of William Penton Hubbard, Black Leader and Municipal Reformer (Toronto: Dundurn, 1987).

Canadians and their contributions to Canadian society.[35] This trait was best seen in Bertley's Canada and its People of African Descent, which is a collection of short biographies on "successful" Afro-Canadians linked together by the modest theme of the prominence achieved by each individual. This literature was written for an audience of African descent, and was clearly intended to promote race pride among its readers.[36] The contributionist scholarship was also noted for lacking an in depth historical analysis, and concentrating on individual rather than group dynamics. Robert Harris confirmed that contributionism "has neglected the interaction of different forces that have affected the black historical experience."[37]

Despite this negative implication, the contributionist literature added much to historical scholarship on Afro-Canadians. Most obviously, it further documented the history of Afro-Canadians from the perspective of the participants involved. Similar to the studies from the second and third phase of literature Headly Tulloch's monograph chronicled the various methods adopted by Afro-Canadians in their struggle against discrimination. The strength of this approach was revealed in Tulloch's choice of title for his monograph: Black Canadians: A Long Line of

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[35] For a further discussion see Bertley, Canada and its People of African Descent, p. ix.

[36] For a further discussion see Harris, "Coming Of Age," p. 115.

[37] Harris, "Coming Of Age," p. 115.

Fighters. The contributionist literature also relegated the theme of prejudice and an analysis of its origins to a minor role. Bertley exclaimed:

> For the most part, publications dealing with people of African descent in Canada have stressed the negative, telling rather dreary and discouraging stories. While this aspect of the drama cannot be overlooked, the time has come to view the other side and to interpret the sources from another perspective.[38]

Similarly, the preoccupation with black role models led these writers to explore periods and regions of Afro-Canadian history that had previously been ignored. Bertley's Black Tiles in the Mosaic documented the presence of blacks in Canada from Matthew Da Costa, who in 1606 served as Samuel de Champlain's interpreter, to Reverend Charles Este, who retired as pastor of Montreal's Union Church on 31 December 1967.[39] As Bertley explained:

> there is hardly an important aspect of Canadian life in which blacks did not play a part. Certainly, there is not a period of "Canadian History" which did not include blacks.[40]

The final category of literature on Afro-Canadians was spearheaded in the 1980s by a series of academics with a wide range of scholarly interests.[41] Reflecting the

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[38] Bertley, Canada and its People of African Descent, p. ix.

[39] Bertley, Black Tiles, pp. 2, 32.

[40] Ibid., p. 1.

[41] See Subhas Ramcharan, Racism: Nonwhites in Canada (Toronto: Butterworth and Company, 1982); Bruce Shepard "Diplomatic Racism: Canadian Government and Black Migration

broader multi-disciplinary academic trends and the resurgence of racism in the 1980s, this literature examined the extent of racist attitudes in Canada, placing emphasis on immigration and public policy. Vic Satzewich's investigation of West Indian migration to Canada in the 1960s concluded that:

> uncontrolled black immigration was defined as the cause of insoluble "race relations" problems in the country. Post-1962 migration did not, therefore, take place in an ideological climate denuded of the negative evaluations of certain "races."[42]

Despite similarities to earlier literature on prejudice against blacks written mainly by American scholars the recent literature is distinctive in three important aspects. First, coming at a time when multiculturalism was a fully entrenched social and political aspect of Canada, this category of literature included the works of an ethnically diverse spectrum of Canadian scholars. Included among this body of studies is the scholarship of Subhas Ramcharan,

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From Oklahoma, 1905-1912," Great Plains Quarterly 3 (1983), pp. 5-16; Bruce Shepard, "Plain Racism: The Reaction Against Oklahoma Black Immigration to the Canadian Plains," Prairie Forum 10 (1985), pp. 365-382; B. Singh Bolaria and Peter S. Li, Racial Oppression in Canada (Toronto: Portcullis Publishing Company, 1985); James W.St.G. Walker, Racial Discrimination in Canada: The Black Experience (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 1985); Stanley Barret, Is God a Racist? The Right Wing in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); Vic Satzewich, "Racism and Canadian Immigration Policy: The Government's View of Caribbean Migration, 1962-1966," Canadian Ethnic Studies 21 (1989), pp. 77-97; and Martin Robin, Shades of Right: Nativist and Fascist Politics in Canada, 1920-1940 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

[42] Satzewich, "Racism and Canadian Immigration Policy," p. 93.

Peter S. Li and B. Singh Bolaria, Canadian academics from origins not habitually represented in the country's scholastic professions. Second, due to the heterogeneous ethnic composition of scholars and the multicultural trends in Canadian society, this body of literature included several academic studies treating Afro-Canadians as one of many groups that encountered discrimination. Barrett's study of the extreme right in Canada exclaimed:

> it is sometimes said, racists want blacks "in their place," but want Jews to stop existing. Blacks are considered despicable, but too feeble-minded to pose a threat to whites. Jews are thought of as clever, dangerous, amoral vermin, conspiring to gain control of the world.[43]

Although most evident in Barrett's work, this theme was also effectively pursued by Ramcharan, Robin, Li and Bolaria who recorded the prejudice encountered by Canada's non-white population. Third, due to the recent arrival of a substantial number of visible minorities in Canada and the literature's focus on the overall pattern of prejudice faced by these groups, this phase in scholarship focused on discrimination in contemporary Canada. As Subhas Ramcharan explained: "The presence of large numbers of non-white immigrants in our society is a recent phenomenon, considering that in the period 1946 to 1976 the population of these groups rose from less than 50,000 to more than 500,000."[44]

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[43] Barrett, Is God a Racist?, p. vii.

[44] Ramcharan, Racism: Nonwhites in Canada, p. 1.

The problem with this literature, as pointed out in Mohhamed H. Abucar's critique of Racial Oppression in Canada, is that it "dwells on the past experiences of racial oppression in Canada, but fails to examine how the non-white population is dealing today with present problems of racism."[45] During the 1980s, Afro-American historiography included a large body of works on black history written from the standpoint of the participants as revealed in the growing body of literature on the Afro-American struggle for freedom in the 1960s.[46] Afro-Canadian scholarship from the 1980s, on the other hand, placed emphasis on discrimination and thus shifted the focus of the literature back to a discussion of the general Canadian society.

The shortcoming in the final category of literature reveals the relative dearth of scholarship on Afro-Canadians. Methodologically, this literature does not contain much social, cultural or intellectual history. Most of the studies on the Afro-Canadian experience concentrate on politics, immigration policy or the psychology of racially motivated attitudes. Certain topics such as gender are ignored altogether. The scholarship is also composed by scholars with various academic interests of which history is only a minor part. Significantly, while there are differences in approach in the literature there are no major

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[45] Mohhamed H. Abucar, review of Racial Oppression in Canada, by B. Singh Bolaria and Peter S. Li, in Canadian Ethnic Studies 19 (1987), p. 126.

[46] See Harris, "Coming Of Age," p. 118.

controversies to compare with the healthy state of Afro-American historiography.[47]

The dearth of scholarship can be explained by the fact that Afro-Canadians have been an invisible part of Canadian society. Never consisting of more than two percent of the total population in Canada, the black presence in the country has not been deemed as significant for comprehensive study by the Canadian scholar. Canada has never had a wealth of black studies programs which would encourage schools of thought on the African presence in the country. Nor has there been a substantial black population out of which a rank of relatively affluent and educated Afro-Canadians could emerge to pursue this scholarship in depth. In fact, scholarship on the Afro-Canadian experience was begun by American academics who were the principal authors on the subject up until the end of the 1970s.

Although the black community has never exceeded two percent of the Canadian population the main justification for a study of this nature is furnished by Robin Winks, the pioneer of contemporary Afro-Canadian scholarship. In Blacks in Canada, Winks argued that: "history is not, after all, democratic, and to dismiss the many thousands of Negroes who have walked across the Canadian stage since 1628 - however silently - is to dismiss a human, interesting, and

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[47] An excellent discussion of the state of Afro-American historiography is provided in August Meier, Black Historians and the Historical Profession (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

clearly visible segment of the wider Canadian story."[48] Yet, while there is a large scholarship devoted to chronicling the civil rights and the Black Power movement in the United States, the study of Afro-Canadian activism has never been a staple of Canadian historiography.

This thesis represents a step in reversing the final trend in scholarship. In response to Abucar's criticism, it analyzes the strategies adopted by Afro-Canadian leaders in the 1960s. This approach depicts the Afro-Canadian as an active participant in Canadian history, which emulates the concerns of the second, third and fourth phase of literature. Moreover, a careful analysis of Afro-Canadian activism in the 1960s dispels the notion of a politically incapacitated black community depicted by several studies from the continentalist phase of literature.

An examination of the Afro-Caribbean immigrants' influence on Afro-Canadian activism provides a case study of the impact of immigration policy on the social and political fabric of the country. Although Frances Henry examined the adjustment of Afro-Caribbean women to discrimination in Canada, nowhere in the sociological literature has a study analyzed the political effects of post-World War II West Indian immigration in Canada. In Blacks in Canada, Winks sounded the need for scholarship on this neglected aspect of Canadian history:

While the various strands of black self-help

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[48] Winks, Blacks in Canada, p. 479.

> associations, of changing attitudes toward Negroes, and of related Negro activities have been summarized up until 1970, much additional work might reasonably be done on the decade of the 1960s, and in particular on West Indian participation in activist movements.[49]

A comparison of Afro-Canadian and Afro-American militancy explores another dimension of the Canadian-American relationship that is an important aspect of Canadian history. In the conclusion to Political Behaviour of Afro-Canadians McClain states that:

> the effects of the United States Black Power Movement on the behaviour of Afro-Canadians would be interesting to explore. The relationship, if any, between the emphasis on black pride and the increase in political activity in the black Canadian communities would be especially important to study.[50]

An examination of the different tactics and strategies adopted by the Afro-Canadian leadership demonstrates that the black experience in post-World War II Canada, while revealing an American influence, set the two nations apart socially, ideologically and politically. The depiction of a unique Afro-Canadian experience deviates from Silverman's study of Afro-American refugees in nineteenth century British North America, which concludes that "the ostensible Canadian Canaan at times strangely resembled the antebellum North or the Jim Crow South."[51] The conditions that

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[49] Winks, Blacks in Canada, p. 468.

[50] McClain, Political Behaviour of Afro-Canadians, p. 71.

[51] Silverman, Unwelcome Guests, p. vii.

Silverman depicted in the nineteenth century do not exist in the 1960s.

CHAPTER TWO

Afro-Canadian Activism in the Immediate Post-World War II Era: A Background

There is a general consensus that the history of Afro-Canadian activism in the twentieth century is a depressing story.[1] This chapter reinforces that view as it concerns the post-World War II, pre-1960s period. Despite the presence of several Afro-Canadian organizations in Toronto and Montreal, only one, the NCA, was engaged in the struggle to check discrimination. The NCC and HSA, the most active black voluntary organizations in Toronto and Montreal in the 1950s, limited their endeavours to community and social services. The UNIA and The Canadian Negro, the only Afro-Canadian newspaper published in Montreal and Toronto during this period, were parochial in outlook and were preoccupied with the struggle for survival. Furthermore, as Winks pointed out, prior to the 1960s no Afro-Canadian organization embraced the principle of racial unity and identity, or was engaged in a debate over alternative responses to leadership pressure. The Toronto and Montreal divisions of the UNIA, which reached their organizational and membership peaks during the 1920s, dwindled to the point of extinction during the 1940s and 1950s and ceased to

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[1] Of the three academics who chronicle Afro-Canadian activism, two conclude that it is a depressing story. For a further discussion see Winks, Blacks in Canada, pp. 479-483; Winks, "The Problem of Identity," pp. 1-2; Keith Henry, Black Politics in Toronto, pp. 30-33.

perform these functions. Instead, it was sympathetic white organizations--labour unions--that pioneered the struggle against discrimination in Canada in the late 1940s and 1950s. Although the NCA and Afro-Canadian activists such as Stanley Grizzle and A.R. Blanchette, established their reputations in the fight against racial discrimination, much of their activism was coordinated by Canada's major labour unions, such as the Trades and Labour Congress (TLC) and the Canadian Congress of Labour (CCL).[2]

The principal reason for this dependence on white support was that the scope for Afro-Canadian activism was severely limited by natural conditions. The black communities of Montreal and Toronto were numerically small and were demographically dispersed through various parts of the cities. A discussion of the low economic status and the limited occupational structure of the Afro-Canadian population in Montreal and Toronto will also be outlined.

During the immediate post-war period, the size of the Afro-Canadian population in Montreal and Toronto was negligible both in absolute terms and in relation to the total population. Unlike the United States, the slave trade did not bring a large number of Africans to Canada. Moreover, having never been exposed to any substantial immigration of blacks throughout the twentieth century, the Afro-Canadian community remained consistently small, never exceeding one half of one percent of Canada's population.

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[2] See Winks, "The Problem of Identity," p. 7.

In the five decades from 1900-1949, only 5,431 Afro-Caribbean immigrants came to Canada.[3] Immigration figures for the years 1926-1955 revealed a paltry total of 2,415 Afro-American immigrants to Canada.[4] Census figures for 1951 disclosed that Afro-Canadians accounted for merely 18,020 inhabitants, or roughly one-tenth of one percent of a total Canadian population of 14,009,429.[5] In Toronto, there were a mere 1,541 Afro-Canadian residents out of a total population of 1,117,470 (also one-tenth of one percent), while in Montreal there were 3,841 residents of African descent from the total population of 1,320,232 (three-tenths of one percent).[6]

Furthermore, the black populations of Montreal and Toronto were not concentrated geographically in areas of the city where they were numerically dominant. A report published in 1955 on the Afro-Canadian community in Toronto claimed that there was no "Ghetto or Black Belt" in the city, but noted the gradual concentration of a significant

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[3] Walker, West Indians in Canada, p. 9.

[4] Unpublished correspondence from the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, May, 1955 cited in Hill, "Negroes in Toronto," p. 43.

[5] Statistics Canada, The Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, Canada Census of Population: 1971, vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, pt. 3, table 1.

[6] Census figures cited in Hill, "Negroes in Toronto," p. 42; Census figures cited in Henry, Black Politics in Toronto, p. 13; Federal Census of Quebec reports cited in Williams, Blacks in Montreal, p. 64; Statistics Canada, The Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, Canada Census of Population: 1951, vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, table 2, p. 2-2.

Figure 2. An illustration of Canada's immigration policy towards Afro-Caribbeans in the twentieth century. West Indian News Observer, December 1967, vol. 1 no. 9, p. 2.

number of black residents in the downtown area near Bloor Street ("The District").[7] Similarly, Dorothy Williams's study of the demography of Afro-Canadians in Montreal identified a concentration of blacks in the downtown, Little Burgundy area (St. Antoine), as well as in the Côte-des-Neiges district during the 1950s.[8] Williams, however, pointed out that:

> Blacks have never been a majority in any district in the Montreal metropolitan area, yet like St. Antoine 50 years earlier, both Côte-des-Neiges and NDG acquired this tag [ghetto] in the early sixties due to the cluster pattern of the early Blacks that moved there.[9]

Clearly, Afro-Canadian inhabitants were a minority in the Bloor, Côte-des-Neiges and Little Burgundy residential districts during the immediate post-war era.

Although segregation and discrimination were practised in twentieth century Canada, they were neither as deeply enforced nor as consistently maintained as in the United States where the legacy of Jim Crow was strong. The custom of lynching was almost non-existent, and the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) never mustered the level of support that it enjoyed in

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[7] "A Guide For Discussion: The Toronto Negro Community," Toronto, December 1955, p. 1 (Appendix A); Hill, "Negroes in Toronto," p. 75.

[8] Williams, Blacks in Montreal, pp. 61-76.

[9] Williams, Blacks in Montreal, p. 71; See also Bertley, "The Universal Negro Improvement Association of Montreal, 1919-1979" (Ph.D dissertation: Concordia University, 1980), p. 131.

the United States.[10] The most common complaints voiced by blacks in Toronto and Montreal concerned more subtle forms of discrimination in civil rights, housing and employment. In addition, certain private golf clubs in Toronto were "using the subterfuge of private license to exclude Negroes from their premises," and some barber shops refused to cater to black clients.[11] Typical of the problems in housing encountered by the Afro-Canadian communities of Montreal and Toronto was the case of a black graduate student who "checked 10 signs stating "rooms for rent" in the University of Toronto area," only to be "refused at all ten."[12] Moreover, a 1947 survey in the Globe and Mail "showed that 50% of the sample of 158 employers had unfavourable attitudes towards hiring Negroes."[13] In Montreal, the director of the Selective Service (Unemployment Insurance Commission) was reported to have told community leaders that Afro-Canadian workers were "unreliable, worthless," and of "low IQ," and were being channelled into menial jobs regardless of their formal qualifications.[14]

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[10] See John George and Laird Wilcox, Nazis, Communists, Klansmen, and Others on the Fringe (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1992), pp. 394-396; and Robin, Nativist and Fascist Politics in Canada, p. 86.

[11] "Guide for Discussion," p. 3 (Appendix A).

[12] "Guide for Discussion," p. 3 (Appendix A).

[13] "Guide for Discussion," p. 3 (Appendix A); See also "TTC Denies Charges: Will Hire Negroes," The Canadian Negro, November 1953, vol. 1 no. 4, p. 1.

[14] See Potter, "Occupational Adjustments," pp. 70-73.

During this period Afro-Canadians were prevented from rising above the lower levels of industry, and frequently gravitated towards certain jobs that were set aside for them exclusively.[15] These "Negro jobs," as they were known, included work as porters, domestic servants, and other forms of unskilled and generally servile labour.[16] In an effort to supplement the incomplete data of census returns, Dan Hill distributed a questionnaire in 1955 regarding the occupational status of the Afro-Canadian community of Toronto. His study revealed that:

> Porters comprised 155 of the 160 Negroes employed by Canadian Pacific Railways. Excluding the C.P.R., twenty-two companies having a combined labour force of 61,302, reported 120 Negro employees. Negro males were employed in greater numbers by Massey-Harris, and Imperial Oil. In the factories, these employees were primarily in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. One firm hired nineteen Negroes, all of them as messengers. Four other firms hired Negro men as janitors; and seven employed them in a clerical capacity. At City Hall eight Negro males were reported, two in a professional capacity and six as labourers.
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> Four firms had nineteen Negro women working in a clerical capacity, another company indicated fourteen as telephone operators; a cleaner hired three as launderers, and three professional nurses were employed by the city of Toronto.
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> Canadian National Railways did not return the questionnaire, but it is estimated that they employed 100 Negro porters at the time. Additional 1955 estimates include 150 Pullman porters, ten Sky Caps at Malton Airport, and six or more labourers employed by fourteen car wash companies. An unknown

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[15] Austin, "Social Status of Blacks in Toronto," p. 30.

[16] Austin, "Social Status of Blacks in Toronto," p. 30; See also Potter, "Occupational Adjustments,"

number of Negro nurses are employed in the city's hospitals.[17]

Harold Potter, on the other hand, reported that among Montreal's black population in 1941 "slightly less than 50 percent of all male wage earners were sleeping car porters, and nearly 80 percent of the female wage earners were domestic servants."[18] The remainder of the Afro-Canadian community in the city was employed in a wide range of menial occupations, primarily "in commercial establishments, in the construction industry and in the entertainment industry."[19] According to Potter, the "physical visibility of Negro men and women [continued] to limit their range of economic opportunity."[20]

The limited employment opportunities for Afro-Canadians in Montreal and Toronto in the post-war II era resulted in a lower income level among black residents as compared to the general population. In Toronto's downtown district, where the majority of the city's Afro-Canadian population resided, "approximately three-fourths of employed family heads earned under $2,500 a year, whereas in the city only one-half were in this income group."[21] Potter reported that:

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[17] Hill, "Negroes in Toronto," pp. 92-96; See also Austin, "Social Status of Blacks in Toronto," pp. 30-31.

[18] Potter, "Occupational Adjustments," p. 29; See also Williams, Blacks in Montreal, p. 51.

[19] Potter, "Occupational Adjustments," p. 29.

[20] Potter, "Occupational Adjustments," p. 139.

[21] Hill, "Negroes in Toronto," p. 92.

> families in the "Negro district," comprising two-thirds of all Montreal Negroes who avowed themselves as such, reported incomes that averaged $400 per year in one neighbourhood, $500 per year in another, and $1,086 per year in a third, the variation directly agreeing with distance of the home from the ecological centre of the coloured population."[22]

Regardless, the immediate post-World War II era introduced a gradual upward shift in the income level and diversified the employment structure of the Canadian population which filtered down to the black residents of Montreal and Toronto. Dorothy Williams claimed that there "had been more improvements in living standards and in education during this decade [1945-1955], than there had been since the beginning of the Black presence in Montreal."[23] In Montreal, this shift was experienced mostly by young Afro-Canadian women who left domestic work to pursue employment in factories and offices.[24] Hill and Austin claimed that in Toronto the job ceiling for blacks had changed since the depression, and that a select few Afro-Canadians were hired to positions traditionally denied them.[25] The most widely acknowledged of these gains occurred in February, 1954, when the Toronto Transit Commission (TTC) hired four blacks, marking the "end of a

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[22] Potter, "Negroes in Canada," p. 49.

[23] Williams, Blacks in Montreal, p. 60.

[24] Potter, "Occupational Adjustments," p. 56; Williams, Blacks in Montreal, p. 51.

[25] Austin, "Social Status of Blacks in Toronto," p. 30; Hill, "Negroes in Toronto," p. 135.

15-year period in which Negroes were not seen as operators on Toronto streetcars."[26]

Lacking a substantial population base of affluent and university-educated Afro-Canadians, black activism in Montreal and Toronto in the immediate post-World War II era remained non-militant. Although there were numerous social clubs and community associations in both cities, few Afro-Canadian organizations in Toronto and Montreal were directly involved in challenging discrimination.[27] For the most part, the NCC, founded in the basement of the Union Church in Montreal in 1927, devoted its energy to community and social services.[28] During the 1950s, the NCC initiated several community services, including helping "with the integration of British West Indian immigrants by providing counselling and group activities," but it did not engage in activities that directly challenged discrimination in Montreal.[29] The HSA, Toronto's counterpart to the NCC, was

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[26] "Race Makes Gain Back on TTC Job," The Canadian Negro, March 1954, vol. 2 no. 2, p. 1.

[27] Henry claims that there were no fewer than thirty-five Afro-Canadian organizations in Toronto during the 1950s. Keith Henry, Black Politics in Toronto, p. 31.

[28] The NCC was founded by Reverend Charles Este and some close associates in 1927 at the Union Church, Montreal's oldest Afro-Canadian congregation. See Bertley, Montreal's Oldest Black Congregation, p. 11.

[29] Stanley A. Clyke, who became Executive Director of the NCC in 1949, claimed that the NCC in the 1950s was also responsible for the Educational Department, a program whose goal was to stimulate community and citizenship education. Stanley Clyke, "The Negro Community Centre Inc. Past, Present and Future," Expression, November 1965, vol. 1 no. 3, p. 14.

similarly conspicuous in its refusal to engage in militant politics throughout the 1940s and 1950s. Unlike the NCC, whose community work reached a zenith during the 1950s, the HSA moved out of the downtown district in 1950, where the majority of the city's Afro-Canadian population resided.[30] As a result, there was a considerable decline in community services offered to the black community of Toronto.[31]

It was the UNIA, however, whose absence as an activist organization and a unifying voice among Afro-Canadians in Toronto and Montreal was most conspicuous. Following the end of the First World War, the UNIA established fifteen chartered divisions across Canada including the two main chapters in Montreal and Toronto.[32] These chapters reached their membership and organizational peaks in the 1920s.[33] During this period, the UNIA became known as an organization whose members discussed and adhered to the philosophy and tactics of pan-Africanism as defined by Marcus Garvey.[34] By clinging to the principles of self-reliance and the

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[30] Daniel Hill and Wilson Brooks, "Negroes in Toronto," Expression, July 1965, vol. 1 no. 2, p. 29.

[31] Hill and Brooks, "Negroes in Toronto," p. 29.

[32] Bertley, "The Universal Negro Improvement Association of Montreal," p. 7.

[33] See Bertley, "The Universal Negro Improvement Association of Montreal," pp. 89-132, 305-369; Hill, "Negroes In Toronto," pp. 342-362.

[34] A further discussion of the principles of Pan-Africanism as defined by Marcus Garvey is provided in Bertley, "The Universal Negro Improvement Association of Montreal," pp. 133-223.

confraternity of people of African descent, fundamental elements of pan-Africanist ideology, both major chapters manifested an ethnic or racial identity, a feat that Winks overlooks in his depiction of Afro-Canadian activism.[35] In so doing, both divisions also championed a radical alternative to established black militancy of the time, thus introducing a choice in leadership strategies.[36] Following the death of Marcus Garvey on 10 June 1940, however, the UNIA branches became little more than social clubs. The Montreal division became a gathering place for senior citizens, and because it failed to attract new members, it lost much of the energy and activism that had been associated with it in the past.[37] In Toronto, political activity "gave way to a long and exhausting effort to acquire a building and to discharge the mortgage."[38]

Another sign of the apolitical nature of the black community was its failure to create a national Afro-Canadian newspaper during the immediate post World War II era.[39]

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[35] Winks, "The Problem of Identity," p. 14.

[36] A further discussion of the ideological differences and clashes between UNIA leaders and established Afro-Canadian activists in Montreal and Toronto in the pre World War II are provided in Hill, "Negroes In Toronto," p. 340-362; and Bertley, "The Universal Negro Improvement Association of Montreal," pp. 133-223.

[37] Interviews with Daisy Sweeny, Martha Griffiths and Alan Husbands cited in Bertley, "The Universal Negro Improvement Association of Montreal," p. 109.

[38] Henry, Black Politics in Toronto, p. 31.

[39] See Winks, Blacks in Canada, p. 475; Henry, Black Politics in Toronto, p. 33.

The Canadian Negro, the only Afro-Canadian newspaper published in either Toronto or Montreal in the 1940s and 1950s, could hardly be classified as successful or national. Printed in Toronto, starting in June 1953, it maintained a monthly format and reached a maximum circulation of five hundred subscribers, most of whom lived in the city of publication.[40] In spite of its allegedly national scope, the paper's feature column was "Toronto News" and "News Around Town," and coverage of local community events appeared almost as frequently as editorials, national news items or letters to the editor. The newspaper was also plagued by chronic financial problems which often delayed publication, and eventually led to its unravelling. In the November 1956 edition of the newspaper, the feature article stated:

> Many times in the past we have sent to you (our readers) distress signals. We asked you to send in your renewals. We asked you to consider sending donations. We called on our Negro organizations for their support. While all of these pleads for help were responded to, your support has not been sufficient to pull us out of debt. So again we must try to point out the seriousness of our situation for only by your continued support can we go on. This is your paper and you must not let it fail.[41]

The appeal was in vain. Although it cost less than $ 2,000 per annum to publish, The Canadian Negro printed its last

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[40] Interview with John White cited in Henry, Black Politics in Toronto, p. 29; Winks, Blacks in Canada, p. 407.

[41] "Distress Signal!!," The Canadian Negro, November 1956, vol. 4 no. 5, p. 1.

edition on December 1956, ceasing operation just over three years after its initial publication due to constant financial difficulties.[42]

The main exception to the leadership vacuum in the Afro-Canadian community was the NCA. Established in 1952 in both Montreal and Toronto, the NCA acquired a credible reputation for its pioneer work against discrimination in Canada. During the decade, the Montreal chapter of the NCA was instrumental in promoting racial integration in two major taxi associations.[43] The Toronto division, on the other hand, led a delegation of twenty-five organizations to Ottawa on 24 April 1954, to urge Walter Harris, the Minister of Immigration, to remove the race restrictions in Canada's immigration policy.[44] That meeting represented the first time that an Afro-Canadian organization had led a delegation to Ottawa.[45]

Despite these successes, the NCA encountered problems in trying to maintain a viable, activist operation during the 1950s. The Montreal division had difficulty with

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[42] Keith Henry, Black Politics in Toronto, p. 33; Winks, Blacks in Canada, p. 407.

[43] Richard Leslie, who became president of the NCA in 1963, states this was the most concrete gain made by the NCA in Montreal. Richard Leslie, "The Negro Citizenship Association Inc. Philosophy and Objectives," Expression, February 1965, vol. 1 no 1, p. 4.

[44] "Delegates to Ottawa Urge Immigration Policy Change," The Canadian Negro, April-May 1954, vol. 2 no. 1, p. 1.

[45] "Delegates to Ottawa," p. 1.

recruitment and attracted a paltry total of approximately fifty members.[46] Dorothy Wills, an active executive member of the NCA in the 1950s and 1960s, claimed that several Afro-Canadians would call and voice their complaints, but would not become involved with the organization.[47] Richard Leslie, head of the Montreal division in the 1950s, stated that the chapter's history was "not one of serene and continuous growth" and that there were times "when its lights all but flickered out."[48] In Toronto, on the other hand, the NCA's success was entirely linked to its association with The Canadian Negro, apart from which it received no support from the black community.[49]

Lacking a significant number of indigenous leaders within the black community, the struggle against discriminatory practices was led by sympathetic white organizations. This was evident particularly in the province of Ontario, where the post-war era saw the introduction of progressive legislation designed to reverse discriminatory practices in accommodations and employment.[50] The incident which best revealed this

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[46] Interview with Dorothy Wills, Montreal, Quebec, 15 July 1991.

[47] Interview with Wills.

[48] Leslie, "The Negro Citizenship Association Inc. Philosophy and Objectives," p. 3.

[49] Keith Henry, Black Politics in Toronto, p. 33.

[50] A further discussion of the types of legislation passed in this period is provided in Winks, Blacks in Canada, pp. 427-430.

dependence on sympathetic white organizations occurred in Dresden, Ontario, in 1953, when two restaurants refused to serve Afro-Canadians. Immediately following the incident, several organizations located in Toronto-- including the Joint Committee for Human Rights, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, United Auto Workers, Canadian Jewish Congress, and the Association for Civil Liberties-- devised a strategy to eliminate discrimination in accommodations.[51] The powerful Ontario Federation of Labour (CIO-CCL) added their muscle to the struggle demanding that the Ontario Government "enact legislation to make it illegal for any establishment to refuse to serve persons because of race, religion or nationality."[52] The result, due to the combined agitation of these organizations, was the enactment of the Fair Accommodations Practices Act on 6 June 1954.[53]

It was the United States, however, that was the scene of the most significant gains toward racial equality in North America in the late 1940s and 1950s. Having emerged victorious from a world war that was supposed to make the world safe for democracy, some Americans were set to tackle the problems of discrimination within their own boundaries.

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[51] Ray Greenidge, "Labour, Churches Urged to Back Fight Against Dresden Race Discrimination," The Canadian Negro, February 1954, vol. 2 no. 1, p. 1.

[52] "M.P.'s "Buck Passing" on Dresden - Labour," The Canadian Negro, March 1954, vol. 2 no. 2, p. 1.

[53] The editors of The Canadian Negro acknowledged the debt to sympathetic associations in persuading Premier Frost and his cabinet to enact the FAPA. "Dresden or Dixie," The Canadian Negro, June 1954, vol. 2 no. 2, p. 2.

The post-war era witnessed several events that depicted the new climate of tolerance and democracy within the nation, and the new stage of Afro-American activism which it spawned. The most notable of these events were the important legal gains in civil rights made by the NAACP and the emergence of Martin Luther King and the civil rights movement in the American South.

During the 1950s, several incidents of Afro-American activism inspired a handful of Afro-Canadian militants to follow similar leadership strategies in Canada. In Toronto, the movement to have "Little Black Sambo," a book with a caricature representation of people of African descent, removed from the public school curriculum reached its climax after the Brown v. the Board of Education ruling in the United States.[54] Moreover, the rise of the civil rights movement and the leadership figure of Martin Luther King, in the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955 and 1956, inspired a similar response. Following the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the editors of The Canadian Negro sent financial assistance to Martin Luther King, the President of the MIA. In fact, King forwarded a letter to Mildred Lynch, secretary of The Canadian Negro, in which he expressed gratitude for the financial ($78) and moral support lent by the

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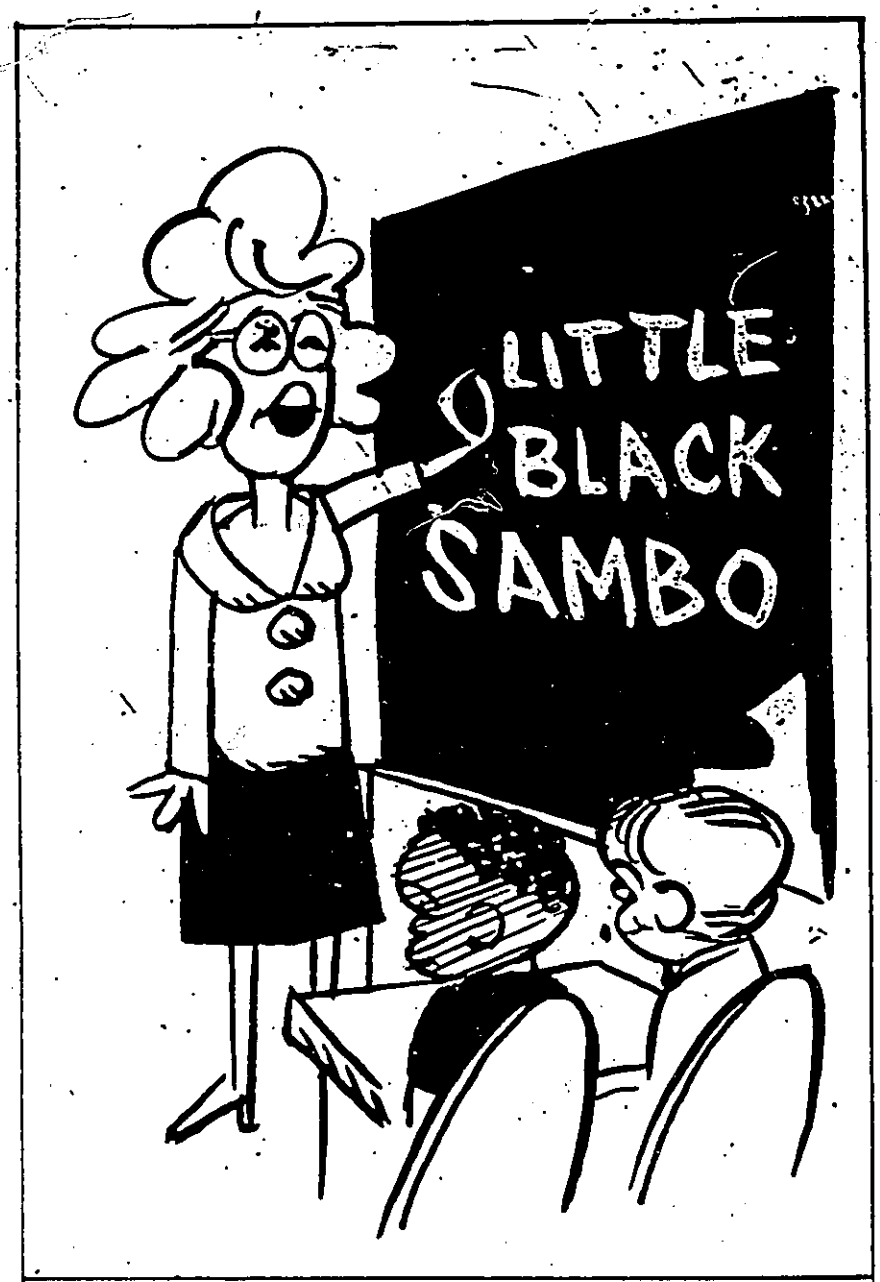
[54] "Brief Presented to the Toronto Board of Education Feb. 2 by a Delegation of Negro Parents", The Canadian Negro, March 1956, vol. 4 no. 1, p. 2.



The cartoon above is a typical scene taking place in Canadian and particularly Ontario schools.

Figure 3. An illustration of "Little Black Sambo," a book which galvanized Afro-Canadian activists, being taught in the public schools of Ontario. Contrast, 19 December 1969, vol. 1 no. 16, p. 5.

publication.[55] The Canadian Negro also noted the need for black unity in Toronto, similar to that displayed by the Afro-American population in Montgomery, in their quest to have "Little Black Sambo" removed from the public school curriculum in Toronto.[56]

Even when the NCA was involved in the struggle against racial discrimination, its isolation in the small black community dictated the need for powerful allies, primarily sympathetic labour unions. Of the 24 organizations that the NCA led to Ottawa to protest Canada's discriminatory immigration laws only two represented Afro-Canadians.[57] The NCA's and The Canadian Negro's agitation against discriminatory immigration laws in Canada was overshadowed by similar work done by Canada's two major labour organizations, the TLC and the CCL.[58] Representing more than a million trade unionists, and with a long established tradition in Canada, the TLC and CCL were much stronger than

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[55] Martin Luther King, "A Letter From Montgomery," The Canadian Negro, June 1956, vol. 4 no. 1, p. 2.

[56] "Unity and the Negro's Future", The Canadian Negro, March 1956, vol. 4 no. 1, p. 2.

[57] For a list of the organizations involved see "Delegates to Ottawa Urge Immigration Policy Change," The Canadian Negro, April-May 1954, vol. 2 no. 1, p. 1.

[58] At its annual convention in Toronto, in 1954, the CCL sounded the clarion against racial discrimination in Canada. At the convention, the delegates approved the report submitted by the Congress Committee on National Rights which condemned Canada's Immigration Act as discriminatory. "CCL-TLC Meets to Condemn Racial Discrimination," The Canadian Negro, November 1954, vol. 2 no. 5, p. 1.

the NCA.[59]

Significantly, two of the leading Afro-Canadian activists in the struggle against discrimination in the immediate post-war era worked within the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP) and the human rights commissions of the CCL and TLC. The first of these Afro-Canadian activists was A.R. Blanchette. Born in the West Indies in 1910, Blanchette moved to the United States in 1928 where he completed three years of education at Howard University, until the depression forced him to abandon his plans to become a doctor. In 1942, however, Asa Philip Randolph, head of the BSCP in the United States, established a Winnipeg division of the organization, where Blanchette served as the first secretary. Seven years later Blanchette became the International Field Organizer in Montreal for the BSCP. There he became a prominent activist on behalf of Afro-Canadians through his work as a vocal member of the Committee for Human Rights of the CLC.[60]

The most renowned and prolific of Afro-Canadian activists in the 1950s was Stanley Grizzle. Born in Toronto in 1924, Grizzle became president of the Toronto C.P.R. Division of the BSCP and a member of the Joint Labour Committee for Human Rights and the Toronto and District

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[59] "CCL-TLC Meets," p. 1.

[60] A further discussion of Blanchette's contribution to Afro-Canadian activism in the immediate post-war period is provided in Winks, Blacks in Canada, p. 425.

Labour Committee for Human Rights.[61] A capable spokesman for the NCA in their demonstration on 27 April 1954, Grizzle achieved prominence by giving a series of lectures and broadcasts on discrimination in Canada as a representative of the BSCP.[62]

One of the issues that galvanized the black leadership in the 1950s was Canada's racially exclusive immigration policy. Although the Canadian Government did not significantly alter immigration policy towards visible minorities in the 1950s, it did allow a number of Afro-Caribbean women to enter Canada as domestic servants in the 1950s. Begun in 1955, the West Indian Domestic Scheme represented the Canadian government's response to the NCA's march on Ottawa in 1954. To be eligible for the scheme the applicant had to be a single female between the ages of 18 and 35, in good health, and with a minimum grade eight education. Successful applicants would be granted landed immigrant status after having worked as a domestic servant for at least one year, and could apply for citizenship after

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[61] For a further discussion of Grizzle's contribution to Afro-Canadian activism in the 1950s see Winks, Blacks in Canada, pp. 425-426.

[62] See Stanley Grizzle, Statement of Stanley G. Grizzle, regarding Canadian Immigration Act and P.C. 2856 dated June 9, 1950 as amended, in support of brief submitted by the Negro Citizenship Association to the Honourable Walter Harris, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Tuesday, April 27, 1954, at Parliament Buildings, Ottawa. (Appendix B); Stanley Grizzle, "Canada at Work," broadcast in Toronto, Ontario, 14 February 1960.

five years in Canada.[63] Initially limited to 100 women annually from Jamaica and Barbados, the scheme was expanded in both numbers and geography of recruitment by the 1960s.[64] Frances Henry's study of the Afro-Caribbean Domestic Scheme reported that in 1968 "a total of 2,250 women...entered Canada on a quota of 280 per year."[65]

Significantly, the Afro-Caribbean Domestic Scheme reinforced the notion of black servitude, fitting easily with the employment pattern of the Afro-Canadian population in the immediate post-war era, and did not energize Afro-Canadian activism. Although West Indian domestics were often skilled and university educated, the demanding nature of their work and their tenuous legal position in Canada deterred them from participating in the political arena.[66] Moreover, their social status as domestics isolated them from the small number of university-educated and professionally employed blacks in Canada.[67]

In the end, it is evident that Afro-Canadian activism in the fifteen year interval following the end of the Second

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[63] Walker, West Indians in Canada, p. 10.

[64] Walker, West Indians in Canada, p. 10; Frances Henry, "The West Indian Domestic Scheme in Canada," p. 83.

[65] Frances Henry, "The West Indian Domestic Scheme in Canada," p. 83.

[66] Frances Henry, "The West Indian Domestic Scheme in Canada," pp. 83-91; Interview with Robert Douglas, Montreal, Quebec, 22 June 1991.

[67] Interview with Milton Phillip, Toronto, Ontario, 26 July 1991.

World War lacked dynamism and militancy. Without a critical mass of population, or of university-educated, affluent members, the black communities of Montreal and Toronto produced few publications and organizations that were actively engaged in the battle against discrimination in Canada, or that worked to promote racial identity. Yet in spite of this apparent apathy several seeds of change in Afro-Canadian activism were sown in the 1950s by changes to Canadian immigration policy and the emergence of a new black activism in the United States. The recognition by Afro-Canadian leaders of the militant black activism in the United States in the 1960s, in turn, blossomed into a series of Afro-American influenced voluntary organizations dedicated to checking discrimination in Canada.

CHAPTER THREE

A Radical Transformation: The Afro-American Influence in Afro-Canadian Activism in the 1960s

The influence of Afro-American activism on the politics of the Afro-Canadian community became increasingly important in the 1960s. Contrary to the myth perpetuated by Winks and Keith Henry, a number of Afro-Canadian organizations adopted tactics that introduced a new militancy to black politics in Canada. For example, during the early part of the 1960s, the tactic of non-violent direct action was adopted by the MLKC, a voluntary organization established in Toronto with a strong connection to the Afro-American civil rights movement. The strategy of interracial cooperation, a fundamental aspect of the civil rights movement, was also employed by the MLKC and was consistently advocated by Dr. Dan Hill, the first director of the OHRC. Established in 1968, the AAPA and the BLFC borrowed several of the slogans of the BPP, an organization with which they maintained strong ties. The BLFC and AAPA also introduced marxist ideology to Afro-Canadian activism that was gaining support in the United States and internationally in the late 1960s. Furthermore, the existence of groups such as the moderate MLKC on the one hand and the militant BLFC and AAPA on the other, provided the black community for the first time with alternative strategies from which to choose.

Yet despite similarities in the political platforms of

the various Canadian and American organizations, Afro-Canadian activism differed from its American counterpart in three fundamental ways. First, unlike the policies of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and BPP, which were designed to counter indigenous conditions of racial discrimination, the MLKC and AAPA dedicated considerable energy to supporting Afro-American activism rather than focusing on problems in Canada. Secondly, despite adopting the BPP's slogans of racially exclusive membership and activism, the BLFC and AAPA tended, in practice, to be pluralist or interracial in their approach. Finally, unlike Afro-American activists in the SCLC, SNCC and BPP, who had strong grass roots support across the United States, the OHRC, MLKC, BLFC and AAPA did not muster much national support outside their institutional base in Toronto.

During the early 1960s, Afro-Canadian activism in Toronto was energized by the high profile of Martin Luther King and the civil rights movement of the United States. In the 1950s black leaders in Toronto had established contact with King and sent financial assistance to the Montgomery Improvement Association in 1956.[1] As the SCLC and SNCC developed substantial grass roots support in the American South in the early 1960s, the relationship increased beyond correspondence. During the early part of the decade, for

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[1] Martin Luther King, "A Letter From Montgomery," The Canadian Negro, June 1956, vol. 4 no. 1, p. 2.

instance, SNCC militants were frequently invited guests to Toronto, thus exposing Afro-Canadians at first hand to the tactics of the civil rights movement.[2] King himself visited the city on a number of occasions, and his presence further helped to cement relations between leaders on both sides of the border, leading to the creation of the MLKC, a voluntary organization in the early 1960s.[3]

Patterned after the SCLC and SNCC, the MLKC marked a radical departure from previous black organizations by introducing the tactic of non-violent direct action. On 7 July 1964, the MLKC coordinated a demonstration outside Maple Leaf Gardens in Toronto, when governor George Wallace of Alabama was speaking to the Lions Club.[4] A few months later, on 12 March 1965, it staged a protest rally in memory of Medgar Evers, the civil rights leader who was shot and killed in Mississippi.[5] These events contrasted with previous attempts at mass mobilization, such as the Ottawa demonstration of 24 April 1954, because they deliberately introduced the threat of confrontation through non-violent

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[2] Interview with Jean Augustine, Toronto, Ontario, 31 July.

[3] For a further discussion of this matter see: "Progress Report Of Martin Luther King Fund," West Indian News Observer, May 1968, vol. 2 no. 5, p. 1; Interview with Charles Roach, Toronto, Ontario, 29 July 1991.

[4] W. Gunther Plaut, "Open Letter to Governor Wallace," Globe and Mail, 8 July 1964, p. 6; "Wallace Closely Guarded as Crowds Jeer," Globe and Mail, 8 July 1964, p. 5.

[5] Interview with Charles Roach; Jamaican-Canadian Association, Monthly Reporter, March 1965, vol. 3 no. 2, p. 3.

direct action.[6] The Jamaican-Canadian Association (JCA) proclaimed "that a police officer had kicked a coloured student while protesting outside the United States Embassy" at the demonstration on 12 March 1965 organized by the MLKC.[7]

Like the SCLC and SNCC, the MLKC was a racially-integrated organization and was closely allied with the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews as well as other Canadian organizations.[8] Commenting on the memorial service for Medgar Evers held by the MLKC, the JCA claimed that "[c]lergy of all faiths, Rabbis and Nuns were all demonstrating their deep feelings of protest," and that the organization was "proud to be asscciated with this movement."[9] The necessity for these alliances was clearly demonstrated by the MLKC's, Martin Luther King Fund (MLKF), which attempted "to raise more than $15 000" at the demonstration against Governor Wallace.[10] The campaign for funds was coordinated by a committee that included Stanley Grizzle, Rabbi W. Gunther Plaut of the Holy Blossom Temple and Reverend Roland de Corneille, who was chairman of the

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[6] A further discussion of the peaceful demonstration orchestrated by the NCA is provided in "Delegates to Ottawa Urge Immigration Policy Change," p. 1.

[7] Monthly Reporter, March 1965, p. 3.

[8] Interview with Al Mercury, Toronto, Ontario, 31 July 1991.

[9] Monthly Reporter, March 1965, p. 3.

[10] "Clergy to Throw Boomerang at Governor Wallace", Toronto Telegram, 8 July 1964, p. 6.

fund.[11]

This pluralist approach to activism was most effectively pursued by the OHRC in the 1960s.[12] Created in 1962 as part of a new climate of progressive legislation that included the Canadian Bill of Rights, the OHRC was designed to fight racism against minorities in Ontario.[13] Although a 1967 report indicated that 30 different groups had been represented by the OHRC, the Afro-Canadian population emerged as the primary beneficiaries of the commission.[14] As of 1969, approximately 50 percent of the complaints on file at the OHRC were submitted by Afro-Canadians.[15]

The first director of the OHRC was Dr. Daniel Hill, a prominent member of the MLKF who was born in Missouri in 1921 and had received his B.A. from Howard University, a prestigious Afro-American institution. He immigrated to Canada where he received his Ph.D. in sociology from the

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[11] "Welcome Governor Wallace," Toronto Telegram, 8 July 1964, p. 5.

[12] Interviews with several Afro-Canadians, who have been living in Toronto for a long period, support this interpretation.

[13] For a further discussion of the creation of the OHRC see Winks, Blacks in Canada, pp. 427-429.

[14] "On Race and Religion: Over 2,000 Claim Discrimination," West Indian News Observer, December 1967, vol. 1 no. 9, p. 1.

[15] Hill cited in Martin O'Malley, "A tolerant people? Nice to believe. We're really just polite racists," The Globe Magazine, 16 February 1969, p. 7; Another account claimed that 64.4 percent of "Formal Complaints" filed from June 1962 to 31 July 1968 were registered by Afro-Canadians. See Austin "Social Status of Blacks in Toronto," p. 198.

University of Toronto, having written his dissertation on the city's black population. Two years after completing his doctorate, he was hired as the first director of the OHRC, a position he held throughout the 1960s.[16]

During his tenure Hill consciously promoted an integrated approach to civil rights. At the memorial service for Martin Luther King held in Toronto on 9 April 1968, Hill spoke to a racially integrated crowd of approximately two thousand people, and evoked King's famous "I Have A Dream" speech when he stated:

> Those of us across the land who are entrusted with administering federal and provincial human rights legislation will forever be haunted by the memory of Martin Luther King, if we compromise in Canada--in the Human Rights Struggle--and if we fail to see the overwhelming significance of his life for Canadian Indians, Black men and Asians who still suffer discrimination and who have not yet been accorded the full benefits of our society.[17]

By following the example of the civil rights movement, individuals like Hill, and organizations such as the OHRC and MLKC, helped to introduce a new militancy into black politics that transcended the previous emphasis on community and social work.

As the decade drew to a close, however, several organizations emerged in the United States that espoused a

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[16] For a further discussion of Hill see Bertley, Canada and its People of African Descent, p. 174.

[17] Daniel G. Hill, "Statement Given At Memorial Service For Martin Luther King Jr.," Nathan Phillips Square, Toronto, 9 April 1968, pp. 1-2 (Appendix C).

more militant approach to fighting racism than the SCLC and SNCC. The most renowned of these was the BPP, which in the late 1960s joined the Nation of Islam at the pinnacle of the Afro-American Black Power movement. Founded in Oakland, California, on 15 October 1966 by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, the BPP mustered a large following among Afro-American youth in the ghettos of large cities in the North.[18]

The first sign of the American Black Power movement's influence in Canada was the arrival of Ted Watkins, an Afro-American who was associated with the Nation of Islam in the United States. Watkins, who was shot dead in California on 2 June 1968, had played professional football in the Canadian Football League during the mid to late 1960s, distinguishing himself as one of the league's premier players.[19] During that time, he frequently voiced the opinion that discrimination was just as rife in Canada as in the United States and spoke of waking to "find it's revolution day come to Toronto."[20] Carl Woodbeck, editor of Africa Speaks, an Afro-Canadian publication with a strong Christian foundation claimed that: "Mr. Watkins was too

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[18] For a further discussion of the BPP's evolution see Louis G. Heath, Off The Pigs: The History and Literature of the Black Panther Party (Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, 1976), pp. 13-17.

[19] Ted Watkins, "Black man: Unite and Fight," Black Liberation News, July 1969, vol. 1 no. 1, p. 1.

[20] Ted Watkins cited in "Black Nationalism in Canada," West Indian News Observer, March 1968, vol. 2 no. 3, p. 1.

noisy in his approach to the cause of coloured people and might have achieved the high goal of getting many of the race killed if that had not happened to him first."[21] Although Watkins's comments drew the ire of established Afro-Canadian leaders, he was influential in helping to found the BLFC, and AAPA.[22]

Created in Toronto, in 1968, several of the BLFC's stated policies closely paralleled those of the BPP. Just as many Afro-American Black Power advocates labelled King and the civil rights movement as too moderate, the Black Liberation News, the BLFC's official publication, criticized established black leaders on similar grounds. The most convenient target for this criticism was the OHRC. In an introductory article which described the history and objectives of the BLFC, the editors of the Black Liberation News stated:

> The system has constantly and systematically failed us time and time again. We have attempted to address our grievances to such bodies as the Ontario Human Rights Commission, but to no avail. The OHRC does not and never will be the answer to our problems.[23]

The influence of the BPP on the BLFC was also apparent in

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[21] Carl Woodbeck, "The Scene in the United States," Africa Speaks, 8 June 1968, vol. 13 no. 152, pp. 1-2.

[22] A further discussion of Watkins's role in the formation of the BLFC is provided in Ted Watkins, "Black Man: Unite and Fight"; Watkins founded the AAPA with the help of Jan Carew and Jose Garcia on March, 1968. See "Black Nationalism in Canada."

[23] "History and Objectives: Black Liberation Front of Canada", Black Liberation News, July 1969, vol. 1 no. 1, p.2.

its willingness to provide a Canadian platform for prominent Panthers. Eldridge Cleaver, author of Soul on Ice and the BPP's Minister of Information published in the Black Liberation News.[24] Similarly, Leonard Brown and Kathleen Cleaver, two high profile members of the BPP, were frequently invited as guest speakers at the BLFC's meetings.[25] Like the BPP, the BLFC also advocated racially exclusive membership and denounced the interracial tactics of organizations such as the MLKC and OHRC.[26]

The AAPA was also founded in Toronto in 1968 and closely paralleled the BLFC by virtue of its strong association with the BPP. Indeed, the very name of the organization--Afro-American Progressive Association--established its close identification with groups south of the border.[27] The AAPA held rallies in Toronto in the late 1960s and early 1970s where several high ranking members of the BPP took centre stage.[28] At the first of these events, on December 1968,

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[24] Black Liberation News, August 1969, vol. 1 no. 2, p. 1.

[25] Black Liberation News, August 1969, vol. 1 no. 2, p. 1; "Kathleen Cleaver Leads Rally," Contrast, 10 May 1968, vol. 1 no. 5, p. 1.

[26] "Black Liberation Front of Canada," p. 2.

[27] The BPP's co-founders--Huey Newton and Bobby Seale--"both were involved in groups such as the Afro-American Association, whose members read and debated in an effort to formulate a "black nationalist" philosophy." Heath, Off The Pigs!, p. 17.

[28] See, for instance: Nadine Proudfoot, "Black Panthers Visit Toronto," West Indian News Observer, December 1968, vol. 3 no. 12, pp. 1-2; A Brother, "Panthers Speak in Toronto," Contrast, 4 April 1970, vol. 2 no. 2, p. 10.

Jose Garcia, the president and co-founder of the AAPA, announced that the aim of the rally was to publicize the circumstances surrounding the imprisonment of Huey Newton, co-founder of the BPP.[29]

Like the BLFC, the AAPA embraced the strategy of racially exclusive membership. The AAPA's weekly meetings in the late 1960s, which drew an average of one hundred participants, were restricted to people of African descent.[30] Denouncing the interracial strategy pursued by other Afro-Canadian organizations as too moderate, Jan Carew, co-founder of the AAPA, dismissed "the idea of brotherhood of all men, [as] a fallacy," and attacked the OHRC "as a superficial organization."[31] Echoing Watkins's notions about the depth of prejudice in Canada, Carew concluded that Canada "does not have less prejudice than the United States, only fewer people and a different history."[32]

The AAPA, BLFC and its official organ, Black Liberation News, also revitalized Afro-Canadian activism by infusing it with marxist ideology that gathered support among Afro-American and international radicals during the late 1960s.

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[29] Jose Garcia cited in Proudfoot, "Black Panthers Visit Toronto," p. 2.

[30] O'Malley, "A tolerant people?," p. 8; Jan Carew, interview held at Montreal, Quebec, 10 February 1993.

[31] Jan Carew cited in Proudfoot, "Black Panthers Visit Toronto," p. 2.

[32] Jan Carew, "A Long Way To Go," Globe Magazine, 16 February 1969, p. 12.

The central tenet of this doctrine as espoused by the BLFC and AAPA was that economically developed nations were contributing to the economic and political oppression of the third world--most of which consisted of visible minorities--and that these nations' governments should be overthrown. Jose Garcia told the Globe and Mail reporter, Jose Garcia, about this aspect of AAPA political ideology:

> We're part of the same political line which is a Marxist-Leninist line...The struggle internationally takes different phases. Like in Vietnam. We identify with the Vietnamese. They are struggling for us.[33]

The Black Liberation News stated:

> We have raised the level of consciousness of the black man in Canada by exposing the role of Canada in racist South Africa, the Caribbean (Jamaica), Latin America (Guyana and Brazil).[34]

Supporting a demonstration against apartheid in Toronto on 6 June 1969, the Black Liberation News explained that: "Their [black South African] cause is the cause of Africa and the world, and their comrades in arms, supporters, and allies number the hundreds if not millions of people who love freedom."[35]

By adopting this militant stance the BLFC and AAPA introduced new concerns to the Afro-Canadian community and created a dynamic tension over leadership that presented the

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[33] Jose Garcia cited in O'Malley, "A tolerant people? Nice to believe," p. 8.

[34] "Black Liberation Front of Canada," p. 2.

[35] "Protest Racism in South Africa," Black Liberation News, July 1969, vol. 1 no. 1, p. 4.

population with a clear choice of alternatives for the first time. One example of this tension was the debate between the Caribbean Chronicle, a newspaper catering to the West Indian population of Toronto, and the Black Liberation News, over the issue of importing Black Power tactics from the United States. Concerned about the possible reversal of Canada's liberal immigration policy toward visible minorities in the late 1960s, the Caribbean Chronicle insisted that:

> we take issue with the founders of the Black Power movement in Toronto...Canada has opened its doors to thousands of West Indians in search of betterment for themselves and their families. With the growing rumblings of Black Power it is quite easy for Canada to decide to shut the door, or at least make it so much more difficult for would-be immigrants from the Caribbean.[36]

The organ of the BLFC responded by referring to the Caribbean Chronicle as a "Negro newspaper" in their approach to "the black man's struggles."[37]

Yet despite the visible influence of American blacks in the transformation of Afro-Canadian politics in the 1960s, the situation in Canada did not conform strictly to a continental pattern. Most leaders in the Afro-Canadian community recognized that there were important demographic and historical differences between Canada and the United States. This recognition, in turn, led militants to pursue

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[36] Caribbean Chronicle cited in "Black Liberation Front of Canada," p. 1.

[37] "Black Liberation Front of Canada," p. 1.

significantly different strategies that were sensitive to the different context.

One of the most telling differences was that Canadian racism was more subtle compared to the overt discrimination of the United States. Whereas lynching had essentially vanished from the United States by the 1960s, the Afro-American population in the South encountered many instances of racially motivated violence.[38] The American North, on the other hand, was also the scene of many instances of racial clashes triggered in large part by the overt mores of racism. The KKK went through a renaissance in the early 1960s, in large part as a reaction to the gains made by Afro-Americans in the 1950s, and had substantial grass roots support throughout the United States.[39] According to the Anti-Defamation League, "provable hardcore membership was estimated at 10,000" in the United States in 1965.[40] In Canada, on the other hand, the KKK was nearly non-existent,

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[38] Three Afro-American were lynched between 1960-1968, the lowest total of any decade since the recording of lynching by race was begun in 1882. Statistics provided by the Archives at Tuskegee Institute, February 1979, cited in Robert L. Zangrando, The NAACP Crusade Against Lynching, 1909-1950 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980), pp. 6-7; For a further discussion of the KKK's influence and activity in the American South see, John George and Laird Wilcox, Nazis, Communists, Klansmen and Others on the Fringe (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1992), pp. 396-398.

[39] For a further discussion of the resurgence of the KKK in the late 1950s and early 1960s see George and Wilcox, Nazis, Communists, Klansmen, p. 396.

[40] Anti-Defamation League estimate cited in Wyn Craig Wade, The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), p. 309.

and overt acts of racially-motivated violence against people of African descent were, comparatively speaking, almost negligible. During the 1960s, there was only one widely publicized incident of KKK activity in Canada, and that took place in Amherstburg, Ontario.[41]

On the issue of racial discrimination, for example, many Afro-Canadian leaders were convinced that the problem in Canada was much more subtle than in the United States. Speaking to the University Women's Club of North York in 1963, Dan Hill described the difference in racism between the American South and Ontario as follows:

> Frankly, in Ontario we have not had to face the virulent, pathologically oriented forms of discrimination and hate which seem to be the daily diet of residents in many parts of the United States...We have no signs separating drinking fountains, theatres and other places of public accommodation.[42]

The following year, in a panel discussion that included representatives from B'Nai Brith and the Beth David Congregation, Hill further pointed out that Ontario lacks "the historic pattern of segregation, born in the mainstream American slave system which has seriously afflicted United States' urban centres [of the north]."[43] Although Carew and Watkins, two of the three founding members of the AAPA,

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[41] Winks, Blacks in Canada, pp. 449-452.

[42] Daniel G. Hill, "Address," given at the University Womens' Club of North York, Toronto, Ontario, 24 April 1963, p. 2.

[43] Daniel G. Hill, "Panel Discussion: B'nai Brith and Beth David Congregation," Toronto, Ontario, 2 March 1964, p. 7.

claimed that there was a single continental pattern to racism, Jose Garcia, the third founding member and president of the organization, disagreed. The Globe Magazine quoted his argument that racism in Canada was more subtle than in the United States and that there was "not enough oppression in Toronto to unite the blacks."[44]

Given this climate of covert discrimination, Afro-Canadian activism in the 1960s often seemed designed to lend support to Afro-American organizations that were struggling against very different conditions in the United States. The MLKC and AAPA, for example, invested considerable energy in supporting foreign causes.[45] Both of the MLKC's major demonstrations in the 1960s were triggered by events in the United States and orchestrated to support the Afro-American civil rights movement. This support often took the form of financial assistance. The resources raised from the MLKF's demonstration against Governor Wallace were to be "forwarded to the SCLC."[46] Likewise, the AAPA raised $562 (Canadian) at a December 1968, rally to support the family of Ted Watkins, who were living in the United States, and contributed to a fund for the imprisoned BPP co-founder,

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[44] O'Malley, "A tolerant people?," p. 8.

[45] Interview with Charles Roach. Due to its policy of helping civil rights organizations in the United States, Roach, the current chairman of Martin Luther King Day in Toronto, coined the term "in support organization" for the MLKC.

[46] "Welcome Governor Wallace," p. 5.

Huey Newton.[47]

A second major difference between the Afro-Canadian and Afro-American experience derived from the significantly smaller black population in Canada. Despite the slight increase in the size of the Afro-Canadian population relative to the total number of inhabitants in Canada, the black communities of Toronto and Montreal still paled in comparison to the Afro-American population in most urban centres. Census estimates for 1970 revealed that there were 22,580,289 residents of African descent in the United States, approximately 11 percent of the country's total population.[48] This figure exceeded the total number of inhabitants in Canada reported in 1971 and dwarfed the number of black residents living in Canada.[49] In 1971, there were 62,470 residents of African descent in Canada, but while this represented a substantial increase of 250 percent over the 1951 figures, it accounted for only 3/10 of 1 percent of the total Canadian population.[50] It was also only 3 percent of the total number of residents of African

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[47] Proudfoot, "Black Panthers Visit Toronto," pp. 1-2.

[48] U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1980, vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, table 44, p. 1-40; The total population of the United States in 1970 was reported as 203,211,926. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1970, vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, table 44, p. 1-40.

[49] A total of 21,568,311 Canadian inhabitants were reported in 1971. Census of Canada 1971, vol. 1, pt. 1.

[50] Census of Canada 1971, vol. 1, pt. 3, table 1.

descent in New York City.[51] In 1971, the 11,695 black residents of Toronto represented 6/10 of 1 percent of the city's total population of 2,085,190.[52] In Montreal, meanwhile, there were 15,092 Afro-Canadians inhabitants or 7/10 of 1 percent of the total population of 2,187,153.[53]

Due to the migration of Afro-Americans out of the rural South begun during the First World War and the persistence of segregated housing zones, the Afro-American population in the 1960s was predominantly urban and concentrated in ghettos.[54] Estimates from 1970 revealed that residents of African descent constituted 11 percent of New York City's population, 18 percent of the total population of Los Angeles and 40 percent in Detroit.[55] Harlem, New York, claimed 97 percent of its residents from African descent and was the most widely recognizable ghetto in the United

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[51] A total of 1,883,292 Afro American residents were reported in New York in 1970. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, New York Census of Population: 1970, p. 4.

[52] Census figures cited in Keith Henry, Black Politics in Toronto, p. 12.

[53] Census figures cited in Williams, Blacks in Montreal, p. 80; Census of Canada 1971, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 2-34.

[54] Daniel O. Price, Changing Characteristics of the Negro Population (Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1960), pp. 9-16.

[55] Census of New York 1970, p. 4; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Los Angeles Census of Population: 1970, p. 3; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Detroit Census of Population: 1970, p. 6.

States.[56]

Not only was the Afro-Canadian population relatively smaller than its American counterpart, it was not concentrated in the ghettos that were common in the United States. In a memorial issue following the assassination of Martin Luther King, the editors of Expression predicted that race riots would be forthcoming in Montreal.[57] The magazine claimed that racial conflict was inevitable "for, slowly but surely, a black ghetto is being created in the Côte-des-Neiges area."[58] Whereas the message of the article was to demonstrate that Canada was not immune to race riots, the editors nonetheless acknowledged that Montreal did not yet have ghettos comparable to those in the urban centres of the United States. Even Jose Garcia, leader of the AAPA, concluded only "that Toronto has the beginning of a black ghetto," as he "drew up a map of an area bounded by Queen, Bathurst, Harbord and University."[59]

Afro-Canadians were further differentiated from the Afro-American population by the lack of an indigenous heroic and libertarian tradition. During slavery, the Afro-

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[56] Alphonso Pinkney and Roger R. Woock, Poverty and Politics in Harlem: Report on Project Uplift 1965 (New Haven: College and University Press, 1970), pp. 27-28.

[57] In fact, the editorial article provided a date--30 June 1984--and a graphic account of the predicted riot. "Editorial," Expression, May 1968, vol. 3 no. 1, pp. 3-5.

[58] "Editorial," Expression, p. 4.

[59] Jose Garcia cited in O'Malley, "A tolerant people?," p. 8.

American population produced Desmond Vessey and Nat Turner, two indigenous and nationally recognizable figures who rebelled against the slave-owners. This tradition persisted into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois emerged as nationally acclaimed spokespeople for the Afro-American population. By contrast, the activist who was most widely acclaimed by Afro-Canadians in the twentieth century was Marcus Garvey, who was born in Jamaica and never lived in Canada.[60]

Given these demographic and historical discrepancies several Afro-Canadian leaders argued against importing the radical tactics of the American Black Power movement that had proven successful in the American inner cities. At the Canadian Conference Committee (CCC), held at Sir George Williams University, on October 1968, Howard McCurdy and Dan Hill, two established leaders in the Afro-Canadian community vehemently opposed the incursions of Black Power advocacy.[61] The CCC's position was further supported by five Afro-Canadian organizations and the West Indian News Observer, an Afro-Canadian publication printed in Toronto. Together they published an editorial that declared that the "situation confronting the black man in Canada cannot be

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[60] A detailed discussion of Garvey's influence on Afro-Canadian activism is provided in Bertley, "The Universal Negro Improvement Association of Montreal," pp. 402-449.

[61] Howard McCurdy, "Keynote Address: Problems Of Involvement In The Canadian Society With Reference To Black People," Expression, Winter 1968, vol. 3 no. 3, pp. 10-14; Dan Hill, Expression, Winter 1968, vol. 3 no. 3, pp. 17-19.

solved...in an American context."[62] Even the leaders of the BLFC and AAPA accepted the reality that the "quantity of blacks here isn't a threat...like in England."[63]

Because of these distinct demographic realities the BLFC and AAPA resisted policies of racially exclusive membership and activism. Although the AAPA's weekly meetings were restricted to members of African descent, its major rallies were not only racially integrated, but were often dominated by white-Canadians. Nadine Proudfoot, a reporter for the West Indian News Observer, remarked that the December 1968 rally staged by the BPP attracted a crowd of "200 blacks and 300 whites."[64] A New York Times reporter who attended the rally claimed that "I would have been much more impressed if there were not so many whites."[65] Likewise, another reporter who was at the AAPA's second major rally, at the U.N.I.A. hall in Toronto on 22 March 1970, stated that it "was attended by about 1,500 people, 3/4 of whom were white."[66] Unlike the BPP, the BLFC and AAPA also extended

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[62] "Editorial: The West Indian News Observer is Proud to Add its Name to the Following Release", West Indian News Observer, November 1968, vol. 3 no. 11, p. 2.

[63] Jose Garcia cited in O'Malley, "A tolerant people?," p. 8; See also Carew, "Long Way To Go," p. 12.

[64] Proudfoot, "Black Panthers Visit Toronto," p. 1; Another report on the meeting states that "about 100 blacks showed up - and about 500 white radicals." O'Malley, "A tolerant people?," p. 7.

[65] Anonymous New York Times reporter cited in O'Malley, "A tolerant people?," p. 7.

[66] A Brother, "Panthers Speak in Toronto," p. 10.

their activism to include other minorities, forming alliances with native organizations in particular. The first edition of the Black Liberation News announced that the BLFC had "established our first links in the form of an alliance with the Indians."[67] This claim was echoed by Jan Carew of the AAPA, who stated that: "In analyzing race relations in this country it is impossible to deal with the Black minority without reference to the Indian one."[68]

Finally, in contrast to American organizations such as the SCLC, SNCC and BPP, all of which had widespread support in many regions of the United States, the membership of the MLKC, AAPA and BLFC was more limited geographically. Although the MLKC was active well into the late 1960s, its activities were restricted to the city of Toronto and virtually all of its membership was drawn from there.[69] The same was true of the AAPA.[70] Indeed, the smaller scale of these Canadian groups was reflected by their vulnerability to changes in leadership. When Jan Carew left Canada for the United States in 1970 the AAPA disbanded

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67 "Black Liberation Front of Canada," p. 2.

68 Jan Carew, "Long Way to Go," p. 12.

69 "Committee to Select Recipient - Rev. M. L. King Jr. Memorial Award for Social Action," Minutes of Meeting, Toronto, Ontario, April 1968 (Appendix D); Interview with Dorothy Wills.

70 O'Malley, "A tolerant people?," p. 8; Interview with Malcolm Street.

Figure 4. An illustration of the racially integrated Black Power movement in Canada. West Indian News Observer, January 1968, vol. 2 no. 1, p. 2.

shortly afterward.[71] The BLFC also suffered a premature demise when its principal organ, the Black Liberation News, ceased publication after only two issues.[72] The most telling example of the relatively smaller scale of Afro-Canadian activism was the fact that not one leader from the MLKC, BLFC, AAPA or OHRC achieved the level of national recognition that was bestowed upon individuals such as Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael or Huey Newton in the United States.

In summary, this chapter has brought to light some of the achievements in Afro-Canadian activism in the post-war period. It has demonstrated that Afro-American models were instrumental in bringing new tactics and concerns to Afro-Canadian activism in the 1960s. The MLKC, a voluntary organization patterned after the SCLC and SNCC, inserted the tactic of non-violent direct action into Afro-Canadian activism. Dan Hill, the first director of the OHRC, formally introduced the tactic of interracial cooperation, equated with the civil rights movement, to promote the pluralist policy of the OHRC. By adopting the Black Power slogans of the BPP, the BLFC and AAPA offered Afro-Canadians a clear choice of alternative strategies. The BLFC and AAPA also inserted elements of marxist ideology into black community activism. All of these developments in the 1960s

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[71] Interview with Jan Carew; Interview with Al Hamilton, Toronto, Ontario, 22 July 1991.

[72] Ibid.

dispel the myth of a non-militant, apolitical state of activism in the post-World War II period depicted by Winks and Henry.

While some recent scholarship tends to emphasize uniform patterns of discrimination in Canada and the United States, it is clear that Afro-Canadian activism developed in a significantly different manner from its Afro-American counterpart even though it was heavily influenced by events and groups south of the border. Due to differences in demography, discrimination and culture, and a recognition of these discrepancies by Afro-Canadian leaders, black activism in Canada was substantially less militant than in the United States. With the influx of Afro-Caribbeans into Canada in the 1960s the differences between Afro-Canadian and Afro-American activism became even more pronounced.

CHAPTER FOUR

Infusion of Militancy: The Afro-Caribbean Influence in Afro-Canadian Activism in the 1960s

The arrival in Canada in the 1960s of significant numbers of West Indian immigrants dramatically altered the structure and politics of the Afro-Canadian community. Not only did West Indian immigrants increase the overall black population of Canada but they also introduced a spectrum of occupations and educational qualifications not generally associated with the Afro-Canadian community, and re-introduced elements of pan-Africanist thinking into Afro-Canadian activism. In so doing, Afro-Caribbeans were pivotal in establishing a pan-national organization (NBCC) and a pan-national publication (Contrast). Contrast was the first successful, national newspaper published in the Canadian black community. Contrary to Winks' assertions, the NBCC embraced the principle of national black identity and was part of a black activism in the late 1960s that displayed less dependence on sympathetic white allies than the NCA. West Indian students were also responsible for the Sir George Williams Affair on 11 February 1969, the first politically motivated act of violence of the Afro-Canadian community in the twentieth century. The Sir George Williams Affair split the Afro-Canadian leadership into moderates versus radicals and provided the black community with a

clear choice of political options.

Yet despite contributing to a new militancy that resembled Afro-American politics, Afro-Caribbean activism in Canada differed from trends in the United States in important ways. First, NBCC leaders and Afro-Caribbean student militants did not elicit the same level of support in the nation's black community as had Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X in the American context. Most importantly, the arrival in Canada of a large number of Afro-Caribbean immigrants significantly changed the ethnic composition of the black community. Moreover, it introduced deep divisions over ancestral origin that were more serious than in the United States, where West Indian immigrants did not significantly alter the ethnic composition of the Afro-American population. Particularly after the riots at Sir George Williams University the increased Afro-Caribbean presence in Afro-Canadian militancy sparked nativist comments in Contrast and by Canadian-born leaders of the NBCC, that marred the organization's attempt to achieve pan-national unity.

Due to the changes in Canada's immigration policy first introduced with the West Indian Domestic Scheme, Canada's black community underwent a population explosion in the 1960s. In the short span of ten years, the black population in Canada nearly doubled from a total of 32,127 inhabitants

in 1961 to 62,470 residents of African descent in 1971.[1] Most of the black immigrants in this period were from the English-speaking islands in the Caribbean and entered Canada after the introduction of the points system in 1967. For instance, of the total number of 43,241 Afro-Caribbean immigrants who arrived in the 1960s, 29,059 entered in the three year period following 1967.[2] Furthermore, Walker's study of the West Indians in Canada points out that the majority of the post-World War II immigrants gravitated to the major urban centres of Canada, particularly Toronto and Montreal.[3] In fact, 90 percent of the immigrants who chose Ontario as their point of destination between 1946 and 1969 came to live in Toronto, while Montreal attracted the second highest total.[4]

The arrival of a large number of Afro-Caribbean immigrants in the 1960s not only increased the black population in the nation, but also radically altered the ethnic composition of the Afro-Canadian community. Among the total black population of 62,470 reported in Canada in 1971, approximately 45 percent--28,025--were of West Indian

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[1] Census of Canada 1971, vol. 1, pt. 3, table 1; Ibid. p. 2-2.

[2] Canada Immigration Statistics: 1969, table 13, p. 21.

[3] Walker, West Indians in Canada, p. 15.

[4] Figure cited in J. Roth, West Indians in Toronto: The Students and the School, Report submitted to the East York Board of Education, Toronto, 1970, p. 7.

origin.[5] This figure represented a substantial increase from 1961 when West Indians accounted for only 7 percent of the nation's black population, and from the even smaller total of 3 percent of the Afro-Canadian community in 1951.[6]

The appearance of highly skilled West Indian immigrants in the 1960s also elevated the occupational status of the Afro-Canadian population. This situation was brought about and maintained by a selective immigration policy, codified in 1967 with the introduction of the "points system," which put preference on skills. According to Walker:

> They [Afro-Caribbeans] have...a younger average age than other immigrants, and their educational skill and background is the highest for any immigrant group. Their percentage of university graduates is double the immigrant average, and they have the lowest percentage of unskilled labourers. Under the terms of the 1967 provisions, West Indians as a group come closest to the desired immigrant to Canada.[7]

Canadian immigration statistics confirm this fact. Out of the total number of 29,314 Afro-Caribbean workers who entered Canada in the 1960s, 7,150 pursued clerical careers while 6,407 sought employment as professionals.[8] Noting the phenomenon of Afro-Caribbean immigrants who came to take

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[5] Walker, West Indians in Canada, p. 15.

[6] Census figures cited in Walker, West Indians in Canada, p. 10.

[7] Walker, West Indians in Canada, p. 13.

[8] Canadian Immigration Statistics cited in Austin, "Social Status of Blacks in Toronto," p. 33.

up employment on this higher level in Toronto, Austin stated that:

> Today they constitute a sizeable business, professional and middle class in Toronto. Professional Blacks in Toronto are predominantly nurses (more than 500), teachers, doctors (approximately 75), and lawyers. The health services in Toronto, which in the 1950s were all White, today exhibit one of the highest concentrations of professional Blacks."[9]

The 1960s also saw the arrival of an unprecedented number of Afro-Caribbean students into Canada. Walker claims that "Caribbean students had been coming to Canada on temporary visas since the 1920s," but it was only in the 1960s that "there were several thousand in Canada at any one time in sufficient concentrations to establish their own student clubs and social circles."[10] Precise figures on the number of students and on the universities they attended are difficult to pinpoint; however, there is a popular belief that the largest number came to live in Montreal, gravitating towards Sir George Williams University.[11] At the same time it is likely that Williams's claim that "there were as many as three thousand students living throughout

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[9] Austin, "Social Status of Blacks in Toronto," p. 31.

[10] Walker, West Indians in Canada, p. 11; See also Williams, Blacks in Montreal, p. 67.

[11] Interviews with several Afro-Caribbeans, who immigrated to Canada in the post-World War II era, support this position.

Montreal in 1965" is an overestimation.[12]

Afro-Caribbean immigrants also brought with them a heightened race consciousness, the most significant aspect of which was their commitment to pan-Africanism. This was not surprising for the Caribbean islands, particularly Jamaica, were steeped in a rich tradition of black militancy and produced the international pan-African movement of Marcus Garvey during the early part of the twentieth century. According to Bertley, the central tenets of the crusade defined by Garvey and adhered to by the UNIA branches can be summarized in four major categories:

> (1) pride and love of race (2) a universal confraternity of black people, (3) the concept of Africa as the Motherland of Blacks regardless of their place of residence at any given time, and (4) self reliance, especially in the economic sense.[13]

These key features of pan-Africanism had been rigorously followed by the UNIA branches in Montreal and Toronto in the 1920s--the organization's zenith in Canada--before both chapters dwindled to the point of extinction in the immediate post-World War II era. The arrival of a significant number of West Indian immigrants in the 1960s saw the reintroduction of several principles of the pan-African social movement in Canada.

Possessing new skills, educational aspirations, and

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[12] Williams, Blacks in Montreal, p. 67.

[13] Bertley, "The Universal Negro Improvement Association of Montreal," p. 131.

coming from an environment with a heightened sense of race consciousness, West Indian immigrants were instrumental in the drive for a new leadership to address the social and political problems of Canada's black community. Similar to the Afro-Caribbean immigrants of the post-World War I era, whose pioneering zeal laid the foundation for the UNIA in Canada, West Indian immigrants introduced a new militancy to Afro-Canadian activism in the 1960s. Williams effectively sums up this point when she states that "this new generation of immigrants took the lead and headed the numerous human rights organizations and the progressive newspapers that proliferated in the late sixties and early seventies."[14]

Adopting principles of the Afro-Caribbean imported pan-African social movement, Contrast, an Afro-Canadian newspaper, became the first successful, national publication of the Afro-Canadian community. Established in February 1969, Contrast began "publication with a combined circulation and distribution of approximately 10,000 [readers]," although the management of the paper noted that "not all are [were] subscribers."[15] Indicative of the publication's pan-national appeal, Contrast's subscribers and readership also extended across Canada, breaking the pattern of a parochial readership displayed by The Canadian

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[14] Williams, Blacks in Montreal, p. 67.

[15] "Dawn of Contrast," Contrast, February 1969, vol. 1 no. 1, p. 2.

Negro. Unlike The Canadian Negro, a monthly publication, Contrast established a bi-weekly format before the end of the 1960s, indicating that it was not encountering enormous financial difficulties. Initially released as a monthly publication, Contrast adopted a bi-weekly format in June 1969 which it maintained well into the 1970s. Three years after the appearance of its first issue Contrast still had a circulation base of 10,000.[16]

The publication's debt to the pan-African social movement was clearly stated from the outset. In the introductory issue of Contrast, the editors claimed that they wanted to "encourage a new consciousness among black people," which would lead to a single pan-national identity "irregardless [sic] of place of birth be it the West Indian islands - Canada - the United States - or Africa."[17] In the same article, the editors paid homage to the idea of Africa as the homeland when they stated:

> The extent to which Blacks can and do trace their roots to Africa, to that extent they will be able to be more effective on the social, economic and political scenes, making it possible to proceed towards the answers and solutions.[18]

Dedication to these principles was what drove Al Hamilton, "the sole owner and publisher of Contrast," to

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[16] 1972 Ayer Directory of Publications, p. 899.

[17] "Dawn of Contrast," p. 2.

[18] "Dawn of Contrast," p. 2.

create the publication in the first place.[19] Born in Winnipeg, during the Depression, Hamilton moved to Toronto in 1953 where he found employment in the financial side of the entertainment business, and where he later became the general manager of West Indian News Observer (1967). It was at this point that Hamilton saw the need for a pan-national publication based on the common bond of shared skin colour, which he exclaimed "bound blacks as a group as far as the greater society was concerned."[20] Hamilton summarized the conviction he felt in the late 1960s, which drove him to found Contrast, when he stated:

> It was important that we communicate with each other. I am talking about blacks--Canadian blacks, West Indians, Nova Scotians and Africans. We are all here [and] we all faced the same thing regardless of what some thought. We were seen by a broader community as the same--so once you are black in a society then you are black...That is what drove me. The feeling that we needed to communicate and that we needed unity.[21]

Although Hamilton was of native Afro-Canadian descent, the events that led to the creation of Contrast owed a considerable debt to the arrival of Afro-Caribbean immigrants in the 1960s. Hamilton claims that Dorothy Wills, an activist of West Indian descent, was impressed by the underlying principles behind Contrast and lent him

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19 "The Dawn of Contrast," p. 2; Interview with Al Hamilton.

20 Interview with Al Hamilton.

21 Interview with Al Hamilton.

support in the planning stages of the publication. Hamilton also received support from Olivia Grange-Walker, an immigrant of Jamaican descent, who served as the first editor of the newspaper.[22] Contrast's debt to the Afro-Caribbean presence in Canada, however, can best be seen in the fact that it was established to fill a void following the demise of the West Indian News Observer.[23] Published monthly in Toronto from 1967 to 1969, the West Indian News Observer dealt predominantly with issues affecting the Afro-Caribbean population, who were its main subscribers. In its final issue, on January 1969, the editors announced the demise of their publication and the creation of Contrast, a newspaper with a more ambitious, pan-national agenda when they stated:

> The management of WIN Publications regrets that this will be the final issue of the West Indian News Observer...As of February 1st, 1969, Contrast, a new weekly geared to the interests of the West Indian and Afro-Canadian community will replace the Observer.[24]

The chain of events that led to the establishment of the NBCC, a pan-national Afro-Canadian organization, on October 1969, also revealed a considerable debt to the increased presence of Afro-Caribbean immigrants in Canada. The

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[22] Interview with Al Hamilton.

[23] Interview with Malcolm Street, Toronto, Ontario, 26 July 1991; Interview with Al Hamilton.

[24] "Editorial: Last Issue," West Indian News Observer, January 1969, vol. 3 no. 13, p. 2.

initial spark was ignited by a series of conferences that were organized by West Indian immigrants between 1965 and 1968.[25] According to Roy States, the official historian of the NBCC, these conferences initially pertained to "West Indian Affairs because they had been organized in the first place by West Indian groups," and dealt with issues affecting the Caribbean.[26] For instance, the theme of the conferences in the first two years was "the making of the Caribbean peoples," and they included several noted West-Indian intellectuals, such as C.L.R. James, who spoke on issues affecting the Caribbean.[27]

Unlike the previous conferences, the theme of the 4th annual conference which was held in Montreal in 1968, immediately prior to the formation of the NBCC, shifted to a Canadian content. The shift in emphasis was aptly revealed by the conference's title: "Problems of Involvement In Canadian Society With Special Reference To Black People."[28] Even more noteworthy, according to Forsythe, was the CCC's call for and formation of a concrete national coordinating

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[25] Roy States, The NBCC Incorporated: Ten Years of History, p. 1; Interview with Clarence Bayne, Montreal, Quebec, 24 August 1991; Interview with Dorothy Wills.

[26] States, The NBCC Inc, p. 3.

[27] States, The NBCC, p. 3.

[28] Dennis Forsythe, "The Black Writers Conference: Days to Remember," in Let The Niggers Burn: The Sir George Williams Affair and its Caribbean Aftermath ed. Dennis Forsythe (Montreal: Black Rose Books - Our Generation Press, 1971), p. 58; See also States, The NBCC, p. 3.

black organization with the explicit goal to "gather and periodically disperse, for effective use by regional groups, information about events, programmes and activities of particular interest to Black people in Canada."[29] Although organized by Afro-Caribbean voluntary organizations, the 4th annual conference--commonly known as the Canadian Conference Committee--was also the first conference to feature the "total participation of the black community."[30] Stanley Grizzle effectively summed up this transformation of the CCC as representing:

> an awakening of the West Indian groups in Canada to the fact that whether they are here as students, domestics or immigrants, their development is greatly affected by the fact that they live within the social, political and economic framework of Canadian society.[31]

True to this principle, the CCC's conference was attended by a broad spectrum of Afro-Canadian activists who discussed various problems affecting Canadian blacks and who outlined platforms for Afro-Canadian solidarity. Included among this group were: Dr. Daniel Hill, director of the OHRC; Dr. Barry Myers, an economist; Frank Collins, president of the NAACP Chapter in Vancouver; and Richard

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[29] Forsythe, "The Black Writers Conference," p. 58.

[30] States, The NBCC, p. 3 ; Interview with Clarence Bayne; Interview with Dorothy Wills.

[31] Stanley Grizzle, "Conference: Black Canada Talks Unity," West Indian News Observer, November 1968, vol. 3 no. 11, p. 3.

Lord, Vice-President of the Quebec Liberal Party.[32] The CCC's agenda included a broad range of topics such as: the need for human rights commissions across Canada; the need for economic solidarity and political reform in the Afro-Canadian community; the progress of the NAACP in Canada; and the need for decisive political action among Afro-Canadians.[33] The CCC's debt to the principle of establishing a common front among Canada's heterogeneous Afro-Canadian community was articulated by Dr. Howard McCurdy, a native Afro-Canadian who, at the time, was chairman of the Biology Department at Windsor University. In his keynote address to the conference, McCurdy stated:

> At this conference, it is of particular significance that we are not only bringing together Canadian-born blacks with black immigrants but that it is being done by West Indian-born blacks. We are establishing a solidarity in this country.[34]

The idea of creating an organization dedicated to a common Afro-Canadian front was first raised at the 1967

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[32] See "Dr. Daniel Hill, Director Ontario Human Rights Commission," Expression, Winter 1968, vol. 3 no. 3, pp. 17-19; "Mr. Barry Myers, Economist," Expression, Winter 1968, vol. 3 no. 3, pp. 24-27; "Mr. Frank Collins, President, N.A.A.C.P. (Vancouver)," Expression, Winter 1968, vol. 3 no. 3, p. 16; Richard Lord, English Vice-President, Quebec Liberal Party," Expression, Winter 1968, vol. 3 no. 3, p. 20; See also Grizzle, "Black Canada Talks Unity," p. 4.

[33] Grizzle, "Black Canada Talks Unity," p.4; See also Forsythe, "The Black Writers Conference," p. 58.

[34] Howard McCurdy, "Problems of Involvement in the Canadian Society With Special Reference to Black People," Expression, Winter 1968, vol. 3 no. 3, p. 13.

conference by two Afro-Caribbean immigrants, Clarence Bayne and Dorothy Wills. The 1967 conference, originally dedicated to making the West Indies emerge stronger, saw a radical shift in orientation from problems affecting the Caribbean to those confronting blacks in Canada.[35] At the conference, Dorothy Wills, the principal author of the new direction said:

> I don't know why we are talking about [the] West Indies because I am Canadian and I have no intention of going back there...and it was there that the whole thrust of the conference swung from a Caribbean orientation to a black Canadian orientation and we had what was called the Caribbean [Canadian] Conference of Black Organizations. And that was the forerunner of the NBCC...Following that conference we got an overwhelming resolution to move in a more global direction in Canada.[36]

The shift to a black Canadian emphasis at the 1967 conference led to the creation of the NBCC, an organization that defies Winks' description of black militancy by emphasizing the common racial identity of the Afro-Canadian population.[37] The underlying pan-national theme was articulated by Howard McCurdy, the organization's first chairman, who claimed that the NBCC was dedicated to the principle of "Blackness [which] superseded ideology."[38]

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[35] States, The NBCC, pp. 1-3.

[36] Interview with Dorothy Wills.

[37] Winks, "The Problem of Identity," pp. 12 & 14.

[38] Howard McCurdy to the Star, "Contrast, October 1969, vol. 1 no. 3, p. 2.

McCurdy further stated that: "Whether we are West Indian, U.S. or African Immigrants or native Canadian, living in Canada we are all in the same bag."[39] Not surprisingly, the NBCC's initial conference was attended by a wide range of Afro-Canadian interest groups representing various regional interests and ancestral origins. Included among the groups to support the coalition were: the Jamaican-Canadian Association of Toronto and Montreal; the Guardian club; the Trinidad and Tobago Association of Toronto and Montreal; various chapters of the NAACP throughout Canada; and the Black United Front of Nova Scotia.[40] The NBCC's debt to the principle of pan-national racial identity was also seen in the organization's official publication, Umoja, which means unity in Swahili.[41]

By emphasizing the common racial identity of the Canadian black community, the NBCC launched a new era of black politics that offered the Afro-Canadian population an alternative to the traditional dependence on sympathetic white organizations.[42] During the 1970s, the NBCC, often in conjunction with Contrast, was at the forefront of many

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[39] Howard McCurdy, "Letter from Dr. Howard McCurdy," Contrast, October 1969, vol. 1 no. 3, p. 2.

[40] "28 Organizations Form National Black Coalition," Contrast, October 1969, vol. 1 no. 13, p. 1.

[41] For a further discussion of this matter see, "Editorial Note: Black Unity," Umoja, 30 October 1969, vol. 1 no. 1, p. 1.

[42] Winks, "The Problem of Identity," p. 4.

programs designed to politicise the Afro-Canadian population. The most noted of these programs were the De Costa Hall and the Harambee Centre, two institutions that rekindled many of the programs first introduced by the UNIA in the 1920s.[43]

One act of the CCC, the NBCC's immediate predecessor, captured this new state of growing black engagement in national issues pursued by the NBCC in the 1970s. Following the CCC's resolution to create and maintain links among Afro-Canadian organizations, Dorothy Wills, the secretary of the organization sent a telegraph to G.I. Smith, the Premier of Nova Scotia, "regarding the case of refusal for burial of a Negro child in St. Croix cemetery."[44] In the telegram, Wills stated:

> The Canadian Conference Committee (Black Organizations) regrets to learn of the incident in Nova Scotia concerning the refusal for burial of a Negro Child in St. Croix Cemetery.
>
> We wish to condemn the existence of such by-laws that permit such action in a democratic and just society, and demand that such by-laws be repealed.[45]

With this act the CCC lent support to the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People's crusade

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[43] Interview with Dorothy Wills.

[44] Grizzle, "Black Canada Talks Unity," p. 3; See also Interview with Dorothy Wills.

[45] Telegram to the "Honourable G.I Smith, Premier of Nova Scotia, Parliament Buildings, Halifax, Nova Scotia," cited in Grizzle, "Black Canada Talks Unity," p. 3.

against discriminatory practices, and helped to usher in the period of "total involvement of organized black people in Canada" without support from labour unions.[46]

Another important break with the past occurred at the "Black Writers Conference (BWC)," held at McGill University from 11 to 14 October 1968. Organized by Afro-Caribbean students, who were dissatisfied with the shift in focus at the 1967 West Indian Conference, the BWC rejected the notion of an Afro-Canadian identity and advocated international solidarity for blacks. In this respect, it was a conscious alternative to the pan-national agenda pursued by the CCC, held at the neighbouring Sir George Williams University also in October 1968.[47] Subscribing to the international revolutionary movement, the BWC was attended by leading black revolutionaries of world-wide repute. The most noted of these were: Stokely Carmichael (one of the leading figures in the Black Power and Pan-African movements in the United States), Michael X (Trinidadian by birth and the leader of the Black Muslims in England), and Walter Rodney (a native of Guyana and lecturer at the University of West

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[46] "Editorial," West Indian News Observer, October 1968, vol. 3 no. 13, p. 2.

[47] Interview with Robert Douglas; Interview with Clarence Bayne; Interview with Alfie Roberts and Adrian Archer, Montreal, Quebec, 16 July 1991.

Indies).[48]

Although attended by an interracial audience, the BWC was characterized by oratory which denounced cooperation with whites in much stronger terms than did the CCC or NBCC. The tone was set by Rocky Jones, a Canadian Black Power activist from Nova Scotia who, in the opening address of the BWC "made it clear that he was talking to black people, since he had previously spent most of his time speaking to white people."[49] At the conference, Michael X kept "referring to Whites as pigs," while Walter Rodney remarked "that all Whites were his enemies until they could prove otherwise."[50] By Sunday, the last day of the BWC, several black delegates were calling for the exclusion of all whites, not only from the caucuses but from all the proceedings of the conference.[51]

Emphasising principles of the international revolutionary movement, Afro-Caribbean students were also responsible for the Sir George Williams Affair on 11 February 1969, the first politically motivated act of violence among Afro-Canadian activists in the twentieth

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[48] Winston Franco, "Two Views of the Conference of Black Writers," Expression, Winter 1968, vol. 3 no. 3, p. 41; See also Dennis Forsythe, "The Black Writers Conference," p. 59.

[49] Franco, "Two Views," p. 41.

[50] Forsythe, "The Black Writers Conference," p. 64.

[51] Franco, "Two Views," pp. 41-42.

century. The chain of events that led to the violence was officially set in place on February 1968 when six West Indian students filed a complaint of racism to the Dean of Students against Perry Anderson, a lecturer with the Biology Department.[52] Following a delay in the administration's handling of the complaint, 90 students, 41 of whom were black, with the majority being from the Caribbean, occupied the computer centre on the ninth floor of Sir George Williams University under the leadership of Rosie Douglas.[53] Shouting chants of revolution, the students burned the university's main computer on 11 February 1969, causing an estimated two to five million dollars of damage to Sir George Williams University.[54]

The Sir George Williams Affair provided the Afro-Canadian leadership with alternative activist strategies and sparked debate on the issue of militancy. On one side of the debate were established Afro-Canadian leaders, who advocated a gradual approach to activism, and who claimed that West Indian students were radicals dedicated to violence and revolution. At the NBCC's initial conference,

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[52] Leroi Butcher, "The Anderson Affair," in Let The Niggers Burn, pp. 78; See also Dorothy Eber, Canada Meets Black Power: The Computer Centre Party (Montreal: Tundra Books of Montreal, 1969), p. 29.

[53] Interview with Robert Douglas; See also Eber, The Computer Centre Party, pp. 7 & 11.

[54] Forsythe, "By Way of Introduction: The Sir George Williams Affair," p. 8.

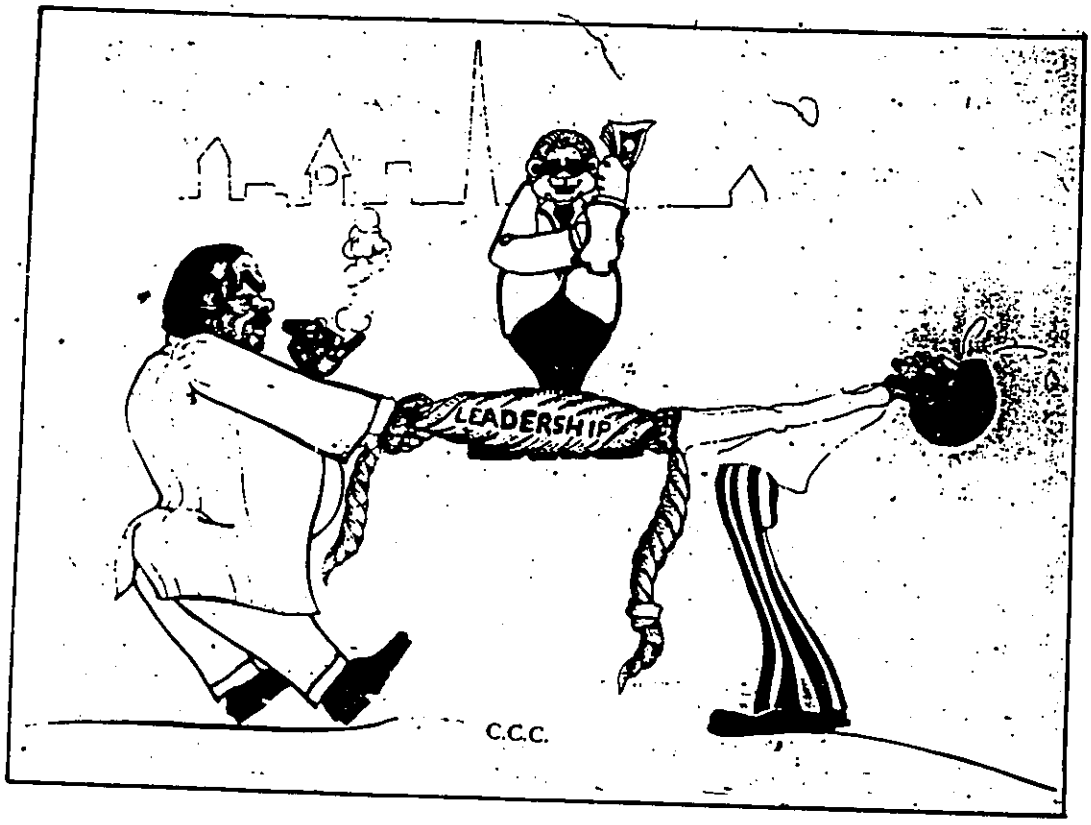

Figure 5. An illustration of the tension between "moderates" and "radicals" at the NBCC's founding conference. Contrast, October 1969, vol. 1 no. 13, p. 2.

Howard McCurdy, the conference's chairman, condemned the students "who held that they would not co-operate with "The System" because it was decadent and should be overthrown."[55] Disgusted by the violence, the editors of Umoja penned an article in which they referred to the students and their supporters as "blacks acting like niggers."[56] The student activists and their supporters, on the other hand, were dedicated to an immediate revolutionary solution to racism, and accused established leaders of the NBCC of being opportunist "Uncle Toms" in their approach to fighting discrimination.[57] This opinion was voiced by several students who were involved in the Sir George Williams Affair and expressed in an article appearing in Uhuru which stated that the power pursued by NBCC leaders:

> can only be gained and exercised by playing the establishment's game according to roles which are geared towards the permanent suppression and possible annihilation of black people.[58]

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[55] Howard McCurdy paraphrased in "28 Organizations Form National Black Coalition," Contrast, October 1969, vol. 1 no. 13, p. 12.

[56] "Revolutionary Toms Fail to Stop Blacks From Forming National Black Coalition," Umoja, 30 October 1969, p. 1; See also Dorothy Green Wills, "Sister Dorothy Wills Strikes Out at Distortion of Facts by Uhuru in Letter to Editor," Umoja, 30 October 1969, vol. 1 no. 1, p. 1.

[57] See E. Michael, "Who Is An Uncle Tom?," Contrast, 15 November 1969, vol. 1 no. 14, p. 2.

[58] Gordon S. & Carl Parris, "Towards an Understanding of the Voting Behaviour of Certain Delegates at the C.C.C.: Meeting in Toronto," Uhuru, 10 November 1969, vol. 1 no. 10, p. 5; See also "Irresponsibility of Black People in Montreal,"

Although Afro-Caribbean activists were instrumental in establishing an assertive militancy that brought Afro-Canadian activism within a continental orbit of black politics, their endeavours were significantly different from those of American black activists. The same conditions that limited the influence of the leaders of the AAPA, BLFC, MLKC and OHRC also prevented the Afro-Caribbean influenced organizations from establishing a nationally-recognized leadership. Despite reaching an international audience, the Sir George Williams Affair did not establish any of the West Indian students as leaders in the Afro-Canadian community. Rosie Douglas's influence was limited to a select few West Indian students and his name was hardly recognizable to the vast majority of Afro-Canadians.[59] The same was true of the NBCC militants. Howard McCurdy, Clarence Bayne and Dorothy Wills, three of the leading figures to emerge from the NBCC's founding conference, did not muster the support or fire the imaginations of the black population as Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X had in the United States.[60] Although the NBCC helped to dispel the notion of a politically incapacitated black community, its

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Uhuru, 24 November, vol. 1 no. 11, p. 3; Interview with Robert Douglas.

[59] Interview with Robert Douglas; Interview with Malcolm Street.

[60] Interviews with several members of the Afro-Canadian communities of Montreal and Toronto support this argument.

tenuous hold on the Afro-Canadian community is best seen by its relatively quick demise ten years after its creation.

But the most telling difference between activists in Canada and the United States involved the drastic change in the ethnic composition of the Afro-Canadian community brought about by the arrival of large numbers of Afro-Caribbean immigrants. By the end of the 1960s, close to 50 percent of the Afro-Canadian population was of Caribbean origin compared to the United States where residents of Caribbean descent represented less than 3 percent of the population. The recent arrival of a large West Indian population, particularly in Toronto and Montreal, spawned divisions based on ancestral origin which were absent from the ethnically homogeneous Afro-American population.

During its initial year of publication this schism was a recurring theme in the pages of Contrast. In an article examining the history of the Afro-Canadian press the editors of Contrast complained that they were being "heckled on all sides," and accused of "favouring West Indians over Canadians or vice versa."[61] Some of the divisions also showed up at Contrast's staff meetings, although they did not create insurmountable schisms.[62]

Most conspicuous, however, were the nativist comments

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[61] "Toronto's Black Press," Contrast, October 1969, vol. 1 no. 13, p. 2.

[62] Interview with Al Hamilton.

made by black militants of Canadian descent concerning the sudden appearance of a large Afro-Caribbean community in Canada. George Dash, the editor of Black Liberation News, aptly summarized the resurgence of nativism in the Afro-Canadian community of the 1960s when he stated:

> For the Canadian black, the sudden appearance of large numbers of "foreign" blacks, speaking a confusing Babel of different dialects and tongues, cockily arrogant, rushing pell-mell into jobs where the Canadian black has been denied even proximity, driving about in huge cars, challenging the lords of the land - for the Canadian black, this was something of a traumatic shock comparable to the discovery of the atomic bomb.[63]

Gale Suthermon's letter to the editors of Contrast on October 1969 stated:

> Is your paper controlled by our own Black Canadians or West Indians or Jamaicans? I am a little tired of reading about their problems here in Canada. Let them go home if it is so terrible here. Also let us hear of our own "Canadians" trouble...Start talking around to a few of your own Canadians and start discussing this "West Indian problem."[64]

Ironically, nativism in Afro-Canadian militancy became most evident with the creation of the NBCC, the organization that was dedicated to the principle of pan-national unity. The issue that sparked nativist comments at the NBCC's

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[63] George Dash, "The West Indian Immigrant: An Analysis," Black Liberation News, July 1969, vol. 1 no. 1, p.4.

[64] Gale Suthermon, "Letter to the Editor," Contrast, October 1969, vol. 1 no. 13, p. 2.

founding conference, and brought the problem to the attention of the Canadian public was the Sir George Williams Affair, an event that gained recognition among black leaders of Canadian descent as a "typical West Indian Affair."[65] NBCC pioneer members, Jean Augustine and Kingsley Gilliam, noted that the student militants of the Sir George Williams Affair were condemned at the NBCC's founding conference for being of Caribbean origin and hence newcomers to the Afro-Canadian's struggle for equality.[66] Commenting on the West Indian student participation in the Sir George Williams Affair before a national audience on a major television network on the first day of the NBCC founding conference, McCurdy stated:

> West Indians are a transient group in this country: long after you have all returned home we [native Afro-Canadians] will be left here to pick up the pieces.[67]

With this comment, McCurdy revealed that the Afro-Canadians attempt at pan-national unity in the 1960s was undermined by internal nativism within the black community.

In the end, the arrival of a significant number of Afro-Caribbean immigrants in the 1960s contributed to a new radicalism in Afro-Canadian activism. West Indian

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[65] Interview with Robert Douglas.

[66] Interview with Jean Augustine; Interview with Kingsley Gilliam.

[67] "Report on the Canadian Conference Committee," Uhuru, 27 October 1969, vol. 1 no. 9, p. 9;

immigrants brought skills and educational aspirations that elevated the occupational and economic status of the Canadian black community and helped galvanize Afro-Canadian activism. Adopting various principles of the pan-African social movement, Afro-Caribbean immigrants were instrumental in establishing Contrast and the NBCC, in 1969. The NBCC and the BWC of 1968 offered an alternative to the black community's traditional dependence on sympathetic white organizations. Adopting Black Power slogans of international revolution, Afro-Caribbean students were responsible for the Sir George Williams Affair, the first publicized act of politically motivated violence in the Afro-Canadian community of the twentieth century.

But the presence of a newly militant Afro-Caribbean leadership in Canada also revealed several differences in the black leadership in Canada and the United States. None of the leaders who emerged from the Sir George Williams Affair and the NBCC achieved anywhere near the respect or popularity of Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X in the United States. West Indian activists also inspired nativist comments by black leaders of Canadian descent that undermined the Afro-Canadian attempt to achieve pan-national unity. Nativism was not a feature of the activism of the relatively homogeneous Afro-American population.

CONCLUSION

The Afro-Canadian community was the scene of two important developments in the 1960s. First, the decade saw the arrival of a significant number of Afro-Caribbean immigrants into Canada. Similarly, the 1960s saw the influence of Afro-American activism filter through the Canadian/American border.

Using techniques such as oral history, this thesis has demonstrated that these developments spawned a militant era of Afro-Canadian activism in the 1960s when compared to black activism in the immediate post-World War II period. Several new organizations sprang up in Toronto--BLFC, AAPA, OHRC, MLKC--which adopted some of the tactics of the civil rights and Black Power movements in the United States. The existence of the militant AAPA and BLFC on the one hand, and the moderate MLKC and OHRC on the other provided the black community with a choice of leadership strategies form which to choose for the first time. Toronto was also the distribution base for Contrast, the Afro-Canadian community's first successful, pan-national publication. Founded in 1969, the NBCC adopted principles of pan-Africanism imported by Afro-Caribbean immigrants and became the first organization in the post-World war II era to embrace the principle of national identity. In so doing,

the NBCC was part of an activism in the late 1960s that displayed less dependence on sympathetic white organizations. A handful of West Indian students, who adhered to principles of international revolution, were responsible for the first politically motivated act of violence in the Afro-Canadian community of the twentieth century, the Sir George Williams University Affair of 1969.

Although these transformations placed Afro-Canadian activism within a continental orbit of militancy, the discrepancy in conditions between the black communities in Canada and the United States resulted in significantly different leadership strategies. The recognition of different conditions led Afro-Canadian activists of the BLFC, AAPA, and MLKC to pursue a less militant course of action than had black leaders in the United States. Moreover, the drastic change in the ethnic composition of the Afro-Canadian community, brought about by Afro-Caribbean immigration into Canada, led to internal nativism in the Afro-Canadian population that was not present in the relatively homogeneous Afro-American community. Nativism became pronounced after the Sir George Williams Affair, an event that gained recognition as a "typical West Indian matter."

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A: A GUIDE FOR DISCUSSION: THE TORONTO NEGRO COMMUNITY. Dec. 1955

A GUIDE FOR DISCUSSION: THE TORONTO NEGRO COMMUNITY

The following outline represents the serious thinking of a group of young Negro men concerning their community. It was felt that if an organization of interested Negro men were to be started, serious consideration should be given to the questions and assumptions herein set forth. Briefly, the following areas are covered: I) Geography of the Negro Community; II) Social Problems Within the Negro Community; III) Positive and Negative Aspects Confronting the Development of the Negro Community in Metropolitan Toronto.

The outline in no way attempts to solve the large problems which confront us, but was constructed to give guidance to discussion as well as to provoke thought around the following questions:

A) What type of organization do we need?
B) What confronts us as young Negro men living in Toronto, and what future has our small Negro community in this expanding city?

I. Geography of the Negro Community

A. Loose - Dispersed all over city, but gradual concentration of a significant number to central area (Bloor, University, Queen, Bathurst).

B. No Ghetto or Black Belt - Makes communication difficult, also weakens a sense of "community spirit. Cohesiveness of the Ukrainian, German, Jewish & Chinese communities is due in large part to the physical proximity of their homes and institutions within one district. The relative solidarity of Negro communities in the States has been due in large measure to ghetto living. How is a community spirit obtained without the evils of a Negro district?

II. Social Problems Within the Negro Group

A. Divisions - The community seems structured around three divisions, each with its own attitudes regarding fundamental questions affecting the community:

1. "Old Line" Native Canadians
2. British West Indians
3. The Late American Arrival (within past 30 years)

B. Apathy and Defeatism.

1. A general feeling prevails among a large segment in the community that certain economic areas were closed to them. Therefore, no concentrated effort has been made to imbue Negro children with "a philosophy" to get ahead. This can be seen in the low number of Negroes in vocational schools, universities, fifth form & commerical schools.

2. What's the source or reason for this apathy?

a. Lack of leadership & guidance.
b. The awareness of Negroes has not in many instances kept up with the hundreds of new types of jobs & situations that have arisen since the war. Therefore the professions or a good labour job are still the goals of many Toronto Negroes.

3. Examples of the New Areas:

a. Television - script writers, technicians, sound men, etc.
b. Electronics & radio
c. Salesmen
d. Civil Service - technicians, clerical
e. Medical technicians, lab technicians
f. Printing, Lithographers, Graphic Arts
g. Industrial Trades (not new, but since war more open for Negro employment): auto mechanics, bricklaying, welding, draftsmen, etc.

C. Destructive Attitudes and Tendencies

1. "Individual resourcefulness can achieve above all" --stated in certain circles by Negroes who have achieved, and then ignored the problems of others.

2. "We can't organize--the community's too split--so let's keep to our own little clique."

3. Tendency to minimize the importance of our obligations in civic and municipal affairs.

4. Tendency to ignore so-called "minor problems"; e.g., derogatory statements about race in the newspapers; the Dresden problem; individual cases of job and social discrimination.

5. Narrowness: The inability of Negro organizations to align themselves with other ethnic groups that would help broaden their understanding of the vast problem of human relations. In failing to do so, these organizations have not kept in touch with new developments going on in industry, social welfare, the professions, labour and religion. This narrowness also manifests itself in the lack of communication and understanding among the existing organizations within the Negro community.

III. Positive Forces in the General Community

A. Education

1. A good, open public and secondary educational system--something that does not exist in other countries, and in Nova Scotia.

2. Unlimited opportunities for training in vocational schools.

3. A general university education available regardless of race.

4. Apprenticeship, on-the-job training -- A. V. Roe, Ford School, General Motors, etc.

5. Financing: Scholarships, bursaries, assistantships, grants, etc., from social & industrial organizations that know no color.

6. Counselling: YMCA counselling services, Red Feather Counselling services, Board of Education counselling service, the availability of services for gifted, retarded and disabled children.

7. Adult Education: Canadian Association for Adult Education, Workers' Educational Association, Credit Union League Schools, Labour Union Schools, Red Feather-sponsored programs, Board of Education.

B. Economic

1. The Ontario F.E.P. Act) Both prohibit discrimination
The Federal F.E.P. Act) in hiring and promotion.

2. The Joint Labour Committee for Human Rights has a full-time Executive Secretary who will assist in processing cases of employment discrimination.

3. Labour: Union organizations such as the Trades & Labour Congress and the Canadian Congress of Labour have consistently gone on record in favor of human rights. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters have also pushed for better job opportunities in railroading for Negroes. A recent survey of 54 large Toronto manufacturers and employers showed an alarming percentage of Negroes in unskilled jobs. At the same time, a significant number of employers who chose to state their opinions were in favor of hiring Negroes in all capacities.

4. Professions: A rough count within the past month shows approximately 48 Negroes in the following professions: medical services, law, education, social work, theology, art and music, engineering. Historically, there is no indication that Negroes have not been able to practise their professions successfully in Toronto. There are records to prove the existence of successful Negro professional men in Toronto as far back as the early 19th Century.

5. Business Proprietors & Others: There are approximately 40 Negroes operating their own businesses in Toronto. They are represented in real estate, cartage, plumbing, auto garage, barbering, advertising, shoe repair, contracting, etc. There is also a significant number of non-proprietors actively engaged in the business world, in brokerage firms sales organizations, insurance, real estate, retail stores, etc.

C. Civil Rights Legislation

1. The Ontario Fair Employment Practices Act.
2. The Canada Fair Employment Practices Act.
3. The Ontario Fair Accommodations Practices Act.
4. City of Toronto Anti-Discrimination Bylaw.
5. Restrictive Covenants Act.

D. Organizations Handling Cases of Discrimination

1. Joint Labour Committee for Human Rights.
2. Canadian Jewish Congress
3. Association for Civil Liberties

IV. Negative Forces in the General Community

A. Employment

1. A 1947 survey in the Globe & Mail showed that 50% of the sample of 158 employers had unfavourable attitudes towards hiring Negroes.

2. The Canadian National Railway has yet to widen the areas of employment open to Negroes.

3. There are recent cases on record of job refusal for Negro girls seeking stenographic jobs.

4. A Negro graduate student with two degrees sent out approximately 500 applications for jobs, and received no offers.

B. Housing

1. A Negro couple was refused an N.H.A. home in Etobicoke, and subsequently got whites to purchase for them.

2. A Negro graduate student checked 10 signs stating "room for rent" in the University of Toronto area, and was refused at all ten.

3. A professionally trained Negro with a family of three was accepted for an apartment in a phone conversation but was refused the appartment when he went in person.

C. Civil Rights

1. There is evidence that certain private clubs in the city are using the subterfuge of private license to exclude Negroes from their premises.

2. There is reason to believe certain golf clubs and barber shops will not cater to Negroes.

3. Evidence of police brutality to Negroes has been reported to the Joing Labour Committee for Human Rights and to the Minister of the local Unitarian Church.

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APPENDIX B: STATEMENT OF STANLEY GRIZZLE REGARDING CANADIAN IMMIGRATION ACT. June 9, 1950

Statement of Stanley G. Grizzle, regarding Canadian Immigration Act and P.C. 2856 dated June 9, 1950 as amended, in support of brief submitted by the Negro Citizenship Association to the Honourable Walter Harris, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Tuesday, April 27, 1954, at Parliament Buildings, Ottawa.

My name is Stanley G. Grizzle. I am a member of the Toronto Negro Citizenship Association, and President of the Toronto C.P.R. Division of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, A.F. of L., and associated with the Joint Labour Committee for Human Rights of Toronto and Civil Rights Movements. I served with His Majesty's Forces in the Army from 1942 to 1946 in Canada, England, France, Belgium, Holland and Germany. I now reside in Toronto.

I want to thank the Honourable Walter E. Harris, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration for Canada, for giving this delegation the opportunity of appearing here to-day so that we might present our opinions regarding the weaknesses of Canada's Immigration Laws.

The members and officials of the Negro Citizenship Association and the Toronto C.P.R. Division of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters will continue to fight unremittingly for the right of all peoples of this planet to enter Canada and become its citizens without penalty or reward because of their race, colour, religion, national origin or ancestry.

Yes, we take the uncompromising position that what appears to be premeditated discrimination in Canada's Immigration Laws and policy it utterly inconsistent with democratic principles and Christian ethics.

For the purpose of this presentation, Honourable Minister, I will present some statistics which will unfold a story indicating discrimination in Canada's Immigration policy:

Total Negro Immigration into Canada, 1925-53 - 4,122
Total Immigrants entering Canada 1945-53, approx. 900,000 persons
or " 112,000 annually
" Negro " " " 1945-53, 1417 or 177 annually
" Negro " " " from British Dominions and
colonies 1945-53 728 or 104 annually
Total Japanese Immigrants entering Canada -
1945-53 93 or 12 annually
Total Chinese Immigrants entering Canada -
1945-53, 7908 or 988 annually
(All wives and children of Chinese denied rights of being brought to Canada subsequent to passing of Chinese Exclusion Act of 1923.)

I fail to see the consistency in asking China, Japan, India, Africa, or the West Indies to take a seat at the Council table if Chinese, Japanese, Indians, Africans or Afro-West Indians are unfit to live side by side with a Canadian. Mr. Minister, the Western races hold the predominance in material wealth and power. They evince in a hundred ways a determination to assert their superiority, and to keep other races in a position of subordination and inferiority. It is against this very attitude peoples the world over are in revolt. But these people are rich spiritually, and justice will be exacted.

Let us for a moment look at Canada's population trends by origin, since 1871. (Ref. Census of Canada 1951, Vol.1, Population):

Europ. Origin	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
Polish	nil	nil	6285	33652	53403	145503	167485	219845
Italian	1035	1849	10934	45963	66769	98173	112625	152245
German	202991	254319	310501	403417	294635	473544	464682	619995
Russian	607	1227	19825	44376	100064	88148	93708	91279
Finnish	nil	nil	2502	15500	21494	43885	41683	43745
Belgian	nil	nil	2994	9664	20234	27585	29711	35148
Japanese	nil	nil	4738	9067	15868	23342	23149	21663
Chinese	nil	4383	17312	27831	39587	46519	34627	32528
Negro	21496	21394	17437	16994	18291	19456	22174	18020

We see from the aforementioned figures a pattern of constant increase from 1871 to 1951 in the population of the white European group of peoples, and a decrease in the population of the non-white groups of Canada since 1931 census taken.

It is dangerous, strange, and unfortunate that, under the terms of the Canadian Immigration Regulations, the term 'British subject' does not include persons born or naturalized in British dominions or colonies of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, British West Indies, British Honduras, British Guiana, Bahamas and Bermuda. Is the reason because the total coloured population of all these British territories is about 80%. All indications point in that direction.

It is our sincere belief that we cannot expect to win friends and allies among the free nations of the world when we discriminate against their peoples, and so in the interest of national and international welfare and security, this 'Jim Crow Iron Curtain' which exists in Canada's Immigration policy must be eradicated immediately.

This policy has long been established. It has not been confined to any single political administration--although this Government has religiously followed the program of Immigration by Discrimination. Although this administration cannot be held

wholly responsible for this shameful policy of excluding from Canada desirable blacks who have been classified in the same group with undesirable reds, but this Parliament has the moral right and Christian duty to lift the hopes and aspirations of millions of the world's citizens of colour by welcoming them to become citizens of Canada and share with us the wealth which happens to be here.

Honourable Minister, do not be recreant in facing your responsibility.

APPENDIX C: STATEMENT GIVEN BY DR. DANIEL HILL AT THE MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. April 9, 1968.

STATEMENT GIVEN

AT

MEMORIAL SERVICE

FOR

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

APRIL 9, 1968

NATHAN PHILLIPS SQUARE

DANIEL G. HILL
DIRECTOR
ONTARIO HUMAN RIGHTS
COMMISSION
TORONTO, ONTARIO

It is with a sense of deep inadequacy that I stand with you today to pay final tribute to Dr. Martin Luther King--what more can be added to the numerous statements which have already been made about this apostle of peace, of love and justice who gave up his life, and in so doing, has caused all of us to re-examine our own lives and the relationships which we have to our fellow man--black; white and Asian; the immigrant and native-born Canadian; the poor and the rich.

His death is a direct and serious challenge to all Canadians who are actively engaged in securing human rights for the many members of our multi-ethnic, multi-racial and multi-lingual nation.

Those of us across this land who are entrusted with administering federal and provincial human rights legislation will forever be haunted by the memory of Martin Luther King, if we compromise in Canada--in the human rights struggle--and if we fail to see the overwhelming significance of his life for Canadian Indians, black men and Asians who still

SUFFER DISCRIMINATION AND WHO HAVE NOT YET BEEN ACCORDED THE FULL BENEFITS OF OUR SOCIETY.

FOR THE FUTURE, LET US REMEMBER THAT DR. KING, A DISTINGUISHED ORATOR AND PHILOSOPHER, WAS PRINCIPALLY A MAN OF ACTION. FAR TOO MANY OF US ENJOY AND ENGAGE IN THE RHETORIC OF HUMAN RIGHTS--THE DIALOGUES, THE SPEECHES, THE RITUALS--SHYING AWAY FROM DIRECTLY PROTESTING SOCIAL INJUSTICES. BUT DR. KING'S FINEST HOURS WERE SPENT IN ACTIVE NON-VIOLENT PROTEST: IN MONTGOMERY, IN SELMA, IN BIRMINGHAM, AND YES, IN MEMPHIS, TRAGIC AS IT WAS.

IN THIS CHAOTIC PERIOD OF THE NEW BLACK RACISM WITH ITS CRY TO BURN, TO HATE, TO SEPARATE; WE SHOULD RECALL DR. KING'S WARNING THAT RACIAL FIRES--BLACK OR WHITE--ULTIMATELY CONSUME AND DESTROY THE TORCH SETTER.

DR. KING'S LIFE WAS INFLUENCED BY THE WRITINGS AND WORK OF PAUL TILLICH--THE RENOWNED THEOLOGIAN--AND HE RETURNED, OVER AND OVER AGAIN, TO THE GUIDING PHILOSOPHICAL PRINCIPLES OF SPIRITUAL LOVE--AGAPE--FOR ONE'S FELLOW MAN AS AN ANSWER

TO MORAL RELATIVISM, TO SHIFTING SOCIAL VALUES, TO CHANGING ETHICS IN TODAY'S WORLD. THIS PROPHETIC SPIRIT, THIS MODERN PRINCE OF PEACE WAS GUIDED THROUGHOUT HIS SHORT LIFE BY THESE WORDS FROM TILLICH: "LOVE ALONE CAN TRANSFORM ITSELF ACCORDING TO THE CONCRETE DEMANDS OF EVERY INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL SITUATION WITHOUT LOSING ITS ETERNITY AND DIGNITY AND UNCONDITIONAL VALIDITY. LOVE CAN ADAPT ITSELF TO EVERY PHASE OF A CHANGING WORLD."

MARTIN LUTHER KING'S DEATH WILL SERVE TO REMIND US THAT IN OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH OUR FELLOW MEN WE MUST ALWAYS BE MOTIVATED BY THE HIGHEST IDEALS, THE FINEST HUMANITARIAN PRINCIPLES AND AN UNDERLYING LOVE FOR ALL MANKIND.

APPENDIX D: COMMITTEE TO SELECT RECIPIENT OF OF REVEREND, DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. MEMORIAL AWARD FOR SOCIAL ACTION. April, 1968.

COMMITTEE TO SELECT RECIPIENT
REV. DR. M. L. KING JR.
MEMORIAL AWARD FOR SOCIAL ACTION

PRESENT: Harvey Freeman, BBYA Chairman; Noble Hatton, Exec. Director Council of Christians and Jews; Larry Hoffman, President-elect, BBYA; Ray Havelock, BBYO Program Director, acting as secretary.

ABSENT: Dr. Dan Hill, Director Ont. Human Rights Comm.; Mrs. Lotta Dempsey, columnist, Toronto Daily Star; Harold Smith, BBYO Regional Director, ex-officio.

Meeting called to order 8:00 PM.

The letter from Mrs. Coretta Scott King was presented. The aim of the award was outlined in detail. The letter from Dr. Dan Hill suggesting the name of Mr. Kalmen Kaplansky was presented. Discussion followed.

Harvey Freeman wondered if clearance from Adult B'nai B'rith was required to present such an award. Ray Havelock said he had clearance from BBYO in Washington and local ADL. Discussion revolved around the idea of perhaps presenting the award to "the little guy". Someone not in the limelight who is doing a limited job. Jim Steele of The Regent Park project was suggested by Larry Hoffman.

Noble Hatton cautioned against giving the award to someone to spur him on to do good work. The award should be for extended years of activity.

The award could make the "small man" feel he is appreciated and that his efforts will not go unnoticed. It may also garner him support within the community.

The committee discussed the question"should the candidate be youthful?". It was felt that some youth worker or a youth could be the recipient. The main point was someone the youth will get excited about.

It was suggested St. Christopher's House and like agencies be explored to see if they have anyone in mind. Red Feather agencies should be checked out.

The award might be given to a professional who did work over and above the call of duty. Not just to a layman.

The police Youth Bureau could be looked into.

The award should not be limited to a Torontonian or even an Ontarian. Just limited to someone active in Canada.

A Constable Boulton who helped organize St. Alban's Boy's Club was suggested.

It was felt that there may be a teacher or professor who is doing work that might be worthy of consideration.

***Don't try to please the Establishment with the selection of a recipient. This was unanimously agreed upon.

The YMCA is doing work at the St. Jamestown Development and blighted area surrounding it, that might bear looking into.

All investigations must be circumspect.

Contact Dalton Kehoe of York to see if he had any leads.

Contact schools? Not directly as each may feel obliged to come up with a name to save the school's honour. Much better to quietly contact a trustee or even a civil servant of the Boards of Education to see if any exciting news "filtered up". Saul Cowan, Barry Lowes, or Ying Hope might be approached about leads they might have.

**Don't rush to present the award. Since the award will only be presented during those years when a suitable recipient is found one should carefully investigate everyone before acting.

Meeting adjourned at 8;55 pm

All present felt it was a good first step in selection of a Dr. King Memorial recipient.

Respectfully submitted

Ray Havelock.

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