The Condition of the Negroes of Halifax City, Nova Scotia

A STUDY CONDUCTED BY

INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
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Adult Education Among the Negroes of Nova Scotia, by Gwendolyn V. Shand, formerly Executive Director, Halifax Welfare Council, Halifax, Nova Scotia, was published in 1961 as part of research concerning the Negroes of Nova Scotia which the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, is conducting.

PREFACE

Many of the people of Nova Scotia are aware of the difficult conditions under which the Negro population of this Province lives. This is true not only of suburban neighbourhoods but of rural districts as well. It is so characteristic that it presents a sociological problem of serious importance, and of course it is by no means confined to this area.

Our Institute of Public Affairs in Dalhousie University has made a survey of the problem in Halifax City in the hope of informing governments and interested citizens what the reality of the situation is. It would have been easy to select a number of individual instances, which may or may not be typical, and use these for propagandist purposes. We have followed a fairer method of collecting as much of the relevant data as possible and arranged the information so that it can readily be compared with that of other races.

In dealing with a circumstance of this kind, about which there has been so much publicity, it is necessary first to know the actual facts, and secondly to devise a solution of the conditions that need to be corrected. The facts that our Institute have assembled must speak for themselves, and I hope it will not be held against those who compiled them that they did not forget that they were speaking of the life and aspirations of human beings and not just amassing statistical information. It is our hope that our work will be of some value to those who are responsible for the second and more difficult phase of the programme.

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President
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FOREWORD

This report, based upon a comprehensive and detailed survey, shows that the Negroes of Halifax City are under-employed, under-educated, and ill-housed; that their employment and housing opportunities are restricted, and that they have been living under a form of segregation. Apart from moral and humanitarian considerations, the resulting economic losses (from low earnings, low productivity, low purchasing power, low tax contributions, and high demands upon tax revenues) are clearly on a scale that a modern community cannot willingly sustain.

It is evident to the naked eye that the Negroes in Nova Scotia live under depressed conditions. In earlier days of widespread self-employment as farmers, as artisans, and in other occupations, individual effort was believed to offer everyone the means to economic and social betterment. Self-reliance still holds the key to advancement, but today employment in groups, urbanization, and increasing interdependence and interaction of individuals and neighbourhoods characterize the typical community. These internal changes have been taking place in a period of new and determined racial aspiration throughout the world, and of self-examination and action in democratic countries, especially in the United States, upon minority problems.

All these changes are bringing into sharper focus the problems of the Negroes of Nova Scotia, which can no longer be denied, doubted, or minimized.

The present report concludes that self-help efforts by the Negro are not enough. If historic wrongs and the conditions which have resulted from them are to be undone, the time has come for the white majority to reach out and give to Negroes full acceptance, opportunity, and social equality. In Kurt Lewin's words: (1)

> "In recent years we have started to realize that so-called minority problems are in fact majority problems, that the Negro problem is the problem of the white, that the Jewish problem is the problem of the non-Jew, and so on. It is also true of course that inter-group relations cannot be solved without altering certain aspects of conduct and sentiment of the minority group. One of the most severe obstacles in the way of improvement seems to be the notorious lack of confidence and self-esteem of most minority groups. Minority groups tend to accept the implicit judgment of those who have status even where the judgment is directed against themselves. There are many forces which tend to develop in the children, adolescents, and adults of minorities deep-seated antagonism to their own group. An over-degree of submissiveness, guilt, emotionality, and other causes and forms of ineffective behavior follows. Neither an individual nor a group that is at odds with itself can live normally or live happily with other groups.

(1) Lewin, Kurt, RESOLVING SOCIAL CONFLICTS, New York, Harper & Bros., 1948, p. 213.

"It should be clear to the social scientist that it is hopeless to cope with this problem by providing sufficient self-esteem for members of minority groups as individuals. The discrimination which these individuals experience is not directed against them as individuals but as group members and only by raising their self-esteem as group members to the normal level can a remedy be produced."

Our ability to right the conditions indicated in the present report will be one of the tests of our ability to compete economically and of our social fitness to survive in today's world. We must create a new atmosphere and give to the Negro the same fair deal—not more, not less—as to any other human being.

The social conditions of long-established communities usually have deep historical roots. Negro groups in Nova Scotia can trace their origins to the coming of slaves with the pre-Loyalists and Loyalists in the 1700's, to the escape of slaves on British warships returning to Halifax after the burning of Washington and other forays during the War of 1812, and to the importation of workers from the West Indies during boom days and strikes in industrial Cape Breton in the early 1900's.

Until now, the people concerned with these problems, whether members of the minority group or of the majority, and however well informed, have had little by way of established and accepted fact to go by. Personal impression and opinion, even when valid, have become inadequate for effective action in dealing with complex social difficulties.

Accordingly, the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, undertook a demographic survey of the Negroes of Halifax City in order to establish an organized body of fact throwing light upon their conditions of life and upon the nature and intensity of their problems. It is hoped that the present report will stimulate public awareness and discussion of the Negro in our society, and that it will be of use to individuals and public bodies seeking change.

The Dalhousie Institute of Public Affairs gratefully acknowledges grants toward costs of this survey from the Citizenship Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration; from the Halifax Protestant Youth Foundation; and from the Department of Public Welfare, Province of Nova Scotia.

The report is issued in the name of the Dalhousie Institute of Public Affairs itself, as indicated in Chapter I. Grateful acknowledgment is made to Professor A. L. Neal, Mrs. E. D. Wangenheim, M.A., and Dr. Morris Davis for their contributions. The report owes much to the continuous interest and resource of Donald F. Maclean, Assistant to the Director of the Institute.

Dr. A. E. Kerr, President of Dalhousie University and Chairman of the Board of the Institute, gave his personal interest and consistent support throughout the project.

The assistance of many individuals and of several public bodies is recorded with appreciation. Dr. Oswald Hall, Professor of Sociology, University of Toronto, acted as consultant at one stage of the study. Dr. H. D. Beach, Associate Professor of Psychology, Dalhousie University, while taking part in related investigations, maintained an active and helpful interest throughout. Seven other members of academic departments at Dalhousie University read the draft and assisted in various ways. A number of Negroes of Halifax City assisted in arrangements for the field survey; in particular, Rev. W. P. Oliver, B.A., B.D., Mrs. W. P. Oliver, George W. Davis, LL.B., Sydney M. Jones, and H. A. J. Wedderburn, M.A., B.Ed., gave opinions and criticisms of the draft manuscript. Dr. Alex Sim, Associate Director, Citizenship Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, and F. R. MacKinnon, Deputy Minister of Public Welfare, Province of Nova Scotia, gave professional advice as well as administrative interest. Dr. R. V. Harris, Q.C., President, Halifax Protestant Youth Foundation, gave both moral and practical help. L. T. Hancock, Director, Maritime School of Social Work, and Dr. R. E. Marshall, formerly Superintendent of Schools, Halifax City, and members of their respective staffs co-operated in important ways. It may be noted that a total of eighteen persons read the report in manuscript; their criticisms, largely minor, have been taken into account. The report in its final form is, of course, solely the responsibility of the Institute of Public Affairs.

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CHAPTER I

NATURE OF THE PRESENT STUDY

World-wide concern about racial problems—in the American South, in newly emergent nations of Africa and Asia, in the Union of South Africa, and even in England—makes a study of the condition of Halifax Negroes of more than local interest. The unanimous impression of observers has been that the Negroes of Halifax(1) fall into the lowest socio-economic groupings: they are poor or deficient in education, income, quality of housing, and most amenities.

Impressions are, however, by definition impressionistic. Often they subsume under a single type conditions that extend over a considerable range. In addition, instances that are striking (e.g., the overcrowding of a dozen persons into two rooms, or a flurry of thefts) may seem typical when they are, in fact, exceptional. Only a systematic survey permits a precise evaluation of the sorts of conditions that obtain among the Halifax Negroes.

Economy dictates that any survey make use of previously collected pertinent data. It would be extravagant, for example, to make a count of the total population of Halifax when census publications already furnish that information. Unfortunately, official data on Halifax Negroes are scanty and known to be incomplete. The dossiers of agencies—police department, juvenile court, family service bureau, home nursing organizations, and the like—do contain occasional, and sometimes vivid, materials about Negroes. But race is not uniformly distinguished in the data, and is taken into account only in haphazard fashion. As a result, information on race from such sources is *statistically* biased and unsystematic, just as it is in other cities and countries.

Mass census data about Halifax Negroes also offer but limited help to the researcher. "Of the 18,020 Negroes in Canada as recorded officially by the 1951 census, 8,141 lived in Nova Scotia, 3,246 in Halifax County, and 918 in the City of Halifax; responsible authorities believe the actual totals in this area should be reported as much higher."(2) Indeed, as Part One below shows, these figures probably underestimated the Negro population of the city by fifty percent or more. Since there is no reason to believe that those Negroes reported comprise a representative sample of the whole Negro population of the city, any other census figures about Halifax Negroes would also be open to grave suspicion.

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(1) As used in this report, the word "Halifax," unless otherwise qualified, refers to the City of Halifax alone, not to the County of Halifax or to the general metropolitan area.

(2) John I. McVittie, REDEVELOPMENT STUDY OF HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA, Supplementary Volume, Halifax, 1957, p. 17. The census rubric "racial origin" is not necessarily identical with race. In default of other desiderata, such origin may be imputed from the language spoken by the paternal ancestor on first arrival in Canada. It is known that Jews and Negroes are undercounted and "English" overcounted in the census.

In view of the inadequacies of impressionistic data, official dossiers and census statistics, the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, decided to make its own count of the Negroes of Halifax, and in the first instance to limit its report in the main to data that the Institute itself had collected.(1)

Preliminary arrangements were made between the Institute of Public Affairs and the Maritime School of Social Work to administer an Institute questionnaire to all Negroes found living on Creighton and Maynard Streets in Halifax. The data obtained were used in the preparation of eight theses written by graduate students enrolled in the Maritime School of Social Work;(2) these data remained available to the Institute for further study.

To organize and supervise further investigations, a graduate in sociology (University of Toronto), Mrs. E. D. Wangenheim, was brought to Halifax. Under the general direction of Professor A. L. Neal, then Research Associate of the Institute, Mrs. Wangenheim, aided by a number of voluntary helpers, applied the questionnaire to Negroes in the rest of the City of Halifax.

The questionnaire administered in this survey dealt particularly with education, occupation, income, and housing. Attention was paid not only to demographic facts but also to opinions and expectations. In addition, Mrs. Wangenheim obtained systematic information about Negro schoolchildren and prepared a questionnaire to sound out their attitudes on a wide variety of topics; and she gathered similar data on several control groups of white schoolchildren. Finally, she consulted many social workers, city officials, and community leaders in order to gain a more complete understanding

(1) Census data of the whole Halifax population will, however, occasionally be presented in order to compare the condition of Negroes to that generally obtaining in the city; and dossier material will be used in those cases (e.g., I.Q. scores of school children) where they are relatively complete and systematic.

(2) On the basis of an intensive study of a subsample of the Negro population, namely 134 families living on Creighton and Maynard Streets, these students wrote the following theses:

Catherine Frew: THE HEALTH OF COLORED FAMILIES IN HALIFAX, (1959)
Melvina MacLennan: THE COLORED COMMUNITY, (1959)
George Henry Matthews: A STUDY OF EMPLOYMENT OF THE COLOURED MAN IN HALIFAX (1959)
Jean Beverly Ross, THE EFFECTS OF RACIAL ATTITUDES AND PREJUDICES ON THE COLORED PEOPLE OF HALIFAX, (1959)
Christeen Annabel Russell, CHILD WELFARE PROBLEMS IN THE COLOURED COMMUNITY, (1961)
Marion Sheridan, HOUSING AS A FACTOR IN THE LIFE OF THE COLORED FAMILY, (1959)
Sister Lydia Tyszko, HOUSING LIFE AND FAMILY STABILITY OF NEGROES IN HALIFAX, (1959)
H. Marjorie Yeadon, STRESS OF ADOLESCENCE IN A COLOURED COMMUNITY, (1959)

The thesis by Mr. Matthews, and also that by Miss Ross, are particularly commended to the reader.

of special aspects of the local situation. The main survey of families was substantially completed (except for a few re-calls on persons not earlier at home) by the last half of January 1959.

On the basis of the results of the survey and of information about schoolchildren, Mrs. Wangenheim prepared a draft manuscript for the Institute. Acknowledgment is made to Mrs. Wangenheim for assembling the information and tables presented here. A variety of persons have contributed to the writing of the final report, the principal part being taken by Dr. Morris Davis, recently Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Dalhousie University. The completed study is being published under the name of the Institute of Public Affairs itself rather than under that of any one person.

Chapter II

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION OF NEGROES IN HALIFAX

Two methods for counting the Negro[1] population of Halifax were available to researchers. First, enumerators could have proceeded in the fashion of the census, systematically going from housing unit to housing unit, inquiring (or observing) whether any Negroes lived in each unit, and if so how many. In a setting in which Negroes were surely but a small fraction of the total population (census figures indicated about one year), this would have been an uneconomical procedure. The vast majority of contracts would have yielded only null results; and because the enumerating force would have had to be greatly expanded or the survey time and cost unduly increased, this procedure would have directed much more public attention to the survey than was felt necessary or desirable.

The second method, the one employed in this survey, was to make full use of knowledge already existing in the city. The investigators could eliminate most sections of Halifax from their study since it was well known that Negroes lived in only a few small areas. Leaders of Negro organizations had lists of members and their addresses. Some governmental departments also had names and addresses of their Negro clientele. By collating these various lists and by supplemental inquiries, it was possible to compile an almost complete initial listing of housing units in which enumerators would then make further detailed investigation.

The survey count revealed about 1600 Negroes in the city of Halifax as of January 1959. Since surveys (in contradistinction to samples) usually undercount slightly, we may assume a five to ten per cent underenumeration, which would give an actual total Negro population in Halifax at this time of about 1750. This is considerably higher than the total of 918 reported in the decennial census of 1951.[2] Even assuming a growth rate for the Negro population twice that of the total Halifax population,[3] there would have been around 1350 to 1400 Negroes in Halifax in that year, or half again as many as were reported in the census. These calculations yield a conservative comparison; the true underestimation probably was closer to two-thirds.

(1) The term "Negro" will refer, throughout this report, to any person that the majority of the Halifax population would consider to be a Negro. Persons of mixed ancestry, even if mainly white in the biological sense, will be counted as Negro, except for those who "pass" as white. This definition is scientifically dubious and carries unsavoury ethical connotations; but it is the one employed generally throughout the Western world..

N.B.. Negroes in Halifax are sometimes called "coloured people." Indeed, they generally employ that term themselves.

(2) Part of the difference is due, of course, to the census characterizing racial origin often in terms of the language spoken by the paternal ancestor. See Chapter I.

(3) In 1951 Halifax had a population of 85,589, and in 1956 of 93,301—a rate of growth of about 1¾% a year. See CANADA YEARBOOK 1960, p. 179.

TABLE I

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MID-CITY NEGROES, AFRICVILLE NEGROES, AND TOTAL HALIFAX POPULATION*

Age	Mid-City Negroes N=1227	Africville Negroes N=393	Total for Halifax N=93,301
0-14	45%	53%	27%
15-34	28	24	34
35-64	24	21	32
65—	3	2	7
Total	100%	100%	100%

*Negro figures are for 1959; total Halifax figures for 1956

Negroes thus comprise close to two (rather than one) per cent of the Halifax population. Still, this is a very small fraction of the whole. If Negroes have attracted more attention than these numbers might appear to warrant, this is due probably (in addition to the general concern with racial problems now felt throughout the world) to the fact that Negroes are concentrated in only two [1] areas of the city, and that one of these abuts on the main business and governmental centre of Halifax. About three-quarters of the Negroes live in this small area just north of the city's nerve center, an area through which many persons pass on their way to work or shopping or entertainment.

Even the casual observer could see from the street that much of the housing here was substandard. The careful probing of this general district by Professor Gordon Stephenson of the University of Toronto, showed that in terms of plumbing, soundness of structure, overcrowding, and of what many believe are derivative social problems like crime rate and incidence of tuberculosis, many blocks in this area ranked economically and socially low.[2] Many parts of this area Professor Stephenson considered too far blighted to warrant renovation. For them he advocated demolition and reconstruction —often for commercial rather than residential purposes.[3]

As a matter of fact, many more whites than Negroes live in this district, even in the worst blocks. But because Halifax Negroes (except for those in Africville, discussed below) in the main live here and here only, often in

(1) At the time of publication (1962) Negroes live in a third area of the city: Mulgrave Park, a publically owned housing project. About sixty Negro families, formerly housed in the mid-city reconstruction area, now live in the project. The description above, however, is in the main accurate today.

(2) A REDEVELOPMENT STUDY OF HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA, 1957.

(3) Ibid., particularly p. 56.

slum or near-slum surroundings, not only are their numbers in evidence, but their depressed living conditions also are obvious even to the casual passer-by. It might seem, indeed, that the racial discrimination in housing characteristic of American cities, though not the housing segregation, was repeating itself in Halifax.

The other quarter of the Negro population lives in "a little frequented part of the City . . . in what may be described as an encampment, or shack town."(1) This Negro community,(2) Africville, huddles on the side of what, before man's industrial spoiliation, would have been a beautiful hill overlooking commodious Bedford Basin. Although rural in its lack of public facilities—it has no water pipes, no sewage system, no paved road at all and for most houses no access road, no nearby public transportation, no really convenient primary school(3)—Africville does share in the disabilities of urban living. Near it lies the city dump, the abattoir, and the incinerator; and through it run railroad freight spurs.

The problems of Africville are not so readily evident visually as those of the mid-city Negroes. One must journey to the far north of the city to see the place; and it is not even located on any main access route from the city. But in its way it too is a source of embarrassment to Haligonians. Among the first things a visitor notices on a tourist map of the city is that one district is called Africville. Why is it called that, he wants to know, and what is the place like? Africville provides a convenient subject for newspaper pictures whenever a movement for better housing gets under way.

Because these two areas are so different in type, each in its way a major problem for the city, we shall in all subsequent discussions deal separately with the Negroes of mid-city Halifax and those of Africville.

I. Population Distribution among Mid-City Negroes

The 1200 or so Negroes who live near the centre of Halifax form about 250 families, or approximately five persons per family. (See Tables I and II.) This relatively large average size also seems to be reflected in the distribution of Negroes by age. Although only about a quarter of the Halifax population as a whole is under fifteen years of age, among Negroes in the mid-city area more than two-fifths are under fifteen. (See Table III.) While differences in mortality rates and in migration patterns between whites and Negroes may account for some of this disparity in age distributions, more probably it indicates a higher birth rate among the Negroes in recent years. If true, this will, of course, in the absence of improvements in housing, education, and income, serve only to intensify their current depressed conditions.(4)

(1) Ibid., p. 27.

(2) Only a handful of whites seemed to live there at this time; see p. 9 Infra.

(3) Until about seven years ago Africville had its own (segregated, poor quality, semi-autonomous) two-room schoolhouse. The children now attend mixed schools that are approximately four-fifths of a mile away.

(4) For details see Chapter II, Infra.

TABLE II

HOUSEHOLD SIZES AMONG MID-CITY NEGROES, AFRICVILLE NEGROES, AND TOTAL HALIFAX POPULATION*

Size	Mid-City Negroes N=226	Africville Negroes N=82	Total for Halifax N=21,194
One Person	9%	3%	7%
Two or three persons	27	34	41
Four or five persons	23	16	31
Six or nine persons	33	36	17
Ten or more persons	7	10	3
Total**	99%	99%	99%

*Negro figures are for 1959; total Halifax figures are for 1956
**Difference from 100% due to rounding.

Household sizes reflect both this high birth rate and the tendency among Negroes to include boarders in the house and to form three-generation family units. In contrast to the total Halifax population, where the modal household size is from two to three persons, among the city Negroes the modal size is from six to nine. However, despite the high birth rate and the doubling up of families within housing units, Negroes do not constitute the majority of inhabitants in this district. In the area surveyed by the Stephenson report, the Negroes comprise only about seven per cent of the total population.(1) Even on Maynard and Creighton Streets, commonly considered *the* Negro section, Negroes represent less than 700 out of a total population of 3,300, or between a fourth and a fifth of those living there.

II. Population Distribution among Africville Negroes

Africville presents a different picture. Its population of about 400 forms approximately 80 families, or again about five persons per family; but the number of children under fifteen is proportionally mugh higher. More than fifty per cent of the Africville population is under this age. Here again, unless ameliorating steps are taken, an increase in numbers seems likely by itself to increase the problems of the district.

Household sizes approximate those of the mid-city Negro rather than of Halifax as a whole. Again, the modal household has six to nine members: though doubling-up is less common in Africville than among mid-city Negroes,(2) the proportion of children in the family keeps the household size high. But in contrast to the Negroes of the mid-city, those in Africville live in almost total neighbourhood isolation from whites. Only two white families reside in that district, and there are but two mixed marriages. Both areas may provide evidence of discrimination against Negroes; but Africville alone shows Negro separation.

(1) See Stephenson, op. cit., p. 32.

(2) In contrast with the figures for the mid-city Negroes, less than a sixth of the Africville families had a female head.

TABLE III

GENERAL FAMILY DATA FOR MID-CITY NEGROES AND AFRICVILLE NEGROES

	Mid-City Negroes	Africville Negroes
Total population counted	1227	393
Number of families	248	82
Average (mean) family size	4.9	4.8
Number of families with female heads	69	13
Percentage of families with female heads	28%	16%
Percentage in population with relation to family head of:		
Child	52%	54%
Grandchild	6%	8%
Other relative	6%	4%
Boarder	4%	2%

CHAPTER III

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION OF NEGROES IN HALIFAX

Although the gathering of even such bland demographic data as age, sex, number of children, and so on is not without difficulty and possible confusion, the investigator faces a much more severe task when he seeks information about such items as occupation or income or education. Many people refuse to answer the question, or cannot understand it, or honestly do not know. Of those who do answer, some lie or misrepresent or embroider. People may, for example, understate their earnings if they fear tax (or wifely) reprisals, and they may overstate them in order to gain imagined prestige in the eyes of the interviewer—and there is no reason to believe that the distortions will be compensating. Almost certainly a survey yields more nearly accurate results than most "well informed guesses"; but even survey findings must be treated with some caution. Precise tabulations in particular must be taken as indicative rather than strictly enumerative.

With these limitations of our data in mind, we shall discuss first the employment of Halifax Negroes, and then the housing units that they occupy.

I. Employment

The depressed economic condition of Halifax Negroes derives, of course, in large part from the economic difficulties of the Maritime Provinces in general.(1) The employment problems of Negroes go further, however, than this general condition would imply. They have employment opportunities even more unsatisfactory than the local average. A comparison of Halifax Negroes to the whole city population shows that they earn less than the mean income, that they are unemployed for many more weeks than the average, and that occupationally they are concentrated far more in manual or menial jobs and virtually are unrepresented in the profession.(2)

In part, of course, the explanation of this relatively poor employment showing may lie in racial prejudices. White employers may for personal reasons or in deference to the (real or supposed) wishes of others on the staff, or of customers, decline to hire Negroes or else employ them only on less skilled jobs and away from the public view. Negroes themselves may anticipate rebuffs that they will meet if they try for a more desirable position —indeed, they may anticipate rebuffs even where they might not exist—and so resign themselves to the bottom rungs of the employment ladder. Other matters associated at least partly with race (a larger proportion of young unmarried mothers who keep their babies and work only sporadically as

(1) In 1959 the average weekly industrial wage for Nova Scotia was $60.17 as against a national average of $73.47. Only Prince Edward Island was lower; and only the Maritime Provinces were under $70.00. The figure for Halifax, $59.73, was also quite low. CANADA YEARBOOK, 1960, p. 768.

(2) See Tables IV-VI, Infra.

household help, or young men who are part-time sleeping car porters in hopes of having a full-time position in a few years) also affect adversely the employment pattern of Negroes.

There are other reasons as well that are, at most, tenuously associated with race. Schooling, in particular, affects one's opportunities for higher level employment. To the extent that Negroes are poorly educated,(1) they will experience difficulty in obtaining skilled work or even any work at all. Still, on this point there is room for a little optimism. In his chapter "Work in Relation to Levels of Education," George Matthews concluded, after a study of 158 Negro men in mid-city Halifax:

> "There is an increasing trend among the coloured men to remain in school longer than was evident in former years. The more education a coloured man has, the better chance he has of obtaining training in the professional, clerical and skilled trades. . . . From the data collected, it appeared to the writer that the more education a coloured man has the less discrimination he met when he applied for a job. It was found that those who had qualified themselves for a profession or one of the skilled or clerical trades met with less difficulty in obtaining employment."(2)

This does not mean, of course, that Negroes have the same general opportunities as whites of equivalent education; it does mean that increased education usually does furnish by itself increased advantages to its holder. The opportunities of whites and Negroes may be arrayed along different scales, but in both cases the person with the more education tends to do better than others of his own race.

In making a closer examination of Negro employment, it will be useful, as before, to consider separately mid-city and Africville Negroes.

A. Mid-City Negroes

Negro workers who live in the centre of Halifax have a smaller income than Halifax workers generally. Almost a third of these Negroes, in contrast to a fifth for the city as a whole, earn less than $1,000 a year, and only about two per cent (as against four per cent for the whole city) earn more than $4,000. In both cases men comprise more than two-thirds of the labour force, and there is a large discrepancy between the earnings of men and women.(3)

(1) Either because of so easily measurable a characteristic as few years in school or because of the more intangible fact of lower quality of teaching as measured by the standard of teachers' licenses held. The segregated school formerly operated in Africville, and perhaps those still operated in Halifax County, could be listed under this latter heading.

(2) George Henry Matthews, A STUDY OF THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE COLOURED MAN IN HALIFAX, unpublished thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, N. S. 1959, pp. 31-32.

(3) Cf. CANADA YEARBOOK, 1960, pp. 774-777.

TABLE IV

APPROXIMATE DISTRIBUTION OF ANNUAL INCOMES AMONG MALE AND FEMALE MEMBERS OF THE LABOUR FORCE FOR MID-CITY NEGROES, AFRICVILLE NEGROES, AND THE WHOLE CITY OF HALIFAX*

	Mid-City Negroes			Africville			Whole City of Halifax		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Income									
Under $1000	13%	19%	32%	22%	13%	35%	7%	13%	20%
$1000-1999	19	12	31	21	15	36	26	13	39
$2000-2999	23	3	26	24	1	25	23	4	27
$3000-3999	8	1	9	3	0	3	8	1	9
$4,000 and over	2	0	2	1	0	1	5	0	5
Total	65%	35%	100%	71%	29%	100%	69%	31%	100%

*Negro figures are from 1959 survey; city figures from 1951 census. Zeroes mean less than half of one per cent.

From data presented in Table IV(1) one may estimate(2) the mean annual income of those in the Halifax labour force as about $2000, with that of men at about $2200 and of women about $1200. For mid-city Negroes the average is about $1700, with men at about $2000 and women about $1100.

Among mid-city Negroes, then, as among Halifax workers in general, men earn almost twice as much as women. This fact stems in part from women being employed in more menial occupations and in part from their working more sporadically than men. If, however, one compares men to men and women to women, it is clear that for both sexes Negroes earn considerably less on average than do their white counterparts.

Part of this difference between white and Negro incomes stems from the greater d e g r e e of unemployment experienced by Negroes. (See Table V.) Four-fifths of all city workers were steadily employed (fifty weeks or more per year), whereas this was true of only one half of the Negro workers. Almost a quarter of the Negro workers were employed less than twenty weeks during the year, while only about a twentieth of those in the city as a whole had so few weeks of employment.(3)

(1) See Table IV. Although the figures for the whole city are for 1951, and those for the Negroes for 1959, the discrepancy in time tends, if anything, to underestimate the former and makes our comparative use of the figures highly conservative.

(2) The procedure was to assume that all those in the range $0-999 had incomes of $500, all those from $1000 to $1999 of $1500, and so on; and that those above $4000 had mean incomes of $4500. This again makes the figures for the city as a whole conservatively low in comparison with those for the Negroes.

(3) Unemployment tends, of course, to be highest among those with less skilled positions.

In addition, part of the difference lies in the fact that Negroes are largely unrepresented in the higher paying occupations. Of the approximately 250 Negro men from whom definite occupational information was available, only four were in the professions, a dozen in clerical work, and two dozen in skilled trades; and of the 130 Negro women, eight were in professions (teaching and nursing), thirteen in clerical positions, and two in skilled jobs. Most of the rest were in semiskilled jobs (96 males and 6 females), unskilled jobs (114 males and 33 females), or in such a service occupation as charwoman (67 females and 2 males).

TABLE V

NUMBER OF WEEKS EMPLOYED ANNUALLY BY MALE AND FEMALE MEMBERS OF THE LABOUR FORCE FOR MID-CITY NEGROES, AFRICVILLE NEGROES, AND THE WHOLE CITY OF HALIFAX*

No. of Weeks Employed	Mid-City Negroes			Africville Negroes			Whole City of Halifax		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Under 10	9%	5%	14%	13%	1%	14%	1%	1%	2%
10-19	6	3	9	10	2	12	2	1	3
20-29	9	6	15	11	5	16	3	1	4
30-39	5	3	8	7	0	7	3	1	4
40-49	4	2	6	3	1	4	3	2	5
50 and over	32	18	50	29	18	47	58	24	82
Total	65%	35%	100%	73%	27%	100%	70%	30%	100%

*Negro figures are from 1959 survey: city figures are from 1951 census. Zeroes mean less than half of one per cent.

TABLE VI

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF MID-CITY NEGROES

	Male	Female
Professional	4	8
Clerical	11	13
Service	2	67
Skilled	25	2
Semiskilled	96	6
Unskilled	114	33
Armed Forces	3	1
Total	255	130

B. Africville Negroes

No matter what one uses as an index of a poor employment situation (low average income, large number of weeks unemployed, fewness of persons in the more skilled occupations), Africville Negroes rank worse than Halifax as a whole and in general worse even than the mid-city Negroes. More than a third of the Africville workers earn less than $1000 a year, and less than one per cent earn over $4000. (See Table IV above.) Using the estimation procedure described earlier,(1) one may put the mean Africville income at about $1500 a year, with men earning about $1650 and women about $1100. The low income of males is especially notable. Instead of earning twice as much as females, as is true for both the whole city and for mid-city Negroes, they earn only about fifty per cent more. The reason for this discrepancy seems to lie in the fact that the same unskilled and service jobs are held by Negro women of both areas, but that the mid-city Negro men hold a greater proportion of skilled, semiskilled, and clerical positions than do the males of Africville.

Unemployment in terms of weeks worked is about the same here as among the Negroes who live downtown. (See Table V above.) But in terms of underemployment the situation seems worse. Many jobs related to stevedoring and cartage during Halifax's winter shipping season may provide some work during a week and yet not a *full* week's work. While some in this area may occupy their idle days by fishing in the Bedford Basin or by foraging for salvageable materials on the nearby dump, such activities are of conceivable profit only for those who are living at a bare subsistence level.

II. Housing

A. Mid-City Negroes

The actual housing of Negroes, at least in the centre of Halifax, has changed considerably since this survey was conducted in January 1959. The demolition that has preceded the Jacob Street redevelopment, the tearing down of houses to provide large parking lots for the Gottingen Street shopping area, and the condemnation of some houses under Ordinance No. 50 (Respecting Minimum Standards for Housing Accommodation) of the City of Halifax, of January 1, 1958—(2) all these have changed markedly the precise residence pattern of mid-city Negroes. Their over-all location has changed much less, for most of those Negroes who have been forced to vacate dwellings live in the same general area, either doubling up with other families or occupying accommodations which in turn will soon be condemned. A number of families have been rehoused in the new Mulgrave Park project; and this marks the first major case in recent years of housing mobility for Halifax Negroes.

(1) See page 11, footnote (2).

(2) For excerpts from this ordinance see Stephenson, op. cit., p. 62.

TABLE VII

CONDITION OF 134 NEGRO DWELLING UNITS
MAYNARD AND CREIGHTON STREETS

Condition	Yes	No	Not Known
No major repair needed	69	64	1
Bathroom	58	75	1
Private Bathroom	17	116	1
Mechanical hot water	37	92	5
Owned by occupant	45	89	0
White neighbours adjacent or in same house	92	42	0
Family likes area	96	37	1

In view of these changes in much of the area, we shall limit our presentation of information on mid-city Negroes to a subsample of families, all resident on Maynard and Creighton Streets, where demolition and construction has been far less frequent than in other streets farther down the hill. Some 134 families were interviewed on these two streets. (See Table VII.) Slightly more than half lived in dwelling units that were in need of major repair;(1) more than half the families had no bathing facilities, neither a private nor a shared bathroom; only a seventh of the families had private toilet facilities, while the rest shared them with one or more families; and only a little more than a quarter of the families had mechanically-produced hot water, with the rest depending on water heated on a stove.(2) In addition, the researchers uncovered many examples of overcrowding: there were three cases of seven-member families and one of an eight-member family occupying only two rooms; and three cases of nine-member families and one of an eleven-member family occupying three rooms.(3)

Clearly these dwelling units are indicative of slum or near-slum conditions. Certain other facts, however, should be added.(4) First, many of these Negro families owned the housing units in which they lived: only two-thirds of the sample rented their accommodations. Second, the rents that Negroes paid were, especially in local terms, quite low, averaging less than $40 a month. This does not mean that the tenants got much for their money—residents in better neighbourhoods almost assuredly received more

(1) A unit was deemed in need of major repair if it had a sagging or rocking foundation, as indicated by cracked or leaning walls; or if it had a faulty roof or chimney; or if it had unsafe outside steps or stair warp; or if the interior was badly in need of repair (e.g., large chunks of plaster missing from walls or ceiling).

(2) Jean Beverly Ross, THE EFFECTS OF RACIAL ATTITUDES AND PREJUDICES ON THE COLORED PEOPLE OF HALIFAX, unpublished Master's thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, 1959, pp. 12-14.

(3) Ibid., pp. 14-15. Bathrooms, toilets, hallways, and unfinished attics and cellars do not count as rooms.

(4) Ibid., pp. 16, ff.

cubic feet, say, per dollar than did they—but just that they did not spend much money. Third, while Negroes in the mid-city area were pretty much restricted to this one neighbourhood, the area was not a segregated one. Two-thirds of the Negro families interviewed either had white neighbours living in an adjacent house or resided in a building that contained whites as well as Negroes. Finally, many Negroes appeared to have positive feelings toward the area in which they were living. More than two-thirds of those interviewed responded that they liked their neighbourhood, either because they "liked their neighbours; they had lived there all their lives; their friends were there and they knew the area," or because "the area was considered convenient to stores, work, school, church," or because the respondents felt that the area was quiet and clean.(1)

This implies that physical slum clearance and reconstruction, without attention to the problems of adjustment and the long-term interests of the people to be relocated, may not solve the housing problem in anything like a satisfactory fashion for Negroes. One-third of the families of the Maynard-Creighton Street area owned their own homes in 1959. (See Table VII.) Public housing policies, however well designed for the city as a whole, may lead to loss of home ownership on the part of a considerable number of Negroes and to their being chronic tenants in public housing. The dangers of "resegregation" similar to that apparent in northern cities of the United States, are evident here. The refusal of housing in the better sections of the metropolitan area to Negroes willing and eager to pay the costs (as reported by local television and press(2)) is a problem experienced by a segment of Negroes in Halifax. This refusal is indicative, however, of a *condition* faced by all Negroes in Halifax. At the same time, for many Halifax Negroes, dispersal to more attractive housing throughout the city might be an unsatisfactory way, from a social and psychological point of view, of alleviating present depressed housing conditions. Even persons who are free to move anywhere, sometimes prefer to live near friends and family. Clear progress in dealing with community problems in human relations is requisite for improvement of housing for Negroes.

B. Africville Negroes

Housing in Africville varies from fairly solid well-built houses to roughly-patched, one-room or two-room shacks build by amateurs. Nearly all houses are single-family dwelling units. Most have electricity and some have a number of electrical appliances. As mentioned already, however, there is no running water and no public sewage disposal, so that all families are dependent on wells and outside toilets.

Most families own their homes, only fifteen paying rent,(3) but there is considerable uncertainty about land ownership. While a few families, per-

(1) Miss Ross' summary, Ibid., p. 25.

(2) The Halifax CHRONICLE-HERALD, Wednesday, May 9, 1962, p. 34, reported a statement made, with respect to the depressing effect of the "race factor" in the calculation of property value for purposes of assessment, by an instructor (himself an assessing officer) at a school for assessors conducted by the Nova Scotia Department of Municipal Affairs.

(3) Rents generally range from $10 to $19 monthly.

haps twenty at most, appear to have deeds to their land, the majority of families seem uncertain of their true position. Many claim that Queen Victoria granted the land to their ancestors, a claim that may have more social significance than legal validity.

Despite the uncertainties of land ownership, there has been considerable stability in house tenure in Africville. Over forty families have lived in their present home over ten years; others have lived elsewhere in Africville that long or longer. In addition, almost two-thirds of those interviewed claimed that they liked living in Africville, citing as reasons the freedom of the place, the cleaner air, the view, the open spaces, the opportunities for fishing, and congenial neighbours. The sense of community that pervades Africville (stemming from kinship ties, long-term residence and, defensively it would seem, from the scorn felt from outsiders) might not survive the expropriation of this district for industrial purposes[1] and the dispersal of the population elsewhere in the city. Indeed, the marginality of Africville's economy, with the low wages of its inhabitants compensated for in part by low housing costs and by the possibilities of foraging, fishing, and mutual self-help, might crumble entirely if transferred to any more competitively organized section of the city. So, once again, physical improvement of housing may involve problems of greater sensitivity than initially may be apparent to those desiring to improve conditions.

(1) Stephenson, op. cit., pp. 56-57, makes this recommendation.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCABILITY OF NEGRO STUDENTS IN HALIFAX

The two previous chapters have described the total number of Negroes in the city of Halifax and their age and household distributions, and have discussed some facets of their housing and working conditions. A survey is most suited to collect this kind of concrete material; but to limit a report only to matters of this sort would give an incomplete picture of the Negroes' problem.

Consideration is required in particular for what seems to many persons one of the most crucial factors for the future of Halifax Negroes: their capacity for education. A survey, it is true, can provide valuable information related to this topic. One can record, as we do below, the number of grades persons have attained in school, the average age per grade for various categories of schoolchildren, and the intelligence quotients of these children. Interviews with school personnel, and the administration of sociometric tests to students, could be used to flesh out the report. Even together, all this does not reveal how far Halifax Negroes will likely be receptive to further education.

All quantifiable data, in particular, have severe limitations if one seeks to use them as estimates of educability. Few years of schooling, for example, may be caused by poor economic conditions, by a low estimate of the value of education for improving one's material situation, by friends leaving school early and one's wanting to go along with the gang, and not merely by a lack of aptitude for assimilating what is taught in school. I. Q. tests, however objective they may seem, measure not intelligence alone but also experience, the ability to manipulate the symbols and concepts of the test reflecting learning as well as innate capacity, so that children from middle and upper class families have a considerable head start over poorer children.

These limitations of data mean that, in describing the educability of Halifax Negroes, we must go beyond presenting findings to discussing a probable interpretation of these findings. In this respect the tenor of the present chapter differs necessarily from the more directly evidential character of the first two chapters.

I. Data Related to Educability

If one looks to the last school grade achieved by Halifax Negroes no longer in school, it is evident that these persons generally are not highly educated. (See Table VIII.) Of those from mid-city less than two percent have had an education beyond Grade XII and less than a fifth have gone beyond Grade IX. Almost half of those no longer in school left between Grades VII and IX, most commonly in Grade VIII. Almost twice as many persons have a Grade VI education or less than have gone beyond Grade IX.

The figures for Africville would show almost assuredly an even lower distribution of grades achieved.

Furthermore, those Negroes who are still in school tend on the average to be older for each grade than are whites in the same districts. (See Table IX.)

TABLE VIII

Last School Grade Achieved by Mid-City Negroes No Longer in School

Grade	Male	Female	Total
I-III	24	16	40
IV-VI	66	77	143
VII-IX	100	145	245
X-XII	38	53	91
Over XII	6	3	9
Totals	234	294	528

TABLE IX

Mean Age per Grade for Whites and Negroes in School, June 195

Grade	"A" Mid-City Negroes	"B" Whites Attending Same Schools as "A"	"C" Africville Negroes	"D" Whites Attending Same Schools as "D"	"E" Whites Attending Schools in Upper Middle Class Neighbourhood	"F" Halifax County Negroes
Preschool	5.9	5.8	5.8	5.7	*	*
I	7.0	6.9	7.5	6.8	*	*
II	8.4	8.1	8.7	7.7	*	*
III	9.5	9.3	10.3	8.8	*	11.7
IV	10.8	10.3	11.0	10.2	9.7	12.2
V	11.8	11.5	12.8	11.1	10.8	13.3
VI	13.1	12.7	14.0	12.5	11.7	14.3
VII	14.0	13.7	14.4	13.4	12.8	14.3
VIII	15.2	14.8	15.5	14.4	13.7	15.4

*Information not collected for these groups

TABLE X

Percentage Distribution of I.Q. Scores for Negro Schoolchildren and for all Schoolchildren in Selected Halifax Schools (Auxiliary Students Excluded)

I.Q. Scores	Negro Schoolchildren "A" Mid-City	Negro Schoolchildren "B" Africville	All Schoolchildren "C" In Same Schools as "A"	All Schoolchildren "D" In Same Schools as "B"	All Schoolchildren "E" In Upper-Middle Class Neighbourhood
50-69	3.8	0.0	2.8	2.0	0.0
70-84	30.6	49.3	19.0	14.1	4.6
85-99	40.5	41.1	39.4	29.1	18.0
100-114	22.6	9.6	29.4	35.6	34.6
115-129	2.5	0.0	8.0	14.7	31.7
130 and above	0.0	0.0	1.4	4.5	11.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

In some cases these differences are not large; in others they are as much as a year and a half.(1) Such differences may be taken as a rough measure of Negro retardation in school *relative to whites*. In addition, Negro students receive a lower distribution of I.Q. scores than do whites. (See Table X.) No Negro students had intelligence quotients of 130 or above and only about two per cent scored above 114. On the other hand, a third of the mid-city Negroes and almost half those from Africville scored less than 85, or in the low-normal range and below.

II. Discussion and Interpretation of Data Related to Educability

These three facts taken together—low educational level of Negroes now out of school, relatively high age per grade of Negro schoolchildren, and relatively low I.Q. scores of these children—certainly provide no evidence that Negroes are more intelligent and suited for higher education than are whites. But neither do they prove the opposite conclusively. In particular, the low educational achievement of those now out of school was, as mentioned earlier, certainly affected in many cases by their economic and social condition: the need for money, the belief that education would be of little help to them in seeking employment, crowded living quarters, lack of intellectual stimulation among their peers, friends quitting school early, inferior educational facilities (under Africville's previously segregated school program at least), lack of a normal family pattern, and the like.

In addition, while the two measures we have used for those still in school (average age per grade, and intelligence quotients) do show Negroes with

(1) See Table IX, Groups "C" and "D" in Grade III.

generally less satisfactory scores than whites, there are such great differences within the white and Negro populations that race does not seem to be the crucial factor affecting the figures. In Table IX (age-grade averages), for example, the differences between upper-middle class whites and mid-city whites are greater than those between mid-city whites and mid-city Negroes; and those between upper-middle class whites and Halifax *county* Negroes tend to be two to three times greater than the differences between Halifax city Negroes and whites within the same group of schools. Clearly, class differentials are of greater importance in accounting for age-grade averages than is race, even though race also may have a small independent effect on these averages.

Rather similar comments apply to the distribution of I.Q. scores. The scores for Negro schoolchildren, whether from mid-city or from Africville, do tend to be lower than those of white schoolchildren,(1) but the absolute difference(2) between mid-city Negroes and mid-city whites is only about a third as great as that between mid-city whites and whites from an upper-middle class neighbourhood.

Further confirmation of the hypothesis that age-grade figures and I.Q. scores depend far more on socio-economic conditions than on race is present in the fact that the differences between Africville Negroes and whites in the schools attended by Africville Negroes are far greater than those between mid-city Negroes and mid-city whites. Through geographical accident, the Africville children attend schools in a nearby lower-middle and middle class neighbourhood, far more prosperous than is Africville, while the mid-city Negro and white students both come from the same general depressed housing and economic background.

These conclusions are reinforced also by the results of studies of the emotional make-up of white and Negro schoolchildren. A questionnaire devised by Mrs. Wangenheim to probe the students' occupational aspirations and expectations, friendship patterns, club memberships, material hopes, and their attitudes toward housing, spending, hobbies, television programs, and the like, demonstrated a general similarity of outlook between mid-city whites and Negroes and a dissimilarity of both these from white students in an upper-middle class neighbourhood.(3) In Mrs. Wangenheim's words: "Comparison with white groups of various socio-economic levels has shown that the similarity in environment of whites and Negroes in the central slum area is reflected in their performance on a variety of measures."(4) More scientifically controlled studies by members of the Departments of Political Science and Psychology at Dalhousie University, using a standardized projective test, seem to have underscored and sharpened Mrs. Wangenheim's general conclusion.

In terms of educability, then, mid-city Negroes seem to be in much the same position as mid-city whites. Africville Negroes seem to be somewhat worse off. All these groups, however, are far inferior in educability to whites of higher socio-economic class. While race, or more precisely the particular configuration of psycho-social patterns associated with being a Negro in Halifax, does by itself adversely affect scores to a small extent, economic class seems to be the most crucial variable accounting for present capacity for education.

If this is true, it is probably unrealistic to expect the Negro population to pull itself up by its own educational bootstraps. Without further education, it is true, the future of Halifax Negroes is bleak indeed; but without improved living conditions and what these imply (broader employment opportunities, high income, better housing, a feeling that education is of some use, a more intellectual environment) the probability of Negro receptivity to increased education is very slim. Even though Negroes are almost certainly, in some aptitudinal sense, as intelligent as whites in general, they are far less likely to be capable of receiving the advantages of education. Like the poorer white children in the city, Halifax Negro students appear likely to repeat the limitations and disabilites of their parents. Only improvement in Negro employment and living conditions, largely supported as it must be by resources from outside this group, can bring about a situation in which further education can profitably be assimilated, and the self-defeating circle of lower-class deficiencies in educability be broken.

(1) See Table X. In this Table, Negro schoolchildren are compared to "all schoolchildren" in the same district; but this last is in all cases overwhelmingly white.

(2) This estimate is based on the sum of the differences (without sign) between each pair across each I.Q. classification reported in Table III. This is a crude measure, but sufficient for our purposes.

(3) Africville and Halifax county Negroes appeared, as one might have expected, even more deficient (from a middle-class point of view) in these attitude areas than mid-city whites and Negroes; and the gap between them and the Halifax upper-middle class white students was even more extreme.

(4) Original MS, p. 150.

Chapter V

CONCLUSIONS

In the previous chapters we have counted the Halifax Negroes, described their housing and occupational conditions, and discussed the capacity of Negro children for increased education. None of these chapters affords reasons for satisfaction with the present or for optimism about the future. By itself the increase in the Halifax Negro population will make current problems only the more difficult. Redevelopment in downtown Halifax almost certainly will make housing conditions for Negroes worse before they get better; and will, for better or worse, disrupt severely the present social fabric of the Negro community. Unless far-sighted public policies are adopted, change may lead to "resegregation" or concentration of Negroes in public housing. Furthermore, while the extent of Negro education may be increasing, it is to be doubted seriously whether it is increasing as fast as that for the city's population as a whole, especially in post-high school education.

The members of a depressed social group cannot expect improvement of their position except through personal self-help and mutual help. The maintenance and even the intensification of present efforts of the Negroes themselves, as individuals and through their own formal and informal organizations, are essential to their advancement. Those in a minority group who are in the position indicated by this report may not, however, be able by their own unaided efforts to find remedies for their difficulties.

The severity of the problems facing the Negro population in Halifax cannot be lessened markedly by the Negro population itself. It does not have the financial resources to pay for the needed improvements, or the numbers necessary to exert pressure on the general community, or a well-developed leadership except within the specifically religious field.

Consequently, if the Negroes are to help themselves and improve their life, they must receive a good deal of help from outside their own numbers. They will need more private and public housing,(1) more public welfare, more intensive social work, more effective ways of working with the larger political system of the city as a whole. All of this will go for nought unless much better employment opportunities, based on merit and not precluded by social barriers, are open to qualified Negro workers.

They will likely not receive these kinds of help effectively unless the community undertakes a rigorous self-examination of its existing employment and housing patterns, and of the practices or conditions which have led

(1) Since January 1, 1961, under the National Housing Act, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation has required categorically that "any house or any unit in a multiple-family dwelling constructed with the aid of monies borrowed" from the Corporation, whether under private or public auspices, must be sold or leased without discrimination "against any person by reason of race, colour, religion, origin."

to these patterns of employment and of housing. Even then, they can receive enough help only through a great many helpful acts of persons in the majority group, stimulated by voluntary and official leadership and strengthened in their actions by such fair employment and accommodation legislation as has recently been adopted and by positive public policies. Organized effort to integrate help of the majority group and Negro self-help will be needed. To bring about substantial change these private acts of help must grow rapidly and be sustained in number and quality over a considerable period of years.

Giving help, to be sure, is more complicated in fact than an outsider might think. If done without insight and skill, it may meet with hostility. It cannot be expected to bring forth any explicit gratitude. Not to give such help will lead, eventually and inevitably, to even greater social and fiscal costs to the city and the province—to say nothing of the continued wastage of human and economic resources.

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(2) Thesis submitted to the Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, N. S., in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Social Work.

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Adult Education Among the Negroes of Nova Scotia, by Gwendolyn V. Shand, formerly Executive Director, Halifax Welfare Council, Halifax, Nova Scotia, was published in 1961 as part of research concerning the Negroes of Nova Scotia which the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, is conducting.