# Recognizing Missing Branches on the Tree: A Preliminary Social Analysis of Historically-Oppressed Ethnic Minorities in Nova Scotia through Genealogy

By

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# Abstract

This thesis provides a preliminary social analysis of three historically-oppressed ethnic minorities in Nova Scotia: Black, Acadian and Mi' kmaq, by researched genealogies documentation and oral history data. The central argument of this thesis is that settlement patterns and labour relations between oppressed minorities contributed to interethnic marriage among such minorities. Settlement patterns and labour streaming are argued to be the main historically structured source for these groups uniting.

Genealogical data were gathered for six surnames in Nova Scotia that are common among the three historically oppressed ethnic groups. A series of twelve semi-structured interviews were conducted with individuals from each or all of the three groups discussed in this thesis: Acadians, Blacks and First Nations. Six themes are presented and discussed: religion, identity, work/settlement patterns, difficulty/value of genealogical research, silent racism, social constructs and Acadian/Métis relations.

Portions of this information are kept out of traditional secondary school texts and Nova Scotia residents have the right to understand the multifaceted makeup of the province's cultures. This research is important because for decades various families have been, perhaps, ashamed or unaware that they are representative of interconnected historically-oppressed minority groups.

# Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible to accomplish without the immense help and support from a myriad of individuals. My parents, John and Irene, were the driving force behind my aspirations to achieve this goal. Although the road has not been easy, they were always there for me every step of the way. My father provided me with strength and resilience and my mother persevered as a professional in a male dominated work environment. Her excellent character contributed to my reaching this goal. Most important, both provided unconditional love.

My passion for sociology stems from Dr. R. James Sacouman. Entering Acadia University, my academic skills were average and I questioned if I was in the right place. With Dr. Sacouman as my professor, I quickly realized my interests and began to see the world in a more complex way. Dr. Sacouman's insights and theorization has carried me throughout the latter part of my studies, forcing me to achieve a level of analysis I never thought possible. A quality educator goes above and beyond the call of duty to inspire students in such an incredible way. Dr. Sacouman has set me on life's course in a manner that I am ever thankful for. As I move on to the next phase of life, I will extend his lessons.

The research presented in this thesis would not have been possible without the incredible groups and communities across Nova Scotia. I believe that only in the province of Nova Scotia could such a thesis be written in the time frame expected. The warm and helpful nature of a variety of individuals in this province, I was able to communicate and search with immense support and assistance. The Black Loyalist Heritage Society has provided me with contacts and resources for this work. Debra Hill volunteered much of

her time to help me find files and send me in the right direction during the preliminary stages of this thesis. This work is only a small piece of the ethnic puzzle in Nova Scotia. I sincerely hope that this work serves as a catalyst for future researchers in this field of race constructions and relations.

# Chapter 1

# Introduction

The ethnic diversity encompassed in Canada reaches far beyond the year of Confederation. Indigenous ethnic minorities were a part of Canada long before European colonization. The land currently called Nova Scotia was all Mi' kmaq territory years before the French settled in 1604. An individual can be part of a multicultural background and evidence of this family history may not be apparent at face value. The Registrar of the Black Loyalist Heritage Society verifies the notion in stating: "You do not need to have black skin to have black ancestry (Hill, 2006)." Through exploring heritage, one may learn that one's family and ancestors are a compilation of multi-ethnic backgrounds. This reality speaks volumes concerning the social construction of race, particularly because many ethnic individuals, especially in this region of Nova Scotia, are descendants of historically- oppressed inhabitants.

The central theme of this argument is that factors such as settlement patterns and labour relations among minorities, contribute to interethnic marriage. Settlement patterns and labour streaming are argued in this thesis to be the main historically-structured source for these groups uniting. In essence, the common bond gained by ethnic minority groups formed in Nova Scotia began centuries ago when work was scarce and land grants were difficult for these ethnic groups to obtain.

Contentious historic times have formed racial boundaries within society; because of this, many Nova Scotia families may not be aware of their true ethnic heritage. Ethnic

minority groups were excluded from dominant, white Anglo-society; because of such circumstances, relations emerge leading to centuries of interethnic connections.

This critical political economic analysis of race relations provides understanding to racialized processes – specifically systemic, institutional racism and work relations. Settlement patterns describe the interconnected phenomena. However, the primary focus of the inter-theoretical perspective I draw on in this thesis is to assess the impact of racialization in a capitalist society (Henry et al., 2000: 39). The precarious nature of racism is a leading factor in social inequality. The hierarchy of race has been strengthened through social processes during the 19th and 20th centuries (Henry et al., 2000: 36). As demonstrated in Chapter II, systematic racism is an on-going problem in contemporary Canada. Systematic racism encompasses discriminatory practices by any means, through policy or practice in a given system (Henry et al., 2000: 38). The links between the development of systematic or institutionalized racism stem from mercantilism. This early form of capitalism fueled European expansion during colonial times (Henry et al, 2000: 38). Unique socio-historical circumstances shaped the nature in which Nova Scotia families exist today. Social analysis of genealogical connections provides an increased awareness of the myriad of ethno-cultural heritages present in contemporary Canada.

The paradigm of identity is explored in this thesis. A family that inhabits all three ethnic identities discussed in this study has a myriad of cultural and heritage factors. The question of how and why a specific family adopts traditions in an interethnic marriage is presented in Chapter Five. The complexities of an interethnic marriage reach far beyond the traditional family network. Multiculturalism "encourages the maintenance of the

ethnic and cultural identities of Canadians" (Satzewich, 2007: 123); however, intermarriage transcends the objective factors of one's culture – specifically, interethnic children. Acculturation and questions surrounding what aspect of one's culture and identities are retained in intermarriage. Also, why negative views and opinions emerge and may still linger in contemporary society concerning interethnic marriage is addressed. Many respondents in this study believe interethnic marriage is increasingly accepted, yet, still believe that individual families may continue to be uncomfortable with a family member marrying outside of their "race". Pressures that ethnic groups face assimilating, and challenges persons of mixed race confront, past and present, are explored in the interview data of this research.

Social constructs enforce the monistic mode of thought and cohesion that appear in the form of rules and norms centered on who one should and should not marry (Campbell: 1979, 2). The social context of marriage goes beyond two individuals loving one another. Social expectations encompass a nexus of potentially contentious standards such as: age, geographical proximity, racial and ethnic status, religion, occupation and education (Campbell: 1979, 2). People make history and the biological family provides the lens to see how social constructs help in defining society's behavioral problems. As Taylor and Crandall note in, *Generations and Change: Genealogical Perspective in Social History,* studies such as the following aid in "recovering the make-up and culture of the twentieth century family" (Crandall and Taylor: 1989, 25). As argued in this research, primary data have not been irretrievably lost or neglected throughout the ages concerning ethnicity in Nova Scotia. By providing an outline of the exogamy that

occurred amongst various ethnic groups over the course of the past four centuries, Nova Scotia, despite historic times, is a treasure of multiculturalism.

Currently in the twenty-first century, social exclusion continues to be a problem amongst racialized groups in Canada, denying groups equal access to privileges many Canadians take for granted (Galabuzi, 2005: 174). There are continuing problems surrounding poverty, segregated neighbourhoods, unequal access to employment, low health status and discriminatory treatment by the criminal justice system (Galabuzi, 2005: 174). Racialization of poverty keeps racialized groups in Canada below the low income cut off line (Galabuzi, 2005: 173). The powerlessness that comes with impoverishment produces vulnerability and insecurity within racialized groups. One can expect that solidarity was strengthened amongst the oppressed groups, leading to an increase of intimate relations, as I argue in this thesis.

This topic is of great interest to me because I have recently realized these connections are apparent within my own family. I wondered about my true heritage. Genealogical research has been analyzed on my father's side of the family, tracing back to British settlers; however, my mother's side of the family was less clear. People have been inquisitive of my ethnic origin throughout my life. I replied with uncertainty because the knowledge of my heritage was lacking. Once I began the preliminary research to this thesis, I discovered that my mother's side of the family (Muise) is indeed Acadian, Mi'kmaq and Black. These three connections are scattered throughout various families in Nova Scotia, not just my own. I was not aware that my family had such a rich ethnic background, nor were any of my family members. Needless to say, this information sparked an in-depth research study presented in the following chapters.

This study facilitates any reader's study of genealogical heritage. I provide the necessary information on getting one's own family tree. By looking at surnames and regions across Nova Scotia, one gains a sense of family relations and with whom our ancestors lived. The reader will gain a sense of various time frames throughout the past few decades that are critical for the researcher, obstacles that here become apparent, and names of important individuals to consult when doing specific research such as this in Nova Scotia. Comprehending heritage provides one with a sense of belonging, and a better perspective on historical analysis, and is of value for the entire family.

Additional contributors, worth mentioning, to this thesis research are the assistance of non-university organizations such as the Black Loyalist Heritage Society located in Birchtown, N.S. Working during 2006 with the organization as a paid researcher, I became aware of the issues presented concerning Black Loyalists and other oppressed minority groups. Also, I acquired knowledge specific to the utilization of instruments necessary for successful research in this field, such as PAF (Personal Ancestral File) which is a database of genealogical data compiled by the registrar of BLHS. PAF logs and technologically assists in organizing family trees and data, for example, obituaries. Through BLHS, I began to make contacts with additional non-university organizations such as the Genealogical Association of Nova Scotia, Digby County Museum, Shelburne County Genealogical Society and numerous others across the province, all of which helped to shape the dynamic of this thesis.

This research also falls within a major area interest for the Acadia Centre for the Study of Ethnocultural Diversity (ACSED) at Acadia University. Under the direction of Dr. R. James Sacouman, the Centre merges productive new ways of assembling theories

and methodologies from different disciplines. The range of research entails all levels in multifaceted form: global, social and cultural (http://library.acadiau/ACSED.html). In short, the Centre seeks to provide insight to "help overcome inequality and injustice that ethnocultural communities have often faced in dominant cultures" (http://library.acadiau/ACSED.html). The essence of this research falls within the framework of ACSED. I examine dimensions of diversity: a) within diverse ethnocultures in Nova Scotia (for example, diversity along genealogical descent); and (b) the impact of ethnocultural diversity in Atlantic Canada and Nova Scotia, in particular (economic, political, and social) through a comparative analysis of dimensions of ethnocultural diversity in Nova Scotia (http://library.acadiau/.ACSED.html).

This thesis is a compilation of eight chapters. Chapter Two provides background information on Nova Scotia's ethnicities, along with a discussion on "reading between the lines" when analyzing ethnic genealogy. Chapter Three provides an extensive review of the literature. The basis of the literature review is to look at works produced that coincide with this topic, both genealogy and the oppression of Nova Scotia's minorities throughout the course of history. Publications include works from Thesis Canada, texts outlining historical analysis of the three minority groups presented, a complex analysis of racial profiling, and a discussion of the lack of research concerning interethnic marriage in Nova Scotia and Canada at large.

Chapter Four discusses methodologies. The process in which I conducted my formal interviews is explained, including how I came to choose the specific individuals interviewed. Chapter Five outlines critical theories centered on the studies of race

relations. I develop the notion of historical sociology in greater context and review the social exclusion of radicalized groups in the new century.

Chapter Six presents findings, mainly genealogical, in support of the argument that First Nations, Blacks and Acadians lie within the genealogical descent within twenty distinct families in Nova Scotia. In this study, Mi' kmaq or First Nations will be used to describe the aboriginal ethnic group native to Nova Scotia; First Nations and Mi' kmaq will be used interchangeably, referring to Mi' kmaq in general with or without status. The data consist of content analysis of archival research, mainly extracted from the Public Archives of Nova Scotia and various church records retrieved throughout the province. A discussion of political and economic factors for the three ethnic groups contributing to historical change and contingency is presented with archival findings.

Chapter Seven consists of information retrieved through semi-structured interviews. A series of formal interviews were conducted with certain families throughout Nova Scotia. These interviews were important in overturning stones that blocked the narrow path of ancestral history. Findings include first hand suggestions on how life was maintained for many of these oppressed individuals, conditions leading to intermarriage, indicators of the social construct of race and the importance of one's identity. Chapter Eight presents the conclusions and provides suggestions for further research.

This thesis is meant to be a catalyst for future studies or for a greater understanding of the multicultural mosaic of Nova Scotia. I believe researchers have perhaps been wary of providing an analysis of common surnames in Nova Scotia in fear that individuals and/or their families may be bewildered by the findings. Genealogical

research was mentioned in the interviews as becoming widespread over the last few years.

The importance of this research is that it addresses the inherent problems these groups have historically confronted – minority groups were pushed to the outskirts of main towns and settlements in Nova Scotia and then pulled back in to these towns to be used as a work resource.

# Chapter II

# Background

Nova Scotia's documented settlement history is rather abundant. Historically, oppressed groups are significant to the mosaic of Nova Scotia because these individuals make up 17.6% of Nova Scotia's settlement history (Punch, 82: 2005). A large portion of the information found in formal education text books is centered on Anglo-American traditional material (Paul: 2000, 9). One neglected type of information is how historically-oppressed minority groups such as Mi'kmaq, Black or of African descent, and Acadians fall within descent lines of Nova Scotia families (Punch, 1998: 2). Researchers have only briefly brushed the surface of Nova Scotia's ethnic heritage through examination of surnames (Campbell: 1979, 55; Kaulbach: 2002, 25). If one delves into the archives, connections are possible to identify. It is paramount for one to identify proper ancestral history and the historically changing significance of interracial relationships. By understanding the ethno-racial conditions of Canada before and after Confederation in 1867, one gains a sense of the effects of historic marginalization over the course of four centuries.

Black ancestry in Nova Scotia dates back five centuries. Settlers in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario practiced slavery dating back as early as 1600 (Walker, 1980). In 1607, Lieutenant Govenor of Acadia tried to enslave "Indians" for labour. The phenomenon lasted a few years, but was unsuccessful with North America's indigenous people. In 1608, Oliver LeJeune was transported from Africa and sold as a slave in what was at the time known as New France (Winks, 1980: 22). The Black Loyalists of Nova Scotia experienced the slave trade in the Southern half of the United

States. Emancipation was promised to these individuals by British aristocracy on condition they leave port from New York and sail to the Maritime Provinces. Blacks were used in Nova Scotia to address the chronic shortage of unskilled labour (Winks, 1971: 5). In 1759, approximately 3,604 slaves were living in Nova Scotia, 1,132 were Black (Winks, 1971: 23). Written and oral histories note little trading of slaves in Nova Scotia, suggesting ties to the families, for example, in the town of Liverpool. However, critics feel the slave trade in Nova Scotia has been downplayed by deeming slave masters as kind hearted with family values. The reality of slavery has been romanticized.

Documentation on free slaves at that time is sparse. Carleton's Book of Negros is the only primary account of surnames among these Blacks. However, large numbers of Blacks were not listed in Carleton's Book of Negros, for example, Black Loyalists who were not free. Not all Black Loyalists were shipped from New York. Other coastal communities in the United States at the time were shipping off newly-freed Blacks; however, documentation was never provided (Robinson, 2000). "To be able to trace a pedigree would be nearly impossible for the novice" (Robinson, 2000: 18). Documentation on families whose ancestors were not free is virtually impossible to retrieve because of lack of records. Preliminary work such as this thesis sheds light on doors left unopened in hope to gain historical insight for Nova Scotians. Through social analysis, using primary documents via archival research, content analysis, semi-structured interviews and secondary sources, this research demonstrates that three historically-oppressed ethnic minorities — Acadian, Blacks and Mi'kmaqs are interrelated/ intermarried throughout a significant list of surnames in Nova Scotia.

In 1881, over 98% of Nova Scotia's residents belonged to one of seven broad "ethnic groups". These groups were not evenly distributed across the province. Five counties had Scottish majorities (Antigonish, Pictou, Cape Breton, Inverness, and Victoria) (Punch, 2005: 149) and five had English (Annapolis, Cumberland, Kings, Shelburne, and Yarmouth) (Punch, 2005:149). The two other counties, Halifax and Guysborough, were more diverse. Notably, other ethnic minority groups, such as Acadians, are dispersed throughout the province in various counties (Punch, 2005: 149). Most ethnic settlements were located in remote areas, near to, but separated from, white dwellings. For example, Birchtown, which was predominantly Black, is eight kilometers outside the largely-white town of Shelburne.

*Ethnic Genealogy: Reading Between the Lines*

The purpose of this thesis is to divulge the enigmatic forces that lie between racialized couples and to provide better insight into Nova Scotia multicultural settlement history. In *Navigating Interracial Borders* (2005), Childs believes interracial or interethnic couples should be seen as social products. She argues that because these marginalized individuals are formed and transformed through social interaction, society categorizes those who are deemed "visible minority" and produces "images and ideas" about these relationships (Childs, 2005: 44). In essence, people generally are not interested in understanding the couple as individuals; rather, society makes inferences about one's group based on the negative stigma that follows views on intermarriage.

> Among whites, interracial sex was constructed as deviant within the institution of slavery of Black Africans, and from the beginning this notion of deviancy was primarily aimed at preventing black male slaves from engaging in sexual relations with white women. Numerous historical incidents have been documented where those who engaged in interracial

> relations formally and informally punished through fines, whippings, banishment, and/or imprisonment (Childs, 2005: 46).

It is important to comprehend the significance this historical stigma has in regards to interethnic marriage. Since the sixteenth century, white settlers had been taught to avoid interracial sex and the act of meshing these two distinct identities is seen as deviant.

The study of genealogy itself is ancillary to the study of sociology; it is the history of a family in both its immediate relationship and its wider impact on society (Crandall & Taylor: 1989, 17). The family, which is the basis of one's definition as a people, is seen by Christie as:

> Primarily a political institution as fundamental to the creation of social codes and social identities, which functioned as a mediating structure between public and private interests. Rather than viewing social categories as the creation of what would once have been considered the exclusively public domains of work, institutional regulation, and state-generated ideologies of citizenship which posit the family as a generally passive receptacle for the imposition of these values and practices, we should view the family as having agency and as an active instrument for the articulation of the languages of marginality. Thus, it is critical to recognize that gender roles and one's sense of status, deference, and social obligation, as well as one's economic valuation and dependency, are formed primarily by the regulatory functions of family relationships (Christie: 2004, 15)

Pedagogic knowledge can be argued to be a main contributor for regulating social behavior and the family is also contingent for the social construct of marginality in Canada (Christie: 2004, 14). Institutional frameworks proved to be relatively unchanging up to and including the twentieth century (Christie: 2004:15).

The emergence of democratic ideology sparked a curiosity for genealogical inquiry, mainly among those who wished to establish privileged European descent (Crandall & Taylor: 1986, 5). In the 1830s, the expansion of public record keeping and the emergence of historical and heritage societies created an influx of efforts to

differentiate oneself from others. Genealogical publications began to be published in the 1840s (Crandall and Taylor: 1986, 5). In documenting the family past, a genealogy has the potential to, "supply an authentic account of what has been done in the past, and what is now being done, in order for families to know what must be done in the future" (Crandall & Taylor: 1986, 12).

In relation to Nova Scotia, in *We Were Not the Savages,* Daniel Paul argues that relationships are constructed by imperialists "to be carried on according to civilized customs" (Paul, 2000: 28). It has been argued historically that interethnic relations are uncivilized. The example in Nova Scotia is primarily between Mi' kmaq and Acadians, although marriages between all three ethnic groups (Acadians, First Nations and Blacks) are explored further in Chapter Four. Britain continuously attempted to meddle in relations between the two primary settler groups of Nova Scotia (Acadian and First Nations). As social exchanges emerged and trade relationships flourished, so did intermarriages between Mi 'kmaq and Acadians (Paul, 2000: 28; Ross & Deveau, 1992: 12 - 20, 30, 44, 74; Plank, 2001, 2, 7, 8, 146).

> During this period [1650 onward] the kinship between the Acadians and the Mi' kmaq was so pronounced that each side began to take exceptional risks to protect the other from English Vengeance. Besides being motivated by the need for mutual protection, the Acadian-Mi 'kmaq alliance was based on mutual admiration and respect for each other's culture and friendship. (Paul, 2000: 70)

British officials envied the relations between the two ethnic groups. Furthermore: "Intermarriage, migration, and occasional cultural conversion had the effect of challenging the fixity of any racial or national classification scheme" (Plank, 2001: 7).

One must question the role that the nation state practices when determining specific ethnic or physical traits for its people.

Literature on interethnic or exogamous marriages is limited in Nova Scotia (Campbell: 1979, 55; Kalbach: 2002, 25). A study on ethnic intermarriage or endogamous marriage in Nova Scotia between 1947-66 shows Blacks have the highest percentage of endogamy at 84.4% (Campbell: 1979, 65). Campbell argues that because of the small size of these particular ethnic groups: social forces, such as the continuation of a particular heritage and a high degree of social exclusion, shaped the high percentage of endogamous marriages. Again, this study is specific to the 1960-70 period. Mi' kmaq and Jewish populations prove to follow a similar lineage (Campbell: 1979, 75). The conclusion of Campbell's study is that geographic mobility, place of birth and place of marriage, occupation and social class area are associated with oscillation among interethnic marriages in Nova Scotia (Campbell: 1979, 75). Christie agrees in her text, *Mapping the Margins: The Family and Social Discipline in Canada*, by saying, "The family must be conceived like any other set of social relationships, as a regulatory institution resting upon a system of unequal hierarchies of age, gender, and social status" (Christie: 2004, 4). Additional social influences such as religion and ethnicity affect family relations and marriage because, precedence dictated who marries whom.

Mi 'kmaq families began to conform to Catholicism because of intermarriage. These oppressed families lived on the perimeter of what was considered acceptable. Interethnic couples live on the outside of those "determined" boundaries (Childs, 2005: 66). Often intermarriage discourse analysis strays away from the couple and focuses on

the children, or the impact the biracial child has on society (Childs, 2005: 68). Biracial children can be ambiguous in categorization.

Interracial children are seen as entities that "blur racial divisions" (Childs, 2005: 132). Although a child from an interethnic relationship may or may not be visibly identifiable, the cultural practices endowed in each child represents biracial children as a threat to racial constructs because, "the very existence [of the child] undermines the assertion that race is a mutually exclusive grouping" (Childs, 2005: 132). However, what is race when combined with another ethnicity? Can one's identity and mixed heritage transcend the traditional categorization of race? Upon the arrival of the Acadians, Jean Baptiste encouraged intermarriage between French and First Nations so that "a new people of one blood might emerge, with their loyalties and their future pinned to the revitalized colony" (Ross & Deveau, 1971: 3). This argument corresponds with the idea that intermarriage creates a new culture, a "Nova Scotia" culture which encompasses pieces of each heritage.

The aforementioned discussion is important to this thesis because of the negative stigma placed on interethnic marriage and children. Historical documentation is frequently sparse regarding children defined as illegitimate, children born out of wedlock or children born into a biracial family. However, as argued by Ross & Deveau (1992), many interracial children were highly publicized in newspapers in early Nova Scotia communities because highlighting deviant categories could always sell newspapers (Ross & Deveau, 1992: 44). Contemporary society tends to embrace negative stereotypes of interethnic couples and the enigmatic relation families have, including their biracial children. Unless families explore their heritage and more research analyzing

interconnections such as this becomes recognized, little change will be made – ignorance is not bliss. In her study conducted on ethnic intermarriage across Canada, Kaulbach indicates that the century between 1871 and 1971 witnessed the most significant number of exogamous marriages among ethnic groups in Nova Scotia. (Kaulbach: 2002, 25) She indicated that Campbell's 1979 study noted a significant increase in intermarriage in Nova Scotia between 1951 and 1971 (Kaulbach: 2002, 28). Kaulbach argues that intermarriage is a key indicator of assimilation into Canadian culture (Kaulbach: 2002, 28). In terms of assimilation, is intermarriage a new variant of ethnicity of a "minority of minority"?

In seeking to assess rates of intermarriage, however, Kaulbach cautions the novice genealogist to stay away from a reliance on strictly-census data, which prove to be a flawed mode of studying intermarriage. Because of the White-Anglo bias and lack of detail in national census data, ethnic intermarriage is, as argued by Kaulbach, consistently underestimated. The theme of ethnic genealogy and its difficulties is explored further in Chapter Seven.

*Racism, Apartheid and Class Relations*

Racialization is arguably the primary contender for historic oppression. Racialization is also a key contributor to intermarriage as well. The theorization of race as a social construct is presented in Chapter Five. Canada, has through the process of history created hierarchies which emphasize marginalization of race and gender (Galabuzi, 2005: 7). Galabuzi does not address the political-economic situation in Nova Scotia specifically, these data presented in 2005 targets Canada as a whole; little research has been conducted concerning the currently socio-political situation of Nova Scotia.

Divisions are present in all aspects of today's society: the workforce, housing, neighborhood selection, politics and criminal justice (Galabuzi, 2005: 8). This class based social exclusion pushes minority groups together, hence, the emergence of intermarriage because these groups seek solidarity. By minority groups combining through solidarity, the mere strength in numbers and a common goal to end discrimination could possibly contend with the dominant class, by having their voices heard collectively.

Income inequality is only one piece of the economic puzzle when looking at racial alienation. "Racialization manifests in labour-market experiences of higher unemployment, overrepresentation in low-end occupations and low-income sector, and under-representation in managerial, professional, and high-income occupations and sectors" (Galabuzi, 2005:13). The unemployment rate speaks volumes. The unemployed population in 2001 was 6.7%; unemployment among those who are of visible minority was 12.6% (Galabuzi, 2005: 16).

> Annual reports under the federal legislation show a continuing pattern of discrimination in employment in both the federal public service and in federally regulated sectors such as banking, telecommunications and broadcasting (Galabuzi, 2005: 17).

Currently, racialized workers are still faced with working for less than minimum wage, in less than average conditions; "structural inequities are simply reproduced by the changes in economic performance" (Galabuzi, 2005: 20). Ethnic minorities historically engaged in manual labour and the manifestation of the exploitation of these individuals remains a harsh reality in contemporary society.

## Chapter III

## An Overview of Historical Oppression among Mi' kmaq, Acadians and Blacks in Nova Scotia

Colonialism seized the lives of indigenous peoples and turned civil society, for marginalized ethnic groups, into an economically driven state of oppression. Tyranny plagues the history of Canada's multicultural minorities through systemic and institutional processes. A nexus of examples are presented surrounding political, economic and domestic factors. The repercussions of this exploitation continue to exist in contemporary society in various ways – through institutions, and employment. A major reason prejudice continues to manifest is because of the European construct of the self – as sane, rational and normal (Gregory: 2003, 3). The norms that modern society encompass are indeed an imperialist construct, beginning hundreds of years ago.

To quote Marx's aphorism: "People make history, but not just as they please nor under conditions of their choosing" (in Gregory: 2003, xv). Circumstances, such as economic gain, factor into the racial stigma which manifests in contemporary society. Consequently, centuries of European influence deem that ethnic minorities, particularly Natives and Blacks, live in a "backwards society" (Paul: 2000, 9). In essence, structures and practices developed by the indigenous/oppressed are seen as regressive in terms of the formation and development of capitalism. Basically, Western society's current economic structure is "the prize of the modern – and takes place over – the non-modern" (Gregory: 2003, 5). Social exclusion occurs through apartheid measures. Indigenous and various ethnic groups, such as the Mi' kmaq, Acadia and Blacks of Nova Scotia, were alienated by European economic and bureaucratic politics.

In order to comprehend the infliction of such atrocities by a ruling class, one must first understand social exclusion in a historical context and show how oppression has affected each ethnic minority group involved in this study. The following chapter outlines the basic events that led to social, economic and political oppression of Nova Scotia's Black, Mi' kmaq and Acadian communities.

The discussion of the historical perspective of Blacks focuses largely on the largest groups of initial settlers, the Black Loyalists in 1783. The account of the Black refugees is along the same context as, for example, fighting on British lines in exchange for freedom. The wealth of information that surrounds the issues presented in the following discussion forces one to analyze central themes presented over the course of the last four hundred years; specifically, schooling, labour relations and social exclusion. A lengthy discussion concerning historical oppression of each minority group could be a thesis in itself. This chapter concludes with a critical examination of the socio-historical aspects of society and the effects historical oppression have on ethnic groups today. By understanding the background of various families, an increased awareness of minority rights will become apparent because of the wealth of ethnicity Nova Scotia has historically held.

*The Mi' kmaq*

Emergence of Mi' kmaq documentation in Nova Scotia dates back to 1490 (Paul: 2000, 2). Population estimations vary and their validity is continually questioned. Approximately 3, 500 to 35, 000 Mi' kmaq lived in the Atlantic Region of Canada during the fifteenth century (Conrad & Finkel: 2002, 13). A Mi' kmaq legend claims that they "have lived here since the world began" (Conrad & Finkel: 2002, 9). It would take years

for a researcher to uncover First Nation's lengthy history and the full account of the devastating treatment of the Mi 'kmaq society since the European arrival. Various accounts of oppression are presented in the following section to provide a context for understanding contemporary First Nation's issues.

Every aspect of life changed for the Mi 'kmaq upon white contact in the 1600s (Paul: 2000, 16). First Nations ideas of democracy and civil society were opposite to those of the Europeans. European concepts label and separate individuals in the form of hierarchical ordinals based on birth, color, race, lineage, religion, profession, wealth, politics and other criteria unheard by First Nations (Paul: 2000, 12). The Mi' kmaq valued an all-inclusive society, focused on nature and what they conceived as the Great Spirit (Conrad & Finkel: 2002, 13). Religion and nature regulated everyday life; the Mi' kmaq did not see themselves as superior to the environment. Living in a practical sense, Nova Scotia's indigenous people had vast knowledge of an array of natural materials found within nature (Conrad & Finkel). Upon their initial contact with Mi' kmaq, European observers were impressed with the quality of life these settlers had. Documentation describes Mi' kmaq as, "intelligent, self-reliant, and self-confident….These people were peaceful, hospitable, and charitable, displaying little greed" (Conrad & Finkel: 2002, 14). The nature of First Nations peaceful communities was violently disrupted as time progressed and the idea of living in solidarity with Mi' kmaq has been manipulated with time.

Elitist mercantile ideals tore Mi' kmaq life to shreds; First Nations respectful, all-inclusive, communal way of life was plunged into a futile nightmare. Mi' kmaq and Acadian news were rarely documented or covered in newspapers (Punch: 1998, 59).

These groups "lived in remote areas and bought few newspapers so their lives were not of interest to editors who preferred to focus on the established middleclass" (Punch: 1998, 59). Evidence about this period is indeed contentious, due to the biases of white male scholars in their historic writings (Paul: 2000, 9). However, analyzing works published by Mi' kmaq individuals provides a first-hand account of the atrocities suffered. Justice was a foreign entity to Mi' kmaq (Paul: 2000, 14). A basic loss of freedom and cultural genocide proceeded in the years after 1700.

Alcohol brought to the Mi' kmaq community by colonists caused major population decline as the Mi' kmaq had never been exposed to such a substance. Many deaths occurred because of alcohol abuse. Liquor caused Mi' kmaq to react in a drastic manner, causing damage to themselves and families (Paul: 2000, 46). Europeans, understanding the true effects of alcohol, gave no indication of the negative effects that alcohol would produce on the body system. The stigma of Mi' kmaq as irresponsible with the use of alcoholic substances prevails.

Mercantilism, as an economic system, began to disturb the Mi' kmaq way of life by imposing a new means of exchange on natural resources, such as fish, lumber and timber, by adding a monetary value for the merchant. This system began to disrupt the communal nature of the Mi' kmaq society (Paul: 2000, 23). Social values had eroded by the end of the seventeenth century: "The freedom from greed and dishonesty that had served the People well for countless centuries was slowly replaced by European values concerning acquisition" (Paul: 2000, 43). The values of indigenous First Nations began to disappear along with the smoke from their campfires, blowing in the wind.

Nova Scotia's Mi 'kmaq population was left completely to fare on their own, yet robbed of their true independence (Paul: 2000, 106). Genocidal campaigns used by the English continued against the First Nations for the next 150 years. Bounty hunts during 1752 were implemented against the Mi' kmaq; ten pound per scalp was the prize from the European government for those barbaric enough to engage in such harvesting (Paul: 200, 112). Germ warfare was also used during this time in another attempt at ethnic cleansing, spread by blankets that were given to Mi' kmaq by Europeans (Paul: 2000, 165). Typhus was another deadly disease contracted from Europeans, along with Smallpox and other illness. Diseases with a symptomatic high fever caused an alarming number of Mi' kmaq casualties.

The role of the state was forced upon the Mi' kmaq way of life, meaning bureaucratic practices overruled the traditional Mi' kmaq way of life. Treaties, regulation and a governmental hierarchy became paramount when engaged with European politics. During an additional attempt to deem the Mi' kmaq as culturally, intellectually and politically inferior, the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, an infamous peace treaty signed between British and French, began an era of treaties forced upon the Mi' kmaq. Formal agreements were demeaning and blind to the needs of the natives (Paul: 2000, 149). In 1761, the colonists had manipulated the Mi 'kmaq enough to get signatures on paper for a "treaty for peace and friendship", using words such as "sacred bonds", "sincerity", "brotherly affection" and "liberty". The Governor told the Chiefs that, "the Crown would protect them and their people against the rage and cruelties of the oppressor" (Paul: 2000, 154). Oddly enough, the "sacred bonds" lasted only seconds until the proper documentation was signed. The rights given to the Mi' kmaq were simply rights on

paper; in actuality, Mi 'kmaq had no rights in their homeland (Paul: 2000, 158). The only acceptance for Mi' kmaq came from the Acadian population in the remote areas of Nova Scotia, especially Yarmouth County, as discussed in Chapters Four and Five.

This mutually respectful relationship between Acadians and Mi' kmaq lasted until legislation was enacted by the British Parliament in 1727 (Conrad and Finkel, 2002: 7). On July 29, 1727, a new treaty emerged for the Mi' kmaq to sign, "forbidding trade of any nature between the Mi' kmaq and the Acadians" (Paul: 2000, 93); however, the Acadians were quite keen on retaining relations with their Native allies. Propaganda continued in the British campaign to, "lure the Indians away from the Acadians" (Paul: 2000, 95). After 1748, (the beginnings of the Acadian expulsion) the Mi' kmaq were placed under increasing pressure to declare allegiance to the British King; British aristocracy wanted zero competition during a crucial colonial time (Paul: 2000, 104). Upon losing their only allies following the expulsion in 1755, the Nova Scotia Mi' kmaq population was basically left to fend for themselves. Now the Mi' kmaq, increasingly vulnerable, were the only force in the way of complete British control of Nova Scotia.

The American and French revolutions are significant in understanding the context of Mi' kmaq historical oppression. The post 1812 period witnessed the emergence of the "modern" era consisting of liberal political systems, industrial capitalism and a new social order. The transcendence of Canada as a colony followed after the war of 1812. The year of Canada's confederation, 1867, marks the deployment of Canada's federal government responsible for First Nations. *The Indian Act,* developed by Canada's Parliament, served as a prescription to diminish the rights of First Nations People

(Ponting, 1997: 19). *The Indian Act* solidified the segregation of Mi' kmaq from "civil" society, labeling the ethnic group as a separate entity from contemporary Canada:

> *The Indian Act* takes a hardliner approach in effecting the lives of Canada's First Nations. A sociologist would call this legislation, "a total institution" because of the dominating effects such laws have on one specific society. The act served as a means to legitimate labeling First Nations as immigrants in their own country (Ponting: 1997, 21).

Basically, *The Indian Act* is a means to control all aspects of First Nations society. "The Indian Act sets forth a process of enfranchisement whereby registered Indians could acquire full Canadian citizenship by severing their ties to the Native community" (Ponting, 1997: 22). In *The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians,* Harold Cardinal states, "instead of implementing the treaties and offering much-needed protection to Indian rights, [*The Indian Act*] subjugated to colonial rule the very people whose rights it was supposed to protect [*The Indian Act*] enslaved and bound the Indian to a life under a tyranny often as cruel and harsh as that of any totalitarian state" (Ponting. 1997: 23). The reserve system was the detrimental breaking point of Native society. Land, money, trade, resources and schooling were all under control of Canada's government, a decision made by the government on behalf of First Nations. The Mi' kmaq began to believe that, "cultural genocide has been at least an implicit goal in the administration of Indian Affairs" (Ponting, 1997: 27).

The mismanagement of Centralized Indian lands was prevalent. In Nova Scotia, 1916 marked the initial policy of specific reserves for Mi' kmaq (Tobin, 1999: 15). This was largely a failed project through the 1920's; but by 1941, the issue had regained strength – intending to subject Mi' kmaq to a diaspora, deeming Indian Brook and Eskasoni the new reserves in which Natives were entitled to their specific rights (Tobin, 1999: 15). Indian Affairs pressured band members and leaders to move as many First

Nations individuals as possible to either Indian Brook or Eskasoni. In fear of losing valued ancestral heritage, the majority of First Nations moved to the specific reserves. Juxtaposed to Blacks, white society wanted no First Nations competing for jobs in towns and cities (Tobin, 1999: 77). Poor working conditions and limited career opportunities meant that greed and hardships were ahead for Maritime First Nations. White society attempted an 'out of sight, out of mind' situation that had the unintended effect of forcing the Mi' kmaq community to strengthen from within.

Racism towards Mi' kmaq became widespread in the twenty century. Similar to the Blacks, these communities were denied access to general public places such as restaurants, hotels, etc. Because of such horrendous mistreatment of both First Nations and Africans, Nova Scotia was once known to be the principal racially discriminatory jurisdiction on the continent (Paul, 2000: 257).

Contentions surrounding residential schools were part of Mi' kmaq culture until *The Indian Act,* documentation proved the school system to be disastrous to the Native community. Debates on how to school Mi' kmaq in Nova Scotia continued between 1892 and 1927 (Paul, 2000: 259). In 1929, a residential school for Mi 'kmaq and Maliseet children only, opened off-reserve in the area of Shubenacadie (Knockwood, 1992, 13). By the time the school was open, the Mi' kmaq population had suffered severely. The quest for cultural perseverance was left in the hands of a few. The Canadian government is currently advertising reparations for First Nations individuals subjected to alienation in segregated schools; however, the funding is only entitled to those currently residing on reserves – too little, too late.

The residential schools' curriculum centered on white culture; children were taught the advantages of white life and the "evils of First Nations isolation, language and culture" (Paul, 2000: 259). In, *Out of the Depths*, Isabelle Knockwood provides an inclusive account of nearly forty years of atrocities that occurred at the residential school (Knockwood, 1992, 156). Children were beaten, poorly fed, left with little clothing, robbed of their language and forced to feel ashamed of who they were (Knockwood 1992, 34-47; Paul, 2000: 265-7). The human divide when entering the public system was severe. The racism Mi 'kmaq faced produced accounts detrimental to a child's learning. Education at a segregated institution was worse – deeming education for Mi' kmaq close to impossible to complete (Paul, 2000, 258). Years of insufficient education increased social exclusion by fueling unequal job access. Consequently, struggles within the labor force and school system continue in present-day First Nations communities in Nova Scotia.

The Department of Indian Affairs, according to the former Deputy Superintendent General, ultimately strived to "mould the lives of the young Aboriginal and aid them in their search towards the goal of complete Canadian Citizenship…and not return to their old environmental habits" (Paul, 2000: 261). It was not until 1991 that the Nova Scotia government provided full protection under Nova Scotia's Human Rights Act (Paul, 2000: 299). Cultural societies currently work towards preserving Native culture and language. Elders in the Mi' kmaq community are now valued for the knowledge of Mi 'kmaq heritage. The survival of ethnic heritage must continue with youth, continuing the preservation of traditions centuries old.

Historically, the Canadian government struggled with the definition of who is indeed "Indian". The British North America Act in 1867 marked the beginnings of Canada's policy towards 'Indians' (Satzweich & Liodakis 2007, 180). In essence, the Canadian government contributed to the reinforcement of Mi' kmaq ignorance by offering a complex set of resources envied by the rest of the population. This "special treatment" simply continues the human divide. Issues surrounding health, education and social services became the responsibility of the provincial governments, whereas 'Indians and land reserved for Indians' became the responsibility of the Federal Government (Satzweich & Liodakis 2007, 181). The federal government is continuously being criticized for ignoring the rights of those First Nations living off reserves and solely focusing on those Natives living on reserve. Bill C- 31 is an excellent example of the Federal Governments idea of dealing with the so-called "Indian Problem".

Bill C-31 according to Satzewich and Liodakis is considered a case of 'Abocide' (Satzewich & Liodakis 2007, 183). The Federal Government amended the Indian Act in 1985 and added Bill C-31. The terms and conditions of the act are precarious and have been criticized for being exclusive. Bill C-31 reads as follows:

A) elimination of the 'enfranchisement' provisions of the Indian Act and the reinstatement of certain individuals who had lost their Indian status as a result of the previous enfranchisement provisions;
B) elimination of patrilineal definitions of eligibility for Indians status;
C) the opportunity for bands to develop membership codes and to assume control over the definition of who is a band member;
D) the opportunity for bands to deny membership to certain individuals even though they had legal Indian status. (Satzewich & Liodakis 2006, 183).

The question remains whether the Canadian government can indeed right historical injustices. Satzewich and Loidakis argue that Bill C-31 only adds to further divisions

both socially and politically. The problem arises when looking at status vs. non-status Indians. In 2002, 42.8% of status Indians lived off-reserve, compared to 29.1% twenty years earlier (Satzewich 2006, 183). In this context, it is easy for even the novice to see the trend that is occurring here; the government seems to be increasingly concerned with First Nations living on reserve compared to those off the reserve, focusing on treaty rights rather than the social conditions of families living in urban areas or any area off-reserve. In this way, the government fuels social exclusion by politically forcing First Nations to live on reserve.

To qualify for future status, "a grandchild of individuals who are currently status Indians has to have either both parents as status Indians or one parent as a status Indian, both of whose parents (the grandparents) were status Indians" (Satzewich 2006, 185). With time, it will become increasingly difficult for an individual to secure status. Intermarriage poses a problem in terms of status Indians marrying outside their "like kind"; intermarriage to a status Indian means losing claim to special rights. Satzewich and Liodakis argue that "this new policy plays into the long term objectives of the federal government, which has always been to eliminate the special status of Aboriginal people in Canada" (Satzewich 2006, 185). Needless to say, there is certainly a hierarchy present in the way the government is handling First Nations affairs. By dividing a group of people into status, non-status and Métis only leads to further unrest because divisions are drawn, as some individuals are entitled to various rights, while others with the same ancestry have no entitlements.

*The Acadians*

French explorer, Jacques Cartier arrived at the shoreline of Nova Scotia in 1534 to become the founding father of colonial New France (Ross & Deveau, 1992: 6). Prior to British colonists reaching Nova Scotia in the 1620's, English was an uncommon language to settlers of l'Acadie. Acadie, a former name of current Nova Scotia, was inhabited in 1604 by French colonist, Pierre de Monts (Conrad & Finkel, 2002, 56). Identifying Port Royal (currently Annapolis Royal) as their prime settlement, De Monts was accompanied by 79 additional men, mostly artisans and mariners (Ross & Deveau, 1992: 7- 9; Conrad & Finkel, 2002: 57). No women or children accompanied these men until French colonists revisited France in 1632 (Ross & Deveau, 1992: 19) and intermarriage/relations occurred between the French and Aboriginals. The French colonists primarily gathered provisions upon arrival in l' Acadie. They settled along dyke-land in the Annapolis Valley and farmed. Various Acadian communities emerged at this time throughout Nova Scotia – examples being, La Have (Lunenburg County), and Pubnico (Yarmouth County), and Cape Sable (Yarmouth County) (Surette, 2004: 7). These areas, as demonstrated later in this thesis, remain in close proximity to the First Nations settlement living in each area.

Shortly upon arrival, Acadians developed relations with indigenous Mi' kmaq, primarily in hopes of understanding how to survive Canadian winters. A Mi' kmaq settlement [Bear River] was located close to Port Royal, the Acadian's initial settlement (Ross & Deveau, 1992: 14). The Acadians valued the shelter the Bay of Fundy provided. Security and alliance were French priorities in Nova Scotia. The French began to engage in trade and relations with the Mi' kmaq

quickly (Plank, 2001: 11).

> They were the suppliers of furs, in other words, the commercial life-line of the colony. Their extensive and profound knowledge of the country and their numbers put them in a very advantageous position. Both Champlain and Lescarbot indicate that Chief Membertou and the other Mi' kmaq tribesman, and their families who lived in the vicinity of Port Royal were received regularly in the Habitation. (Plank, 2001 32)

The emergence of British colonists appeared seventeen years following French settlement. Britain had a mandate that the aristocrats sent would strive to implement colonial control over the New World. The initial British attempt to control Acadia, in hopes for colonial rule, occurred in 1621 (Plank, 2001: 16). Political and economic struggles preceded war between France and England between 1627 and 1632 (Ross & Deveau, 1992: 16). In between periods of open warfare, bureaucratic politics periodically sought clandestine methods in order to triumph.

Various treaties leading to cultural change have plagued Nova Scotia's settlement history. In the mid seventeenth century, relations between Acadians and Mi' kmaq strengthened during a precarious time. Acadian societies respected Roman Catholic beliefs which later influenced Christian beliefs in the Mi' kmaq community. These ethnic groups were politically isolated from the British Empire because of the distinct religious connection (Plank, 2001: 6). Mi' kmaq, Acadians and British continued the struggle for survival into the eighteenth century. The dominance of the British Empire led to structural changes in Nova Scotia at an accelerated rate.

The bureaucratic powers of the British Empire led to increased alienation from ethnic groups residing outside British lines. Consistent land disputes between English and French settlers continued during the years following the war (Ross & Deveau, 1992: 88). The labels of the residential towns provided a hierarchal structure to the inhabitants

of the region. Placing labels on various settlements causes uncertainty of place names. The years between 1718 and 1743 proved to be a transitional period. The British struggled to gain authority over Acadians and Mi' kmaq politically, religiously, economically and culturally (Plank, 2001:9). In 1754, disputes over the precise borders of Nova Scotia, in part, precipitated the seven-years war (1756-1763) (Plank, 2001: 8). The seven years war was the beginning of the end of French rule in North America.

Elitist rule required elimination of any peoples who were unwilling to embrace the colonial ideals; bounty hunts were used in efforts to eliminate these outside parties. Records reveal accounts of British slaughtering Mi' kmaq and Acadians during war times and also are documented in accounts of bounty hunts:

> It is reported that...a party of Gorham's rangers one day brought in 25 scalps, claiming the bounty of £10 per scalp. It was strongly suspected that not all of the scalps were those of Indians, but included some Acadians too. (Paul, 2000:112)

Cultural Genocide, however, was more thoroughly employed through means of expulsion. Acadians suffered diasporic settlements in 1755, the year British sovereignty encompassed the entire land of Acadie (Ross & Deveau, 1992: 21). The basic principle behind the expulsion (the Grand Upheaval) was the expectation that Acadians would not ignore French ties between their native land and the Acadian communities throughout Nova Scotia, and refuse to sign a pledge of allegiance to the British King (Ross & Deveau, 1992: 54). Representatives were called to Halifax to meet with British officials in the hope that the Acadians would sign their allegiance to the British King. The proposal to sign allegiance, however, was rejected.

When analyzing colonialism, it would seem peculiar for a British colony to be populated by Roman Catholic settlers descending from France. During the time of the

war, documentation stated approximately 13, 000 Acadians were living in various areas scattered throughout Nova Scotia (Conrand & Finkel, 2002: 155). French military arrived in Cape Breton (Ile Royal) in 1755.

> As hostilities between the imperial powers grew, British authorities, especially Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts and Lieutenant-Governor Charles Lawrence of Nova Scotia, became increasingly suspicious of the Acadian's neutrality. For example, the Acadians in Grand Pré area were denied the use of their boats and canoes and they were forced to hand over their guns and ammunition (Ross & Deveau, 1992: 60)

During this time of hostility, Acadians fled to the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon (off the coast of Newfoundland), which were owned by the French (Plank, 2001: 140). In May 1754, Nova Scotia's British Parliament wrote to the Secretary of State in London "requesting to drive the French from their outposts on the St. John River and at Fort Beauséjour" ( Plank, 2001: 141). Acadians quickly realized their quaint life in Nova Scotia, farming and trading with the local Mi' kmaq, would no longer remain the same.

Imperial domination forced British aristocrats to regulate and control the lives of Nova Scotia's Acadians. British aristocrats gave Acadian community representatives a final opportunity to sign allegiance, which they once more denied. In May 1755, British authorities quickly came to a consensus to expel the Acadians living north of the Missaguash River (Conrad & Finkel, 2002: 153). The Great Upheaval or the Expulsion was notoriously known to have changed the face of Acadian culture in Nova Scotia.

Turmoil ran through Acadian settlements throughout Nova Scotia during this period of the seven years war. According to the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), colonists left the boundaries of Nova Scotia in ambiguity. Acadians were permitted to remain inhabitants of Nova Scotia if all Acadians swore an oath of allegiance to the monarch of

Great Britain (Ross & Deveau, 1992: 57). The final decision to remove Acadians "became un-questionably the most traumatic event in the history of Nova Scotia" (Ross & Deveau, 1992: 54). Governor Lawrence and the Council concluded all Acadians would be removed from Nova Scotia on July 28, 1755 (Conrand & Finkel, 2002: 154). Deportees could take only what could be carried in their hands; all livestock became property of the Crown. Acadians were shipped and scattered throughout the British colonies in New England and other English-speaking colonies (Ross & Deveau, 1992: 68). Estimations of upwards of 6, 000 Acadians were deported from mainland Nova Scotia to the following Anglo-American colonies: Massachusetts (900), Connecticut (675), New York (200), Pennsylvania (860), Virginia (1,150), North Carolina (290) and South Carolina (320) (Ross & Deveau, 1992: 63). Many Acadians died during the journey and other dories washed up on shores between these Anglo-settlements. After the deportation the British proceeded to torch all homes, churches etc., of the Acadians, to prevent their return (Conrad & Finkel, 2002: 154).

After the events of 1755, a further four thousand Acadians were expelled between 1756 and 1761 from various Nova Scotia communities mainland and Cape Breton (Conrad & Finkel, 2002: 154). By 1764 it is estimated that between 11, 000 and 13, 000 Acadians were removed from their beloved dwellings – many died during transport (Conrand & Finkel, 2002: 155).

Mi 'kmaq communities played a predominant role in the Acadian expulsion for two reasons. First, British settlers detested the process by which Acadians and Mi 'kmaq's contributed to each society's survival and sustainability. Acadians had aided the Mi 'kmaq in their ongoing war with the British (Plank, 2001: 142). Significant

numbers of Acadians remained in Nova Scotia by hiding in the woods with Mi 'kmaq (Plank, 2001: 150). Acadians would not leave passively the land they had grown to love.

Documentation shows no evidence of any political discussion in Nova Scotia Parliament concerning the fate of Acadians once they were offshore Nova Scotia (Plank, 2001: 145). Because English was not the Acadians' first language, individuals suffered alienation in terms of work – finding a job in a foreign place where your native tongue is unheard made assimilation efforts impossible (Ross & Deveau, 1992: 66). Families realized the necessity of changing their surnames once in America; for example, Le Blanc became White (Ross & Deveau, 1992: 66). Over the course of the nine years, Acadians were robbed of heritage, forced off their land, lost their livelihoods, families were broken, and deaths occurred, only to face further scrutiny in their new-found settlements. The lives of these individuals and families will never be the same; many unfortunate deaths occurred during this horrifying time of uncertainty.

The Acadians in the southwestern corner of mainland Nova Scotia were the last families affected by the expulsion and the first to return. Nearly ten years in exile brought nine determined families back to the Argyle area (Yarmouth County) in 1766 (Ross & Deveau, 1992: 78). The majority of the families arrived by boat, coming from Boston. By the end of the 1780's, migration was strong and Acadian villages began to appear in areas of Nova Scotia such as Clare or St. Mary's Bay/French Shore (Digby County), Argyle (Yarmouth County), Cheticamp (Inverness County), Chezzetcook (Halifax County), Pomquet, Tracadie and Havre-Boucher (Antigonish County) (Ross & Deveau, 1992: 101).

Cultural heritage, handed down via generations, was essentially oral because of a lack of literacy – the fault of an oppressive educational system. The isolating factor of the Acadian community was their language. The Nova Scotia government continuously pushed efforts to teach Acadians English (Ross & Deveau, 1992: 155). Elders began to fear generations of Acadian culture would be lost, "as children began to fall victim to the educational system" (Ross & Deveau, 1992: 155). Not until 1960 did the N.S. government begin implementations to improve inclusive education to the Francophone minorities (Ross & Deveau, 1992: 155). In 1966, Canada's federal government finally established French as one of the two official languages across the country (Ross & Deveau, 1992: 157). Community solidarity continued and remains tight to this day, particularly in areas in Cape Breton, Yarmouth and Digby Counties. Festivals celebrating Acadian culture are enjoyed each year, sharing folklore and traditions that survived years of alienation. Arguments are prevalent in the Acadian community concerning intermarriage because cultural preservation and history is at risk of fading; because this unique culture is slowly diminishing as the population ages. Nova Scotia's Acadian population has struggled to obtain the right to their own heritage and francophone education, and heritage awareness is beginning to increase across Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

*The Métis*

The term Métis is French for 'half caste' and used for the descendants of unions between French-Canadian fur traders and Indian women (Satzewich & Liodakis 2007, 179). The Métis deemed a significant First Nations group in Ontario, Quebec and the Prairie provinces, have been given little attention in Nova Scotia. In traditional historical

texts, the focus is certainly on the Métis as early settlers to Western Canada, when heritage of these inter-ethnic peoples began in Nova Scotia (Conrad & Finkel, 2002: 321). In Nova Scotia, a Métis is seen as any individual who has both Mi' kmaq (or Maliseet) ancestry but is also of Acadian descent. According to Roland Surette, the Métis are a viable aspect of Acadian history (Surette, 2004: 9). In his book, *Eastern Woodland Métis Association Nova Scotia,* Surette argues that basically every Acadian native to Nova Scotia also has some aspect of Métis heritage within their descent line (Surette, 2004: 15).

In 1722, Richard Philipp, the Governor of Nova Scotia, issued a proclamation forbidding any Acadian to correspond or engage in any type of relationship with the Mi' kmaq. Legal repercussions were implemented for those who failed to adhere to the law (Surette, 2004: 45). The contentious nature of such interethnic engagement was the beginnings of Acadians hiding their true (First Nations) heritage. The dynamic interethnic marriage presents is a historic issue of mixed heritage and identity. .

The time during the expulsion proved to be difficult for the Métis population of Nova Scotia. Families were torn apart during this atrocious process because of the mixed nature of the ancestry. As described in the previous section, these expelled families were quick to return to their homeland of Nova Scotia shortly after 1763.

> Métis/Acadian relatives contented themselves with settling their small communities, as per directives, claiming what they could from the soil and Mother Nature and hiring themselves out to sea to whomever would take them. Once again, in the beginning, most of the ship owners were English speaking gentlemen looking to make the most off their investment by employing at the lowest possible wage. No self respecting person was about to heap further scorn and misery on himself or his family by making it well known that he was part aboriginal, especially as they saw how hard their aboriginal relatives were faring. Even to this day, the stigma and paranoia associated with this perceived *stain* on their family tree has some

> Métis/Acadians, especially the older ones, renouncing their heritage to this day (Surette, 2004: 83)

The numbers of individuals in these Métis families were quite large because contraceptive methods were yet to be embraced.

Nova Scotia has large amounts of Métis heritage. The contemporary problem with the new nation of Métis peoples lies within the government. The Native Council of Canada was formed to deal with First Nations problems amongst the Métis in parts of Northern Ontario and the West. The Federal Government, in conjunction with the Provincial Government of Ontario, provided the Métis of the Western Region with over $300, 000 in research monies in 1998 (Surette: 2004, 90). Extensive studies have been produced through the University of Alberta concerning Canada's Métis ethnocultural heritage. Little recognition was given to 3,000 Métis estimated to be living in Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia's Eastern Woodland Métis (a heritage group located in the town of Yarmouth) are not part of the Métis National Council of Canada; therefore, these individuals involved in Nova Scotia produce their own agenda and work with the government according to their own terms (Surette, 2004: 97). Surette feels as though this oppressed group is seen by the government as, "the minority of the minority" because the rights of those who are Métis in Nova Scotia have been ignored (Surette, 2004: 94). Today, concentrations of Métis are spread all across Nova Scotia in areas such as Claire, Ste Anne du Ruisseau, Yarmouth (specifically Argyle and Quinan), Havre Boucher, Pomquet, Tracadie, Charlo's Cove and Port Felix.

This uniquely distinct culture of the Métis has inhabited Nova Scotia since the beginnings of European presence in Nova Scotia in 1604: "The Métis were assimilated into the Acadian population or hidden in the Indian community until 1998 when some of

our members tried to revive our Nation" (Surette, 2004: 100). A registry has been opened in the Southwestern region of Nova Scotia, for Métis recognition and preservation. Efforts continue to fight for support and recognition, despite consistent discouragement from both Federal and Provincial governments. The Métis of Nova Scotia struggle to form a cohesive community that can easily be recognized and identified as first settlers of Nova Scotia.

*Blacks immigration to Nova Scotia*

The seventeenth to nineteenth century was a time of great historic change, specifically when analyzing Nova Scotia's multicultural diversity in settlement history. Nova Scotia can be deemed a sacred place in the hearts of those telling the story of Africans who suffered diasporas in the Maritime region of Canada (Pachai: 2006, vii). Blacks have played "an important, but often understated, role in the formation of the province" (Robinson: 2000, 16). There were four main ethnic groups calling Nova Scotia home during settlement times: Slaves, Black Loyalists, Maroons, and Black Refugees. These groups suffered through diasporas and neglect inflicted by the hands of European elite through slavery and exploitation (Pachai: 2006, vii).

The following discussion concerning historical oppression and its consequences focuses specifically on those identified as Black Loyalists because the records are readily available at the Black Loyalist Heritage Society. Documentation is quite sparse concerning such individuals; however, across the province other stories of the same nature were mentioned. Also, the relocation of Africville in Halifax calls for analysis of the role of the community and the influence of community solidarity amongst marginalized groups.

An exceptionally large migration took place during the fifteenth century, when 12 million Africans were captured and sent as slaves to America (Schama: 2000, 12). Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, and Georgia all maintained Blacks as their servants. In an attempt to dismantle the American economy, during the time of the American Revolution (1776-1783), the British Government proposed an offer of freedom to black slaves captured by rebel masters. Lord Dunmore's words, which rang in the ears of black slaves in 1775, stated:

> All indented servants, negroes, or others (pertaining to Rebels) free, that are able and willing to bear arms, they joining his Majesty's troops, as soon as may be, for the more speedily reducing this Colony to a proper sense of their duty, to his Majesty's crown and dignity. (Walker: 1992, 1)

Blacks, in desperate need of emancipation, were purchased or captured by the British army and navy to help defend British interests. Blacks who became Loyalists were promised security and freedom (Walker: 1992, 5). By the end of the war in 1783, the British evacuated 3,500 blacks from New York to settle in various places in Nova Scotia such as Halifax, Annapolis Royal, Digby, and Little Tracadie. The majority of Blacks were settled (1,521) in Birchtown, Shelburne County (Walker: 1992, 4, 23; Schama: 2005, 231-235). Liberty was declared for slaves who fought for the British.

The word "liberty" was used by colonists to manipulate Blacks (Schama: 2003, 44). For the slaves, freedom was indeed just that – emancipation from slave masters; the Black Loyalists were shipped to Nova Scotia on large vessels virtually abandoned on the shores of Nova Scotia. Few black men had appropriate survival skills. Those trained with trades consisted of: coopers, tailors, carpenters, bakers, etc. (Walker: 1992, 5). Men had little opportunity to make a living for their families. Birchtown was, in 1783, the first and largest free black town in all of North America (Schama: 2005, 237); however, no

arable land was accessible in Birchtown. Early documents describe Birchtown as follows:

> In the few places where natural clearings had opened after the fall of old hardwood trees there were granite boulders, elephantine in both color and size, but fringed with yellow and red lichen. It was daunting place to think of farming – although not, at first sight, heartbreakingly hopeless. The woods promised moose and caribou, and the blacks were excellent, practiced hunters. Most important of all, this would, at last, be a town of free black Britons (Schama: 2005, 237).

Most of the manes work was centered in the nearby town of Shelburne. Black Loyalists were working for little to no pay and were largely unsettled (Schama: 2005, 238). The Shelburne townspeople saw Blacks as, "robbing them of work by accepting wages far lower than anything Whites were prepared to settle for" (Schama: 2005, 238). Most of the Blacks worked for nothing at all except food and shelter – wages went unpaid. The leaders of the white Loyalists of Shelburne, through mass riots in 1784, forced all Blacks out of town limits and ghettoized them in Birchtown.

In a time when British were questioning what to do with these so called "liberated Blacks", these Blacks soon entered, "a chaotic and inefficient land-granting system" (Walker: 1992, 19). Few Blacks received any land at all; even if one did receive land, the plot would be substantially less than that promised. Not only was the land made up of the province's worst soil, but also Blacks were relocated so far from major settlements that maintaining any sort of sustainable farming system would be nearly impossible (Walker: 1992, 18). Black Loyalists were exploited by the British government. They were used for clearing town sites and building towns, instead of expending that energy and capital on preparing sustainable dwellings for themselves. The government blamed the lack of resources on their British colleagues overseas, however, Halifax officials at

the time seemed to endure blatant disregard for the Black settlers. Basically, the government was not willing to take on the "burden" of newly-freed slaves. Any efforts the British made to assist Blacks, proved to be minimal and assistance faded as the years passed. Nova Scotia's government continues to struggle to fill the gap between the racial divide in contemporary society, specifically in Halifax. Racial profiling, housing, poverty and crime have plagued the Black community.

Once the situation concerning land was addressed in the mid 1800s, Blacks only had one-tenth of the land given to whites in the town of Shelburne (Walker 1992: 22). This land was inundated with marsh areas and swamps. Before long, people were selling their small land plots in hopes for a greater quality of life. In 1788, of the 649 black men residing in Birchtown, only 184 were able to do farming because of the minimal resources given (Walker: 1992, 23). Similar land disputes occurred in Halifax, Tracadie, Guysborough and Annapolis Counties (Walker: 1992, 26-31). Many individuals suffered and could not overcome the extreme winter conditions, compared to what these black communities were used to – many died of scurvy and starvation. The winter of 1788-89 was documented as a very harsh winter for the black population (Schama: 2005, 262). Due to lack of resources, Black loyalists constructed "pit houses" for shelter – holes dug six feet under ground and covered in lumber to serve as a makeshift rooftop (www.blackloyalist.com).

The residential segregation of Birchtown, Brindley Town, Little Tracadie, Preston and such settlements lasted for years for Blacks in N.S. In these four towns lived 385 families; they received twelve thousand acres of land in total, the span of the land was spread in little pieces across the province (Pachai: 1990, 15).

> Blacks have had to carry a special burden, the burden of the white person's prejudice, discrimination, and oppression. The result is that Nova Scotia Blacks became marginal people in a relatively depressed region. One of the best indicators of the marginal status of blacks is that the fact that throughout the years most have been clustered in isolated rural areas or on the fringes of white towns and cities; generally, their housing has been inferior and lacking public services. (Clairmont & Magill, 1999: 1)

In 1791, the Sierra Leone Company was formed by the British Parliament. The "Province of Freedom" was the term used by Clarkson for the free Black settlement he proposed in Sierra Leone, Africa (Schama: 2005, 268). The proposed settlers were to be those Blacks suffering in Nova Scotia. Clarkson believed Sierra Leone was the land of prosperity. Black Loyalists viewed the new town full of potential: an open natural harbor, a great source of capital, and its vision was to be a receiving and exporting station for goods, potentially serving the entire Ivory Coast (Schama: 2005, 266). In fact, the Sierra Leone Company formed to replace the old, infamous Royal African Company, the driving force behind the entire slave trade (Schama: 2005, 266). European economic interests were seen as the heart of this human transaction.

Sending these dedicated Blacks to Africa offered Britain a new commercial trade alliance. Granville Sharpe served as the governor of the new Promised Land and he promised justice and liberty for Blacks (Schama: 2005, 268). Not everyone was fooled by the proposal. Only one-third of Nova Scotia's existing black population – approximately 1, 196 Black Loyalists left for Africa (Walker: 1992, 128). Some petitioned to turn the Sierra Leone expedition to their favor in Nova Scotia:

> On November 1, 1791, 52 families had signed a petition to [Govenor] Parr in which they cast scorn on their brethren who are so infatuated, as to embrace the proposals of the Sierra Leone Company which (with all due Submission) we conceive to be their utter annihilation. Since the king was prepared to bear certain expenses for the sake of his black subjects, they ask to receive their share of the bounty in the form of a grant 'as may

> enable us to purchase a cow and two sheeps, which (if obtained) will make us comfortable on our little farms. (Walker: 1992, 128)

The demeaning language shows how inferior the Blacks were made to feel. Debtors were unable to apply for a life in the Province of Freedom; those in debt were inundated with the burden of accumulated debt from a mere borrowing of seeds for survival. Those indentured as servants were bound to Nova Scotia, despite Clarkson's personal attempt for their emancipation. It is impossible to estimate how many individuals would have migrated to Sierra Leone had there been fewer restrictions (Walker: 1992, 129). The quest for Black Loyalist respect and self sustainability continued for both groups: those individuals and families traveling to Sierra Leone and the black communities left in Nova Scotia. At this time, Blacks migrated to other places in the province such as: Hammonds Plains, Weymouth Falls and Africville.

Clarkson named the land in Sierra Leone as "most rich and beautiful" (Walker: 1992, 145). Hardships arose once the families reached the new land. There were no dwellings, simply a few pieces of timber for the possibility of building. The means to put up a house were not fully available; therefore, the families were forced to construct shelter out of the sails from the transport ships (Walker: 1992, 147). Due to the time of year the Black Loyalists had arrived, temperatures were above 114 degrees Fahrenheit, making manual labor difficult. Tornadoes and violent periods of intense rain prevailed in the months to come (Walker: 1992, 147). The violent weather left no time to plant adequate crops. Famine and disease ran rampant in the settlement for months after their arrival (Walker: 1992, 146). Difficulties surrounded everyday living – from snakes to insect infestation. In Africa, settlers did not receive needed provisions from the British Government; if the blacks received anything at all, shipments would come months after

they were initially expected, with less than half of the proper ration (Walker: 1992, 147). Within a month of arrival, 40 of the cold and hungry settlers died, 500 were desperately ill. No one was left to care for the suffering (Schama, 2005: 347). By September 1792, seven months after their arrival in Sierra Leone, 57 of the colony's 119 white officials were dead, and less than 1,000 Nova Scotia settlers remained alive (Walker: 1992, 147). Disorder, confusion and neglect prevailed in every aspect of the new colonial establishment.

This imperial social construct of race was far beyond the power of any diplomat. Abolitionists began to feel helpless in their fight for the emancipation of free Blacks. Many Blacks were adamant in expressing their disappointment to those leaving Nova Scotia (Schama: 2005, 326). The plutocratic Whites posted as governors of the "Promised Land" continually exploited the Black Loyalists in Sierra Leone. The suffering and British colonial diplomatic contentions continued for years to come. Although struggles continued in Africa concerning free Blacks, conditions in Sierra Leone did begin to blossom; dwellings emerged, a justice system was constructed, and a somewhat democratic system of governance emerged in the late 1790's (Walker: 1992, 169).

In Nova Scotia, trade suffered because so many Black consumers out-migrated; the province was short on skilled laborers and the supplies of small provisions and vegetables were not properly distributed, if they were to receive any at all .(Walker: 1992, 384) The resource of casual cheap labor was limited for whites during this time. Segregation and racialization flourished for the blacks of Nova Scotia who remained after 1792.

Black individuals were never offered a fair chance at Nova Scotia's economy, in which opportunities for employment were minimal. Free blacks were important to Nova Scotia's economy at that time because they were seen as a labor reserve (Walker: 1992, 384). An exact estimate of the number of freed Blacks who would have been living in Nova Scotia during the nineteenth century is unknown. The Black Maroons arrived in 1796. Approximately 550 Blacks were deported from Jamaica and settled outside of Halifax in Preston (Clairmont & Magill, 1999: 27). Black Refugees arrived in 1815 after the war of 1812. The story of the arrival of the Black Refugees is much the same as the loyalists; they fought on British lines and in return were promised freedom. Two thousand of these men were promised labour, food and land but they experienced the same lack of hospitality as the Black Loyalists (Clairmont & Magill, 1999: 29). Each member of these former enslaved groups was forced to struggle to survive well into the twenty-first century.

Economic and racial conditions deteriorated over the continuing years within Nova Scotia's Black communities. Blacks were placed within a marginal position from the time of colonization (Henry: 1973, 18). In, *Forgotten Canadians: The Blacks of Nova Scotia,* Henry wrote: "It is perhaps one of the ironic facts about history that Blacks, arriving mainly as slaves and refugees, found themselves unwittingly in what was one of the poorest and economically least-developed areas of the country" (Henry: 1973, 18). The slave trade was abolished in the British Empire in 1833. However, the timeline of oppression continued through the reinforcement of racism in civil society. Blacks were excluded from predominantly white organizations and segregation was the prescribed formula for the exclusion of the other.

Africville, home to many of Nova Scotia Blacks, was a compilation of largely Black Refugees from the war of 1812 who migrated to the coast of Bedford Basin, near the present site of the MacKay Bridge in Halifax. Four hundred people inhabited what is known to the general public as "Shack Town":

> Africville was a depressed community both in physical and in socio-economic terms. Its dwellings were located beside the city dump, and railroad tracks cut across the on dirt road leading to the area. Sewerage, lighting, and other public services were conspicuously absent. The people had little education, very low incomes, and many were underemployed (Clairmont & Magill, 1999: 2).

Africville, although described as having such low standards of living, had a high sense of community solidarity, a solidarity that residents now wished the Africville community would have preserved against the government. A local resident commented: "despite these liabilities there was a strong sense of community and that some residents expressed satisfaction with living in Africville (Clairmont & Magill, 1999: 2). Africville, was commonly defined as a social problem. In 1964, all residents were forced to leave their residences to accommodate an urban development, a plan implemented by Halifax officials (Clairmont & Magill, 1999: 3). The government enforcement of the Black diaspora was deemed a "planned social change" (Clairmont & Magill, 1999: 4). This was presented to the Africville community as assistance for the marginalized group:

> The plan emphasized humanitarian concern, included employment and education programs, and referred to the creation of new opportunities for the people of Africville. To the general public, the proposed relocation was a progressive step (Clairmont & Magill, 1999: 33).

The liberal-oriented argument claimed that education, equality and improved opportunities would accompany the proposed undemocratic relocation (Clairmont & Magill, 1999: 3). However, the committee compiling the relocation failed; lack of

organization, pressure from the relocates, media and delays contributed to little action taken for residents who were to be relocated; in essence, the government fell short of the proposed goals (Clairmont & Magill, 1999: 15). The solidarity Africville encompassed prevailed far longer than any tentative plan for equalization.

> The continued salience of Africville in the wider Black community is evident in the recent remarks of one local Black leader: "When you are a minority you need to stick together. They [the Africville people] lost that." Africville has rich symbolic value for Black organization charged with the mandate of fostering Black culture and development and fighting racism and shallow promises. "Remembering Africville" is a phrase that has numerous meanings such as, "stand together", "don't let your community get rundown," and "beware glib talk of progress." The depth and diversity of Africville's symbolic connotations ensure its future. (Clairmont & Magill, 1999: xxi)

The social cohesion experienced amongst those people of Africville is significant when analyzing intermarriage. This group of 400 Blacks were forced out of their settlement on the Bedford Basin in Halifax and dispersed throughout the city; large numbers migrated to the Black settlements that remain in Halifax County, Preston, Cherry Brook, Dartmouth and Cole Harbour. Contentions still remain concerning the rights and reparations for the families of Africville. Dalhousie University, University of New Brunswick and St. Mary's University have provided extensive funding for research, and a variety of theses has been compiled in Atlantic Canada on the Africville community. Three versions of the Clairmont and Magill text have been published between 1970 and 2000, documenting the progress/regress experienced by the "Relocation and the Africville study" over 40 years later; however, still no conclusion as to whether reparations remain in order for Africville residents. No progress has been made. The racial divide became increasingly apparent as Nova Scotia's population grew,

and the divide continues to exist today as exemplified by last year's tragic fire at the Black Loyalist Heritage site[1].

*Conclusions*

According to the literature reviewed in this chapter, information from texts written by ethnic individuals creates a well-rounded argument compared to previous Anglo-European scholarly work. Daniel Paul, Bridget Pachai, Carmelita Robinson, Terry Punch, Lawrence Hill, as well as other scholars, provided an account respectful to both government and ethnic peoples, at the same time depicting events and atrocities as the political-economic issues were learned through memories and family/community members. Consequently, many of these writers call for an overhaul of the literature in elementary and secondary schools to include diverse thinking for youth in the realm of race relations.

Tracing oppression that affects ethnic minorities is not an elusive task. In terms of Nova Scotia, the primary attack on First Nations, Acadians and Blacks is centered on the exploitation of resources. The Black Loyalists were placed in Nova Scotia with scant resources; Mi'kmaq's attitudes towards the value of resources were shunned and Acadians suffered confiscation of provisions and all resources were left to fend for themselves. All of the groups were made outcasts from white society. These individuals were made to believe their "race" was inferior and white bureaucratic principle was paramount. Families were robbed of dignity; many generations suffered from an indecent quality of life, security and stability.

[1] On March 31, 2006, the Administrative office for the Black Loyalist Heritage Society in Birchtown, Nova Scotia was set fire and burned to the ground by a potential arsonist. Loosing almost all primary documents and pictures this fire was deemed a racially motivated attach. The police continue in their search for a suspect and evidence; however no charges have yet to be laid.

# Chapter IV

## Methodology

By tracing historical oppression, as presented in the previous chapter, one can gain an increased understanding of the issues and problems presented throughout history, from pre-colonial times to the modern world and the origins in which oppression emerges and the implications that remain. Analyzing the past is paramount to gaining insight into future possibilities in terms of public policy, affirmative action issues and governmental strategy, specifically (in the latter case) issues surrounding Status and Non-Status First Nations.

To understand the full context for interaction among ethnic minorities, an interdisciplinary approach should be used by the researcher. History, genealogical and socio-political perspectives must be analyzed in order to gain a true understanding of the issues and conditions these groups face today. The family, according to Leigh (1983), "is being accorded its rightful place as a significant variable in the evolution of society." Meaning the people whom one grows up around, and their thinking and beliefs, influence each individual at various levels; thus, making the family pertinent to this study of race relations.

An archival approach to studying society is supplementary to sociological, historical and political-economic processes. Genealogical research, deemed an anthropological technique for the study of relations over a significant period of time, proves key to the study of ethnic persistence and change (Taylor & Crandall, 1986: xv). Needless to say, genealogical research is imperative when assessing marital relationships between individuals; because, through genealogical analysis, one gains a sense of the

family setting along with work information and information concerning residence and settlement patterns.

The process of researching historically-oppressed groups tends to be circuitous. Various methods were used in this study to provide an adequate account of the family links between Blacks, Mi 'kmaq and Acadians within Nova Scotia. The methods described in this chapter consist of content analysis (both manifest and latent), narrative analysis, semi-structured interviews, and genealogical data.

Content analysis is commonly described as the organizing, retrieving and indexing of artifacts of social communication, generally in the form of written documents (Berg, 1998: 223). In this study, a nexus of social communication is used: marriage license, death records, obituaries, census data, court records, newspaper clippings, published genealogies and diaries (Punch, 1998: 21). Researchers focus on content analysis at various levels. Although many aspects of these data are straightforward, complexities can arise, specifically when dealing with ethnic families.

In order to divulge complexities, content analysis presents itself in two forms – manifest and latent (Esterberg, 2002: 172). Manifest content is straightforward research, in essence, focusing on a direct interpretation from the text. In latent content analysis, "the analysis is extended to an interpretive reading of the symbolism underlying the physically presented data" (Berg 1998, 225). This study uses a mixture of manifest and latent content analysis. In this case, the latent content consists of assessing family ties without the assistance of the family through a genealogical framework. A genealogist must work from the present backwards when piecing together individual family histories.

For example, certain common surnames in Nova Scotia emerge but not all individuals with the same surname are relatives.

Abrahamson (1983, 286) suggests that content analysis can be utilized when gaining a systematic interpretation on any type of communication; therefore, content analysis can be either quantitative or qualitative (Berg, 1998: 225). In terms of qualitative research, content analysis is able to examine ideological mindsets, themes, topics, symbols and similar phenomena when piecing information together (Berg, 1998:225). This strategy is commonly used by researchers analyzing marginalized groups, drawing on the accumulation of data over time (Esterberg, 2002: 171). Analyzing genealogical research in terms of content analysis means compiling data into acquiescent family pedigrees. The objective-coding scheme (family groupings) is applied to present systematic validity to the data – the essence of content analysis (Berg, 1998: 223). As information is gathered concerning the specific surnames researched in this study, the names are entered into family grouping sheets, followed by inputting data into software entitled Personal Ancestral File or PAF. PAF enables the genealogist to see the data in various forms such as, pedigree, individual, print; PAF allows one to add additional information including pictures and obituaries. Well-written obituaries are valuable to the genealogist because of the wealth of information the writing contains. This enables one to view the family connections and easily fill in the missing blanks combining a narrative approach.

The chapter containing genealogical data proved to be difficult to compile in the time period used to research this thesis. Researching genealogical history is exceptionally time consuming and tedious. In regards to ethnic heritage, many road

blocks and dead ends emerge along the way. To do a study such as this, a novice should have access to a certified genealogist who is available at all times during the research stage. It is easy to read a series of church microfilms or browse through census data and omit crucial information. The simple act of jotting down all information pertinent to the family of study is necessary for the genealogist to research many families during a specific period of time. Upon the retrieval of genealogical data, the family's history may not become apparent. Time is required to understand family connections, this may leave the researcher feeling overwhelmed or may prove to be burdensome to write a family history, during the preliminary phase of the research. The best way to decipher difficult genealogical data among ethnic families, specifically those that are interrelated, is to write it out at the time of retrieval. Genealogical data can look complex and confusing to those that are not used to working with such documentation. The amount of families that were to be documented with genealogical data for this study was cut substantially due to time, travel and money constraints. Keep in mind that although there are many resources and genealogical societies in Nova Scotia, almost all of them require a daily research fee.

Getting acquainted with key research stations such as the Public Archives of Nova Scotia (PANS) from the primary stages of research is important as well. Places such as PANS is a location that one will visit many times and can be overwhelming to one who plans to go in for a day or two and gather all that is necessary for what they are researching. However, websites and portals on the internet that allow for wall posts and interactive chatting prove to be very helpful to the genealogist. This year, 2007, the provincial government of Nova Scotia launched a new website www.novascotiagenealogy.com. This website holds a wealth of information and

documentation that used to be available only through PANS; now documentation one finds via the internet can even be delivered via mail (for a fee). However, the website's database has been reported as having glitches already. For example, data searches seem to be inconsistent depending on what time of day you search. One user of NSGenealogy.com interviewed, mentioned she was provided with different results when she searched for her grandfather at night as opposed to what she found in the daytime hours.

Genealogical research continues to increase in popularity as Canada's multicultural society quests for identity. A hopeful increase in ethnic genealogy could fill the gaps that exist in Nova Scotia's current documented ethnic history. Between the lack of documentation during times of the slave trade, the expulsion of the Acadians, the destructive fire at Birchtown and language barriers among historic Mi' kmaq, information was not documented or no longer exists. Chapter Seven discusses the immediate need for qualitative data (interviews, oral histories, etc.) to enter the archives because much of Nova Scotia's Black, Acadian and Mi' kmaq communities are aging. If these data are not gathered soon, Nova Scotia will lose valuable historical information.

Structured interviews are generally pre-planned. Unstructured interviews are the opposite because the interviews are free-flowing with topics arising during the interview. Semi-structured interviews, on the other hand, encompass an assortment of the aforementioned interview processes (Esterberg, 2002: 87-90). Semi-structured interviews are key for addressing certain types of assumptions such as how individuals come to various conclusions or actions. Interviewing in this manner provides a means of access for obtrusive information (Berg, 1998: 64). Semi-structured interviews encompass

essential questions pertinent to research yet include open-ended questions, enabling the participant to elaborate on issues of expertise/concern.

Semi-structured interviews are superior to questionnaires because of increased flexibility (Berg, 1998: 64). Due to the nature of the research used in this study, semi-structured interviews provide greater flexibility to the researcher. In essence, because ethnocultural intermarriage is a sensitive and difficult subject, the researcher is able to adjust the questions accordingly. Ultimately, through semi-structured interviews, the researcher is able to probe information in ways you are unable to do using a more standard method.

Semi-structured interviewing is particularly appropriate when studying women or aspects of marginalized groups (Esterberg, 2002: 87). Many individuals of ethnic origins who participate in in-depth interviews often are pleased to have the opportunity to share their views and narratives; the structure of the interviews allows individuals to do just so (Esterberg, 2002: 87). Thus, narrative analysis becomes an important component of semi-structured interviews.

Semi-structured interviews on oppression often allow participants to supply information and explain their experience(s). Narratives are an excellent means of producing social knowledge (Esternberg, 2002: 181). These stories tend to emerge during the process of semi-structured interviews.

Using a grounded approach, qualitative research comes from systematic approaches (Charmaz, 1990). The ability to gather adequate data, synthesize them and in turn make analytic sense of them, are the primary jobs of the researcher when using a qualitative approach. The purpose of this approach is to combine the researchers thought

process during data collection and the analysis phase of the research. Intensive procedures such as line-by-line coding is used in efforts to check, refine and develop ideas surrounding the issues and themes that emerge throughout the data.

The grounded approach enables the researcher to grasp the concepts presented (or hidden) in large amounts of data. A method such as this is typically used for those researching social psychology, identity, emotions, attraction, prejudice and interpersonal conflict (Charmaz, 1990). Ideas that make this method different from a traditional method are the combination of collecting and analyzing data simultaneously. A grounded approach forces categories and themes to develop in a bottom-up fashion opposed to a top-down or "preconceived hypothesis" (Charmaz, 1990). This way, alternative theories are able to emerge to explain interpersonal interaction which is the distinguishing aspect of grounded theory. A grounded approach is a viable way to question existing theories and divulge new concepts to formulate further theorization.

A series of twelve semi-structured interviews were conducted throughout Nova Scotia. Acadian, Blacks, Mi'kmaq community members and professionals were interviewed in this study, in efforts to present rich qualitative data. The participants were found through a variety of sources, for example, word of mouth, recommendations from Heritage Societies and internet searches, such as, authors and genealogists. The internet was used as a means of identifying the professionals in the area of genealogical research in Nova Scotia.

Table 1.1 outlines a description of each participant involved in the study, their region in Nova Scotia, marital status, education, ethnicity, et cetera. Pseudonyms were given to each participant to ensure anonymity. A more detailed description of each

individual is available in Appendix 1. Geographic areas covered a span from Wedgeport, Yarmouth County to New Waterford, Cape Breton County, including Queens, Digby and Shelburne County. Guysborough County was also a main county of focus in terms of interethnic marriage; however, due to time constraints, such data were not possible to retrieve. This study utilized the assistance of genealogical and heritage societies, such as the Black Loyalist Heritage Society, Argyle Courthouse Archives and Genealogical Centre, Musée Acadien à Pubnico, etc., throughout Nova Scotia.

Table 1.1 Interview Participants

Y = yes, N = no

| | Married | Children | Black Loyalist | Mi'kmaq | Acadian | Age | Education | Profession | County |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Paul** | Y | Y | N | Y | Y | 58 | MSc | retired conservation officer | Yarmouth |
| **Roland** | Y | Y | N | Y | Y | 62 | MA | retired school principal | Yarmouth |
| **Dan** | N | N | Y | N/A | Y | 36 | High School | photo specialist | Queens |
| **Sam** | Y | Y | N | Y | N | 55 | High School | band administrator | Queens |
| **Jane** | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | 52 | NSCC | archival worker | Yarmouth |
| **Tom** | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | 60 | N/A | retired military | Yarmouth |
| **Stan** | Y | Y | Y | N | N | 72 | High School | retired military | Shelburne |
| **Mike** | | Y | Y | N | Y | 65 | High School | farmer | Hants |
| **Kevin** | Y | Y | N | N | Y | 51 | NSCC | artisan | Cape Breton |
| **Terry Punch** | Y | Y | N | N | N | N/A | MA, PhD | genealogist | Halifax/Lunenburg |
| **David States** | N/A | N/A | Y | N | N | N/A | MA | Historian | Halifax/ Kings |
| **Debra Hill** | N/A | Y | Y | N | N | 53 | GSC | genealogist | Shelburne |

The interviews lasted an average of one hour and fifteen minutes. The shortest interview was thirty-six minutes and the longest was two and a half hours. Follow-up interviews took place with six of the participants, by telephone. The respondents were asked to find

a comfortable location; all participants but two were comfortable with using their home for the interview setting. Each participant was given a pseudonym, with the exception of the four professionals interviewed: Mr. David States, Dr. Terry Punch, Debra Hill and Mr. Roland Surette. The interview with David States took place in his office at Parks Canada and another interview was held at the Yarmouth County Archives. Each session was recorded by digital recorder and later transcribed into a word document.

The coding process was produced by printing off each transcribed interview and cutting and pasting the data into themes and organizing into large groups. Six themes emerged: identity, work/settlement patterns, religion, difficulty of ethnic genealogies, issues surrounding race, Acadian/Métis relations and racism. The data were organized by themes on a large poster board for analysis (see Chapter Seven).

This research was approved by Acadia University's research and ethics board in December 2006. The study proved to be of minimal risk to the participants. Ethical issues consisted of the possibility that questions may be viewed as offensive or intrusive because of the sensitive issue of ethnic/race relations dealing with specific families. However, only one minor issue arose during the interview process; one respondent was offended by the terminology – specifically the use of the term "minority".

# Chapter V

# Theory

Various theoretical works are available when assessing racial issues. Demonstrating links between the construction of race, and why communities are generally not accepting of interracial/ethnic relations and its complexities, serves as a framework for this thesis. The process of racialization as a social construct and two theories surrounding interracial marriage are analyzed – color-blind theory and symbolic racism. Max Weber's, theories of racialization and intermarriage are assessed through the lens of the community. In addition, the following chapter also presents theorization contributed by Edward Said on the social exclusion of the "other".

*Race and Racialization*

Race and racialization are different ideas, yet, they are not binary concepts. As outlined in Chapter Three, Nova Scotia's minorities have suffered the effects of bureaucratic structures through government policies and programs. The eminent nature of the colonial world values the interests of the dominant classes (Galabuzi, 2005: 29). The ideological structure is beneficial for those at the top of the structure yet oppressive to those differing in appearance, religion or political ideals – "minorities" (Weber, 1922: 361). British colonization policies emerged that created racial categories and reinforced the prominence of policies that attribute to Canada as a "White Nation" (Galabuzi, 2005: 29).

> Since race is not genetically programmed, racial prejudice cannot be genetically programmed either, but must rise historically….having arisen, race then ceases to be a historical phenomenon and becomes instead an external motor of society….[that is]…it takes on a life of its own (Galabuzi, 2005: 33).

Treaties such as *The Indian Act* show a systematic attempt to seclude or exclude those visibly exterior to the white parameters of society.

During the time of First Nations habitation in Nova Scotia, before the arrival of Europeans, there was no notion of race. Over time, through social processes, the social values of dominant white society began to take plutocratic measures to identify a hierarchy of gender and ethnicity (Galabuzi, 2005: 29-32). By placing a label on those physiologically different, a dominating effect takes place.

> This (oppression of ethnic minorities) is especially the case in a society that has adopted the capitalist mode of production and its emphasis on competition for resources. The power of race consists in the adaptive capacity to define population groups and by extension social agents as self and "other" at key historical moments. These categories are then used by those with power to differentiate labor value for the purposes of ensuring differential exploitation of labor and of undermining working class solidarity. The dominant group uses the process of group differentiation to impose minority or inferior status on the group defined as the subordinate "other" (Galabuzi, 2005: 30).

A key historical moment for Blacks that contributed to inequalities within the labor market was, of course, the slave trade. The oppression significantly increased once the Blacks entered Nova Scotia. In Shelburne, Black Loyalists were looking for any type of employment. Blacks were used for manual labor, earning a lesser wage. Eventually, the white community of Shelburne began to feel as though Blacks were stealing their jobs; therefore, Black Loyalists were forced out of the town and sent to Birchtown. (Schama, 2001). The British not only created a racial hierarchy but also an economic apartheid.

The literature surrounding socio-economic issues and the political status of minority groups has increased in the past twenty-five years (Galabuzi, 2005: 33). Researchers have shown that in Canada, a country that places value on immigration and a

multicultural mosaic, social exclusion and growth in size of ethnic groups (minority groups), flourish and will continue to do so (Galabuzi, 2005: 32). Social exclusion and low socio-economic status, according to Galabuzi (2005), will continue to grow and racial discrimination will continue to increase in areas such as: access to services, precarious housing, health care, social assistance, recreational facilities, imposition of limits on access to property and differential treatment within the justice system (Galabuzi, 2005: 39). Racial profiling has been a contentious issue which remains in contemporary society, for example, the criminal justice system.

To assess the racialization of poverty, the labor market is a good starting point. Racialized individuals are continuously subjected to work within the service sector industry. The racial divide leaves those on the outskirts of the margins with the least amount of resources to succeed. This is a means of preserving privileges for those "enjoyed by one group over another" (Galabuzi, 2005: 48); "those marginalized are also the last hired and first fired, and many find themselves in contract, temporary or part-time work" (Galabuzi, 2005: 49). An increase in racial discrimination in the work force has major repercussions for the future. An increasing cost of living, immigration rising and sustainable job opportunities decreasing – in terms of companies downsizing and automating; this shift in the way society goes to work not only leaves those marginalized feeling the negative effects of the constraints of the global world, but also leads to a fierce job competition between all Canadians.

The idea of 'race' is tenuous at best. Social constructions lead to the manifestation of race, however, how many races are there? Where does one draw the line between race and ethnicity? Are there biological predispositions to race? Race, in

essence, is the legitimate "scientific basis for classifying human populations, factored into state discourses and policies" (Satzewich & Liodakis, 2007: 11). However, race is both conceptually and theoretically complex. Race has managed to gain prevalence in the nation state, education system, social settings and government policy programs – for example, Affirmative Action. The hierarchical nature of oppression brings one to question the relationship between ethnicity and the role of the nation state; history presents atrocities such as Nazism and the efforts to exterminate those of Jewish descent in efforts to create a biologically superior "Aryan race". The role of the state may be a contributor to the blinded belief that there is a biological subspecies:

> The phenotypical/genotypical characteristics of 'races' (visible, biological and objective) are often associated with the behavioral, moral, and intellectual capacities and/or abilities, in turn, are often used to 'explain' the socio-economic performance of members of these objectified categories (Satzewich & Liodakis, 2007: 11).

In fact, there is no way to measure a link between behavioral, moral or intellectual abilities. These attributes are not characteristic of one's race but of one's learned behavior. How one grows up, pedagogic knowledge and social constructs lead to the ideas society currently has on race. Nazism and eugenics are ideas that still permeate. The means for a legitimate scientific objective when assessing race is still discussed. DNA presents to be the sole determinant of a "scientific objective" when discussing race. Moral, behavioral and intellectual differences are subject to the individual, not race to race.

The question remains: Why does society divide the masses into racial categories as opposed to, say, height and shoe size? Race is a conceptualization of the human divide, meaning those who differ from the Caucasian physique are perceived as inferior.

A top-down approach occurs and individuals or groups near the bottom of the hierarchy, marginalized peoples, suffer in all areas of life: socio-economic, political, personal, etc. Physical characteristics are factored into race as well – for example, Negroids have thicker darker hair, Mongoloids have small almond-shaped eyes and Caucasoids have fair skin and lighter-colored eyes and hair. Here, one can see why interracial marriage can "blur racial lines" because a mixing of the biracial traits makes the race of a biracial child contentious.

The state plays a viable role in terms of race constructions influencing access to jobs, higher pay and better opportunities which are centered on government policy – for example, Affirmative Action. Unequal access and income distribution is historically linked with social, political, cultural and economic alienation. Therefore, after years of acceptance and lack of social change, governments and institutions now attempt rationalizations such as the aforementioned to show the boundaries of "normal" (Galabuzi, 2005: 31). However, such notions may only serve as an increase to the stigma that currently affects ethnic minority groups because unequal access is created – for example, job access. Needless to say, the social construct of race is a process of historical oppression and government authorities turning a blind eye to reality. This notion negatively affects any aspect of social change because the government continues to influence the human divide.

The dynamic of the Western world family has changed mainly due to technological advancements and the rise of capitalism. Thus, the size of a family is smaller and family members generally have less time for each other, whether for love or support, et cetera (Satzewich: 2007, 15). Working overtime, or two or three part-time

jobs, leads to lack of support, which many marginalized families are experiencing. Society experiences difficulties with social cohesion because marginalized or racialized families have inadequate time to spend with family and discuss cultural traditions and beliefs. Living in the modern world forces ethnicity into a melting pot, whereas, Canada claims multiculturalism and diversity.

The development of "minority" status speaks for itself, "it secures and reinforces access to privilege, power and resources for some groups at the expense of others" (Galabuzi, 2005: 31). Society has come to view marginalization of ethnic groups as normal. This is not the fault of the individual but the fault of the state. Racialization influences the systematic categorization of race which has the potential to increase the gap in socio-economic status.

> Racialization translates into actions and decisions within social systems that lead to differential and unequal outcomes, and the entrenchment of structures of oppression. The influence of negative race-based judgments on decision making at different levels of society produces racial inequality. The growing inequality between racialized groups in Canada and other Canadians has its systematic origins in the racial inequalities that Racialization produces and perpetuates (Galabuzi, 2005: 34).

Although the past cannot be changed, the future requires analysis. Canada's large urban areas are dominated by ethnic minorities. According to Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, "70% of net new entrants into the labor force are immigrants, 75% are racialized – by 2011, over 100% of net new entrants will come from marginalized groups" (Galabuzi, 2005: 6). Although this study does not analyze immigration, the issue of racialization remains apparent for these groups. If society fails to realize the origins of prejudices, then aggression and violence are in store. The social hierarchy of race will

only grow taller and the marginalization gap will continue to grow wider; perhaps holding more repercussions in the future than experienced in the past.

*The Concept of "Other"*

As this thesis strives to identify ethnic groups that suffered oppression and atrocities such as the slave trade and the dominant socio-economic and political issues such as the structure of a capitalist economy, colonists have provided the underlying basis for racialization. Had the process of colonization occurred differently, society may have been a vastly different world. Consequently, centuries of European influence stigmatized minorities, particularly natives and blacks as the "backwards society" (Paul, 2000: 14). Basically, structures and practices by these indigenous/oppressed persons are seen as regressive in terms of the formation and development of capitalism. Early writers used tyranny and derogatory terms towards indigenous persons because of their belief in the superiority of their own European race (Paul: 2000, 41), hence fueling contemporary ideas of racialization. Theorist Edward Said argued:

> By multiplying partitions and enclosures that serve to demarcate "the same" from "the other", at once constructing and calibrating a gap between the two by "designating in one's mind a familiar space which is 'ours' or which is 'theirs'. 'Their' space is often seen as the inverse of "our" space: a sort of negative, in the photographic sense that "they" might "develop" into something like "us", but also the site of an absence, because "they" are seen somehow to lack the positive tonalities that supposedly distinguish "us" (Said in Gregory: 2005, 17).

As a capitalist society, consumerism can now be seen as a means for survival. However, "we invest in more than objects, we also invest in practices and dispositions" (Paul: 2005, 7). Culture and economy are certainly intertwined. Evidence of government policy reveals Europeans using economic and political power to construct social ideals still prevalent in contemporary society.

> Once the status of "other" is imposed, the majority group is freed from moral obligations against acts of oppression and discrimination directed toward the minority group, and feels justified in carrying out acts of aggression in defense of the interests of the dominant group (Galabuzi, 2005: 31).

This phrase provides context for all three racialized groups used in this thesis. Once "other" was imposed on First Nations people, they were then subjected to European political ideology and mercantilism. In terms of quality of life and "civil society", the Europeans considered Mi' kmaq as "other" because colonists had negative opinions and attitudes towards a view different from their own. Acadians were the "other" primarily because of their French language and Roman Catholic religion; however, cultural traditions and practices played an optimal role as well, such as different holiday traditions, food preparations and family ideals. The issue exclusive to Acadians as "other" is their rejection of pledging allegiance to the British King. Blacks were deemed "other", because of their skin color and because of their economic dependence these individuals placed on the British after the American Revolution.

Nicholas Thomas states, "relations of cultural colonialism are no more easily shrugged off than the economic entanglements that continue to structure a deeply asymmetrical world economy" (Thomas in Gregory: 2005, 6). Basically, contemporary society is based on historic white supremacy by exploiting indigenous peoples and manipulating early settlers. The founding fathers of the racial hierarchical pyramid were, in fact, constructs by early colonial rule.

*Interethnic Marriage Theories*

Max Weber's "Membership of a Race" seeks to explain the reality of the negative stigma surrounding the topic of intermarriage through the framework of community existence – how traditions and heritage are produced and reinforced (Weber, 1922: 359-

369). Weber sees race and ethnicity as a common thread(s) shared amongst a group of peoples. A nexus of shared interests could be apparent: religion, political ideology, language, customs, proprieties, norms and traditions (Weber, 1922: 362). Heritable characteristics are products of descent and social status; these factors are compiled of mainly pedagogic knowledge differences in cultural relativity (institutions play a limited role) (Weber 1922: 361). Imperative to the concept of interethnic marriage is the construct of 'ethnic statuses'.

> 'Ethnic' status is the form of status which is specifically open to the mass of the population, since it can be claimed by anyone who shares in the common ancestry which is subjectively believed to exist. In the period of slavery, it was the 'poor white trash', the propertyless whites of the American South, who often had to eke out a poverty stricken existence because of the lack of opportunities for free work, who really felt a racial hatred which was quite alien to the planters themselves. This was precisely because their social 'status' could only be preserved if the blacks were regulated to the bottom of the class system (Weber, 1922: 367).

Weber's theory claims that people generally try to marry within their social class or higher simply for reasons of climbing the social hierarchy. Many individuals tends to shun marrying into a class lower than one's own. Usually one chooses to marry within one's own ethnic group to maintain cultural hegemony. Society is quick to judge race and status as predetermining factors of any relationship (Weber, 1922: 363). Weber believes the individual is not guilty of forming prejudice rather, he or she is a product of socialized ideals reinforced through generations of standard beliefs to marry within one's own group (Weber, 1922: 363). Colonialism becomes a factor into the way society has constructed the social hierarchy with a basis in dictating how to marry.

Colonialism, as argued by Weber, significantly contributes to the formation of ethnicity. Beliefs and customs are two of many factors that contribute to a common

identity for ethnic groups, such as these in this study developed during colonial times (Weber, 1992: 363):

> In the case of the colonies, the colonists' spiritual ties with their homeland survive, even if they have mingled almost totally with the original inhabitants of the colonial territory and even if both their tradition and their inherited biological type may have radically changed. A decisive factor in this, in the case of political colonization, is the need for political support, as also, in general, is the persistence of the matrimonial connections created by intermarriage (Weber, 1922: 363).

Weber believes that in settlement times, ethnic intermarriage occurred because the initial settlement group needed to gain political support (Weber, 1922: 362). This notion is supported when assessing Mi' kmaq in Nova Scotia and the close ties they shared with the Acadians. All of these groups were lesser in number as a monism compared to the Europeans; however, these ethnic groups needed strength in numbers, and by combining political forces, these groups stood a greater chance surviving British rule.

For Weber, ethnic intermarriage is seen as negative to the general public because such unions offset the equilibrium of valued ethnic communities. Families are worried that traditions will go unnoticed and as a result, such traditions fail to continue on through future generations (Weber, 1922: 364). Weber sees aspects of the community pertinent when assessing interethnic marriage. A sense of identity and 'brotherhood' are mentioned as factors contributing to a sense of community: "The belief in 'ethnic' identity very often, but not always, sets limits to a 'community' in the sense of a group within which social intercourse is permitted" (Weber, 1922: 365). An interethnic marriage may or may not combine beliefs from two different ethnic groups; therefore, these individuals are seen to some as creating imbalance in the socially constructed classification system (Weber, 1922: 364). Society tends to place labels or stigma on those who differ from "the norm". A fear is generated within each ethnic community of

"the breakdown of old associations and the abandonment of locality as the basis for social cohesion" (Weber, 1922: 365). When placing issues surrounding ethnic intermarriage, Weber focuses his basis on authoritative power within the community. This view of class analysis lacks economic factors that satisfy an individual's basic needs. Basically, for Weber, ethnic intermarriage is seen as negative to communities because there remains a consistent fear that ethnic community ties will diminish over time and language and cultural practices will begin to mesh together and will eventually lose their inherent meaning. Ethnicity is cherished because ideals remain despite years of colonialism and historical oppression.

American sociologist Erica Childs (2005) seeks to provide a symbolic interactionist approach to understanding interracial marriage. Her work strays from exploring ethnic groups in general and focuses on black/white couples. In contrast to Weber, Childs provides a hierarchical approach in explaining racialization. "Within the long and complex history of "race relations", marriage rules and laws (informal and formal) can be seen as extensions of white political supremacy" (Childs, 2005: 156). The racial hierarchy places blacks at the bottom and narrows, placing aristocratic whites as superior (Childs, 2005: 162).

> The institution of marriage is part of the broader structural configuration of society and is the main social area for an individual's self-realization. Through marriage, two people can come together and redefine themselves. Therefore, this society, where group membership is all important and identity is based primarily on one's racial group, would object to individuals from different "racial" groups redefining themselves apart from their racial identities (Childs, 2005: 156).

This notion corresponds with Weber's critique on ethnicity taking "ethnic status" and comparing it to "racial identity" in the broadest sense. Childs also emphasizes the importance of the role of the family in terms of interracial marriage.

Through interview data with a series of families of various ethnicities and religions in the United States, Childs understood family members as being the hardest to accept crossing racial boundaries in terms of marriage (Childs, 2005: 109). The "institution of the family" may have an effect on the social status of a particular family, with potential of breaking-up the family unity, whether through cultural changes, intermarriage, religious beliefs, etc. (Childs, 2005: 122). Black-white couples are seen in Childs work as "forced to exist somewhere in-between" the socially constructed boundaries of race (Childs, 2005: 138). The sheer essence of contemporary society continues to provide examples of the existence of racial boundaries, such as the media's depiction of Black women as sexual objects.

Concerns expressed by the respondents centered on the existence of biracial children. These individuals are seen as "blurring racial divisions" and lack the ability – according to Weber, to be labeled and categorized" (Childs, 2005: 132). Biracial children negate the assertion that, "race is a mutually-exclusive grouping" (Childs, 2005: 132). However, one could see biracial children as a way to eradicate racialization because of the harmonization of race and ethnicity in the child's background.

Two theories are presented in *Navigating Racial Borders*: color-blind theory and symbolic racism. In color-blind theory, interracial couples disregard the presence of race (Childs, 2005: 38). Couples do not see why race should play a factor in determining their social status and therefore should not dictate whom one can and cannot marry. However, color-blind theory, to Childs, is deemed problematic because it "distinguishes (sometimes deliberately) or normalizes relationships (perhaps indirectly) of privilege and subordination" (Childs, 2005: 43). According to Childs, one should not discard race as a

variable. However, one needs to view race from the historical perspective, understanding that predetermined factors such as the stigma that existed towards racialized minorities during the upbringing of grandparents. Social constructs are passed on from generation to generation – for example, grandparents passing beliefs through word of mouth. This forces the issue of race to continue and possibly strengthen because of the widespread nature of racist thought.

Color-blind theory focuses on the individual beliefs of the couple involved in the marriage, essentially, the insiders looking out. In contrast to color-blind theory, symbolic racism focuses on those who are in a non-interracial marriage, the outsiders looking in. Symbolic racism is understood in terms of an individual accepting interracial marriage, yet, not being open to the idea of marrying interracially themselves (Childs, 2005: 50-55). Thus, interracial marriages are marginalized by both racialized and non-racialized individuals. Discourse surrounding racialization states that in order to provide a complete perspective on race and social exclusion, a multifaceted approach is needed. Racial boundaries, like standard rules and norms, are culturally constructed by society. One individual interviewed in Childs' study compared homosexuality and interracial relationships because some consider both actions as deviant (Childs, 2005: 155). Popular culture reinforces interracial marriage as deviant, thus, the reinforcement of racialization in the twenty-first century. As Weber argued, "the legal prohibitions against intermarriage and the sense of horror at any kind of sexual relationship between two races....are socially determined and result from the tendency....to monopolize social power and status based on social differences" (Weber, 1922: 360). The question remains: What efforts can society make to neutralize or eradicate racialized stereotypes? Does

"blurring racial lines" by having biracial children lead to an equalitarian society, or are these children just another piece in the "melting pot"?

The family unit is seen as one of the strongest forces fueling race relations. Color- blind theory, according to Childs, deems individuals as accepting of interracial marriage but would never engage in such a relationship. Many families fear that in today's society, through the process of intermarriage, the norms and traditions unique to each family are subject to change or be forgotten over time. Yet, these subjective ideals are fragile and can change. For example, one can meet a new person and their whole world can change. Certainly this does not mean that old family traditions will disintegrate, simply a new dynamic has entered into the family.

Intermarriages hold the possibility for individuals from different backgrounds to come together and re-define themselves, thus strengthening the family dynamic by adding to the cultural traditions a family encompasses. A main concern for those interviewed in Childs study is biracial children. Biracial children blur racial boundaries in society. Because one cannot easily label those persons of "mixed ethnicity", this can have both positive and negative repercussions. It is positive because biracial children are difficult to label; however, these children will continue to be treated as "other" because these people are different from the norm.

# Chapter VI

## Genealogical Data

The following chapter presents genealogical data. Because the focus of this study is centered on Nova Scotia, the data are organized by county. A description of the family is provided, including the identification of the interethnic connections. A full pedigree of each family discussed may be viewed in the Appendix section of this thesis. Due to time constraints, not all counties in Nova Scotia are represented. Counties discussed in the following chapter are: Shelburne, Yarmouth, Queens, Hants, Lunenburg, Halifax, Guysborough, Cape Breton, Colchester, Digby and Inverness. Counties that are not explored in this thesis are: Annapolis, Richmond, Victoria, Cumberland, Kings, Pictou and Antigonish.

*Yarmouth County*

The interethnic families central to this research are those from Yarmouth County. A plethora of historically-oppressed ethnic minorities may trace their ancestry back to this county because of the settlement patterns that existed and continue to exist today. Many Acadians, after returning to Nova Scotia after the expulsion years, resided in a variety of townships in Yarmouth County. Settlement areas were, for instance: Wedgeport, Tusket, Pubnico, Amiraults Hill, Ste. Anne de Rousseau and Arcadia; additional Acadian communities surround these townships also. There is a strong Métis population in Yarmouth County which is also the Eastern Woodland Métis Association of Nova Scotia in the town of Yarmouth. There is also a First Nations band called the Acadia band, a name which has interesting connotations – the suggestion is that the band was named after a group of peoples that were historic allies. Many of the First Nations

population can be found in the Quinan area of Yarmouth. This area is a series of five, relatively small islands on the coastal shore of Yarmouth County. The coastal community of Yarmouth is largely reliant on the fishing industry. Hunting and trapping in Yarmouth County continues to be a tradition among the residents, and it is an attractive location to hunt and trap for those outside of the County as well. The area described is discussed further in Chapter Seven.

*Muise Family*

The Muise family is a traditional Acadian family native to Nova Scotia. Also spelled as Muis and Meuse, the majority of the descendents may be found in Yarmouth and Digby Counties (Muise is a common surname across Nova Scotia). The story of the Muise family actually stems from the d'Entremont family, as the families have the same pedigree: "the distinction between the two branches of the same family supposedly was entrenched around the Muise branch being primarily of mixed blood, Mi' kmaq and Acadian, while those who were of pure Acadian stock would wear the name d'Entremont" (Surette 2004, 41). The d'Entremonts were an early family in Port Royal, arriving in 1651. According to historians and genealogical data: (a) Philippe d'Azy born in 1660 was the man to initiate the interethnic strain, having two Mi' kmaq wives (names undocumented) "producing the most prolific Métis/ Acadian population of the whole Acadian era past and present" (Surette 2004, 44); (b) Jean-Baptiste born in 1696 married "Marie a Mi' kmaq woman" in 1720 (Surette 2004, 45) (see Appendix 2) continuing the Métis heritage of the Muise family. Other examples of the Métis branch of the Muise family are: (c) the family of Joseph Muise d'Azy and his first Mi' kmaq wife – Joseph's third son Francois had a son named Benjamin (born February 15, 1766 in Salem), he

settled in the Cape Sable region and married Anne Doucet at Rocco Point, Ste. Anne de Ruisseau, June 13, 1786. Anne's parents were Dominique and Madeleine Mius (Surette 2004, 47). Madeleine Mius was the daughter of Charles Amand Mius (see Appendix 4); (d) another son of Joseph d'Azy is Jean Baptiste born in 1713 and married Marie Josephte Surette at Port Royal in 1736. They had ten children, one of whom, Laurent, married a Mi' kmaq woman (Marie Alexis Michaud) in 1787; (e) Laurent's sister, Ludivine, married Joseph Doucet in 1836. Joseph is of Métis descent (Surette 2004, 48). These two families have left strong Métis/Acadian ties and a large concentration of the descendants can be found in the Quinan area today.

There is also a link to Black ancestry in the Muise family through the Hatfield's. The family of Anselme (Sam) Hatfield, born in New York, appears in Sissiboo (now Weymouth) near the end of the eighteenth century; it is unknown exactly how the family came to settle in Nova Scotia. Joseph's parents were Samuel and Ann Hatfield (Weymouth Falls) (see Appendix 3); he was brought up in Clare (Digby County). Sam Hatfield married Marie Mius at Ste-Anne-du-Ruisseau on November 18, 1800. "This marriage created quite a stir among the Acadians; an Acadian girl marrying a Black man. It was nothing less than a scandal which spread like a brisk fire from house to house and from village to village in the quiet neighborhood of SouthWestern Nova Scotia" (Yarmouth Vanguard, 1989). The Catholic priest wanted to "avoid misgivings, and asked the parents to sign a declaration that they consented to the marriage of their daughter to Anselme (Sam) Hatfield, a week before the marriage took place" (Yarmouth Vanguard, 1989). However, Claire Mius (Marie's sister) went on to marry a Black man (1806) and when this marriage took place, there was little said amongst the townspeople

at that time (Yarmouth Vanguard, 1989). Chapter Seven argues that this is a less overt form of racism that took place – "silent racism".

The son of Joseph Quinano was documented as marrying a "mulatto" woman (Mary Elizabeth Andrews) whose origin was "unknown". Joseph and Mary (Bessie) had four children, one of which married Leonise LeBlanc (Métis). Therefore, the Muise line of descent shows an incredible amount of interethnic connections between Acadian, First Nations and Black people. As previously mentioned, the Muise family descendants can be found all over Nova Scotia, as there is a nexus of branches on this family tree. However, a large concentration of this family resides in Yarmouth and Digby Counties. Researchers have been compiling Muise family genealogy for years; at the Yarmouth County Archives a supplementary folder is available specifically on Muise family descendents.

*Paul Family*

A common First Nations surname, Paul, from Yarmouth County, was found to have various ethnicities in its descent line. May Helen Paul married a Charles Alexander Daurie; Charles was Dutch; however, May was First Nations and Black. May's parents were Joseph Louis Paul and Frances Muree (see Appendix 7). Although Dutch descendants are not a focus of this thesis, this specific family happens to have four ethnicities in their ancestry: (a) Frances Muree was a direct descendant of Jean Marie Blanchard who was also called Jean Muree (Acadian), (b) Jean Marie Blanchard married Claire Muis, daughter of Charles Amand Muis II and Marie Jospeh Mius who was supposedly a Métis (Appendix 4).

During the process of gathering surnames through semi-structured interviews, a number of surnames were mentioned as having interethnic connections between Acadians, Blacks and Mi' kmaq families. The genealogical data is yet to be confirmed, however names such as, Robinson, Johnson, Langford, Doucet and Herbert were mentioned. Many Métis families were identified as having a mix of ethnicity running in their ancestry as well; names such as: LeJeune, LaHave, Petipas, Comeau, Rambo, Lambert and Dugaret were suggested. Additional information on these families can be found in *Métis/Acadian Heritage: 1604-Present* by Roland Surette (2004).

*Shelburne County*

Shelburne County is intriguing to the genealogist interested in migration and settlement patterns. As discussed in Chapter Three, the Birchtown/Shelburne area was home of thousands of Loyalists both Black and White. By the late eighteenth century, difficult economic times meant a huge increase in competition in terms of work in the town of Shelburne. Black Loyalists were ultimately forced to migrate further up the coast to Yarmouth County to seek other means of employment. Therefore, in researching many of these families discussed in both Shelburne and Yarmouth Counties, one must realize the link between the two counties if compiling genealogy.

*Jarvis family*

The Jarvis family, a Black Loyalist family, originally settled in Birchtown. This family's genealogy may be found in either Shelburne, Yarmouth, Digby or Guysborough Counties (see Appendix 6). This specific family descends from Shelburne County but currently resides in Guysborough. George Joseph Jarvis married Margaret (Maggie)

Mumbourquette. Maggie is said to be a Métis from Cheticamp. They went on to have five children (see Appendix 6).

After the fire of March 2006, the files of the Black Loyalist families are being reassembled. Unfortunately, it remains a struggle to access proper files. However, during the interviews conducted, many surnames were identified as having interethnic ties such as: Jones, Elms, Willis, Clyke, Stevens/ Stevenson, Sims, Sibley, Niles, and Halfkenny.

*Queens and Lunenburg Counties*

These two counties are grouped together because there are merely a few interconnections presented in respect with this region. LaHave has a large, early settlement of Acadians in Lunenburg County and Liverpool has a history of Blacks remaining in the town because of its boat-building industry. The Acadia First Nations band also resides in Queens County. Chapter Seven discusses these settlements in further detail.

The Francis family is unclear whether there are First Nations or Black roots. The ancestry, according to the 1871 census of Liverpool, shows the Francis family as Black and that Peter Francis was a grantee of lot #72 in Cape Negro; however, Peter left for Sierra Leone in 1791 (BLHS, Francis supplementary file). Robert and Priscilla (O'Neal) Francis were married in Liverpool in 1824 and had five children. Of those children, Ann Francis married Charles Gooseley in Liverpool, July 31, 1838. There is no Acadian listed in the descent of this family (see Appendix 7).

The interviews unveiled that the following families have interethnic descent: Gerber/ Varner, Bushen, Barryman, Pannal/Labrador and Cunningham. However, the Bushen family is noted as having a slave in their household which makes tracing descent difficult and goes beyond the scope of this thesis.

*Guysborough County*

Guysborough County is home to many historic Black Loyalist settlements: Monastery, Lincolnville, Sunnyville and Tracadie. The Johnsons (or sometimes spelt Johnston), a large Black Loyalist family, can be found throughout Nova Scotia as well.

*Johnson Family*

This specific genealogy focuses on the Johnsons from Guysborough Township. Terry Punch notes that this family is difficult to research because of the way the family was listed in census records: (a) in 1838 James Johnson is listed as a fisherman with three boys and one girl; (b) the census of 1871 shows James Johnson (African) marrying a women named Martha (German). James and Martha's son, John Johnson, is listed in the 1871 census as African and married Josephine and she is listed as French; Thomas Johnson, the other son of James and Martha, married a Mi' kmaq woman (Susan). The census lists the five children of Thomas and Susan Johnson as African, when in fact, this family's roots are First Nations, Acadian and Black; (c) the census also shows one child of (John and Josephine) and the child is noted as African (see Appendix 5). The census of 1881 lists Thomas and Susan as Roman Catholic, African and Indian with eight children; the census of 1901 shows Thomas (African) and "Susie" Johnson, this time "Susan", listed as English with four children (all African). In fact, a proper breakdown of

this family would show that the children of Thomas and Susan are Black, First Nations and Acadian.

These census data are a prime example of how prejudice or perhaps ignorance on behalf of the census taker, occurred in ethnic genealogy in Nova Scotia. Again, this issue is further discussed in Chapter Eight..

*Hants, Cumberland and Kings County*

The outline of the following family, the States, does not incorporate all three ethnicities examined in this study. The States family, however, captures a number of themes discussed in this thesis. It took until 2007 for David States, historian at Parks Canada, to publish the genealogy of his family from Three Mile Plains. According to Terry Punch, "[this work] demonstrates that it is possible to discover and reconstitute the genealogy of a Black Loyalist Family in Nova Scotia". Since the fire at the office at the Black Loyalist Heritage Society, skeptics believe that any chance of gaining significant research for publication on Black Loyalists who settled in Nova Scotia would be nearly impossible. Terry Punch notes in the preface of David States's work that "the documentary record for delving into the history of many Black families is thinner than people suspect" (States 2007, 1). In 1983, Mr. John Duncanson of Falmouth researched the States family and provided a preliminary genealogy of the family in the area for publication in his history of the Falmouth Township entitled, *Township of Falmouth Nova Scotia*. States claims that, "This was perhaps the first local history book to contain a number of genealogies of families of African descent among the family genealogies of the Maritime Provinces".

David was lucky enough to find a nineteenth century family bible that existed for keeping impeccable important family information, dates and "details available nowhere else".

*States Family*

Primarily, three members of the States family were listed in *Carleton's Book of Negros* and were noted as traveling on the ship *Amity's Production.* George States, Mary States and Job States all are mentioned as being born free in the state of New York; (a) Abagail and John States Jr. were the children of Job (b. 1761 d. 1785) and Mary (Crausen) States; (b) Job Jr.'s son George W. States married a woman (1855) named Ruth (McCulloch) whom he met while fishing in the Minas Basin; Ruth was a daughter of Hugh McCulloch, an immigrant from Belfast, Ireland, who settled in Parrsboro in 1818. Ruth and George had three sons and one daughter. George's brother Joab States (b. 1832 d. 1887), as well, married an Irish woman, Mary McCulloch; they had eight children (see Appendix 8).

The States family demonstrates the importance of finding significant family heirlooms such as a family bible, which holds a wealth of genealogical information. Often times such items are passed down through wills and may be unknown to the family until a death in the family. Secondly, the States family shows how one particular family can span out over numerous counties. Finally, the States family of Hants County presents the range of interethnic marriage that took place historically in Nova Scotia.

Although this thesis examines Acadians, Black Loyalists and Mi' kmaq, a fantastic study would be to assess the amount of interethnic marriage among all seven ethnic groups that have settled historically in Nova Scotia. A juxtaposition of the

cultures that intermarried would be interesting to view as well – for example, the acceptance of a Roman Catholic Acadian marrying an Irish Protestant, compared to a Mi' kmaq marrying a Black Loyalist.

# Chapter VII

# Interview Data

This chapter presents data gathered over a series of twelve, semi-structured interviews throughout Nova Scotia. Six predominant themes emerged upon analysis of the interview data. The themes are as follows: identity; religion; systemic/institutional racism; problems with ethnic genealogical research; social constructs of racism; and Métis/Acadian/First Nations relations. Each theme is discussed in detail, along with the ideas and opinions of the respondents in this study. Pseudonyms were used to ensure anonymity, except for professionals whose real names were used with the participants' permission. A description of each participant can be found in Appendix 1.

A primary theme that emerged from the data surrounded issues of identity. The nature of intermarriage presents a paradigm of various issues on culture and the way one views his or her self in regards to the rest of the world. John believes the idea of identity is simple.

> "It is who you are. We come into this world, we're given a name and we make of that name what we can. When we leave, whatever we did goes with us. We hope that we have passed something down to the next generation. It all has to do with identity."

Dave, who has Black ancestry, sees identity as a means of preservation:

> I have talked to a lot of people and have a lot of stuff recorded but I am just one person and I think it is really important; or something should have been done, it is almost too late. Because there is not too many elders left to be able to go record stories or you know, family histories and stuff. Luckily I did what I did when I did it. Because there were still a lot of the black folks living; you know, when you work like I do everyday, full time; you don't have the time for extra stuff and you know, I would like to do a book someday on the Black history of Queens County.

A key interest in identity, when looking at interethnic marriage, is how exactly one identifies. Does having more than one strain of ethnicity in a pedigree entitle the individual to an identity that transcends each culture? Does an individual encompass all cultures in various forms or does that mean everyone should identity as Canadian and the understanding of multiethnic will be entrenched in a general definition? Mark's opinion on this is as follows:

> Since I have several ethnic strains in me, I feel some identity with each, yet an overall identity as a Nova Scotian which transcends the others. I have pride in having German heritage and Irish heritage and so on, but as an identity I feel mainly plain Nova Scotian, unhyphenated, and by extension Canadian.

Roots are an important part of identity to. He elaborates by saying:

> I think you are what you came from so it is real important. People should know what they came from. You can't escape it so you might as well be proud cause that is what makes you… [in terms of intermarriage] as long as both people realize they have an identity; don't lose your identity. That is important to not lose your culture. It is really important and nice that people can intermarry now. But, they shouldn't lose their identity and that is the main thing. A lot of times what happened these people lose their identity and you don't want that, roots are important to people.

Each interview could have included questions surrounding exactly how one goes about losing their identity. In terms of intermarriage, some respondents did identify losing culture as a factor. However, ideas surrounding what one considers "loss of identity" are pertinent to the concept of race relations in regards to cultural conflict because, through marriage, families continue values that may be lost for generations. Debra spoke of the struggle she faced with her multiethnic background: "I experienced an "identity" crisis for the first half of my life". The difficult aspect of these interviews was getting the participants to elaborate on such feelings. Roland Surette, however, embraced his three cultures by adding:

> I am who I am and I come from these roots and I am proud of it. In my make up right here I have three main minority cultures. I say that and I will tell you why on March 17 I celebrated my Irish culture (and the Irish were not treated very well either, basically because they were Roman Catholics and they had been dispossessed in the 1500's so they were land poor and that kind of thing. You used to go to Boston, for example, and you would see signs on the pubs that would say, "No dogs or Irish", you know – that's how it was. On the 15th of August I celebrate my Acadian culture. On the 21st of June I celebrate my aboriginal culture. I am three minorities within one entity and that within the greater entity of Canada and I am proud of everything.

An interesting story emerged from Paul, as the interview turned towards ideas of identity. Paul went the majority of his life without understanding his true heritage; he believes he was sent to his childhood mentor for more reasons than one:

> I feel as though I have a special inclination towards it. When I look back and see how much this Métis man [he was the groundskeeper that I met in grade school] had played in my life and then all of a sudden to find out that I have some of that blood too. Out of my entire family I was the only one that became a woods runner and I still do; trap and hunt. The government still hires me on projects. I've done that all my life. The Native culture and the spirituality with the nature and the land, river, etc., their whole environment was their life and I have always identified with that, even before I truly knew who I was.

Paul's statement is a prime example of heritage as a predisposition one has as part of their genetic makeup. The life Paul lived followed suit with Aboriginal culture and it was not until he was retired that he realized exactly from where his roots stem. The genealogical data he retrieved, with family reference to Aboriginals, was astounding.

The maintenance of culture that one embraces and the ethnicity of Nova Scotia was central to the questions of identity presented in the data; Roland continued in his response by saying:

> Traditionally, in any community, the only things you have to try to stop the tide are churches and schools. And you also have special interest groups. We have a historic village in Pubnico. All through the

> municipality of Argyle we have festivals all through the summer. These are all Acadian events where the Acadian culture is highlighted and reminisced and you have outings in the old way and dishes that are being maintained in the old ways. When you lose language, you lose culture so maintaining the language which is what the Acadian school boards are trying to do. The Université de Ste. Anne is one way to maintain our culture. We also have the community colleges, the college Acadie in Tusket, this is for people who want to learn or maintain language in which without going can access whether as students going there daily or can access through the net, in which you can do all your schooling from home and you can work. Some things have hurt us, others is like throwing us a lifeline and saying, if you want to grab on and use it and if you don't – then you don't.

David States discussed ethnicity in regards to identity as follows:

> I should throw something out here at you before we go further because I look at the term "ethnicity", or "ethnics", as everybody. Everybody is from an ethnic group. What the dominant society sort of throws at us in Canada, in Nova Scotia, is that, you know, like, the "others" are from ethnic groups. Well the Scots are ethnic, the Irish are ethnic, the English are ethnic, the Welsh are ethnic. You know, like, all groups have ethnicity meaning basically they have a homeland. African-Nova Scotians...the homeland we're not too sure exactly where in Africa but ancestry is back to Africa, but Black, Mi'kmaqs, and Acadians are ethnic groups just like Irish, Scottish, etc., so the whole term "ethnic" I think gets used in an incorrect manner and that's no reflection on you, this is a reflection on society and how they categorize people.

Terry Punch commented on the ethnicity in Nova Scotia/Canada and the problems surrounding the topic. He sees ethnicity as acculturation:

> I am always suspicious of somebody that believes they are pure anything they are baloney. Everyone is a mixture at some point in time, whether they like it or not or know it or not. Common sense, there would never be enough people to go around. The other interesting thing – genetic DNA work finding there are more English in the Irish and Scotts perhaps than they have ever acknowledged or realized. I think you would find the reverse is also probably very true and therefore, we are in a way, we have been for years splitting hairs about ethnicity and its not really ethnicity its acculturation that is making the difference.

He believes that too much emphasis has been placed on physical characteristics:

> My wife who is half French has been told she looks very Irish and I who am a third Irish have been told I look German. Often too, people often have to decide when they have a mixture of things – what side you are on.

The complexity of ethnicity is theorized through a "hop, skip and jump" view of immigration:

> Germany to Lunenburg as an example of a people that has moved, a little and a lot more and then traveled across the ocean; the rolling stone of immigration. Often have the idea that their ancestors came from the same village or same farm and out of time out of mind and the fact is a lot of those that came out here I found that the father or even the person himself didn't come from the place we believe he came from "over there." He might have went to another place and arrived from there to another place and so, you go down [to Lunenburg] there and talk about something and identify the part of me from my background. Sometimes you walk with the leg that fits where you are, which is very interesting in terms of what you are looking at I mean the human trait is, in the past, people wanted us to be able to find acceptance and to fit in.

Terry believes that the contemporary society has changed the way in which individuals now view ethnic relations; the global world influences new ideas leading to acceptance:

> Today what happens sometimes is that I think, as people are more and more threatened by the global village and the closing in of big brother and all the rest of it; people are starting to want to identify themselves as some sort of individuality in some way that it becomes almost an incentive for subcultures within the society in order to keep an identity but when you do that are you sacrificing the opportunity to become someone in the greater community and therefore only end up as a series of cultural ghettos whether they're cultural or linguistic whatever they are, in which case is that progress or is that stepping back and going in the wrong direction again?

Religious racism is seen as a fueling factor in terms of prejudice amongst minorities. Seven of the twelve individuals interviewed noted the problems organized religion provides for ethnic minorities and intermarriages. Debra believes that "conflict may be pertinent to Catholics and Protestants, but only on that level, not because of color. Although, "religion" has been used to justify slavery in the past, also some cults, like

Mormonism, believe that God makes distinctions based on color." Kevin, who grew up in Glace Bay, where the Catholic/Protestant conflict was prevalent, had this to add on religion:

> See I grew up in a mini Ireland. My mother was anti-catholic like you wouldn't believe and why? There was a reason, I found out why because they came from Europe and killed for centuries because they had a protestant religion. They had this idea engrained in them and passed down from generation to generation – they were persecuted. So here is my mother anti-catholic married my father who was catholic. His mother was very religious so she would usher the kids and baptize them in the Catholic Church when my mother went in to have another child. Anyway, when I moved to Glace Bay, as a protestant I lived in a Catholic neighborhood with probably 75% catholic. Protestants at times weren't treated well – I remember having stones thrown at me and all those things because they were taught that. After an hour or so after church we'd all forget about religion and be friends again because it came from their mothers and fathers and this is the root of a lot of it. That was a big part of our lives, even if you weren't that religious the division was still there more so than anything else that was definitely your worst prejudice.

Mike from New Waterford, Cape Breton, agreed with Kevin by adding:

> In Cape Breton, where there are many Irish Catholics, it seems these people brought their religion's hatred when immigrating to Canada. The feelings are ingrained and passed on from generation to generation even today it is still there. When I left Cape Breton I vowed to make my life elsewhere in Canada where religion and color of your skin does not divide the masses.

Catholicism, according to this data, presents itself as being a religion which values faith and beliefs the same as other organized religions; however, there seems to be an underlying factor that Catholicism plays in terms of intermarriage. Paul used the example of his family saying:

> There is a prime example [of religion attributing to prejudice] in my own family, it relates back to my mom had a sister that married outside of the Catholic religion my grandfather disowned her, so it was pretty strict. Now you don't get that, my daughter had an oriental boyfriend for a long time three or four years and it was okay with us. He was a nice fine guy

> and a very nice guy. So yes, I know it is much more acceptable with my generation than my mom's. I see that myself.

Mr. Punch also discusses Catholicism and the secularism that accompanies organized religion. The acceptance of organized religions shows to be on the decline amongst youth; Mr. Punch believes this will hold an impact on racialization in the future:

> Nowadays I think it [secularism] is far less significant within Christian churches than it once was. In part, this is due to the general tendency of people to be less attached to and dependent upon their churches than in the past. In urban settings and among people who have moved around attending school or in order to work, people have rubbed shoulders with a variety of people from other traditions and discovered that there are important commonalities which are more important in their daily lives than a narrow sectarianism. Once we see the "other" as pretty much the same as ourselves, socializing becomes natural and easy, and some marriages/relationships follow in due course. In the past (say until World War II or even the early 1960s), people were still thinking of themselves as being primarily Presbyterian, Catholics, Lutherans, Baptists, etc. As we've become more secular, those identifiers seem to be less important and, over time, unimportant.

Social constructs emerged in discussions surrounding race, identity and racialization during the interview process. Respondents Paul and Kevin mentioned that their ideas of religion/prejudice stemmed from their families; elders specifically telling them who they can and cannot accept, offering little reason why, with the expectancies of their parents, that they will see the issue the same way. Social constructs can stem from a variety of sources such as: pedagogic knowledge, peers/teachers at school, the media, church, etc. These data produced social constructs which manifested in pedagogic knowledge and the school system.

Genealogical research and its importance leads back to the classroom. If social constructs can manifest in a class, the reverse situation should be possible. Kevin mentioned during his interview:

> There is a teacher in Liverpool who makes genealogy a requirement. I know it is only one but it is exciting to see and not enough has been done to get younger people interested in genealogy. I was kind of the strange one because I got interested in it so early. Everybody should have some clue as to where they came from and who they are.

Cultural awareness was mentioned as paramount in the school system. The sheer fact that ethnicity is realized in Nova Scotia's schools is a beginning. Children are becoming excited about heritage at an early age, perhaps influencing genealogy research earlier in life. According to these data, there is an intense curiosity about one's individuality. However, the interviews clearly show the difficult process one goes through when attempting to retrieve ethnic data from Nova Scotia's archives. Documentation is lacking; two of the respondents mentioned the need for oral history data and that heritage societies and researchers should begin digitally recording oral histories, so these data can then be added to the archives.

A broadening of race relations in the classroom, such as diverse writers and textbook authors, and ethnic research during historical or social studies at the secondary level, are key to forming a cohesive society. Getting youth engaged and thinking about racial issues is important, because these ideas were not discussed or presented until after the 1970's. Ethnicity certainly holds significance in Nova Scotia; however, the records show systematic racism in terms of lack of documentation. Studies such as this, concerning race relations, are just beginning to emerge.

Questions concerning social constructs consistently resulted in interesting responses among the participants; the varying degrees of resilience one feels about racism emerges from the data as well. Debra commented on having Black ancestry and going to school in Shelburne County:

> Black Loyalists were not even a recognized term back when I was in high school. The only thing we knew about Blacks was that according to our school curriculum Blacks had always been slaves. There were some native families in school. Acadians very few but I don't specifically remember anyone identifying with Acadian descent. The most obvious manifestation of what I call our racism that exists that is in our education system is the streamlining of visible minorities. Of all the kids of color that went to school when I did, I remember one girl being in the Academic classes. The rest were moved over to general 9-12 courses. All minorities were in the general classes rather than academic. [Blacks had no choice] that was just the way it was. In the 60's and 70's nobody expected black people to advance their education beyond high school – and that is even if they were to actually finish high school. The expectation just wasn't there. It wasn't there even within our own families. Most of the time our parents and families didn't expect us to further our education beyond high school

Segregated schools were discussed as well; David mentioned the historical effects these schools had on society in Nova Scotia:

> Look at the Nova Scotia story and my experience at a segregated school. Those were separate and inferior educational institutions. They would get the best teachers they could get but a lot of times those were vicious teachers, sometimes usually with grade 10 as their highest education. They would stop school because it was difficult to get teachers for both the poor sections and sections like the black sections and a lot of places broke down the boundary levels to make sure that there were black sections. For instance, Five Mile Plains had its own section, although there were nearby areas of Newport Station and Three Mile Plains – both had schools that Blacks from that area should have been able to go to but they were not allowed because of racial segregation. In my first year in an integrated school, or the first year I went to Three Mile Plains—that was the first year I gather it was an integrated school, before that it was closed to Blacks—it wasn't easy being a black person going to that school for the first year. Not just sometimes students but the principal as far as I'm concerned was very racist and that didn't help us very much, so that I'd say about 50% of the students that went in grade 6—5 to grade 6 in the year I attended Three Mile Plains School quit because of the racism they were experiencing. Again, we came from those separate, inferior schools and you didn't get as strong a background in elementary education. I don't think it was quite as complete as what the students in the white schools were getting at the elementary level.

Historically, segregated schools are closely linked to the First Nations community. Studies and reparations have become apparent over the past decade in Nova Scotia. One

of the Mi' kmaq participants, Sam, talked of her experiences as a Mi' kmaq in a predominantly white school in rural Queens County:

> There was a lot of Mi'kmaq in the Milton school. There was a lot of Mi' kmaq in the area. Myself as a Mi'kmaq, I was not treated any differently than the regular white, because I can carry off my white. The actual students that looked the Mi' kmaq part were ridiculed, teased, harassed because they looked the part. If you didn't look the part you were left alone. My cousins – a lot of them, carried the Mi'kmaq features, dark eyes, hair and complexion and they were teased and harassed and so on. Where as myself – they just never bothered me. Another cousin, like me can pull off the white and we weren't bothered or teased or anything like that - made a big difference. Never noticed from the teachers, just the kids.

"Pulling off my white" was Sam's reference to having predominantly white physical appearance because of her mixed ethnicity. Although Sam is registered as a Status First Nations member she also has white ancestry. Sam's survival stems from hiding her heritage and holding on to her white appearance during her school years. Sam illustrates a hierarchy of racism in the school system:

> There is still a lot of Mi' kmaq and Blacks living around the Queens area. To tell you the truth the Blacks were accepted more readily than us. When we were going to school the Blacks were accepted without any problem that I was ever made aware of. But mistreated like the Mi' kmaq were because back forty-fifty years ago, when I went to school, they were believed to be a savage, so that kind of played in.

Sam went on to mention how First Nations people have gained respect in society – specifically the school system:

> But today, you know, I don't see the racial thing being a problem for the children, my grandchildren are also Mi'kmaq, they are respected for their Mi'kmaq heritage now and brought up to know that they are Mi'kmaq and respected for that and they are proud of their heritage, whereas, forty-fifty years ago you didn't tell it, because you didn't want to be subjected to the ridicule. Today, I don't see there being any problem the way things are now, we have more teaching – you know, even within our own band (Acadia), one gentleman, that's his sole purpose; is to teach and when it comes to heritage days and that type of thing in school, each child is now

encouraged to tell about their heritage and show this type of thing. It has brought it a lot more out into the open and people a lot more aware.

Seven of the twelve interviewed mentioned they do not recall Acadians as part of their schooling, or at least if Acadians were present, they were certainly not discriminated against in any way. The Acadians interviewed, however, had opposing views as they spoke of their elementary schooling experience. The average age of the respondents is around 50 years; therefore, the majority of the respondents went through the school system during the 1960s and 1970s. Roland Surette noted the problem of languages he faced going to school in rural Yarmouth County, this also demonstrates that lack of awareness gathers groups:

> I started in Halifax in Gr. 2, I transferred here to Wedgeport school. Which, at that time was kind of an ordeal because this school was all French; so, I went from an English community to a French settlement and at that time it was sink or swim. Actually I have a brother who is older than me and he decided he will speak English and if people want to talk to me or not at all. I have a sister who is almost fluent in French, I as the middle child took sort of the middle road – deciding that anything is fine. I am fluently bilingual, when I open my mouth I am unsure as to which language will come out. The teachers were fine but the major problem was getting proper textbooks and at that time you were being taught French with English textbooks you just had to make due with whatever the Department of Education would send down your way. That's how we got through.

Roland says that the school situation has changed substantially in the Wedgeport area. He discusses the shift the community experienced once the New England Planters settled after the Acadian Expulsion:

> Wedgeport used to be an almost 100% Acadian community, and the language of the street was Acadian French and Acadian French is just not the same the *Acadamie Francais* what they put out in France and Quebec. It is peppered with English and Aboriginal terms and a number of different things that came down the pipe over the years. Wedgeport is now sort of a hybrid community. We have a lot of intermarriage with English people and Acadians and as such, the language of the older generation is still

> French but when you get into the school yard – even though Wedgeport is an Acadian school you will still hear predominantly English language spoken so that our Acadian schools now are not much more than immersion programs with a little culture thrown in.

David believes the school system has changed since the 1970's (in respects to ethnic minorities) because of increased awareness and the unfair treatment in the First Nations residential school. Assimilation in the public school system has impacted Nova Scotia politically, socially and economically by allowing the public to become open-minded. He believes Mi' kmaq and Acadians have been politically more active than Blacks and this has had negative repercussions on the Black community:

> There's a whole lot of improvement for the whole three groups I think. I think the Acadians and Mi'kmaq have become much more political than the black groups so therefore they are able to achieve more both on a—in regards to the political and educational level than other areas because they don't depend entirely on the government whereas the Blacks depend or are sort of not as organized therefore they're not doing as much on their own and although they are doing as much as possible right now with the leadership, etc. but I think the black group have a long way to go in comparison with the other two groups.

As Sam previously mentioned, schools in Nova Scotia are making an increased effort to embrace the culture Nova Scotia's residents encompass. Heritage days are prevalent in Nova Scotia's elementary classrooms and the text books are beginning to change as well.

Assimilation of Acadians into English Nova Scotia culture was done though language, at the expense of losing one's language and heritage:

> My father didn't speak English until he was probably 14 years old even though he was born in Nova Scotia. They were a little French community in Westville, but we were not allowed to speak French in our household. We were told that English is the way it is and that is how you survive in today's world – by speaking English. I didn't know they were even French until I would go to visit my grandfather and they all spoke French. The Cyr name almost doesn't look French but people do wonder what culture it is and Cyr is on the chart at Grand Pre. The baptism record showed his

> real name, he didn't realize his real name until he recently went to get a passport

Pedagogic knowledge was also deemed as a means to creating social constructs of race. The following was spoken by Kevin. Relating to Assimilation, this statement relates to how intermarriage can be used as a crutch in regards to Said's theory of "other". Shame was linked with this theme; Kevin commented by saying:

> No, I never knew I was Acadian. No – I never knew I was Acadian. I had inkling we were Acadian but I never knew we were Acadian for sure until 2 years ago when I did my genealogy. I searched my pedigree. When I was growing up I was told we were French from France. My grandfather told me that. But see, Acadians were the scum and he didn't want to be Acadian he wanted to be from France. He wasn't lying; he just didn't want to elaborate on that. When I grew up in Glace Bay we were removed from the French. My mother wasn't French, she was from River John. They came over in the 1750's and settled in River John (Heighten). They were from France French Protestants. They were actually brought over to assimilate with the Acadians because the English were having this so called problem with the Acadians so they were brought over to assimilate with the Acadians and basically intermarry with them so they basically would no longer have the Acadian problem.

Consequently, Kevin was unaware of his true heritage, he adds:

> I didn't know my grandfather's proper name, I didn't know my grandmother's name until two years ago. I went to search because I was curious. My grandfather was always called John, I didn't know my grandmother's proper name or my great grandparents at all. There was one surviving member on my father's side, one brother. He didn't know his grandmother/father's name, it was hidden. Not so much hidden, I just don't think they really cared.

Both Jane and Tom believe that ideas and opinions of older family members trickle down, yet, have a lesser impact on society today because the younger generation is less likely to respect elders' beliefs. Jane said:

> The younger generation do not embrace the ideals of their grandparents or parents or whatever. They are more amongst the younger people and they just – to them it just isn't an issue, they don't care. So yea, it is a lot easier.

> Their grandparents might still be calling this guy/girl something behind their backs, but they wouldn't do it in front of their grandchild because they know that they would be upset. Younger people seem to disregard the ideas of their elders we [her and her husband] notice it a lot. They [youth] seem to understand more – it's a lot easier today I know that.

Tom responded by adding that the media and internet make it easier for youth to choose friends and make decisions concerning race; they are generally more informed, and issues, such as cultural genocide and ethnic history, are brought up in the school system. Both Jane and Tom believe awareness such as media/internet in the classroom impacts the younger generation's views on culture. "This is a big step", they replied, when talking about their upbringing and ideas and opinions they were exposed to, compared to today's youth, thus, having a positive impact on race relations in the future.

In regards to awareness of culture and heritage, Dan discussed the difficulty Black Loyalists continue to face:

> I know if you polled the town like they do for the Eastlink program, the majority of the people would say no, there were not Blacks in Liverpool. I know there are two books, one of them has two pages of the Blacks in Queens and it said that slaves were not treated harshly followed by the next paragraph stating: Jerimiah Johnson, at the age of 101 was still known to do a good days work….big contradiction.

So even with cultural awareness on the rise, the question is: Are people getting the right information and answers? Who wrote the Grade 11 history text and what type of material is written in the text on Historic Black Nova Scotia? These questions remain prevalent in the school system and within general society, because false information leads to the manifestation or continuation of prejudice.

Racial constructs are certainly apparent when analyzing discussions held by the twelve interviewees. Before entering the school system, children are exposed to the

values and opinions of elders in their family. The dynamic of each family is then present in the form of thinking, specific to each child in terms of their social relations in school. Meaning, a child enters the school system with a belief system that manifested during early childhood, the predominant thinking is argued here to be strongly influenced by pedagogic knowledge. Segregated schooling systems and lack of resources for those of various ethnic groups across Nova Scotia are still ingrained in the minds of elders of these communities. Prejudice and discrimination were manifest forty years ago; these 'ideals' remained ingrained in the minds of many in society today.

These social constructs create a stigma which leads to the identity paradigm faced by multiethnic persons, not only in Nova Scotia, but across Canada. James admitted that he regretted learning his heritage late in life since one gains a greater sense of their being, knowing proper ancestry. Racial barriers begin to break down each individual, realizing the wealth of origins Nova Scotia's original settlers encompassed and that ethnicity may well be widespread in one's pedigree.

The central theme of this thesis is the effect the settlement patterns and work relations have had on interethnic heritage in Nova Scotia. In terms of work relations, Dan explains how some Blacks in Queens County migrated from Shelburne for work while others came for the shipping/boat building industry:

> Many of them [Blacks] were Black Loyalists. Some of the Queens County families you will find that most of them came in from the boats coming from the West Indies – you know, shipping. The boats would go down, guys would jump board the ship. They come here and they end up staying. That is the case of my Uncle (West). Found a wife, had a couple of kids and the family is still here today and that has happened a lot with people coming in from not only the West Indies but Jamaica, Bermuda, etc. and they would end up staying here. Some of them did quite well for the time period.

Paul discussed the dominating effect the fishing industry had on the coastal community in Yarmouth County:

> We have more of a hybrid community now than we used to in regards to Acadian community but still most of the people are marrying into the community and becoming part of the fishery and what have you. It is not a factor for people moving out so people are establishing or replenishing the ranks of a fishing community by intermarrying along common lines. My son married a Goodwin from Argyle and is fishing with her father and he will be buying that rig out next year and that is just the way that things work; you try to keep things in the family, and employment in the community. We have had a number of boats that have been bought by big lobster dealers but the Canadian government has rectified that by saying they have to have an owner/operator fishing, therefore, if you own a boat you have to be on it. Right now we have Corkum industry in Yarmouth that has 20 rigs they got 7 years to get rid of them and after that they all have to be owned by individuals which will maintain a work and economic base in these communities because I think they said 750 000 is what the lobster industry brought into Nova Scotia last year.

Five of the respondents that live or had lived in Yarmouth all agreed that settlement patterns were a key aspect to intermarriage. Paul continued by saying: "…in the present our chief Timmy Parker – he is African and Métis Canadian and that is just the way he is; he married an Acadian woman and you will find a lot of that around here and it is no big deal." Paul also believes intermarriage is apparent in Yarmouth County:

> Some of the Acadian communities like this one in Quinan is probably the best example of a Métis/Acadian community in Southwestern Nova Scotia because being in land so much they were isolated so many months of the year that their blood line is so strong. If I was going to make a 14th reserve in Nova Scotia, that's where it would go and there would be as strong blood lines there as there would be on any other reserve in Nova Scotia today.

Kevin, who was raised in Glace Bay, discussed living in a coal mining town:

> In Glace Bay, everybody was an immigrant or of some ethnic origin. I mean, lets face it, it was a coal mining town. You weren't the cream of society you were hardworking and everyone was poor – you didn't know

> you were poor because everybody was the same so no, it wasn't nothing like that [socially exclusive]. All my neighbors were of different ethnic origin.

Paul mentioned the primary interaction between Acadians and First Nations in Nova Scotia, noting the historical connections:

> You know, the French first came with no women, they didn't know anything about the land...They developed a respect for these people. Now they were here for the fur trade when they first come, well, what a better way to assure a good trade than to be friends and family with these two people. The French had the wares that the Natives wanted and the Natives had some of the women that the French didn't have. That became an alliance very strong to start off, to the point where they saw themselves as common people. For the Natives that assured their wares and for the French that assured their trade of furs, it was great; except for the diseases that the Europeans brought over.

Nine out of the twelve respondents strongly agreed that work relations were one of the most important factors of intermarriage. Eight of the twelve mentioned that settlement patterns are an important aspect of interethnic marriage. All of these eight also mentioned that they feel these factors were much more apparent historically, as opposed to today, largely because of lack of transportation and more time spent on daily tasks. Some of the respondents that believed work and settlement had little to do with interethnic marriage thought so because these individuals had been historically pushed out of various communities – for example, Birchtown. Others were thinking in terms of contemporary society as opposed to historically. The respondents are basing their beliefs on their personal, and in four cases professional and personal experiences, because they are living in the various communities studied and have in-depth experience working with genealogical ancestry of historically-oppressed ethnic minorities in Nova Scotia.

Sam believes that settlement patterns were the most important factor in intermarriage during historic times; she mentioned:

> Years ago they didn't have the ability to go from point A to B in a short period of time like we do today. So they kind of stayed within one's own area and didn't go far and stayed within your own community and married – that type of thing. They did that a lot years ago, opposed to today.

In terms of settlement patterns, Kevin also felt that Nova Scotia's settlement history has great links to intermarriage. The seclusion of the groups discussed in this research factors into a myriad of possibilities in terms of forming relationships with other minority groups in a similar political situation. He argues:

> They are all isolated [Acadians, Blacks and Mi' kmaq], the Natives were given the worst land; they were given junk. I mean, like people get together so yeah that would promote that [intermarriage]. That's the way that mentality was back then hundreds of years ago [like attracts like]. They were given garbage [in terms of land] so yea; they would have stronger ties because they were both discriminated against and a stronger bond with other groups leads to political solidarity.

The other perspective, Kevin added, was how colonization or the deportation of the Acadians negatively affected intermarriage in Nova Scotia; he goes on to say:

> If you look at the whole resettlement of Acadians, the Acadians had the prime land in Nova Scotia for agricultural purposes [prior to the expulsion in 1755]. Lets face it, if you were and your family were put on a boat and you lived here for a few generations and this is all you knew, you would have a very strong tie with it. So they were put on boats and shipped off to God knows where and they want to find their way back. They didn't fit in in France or any of these places. What they came back to, they got crumbs. They got the worst land in Nova Scotia, the French shore is the worst land and Cheticamp; so they changed their practices and became fisherman. So they were no longer agricultural families. They came back, it must have been embarrassing to them and they became outcasts, they were put in these places to be forgotten; out of sight, out of mind.

The idea of the connection to the land is linked to intermarriage because the primary reason Acadians returned to Nova Scotia was family ties. Kevin tried to explain that intermarriage increased upon the return of the Acadians because the New England Planters had taken the prime agricultural land, forcing Acadians into new settlement areas

and different work conditions. This shift created links to other ethnic groups because there was little land and few jobs for minority groups/communities. This notion forces one to question how marriage relations would be different had the Acadians not been expelled. Perhaps the political stance of the Métis would have been stronger due to an increase in intermarriage during the time of the seven years war (1755-63).

"Like attracts like" was mentioned numerous times during the interviews. Debra believes social exclusion is paramount in terms of intermarriage; she noted:

> So, how much bearing would that have? I don't really know the answer to that; I suppose in some cases it has everything to do with it. But then again in others cases that factor would have absolutely nothing to do with it. Subject to circumstance but, yes there is certainly a common bond because of experiences regarding exclusion would be the same and like attracts like.

Intermarriage sparked a variety of opinions from the participants. Debra believes that, although intermarriage is valuable for a family, contentions may still arise:

> I wouldn't say it is [easier to marry outside of your race today compared to forty years ago] because there are always issues and always will be. However, does it raise eyebrows as much as it would have thirty years ago? No I do not think it does. However, family relationships are built on mixed marriages, I doubt that there would be very many families whose history goes back anymore than three generations in this province where there hasn't been a mingling of minorities along the family descent line.

Dan compared interethnic marriage to same-sex marriage – in the sense that neither used to be accepted by society:

> I think [it is easier to intermarry today compared to forty years ago], well – I dunno with everything. Who would have thought twenty years ago that you would have same-sex marriages and things like that? Things change and people aren't so quick to criticize other people's relationships. However, older people tend to not accept it. Again, it varies person to person.

Jane and Tom both agree that problems may still arise when entering intermarriage; however, they feel an increase of awareness in racial issues today contributes to greater acceptance; they added:

> I don't really know – I would say that it is better today. Really – because I think, this generation understands more, back then, was more of us – well it seems to be fading. Do you know what I mean? Younger people are more educated now. Awareness makes a big difference

Terry Punch believes acceptance of interethnic marriage is subject to circumstance, he said:

> Oh definitely [easier to marry today compared to forty years ago]. Definitely, particularly I think if you are in a open community or a university community this is so commonplace almost now that it doesn't excite much notice anymore. But it would at one time.

There was also talk of the difference between living in an urban setting versus rural in terms of acceptance, David commented as follows:

> Well I think, again, no matter what level you're talking about--employment, education or even social relationships--it has improved everywhere including the rural areas, but I think the rural areas still—things seem to change slower in those rural areas, so you don't have as much progress as fast.

There is still a stigma attached to intermarriage. Three individuals whose names were forwarded from two different historical societies were unwilling to discuss such a topic for publication. The individuals who did partake in the study were pleased; however, a few had apprehensions. Three noted that they felt their views were inappropriate; they questioned the terminology and "political correctness" they were using. Therefore, terminology and the contentions of political correctness led to greater stigma because, as a society, no longer know what one can or cannot be said. One of the respondents felt the term "minority" is very insulting to ethnic communities. She felt as

though having four ethnicities in her background made her a mixture of cultures; neither was dominant over the other. To her, "minority" was a racist term and insulting; "ethnics" to her is sufficient. On the other hand, one respondent mentioned he preferred the term "Afro-Canadian", Dan, who was of mixed race, preferred "Black". There seems to be a modern construct emerging, concerning sensitivity issues, political correctness and racial profiling. Taking a simple step back, and analyzing how "over-analysis" of terminology may itself create more problems than it solves, is required. The respondents clearly viewed ethnicity as simply a matter of recognition, for personal sake; not in the derogatory sense, but in an embrace of the diversity of our cultures and the unique mixture intermarriage entails. Intermarriage changes the dynamic of a family by introducing different cultural practices and heritage. There is a uniqueness that comes with that integration of culture, and differences whether physical, political, social or religious, seems to transcend when talking with those in this study.

The Métis culture in Nova Scotia is unique in Canada in the sense that this ethnic group is not recognized by the government. The interview data produced issues surrounding relations between Acadians/Métis and First Nations. Paul spoke of historic issues that continue to manifest within Nova Scotia genealogical heritage today:

> I am afraid it has probably deteriorated compared to what it used to be. I am sure it has deteriorated from what it used to be. There was great respect and the only thing I can see where that respect died, when you look at history, you can see that the deportation slowed that alliance. The Natives remained the Métis and the French Acadians; they were deported along with them. Then when they finally came back, well, the Natives had since signed treaties with the British. They would never sign any treaties with the British so long as the French were here but once they were gone, they did. The treaties of 1760 and 1761, anyway, I think for some reason the relationship was broken at that time and I have great respect for the people from Bear River....people might not be ready for that.

Paul mentioned the cultural barrier that lay between Acadians and First Nations. The differences and struggle for cultural awareness and heritage preservation are largely reliant on funding; government funding for distinct cultural preservation is difficult to achieve – specifically over a long term. Community efforts for multicultural awareness were attempted in Yarmouth County and Paul mentioned the experience the Eastern Woodland Métis Association faced:

> The name Muise and D'Entremont as we mentioned, it originated as D'Entremont and Muise became the Native branch. In 2004 there was the Acadian congress which takes place every four years. They have on the occasion of this particular festivity it would last a couple of weeks. There are family reunions, it was suggested that the Muise and the D'Entremont should have the same reunion but they didn't. There should have been a blending but there wasn't.....it is rumours of Métis that can become the enemy of the reserve because there is only so much money to go around and if you have to share it with the Métis then it's going to be a mess. There is a lot of customs that we have and a lot that are different but Acadians think that that is unique. The blending of the two created this uniqueness. Now, I say that yes – maybe they weren't doing that exactly like they were now but you are a product of the blending of those two cultures. Why not celebrate what one of them was doing. Celebrate what the French and Native was doing too, learning out of respect. We have a membership of 5 000 down here, we have our meetings but there is very little attendance.

Roland continues speaking of the past and illustrates the nature of relations among Yarmouth County Métis:

> The Acadians and First Nations are a little bit shaky because first nation people especially the hierarchy are afraid of numbers. They are afraid of Métis/Acadians or Métis in general become acknowledged that they will lose some of their rights and paranoia. We have more of a problem with this on the Acadian/First Nations reserve than on the Bear River reserve. Bear River people know that they are the same as us, they are Métis/ Acadians basically with aboriginal status... People were grandfathered there, so if you were living in the reserve and staying on it then you were considered aboriginal; may not mean that you have enough aboriginal blood to quantify it but it exists. I wouldn't say that we are confrontational because we are not. I would say that they do not want to see a strong Métis presence right now because that means that it will upset the apple cart, in

> more than one way, not just the numbers… They're afraid what I was talking about might be explored in greater detail so the reserve themselves, if you had a great overhaul done you may see problems. They're afraid we are going to access their fishery, lumber etc., this means nothing to us as Métis.

For Roland, being Métis means:

> (1) you are who you are and should be proud to be that no matter what (2) my grandchildren, if they have the status of being a minority this can help them in the future whether it is acceptance etc., but that is all, I don't want a hand out – just a hand up.

Certainly, many contentions seem to create government recognition. On the other hand, those that identified with Mi' kmaq within their descent line were simply glad to gain an understanding of their true ancestry as opposed to monetary benefits from government policy.

> When you hear about events in northern New Brunswick, there is tension in evidence, but historically the Acadians probably got along with native peoples better than any other group of European origins. This would have been due, partly at least, to the fact that the two groups shared a history and some bloodlines for a long time. Shared Catholicism would have been another link. Nowadays, Métis are concerned with issues of status and exemption from taxation.

Overall, racialization was identified as being more apparent in rural communities. The consensus of the interviewees was that racism is still ongoing in our society. The manifestation of racism has changed – has become less overt and more silent. An interesting aspect that came from the data is the variance of people's ideas about racism and the different levels of resilience to racism. Stan demonstrated his resilience by saying that he never experiences racism:

> Blacks were treated ok. As far as being treated as a black person there is a big change [today compared to forty years ago]. In my hometown [Weymouth Falls, Yarmouth County] there were no problems except there were two barbers, one would not cut black persons' hair that's the only

> thing. Same in both counties [Yarmouth and Shelburne]. People are always asking why Blacks are so hostile; first time I left home and joined the army in 1941, you could walk into a store people will either at that time, wouldn't wait on you, or wait on your quickly to get you out of there. There were restaurants where they wouldn't serve you. There were three in Halifax at the time and more after the war. All that stuff is going away. Once in a while you run into someone while waiting to be served, for example, McDonalds for coffee; sometime the clerk behind will look past you and pretend you are not even there, and that still happens today.

While discussing racism in the twenty-first century, ten of the respondents agreed that racism still permeates the air of society, just on a "silent" level. Racist comments are inappropriate to mention in public; however, respondents discussed the prevalence of racism behind closed doors. Stan mentioned the experience with him and his family:

> Things like that – you try to not say anything because then you are causing trouble. Much more silent racism takes place today than in 1946 in terms of service. You couldn't walk into a restaurant that served Blacks, you walk down the street – happens mostly in the city. Even my daughter when she was growing up had one major incident with her good friend calling her the "N" word instead of her real name. Her grandmother told her that, I always told my kids – if people call you that that is not my name. If you get mad that means you are the one causing trouble. She stated her name and other than that we are people and her friend said ok and never brought it up again. Her grandmother told her grandson about it and that's how the process starts. My grandmother always taught me that I am an equal and was taught to have respect for people no matter what they represent – a drunk a bum and don't forget that and I taught my kids the same. That is a very important thing. It is changing but I have bit my tongue many times. Blacks just can't show that they are mad. I have been in lots of places where I am the only black person there.

Stan's belief differed from that of the rural community compared to the city is more accepting of Blacks. This mode of thinking was contradictory to the responses of many individuals. Stan feels living in Birchtown and Weymouth (during his childhood) sheltered him from what he would have faced had he grown up and raised his family in the city. He mentions that he has been the only Black individual in the room and it has never been a problem, perhaps age is the explaining factor as Stan was the oldest

participant in this study. The silent racism that seems to manifest today is easier to handle than the overt racism apparent during the fifties and sixties.

Terry believes the backlash of racism from the past two generations still has an effect on contemporary society:

> It's omission rather than commission now. I know it is there, the undercurrent is there – but I guess the more and more people with a racial bias put themselves in check, as they do through the generations, we will become more and more of an equalitarian type of society. We have come a long ways in the last fifty years. I would say—I would say, on an individual basis, better [racism in society]. I think the public policy, it certainly is better. I think there have definitely been advances made, but I don't—if I could put it like this—I think we're still scratching the surface. I really do. I think in the academic, university world, I think prejudices of that sort have largely gone. I would say there's a co-relationship between educational level and prejudice. I think people who have had—I don't just mean have schooling, but people who have learned something by--by going to university and it has opened them up, they are more accepting and because—I'll make a distinction between tolerating and accepting. I can tolerate – you know, a person can say, "I can tolerate something". You know what, gosh, that could mean, "I could abide by using a jackhammer next door to have a hole put in this basement wall". It doesn't mean I'm going to accept it as the norm all my life.

Debra agrees with the fact that racism has changed over the years but the silent presence of racism still manifests in Nova Scotia. However, she believes intermarriage is a step in the right direction to the eradication of racialization:

> Strives have been made in the last few years in this community [Birchtown] regarding Blacks in this community, but I think a lot of that has to do with assimilation; because Blacks have now assimilated into the white families in the community. So it is kind of hard to be discriminatory towards Blacks when there is at least one line in every family or the majority of the families in this community. Overtly things have changed the attitudes of people I know have not changed in a lot of cases.

David's response corresponded with Debra's in the sense that the recognition of intermarriage is a key step in an effort to eliminate racism; his comments were as follows:

> I think that it most likely is because society has become more open and tolerant, but I think also that there's a bit of misinformation in regards to people marrying outside of their racial or religious groups or social standing groups, but in the past you would have had—I'll deal mostly the race —I'll deal with the racial aspect here. You would have had people like Blacks or Mi'kmaqs or Acadians marrying outside their particular groups, but we didn't realize that much of it was happening because we weren't looking at the historical records or, you know, genealogical sources. Nowadays we can see that that was happening quite a long ways back. It wasn't just the early '60s, '70s, when, you know, society sort of changed quite a bit in the Maritimes or in Canada or the United States, it was happening way back 100, 150, even 200 years ago, but it was a certain amount of it and nobody talked about it and the families that are intermixed like that today still, in a lot of cases, don't talk about it. Those who know don't talk about it.

Terry, on the other hand, discussed intermarriage as a political problem, using the examples of Blacks Cherokees:

> Sometimes, the other thing is of course, the fact that we see, for example the thing this week on the Cherokee in the United States they have polled tens of thousands of people who are Black-Native mix, they can't be part of the Cherokee nation because if they do – the government money that has been given to the Cherokee has to be split more ways therefore, they are saying you aren't us raising a very ugly and important question; can ethnic minorities be racist?

Therefore, recognizing genealogy and finding all of the branches on one's family tree are important to the fight on racism because people are unaware of the ethnicity that surrounds them. If Nova Scotia was historically settled by individuals from seven ethnic minority groups, nearly all families native to Nova Scotia are interconnected somewhere along the lines of a pedigree. The four professionals interviewed all agreed that genealogy is becoming increasingly popular as a hobby for individuals, certainly not just

researchers or genealogists. Recognizing one's family heritage and having an awareness of the conditions that ancestors have gone through, suggests that recognizing one's heritage offers positive progress in the fight for the eradication of racism.

A theme emerged on the difficulty of genealogical research concerning ethnic groups in Nova Scotia. Documentation concerning Acadians, Blacks and Mi' kmaq is lacking. Yet, the value of such data is paramount when assessing the eradication of racism, because people are able to see the amount of ethnicity within descent lines. Although not every family in Nova Scotia is Black, Mi' kmaq or Acadian, ethnicity is certainly widespread in various families across the province.

Ten out of the twelve participants had engaged in some degree of genealogical research, looking at ethnic families in Nova Scotia. Each participant noted the value of the data. Many talked of their experiences. Dan researched his entire family and found an incredible amount of Black ancestry:

> The records just aren't there for a lot of these groups in Nova Scotia. That is probably the biggest hurdle is to find paper work to trace your family back. I don't know how BLHS finds what they find. We're not doing any better today in terms of recording information from the older folk.

Mike feels Nova Scotia is close to losing all of the province's Black oral histories because the knowledgeable community members are beginning to die off. Debra agrees with Dan's feelings on the lack of documentation concerning Blacks in Nova Scotia:

> Sporadic records are the main problem, in particular regarding Blacks history documentation is so sporadic and incomplete. No thought or care was actually taken to preserve that history compared to the Europeans.

Dan mentioned that he had brushed the surface of taping various Black oral histories from individuals in Queens County; however, one individual can only do so

much. Dan also mentioned the lack of respect Blacks were given in historical records. He added:

> With the Blacks so often people only went by their first name – I have seen records that just have written "Black Bill" or "Black Tom", you know; lots of times there were just no last names and like Cinda Westly – Westly was the name of the man who owned her and her children took on the Westly name as well. I don't even know what her last name would have been nor do I know if she even knew. It's sad but it is true.

Terry discussed the problem of sporadic records when analyzing genealogical data. He discusses his experience by saying:

> In 1790 Halifax United Church baptism of Dad's mother's maiden name was Crowell her mother was the one who was the German one, and she's not the Crowell's down in Shelburne County – these Crowell's came directly to Porters Lake from Maine and Massachusetts. For good reason, in 1790s, there's a series of baptism records and in this Methodist and it says, Baptized the four children of Ebonezer and Nancy Crowell, 1782 in Fort Edward, Windor Ebonezer Crowell marries Anne Stewart, these children in 1797. Then after the marriage of these four children of Ebonezer and Nancy Crowell; what's the next line? Nancy Crowell (a mulatto), they didn't have servants, they weren't that wealthy, so the question is – do I, or Nancy herself of mixed background to be called a mulatto by the Methodist minister when he baptized her children or was there some totally unrelated person that just happened to have the same name who came along you see, so I figure – alright, no; there's a good chance that there is a strand of African origin there as well.

Six respondents mentioned the problems one encounters when looking at historical census records in Nova Scotia. Roland discussed the following:

> When the census people did the area, they didn't go to some of the Métis communities – was it an obvious snub? LaHave, et cetera, were left out of this process; was it because they didn't want to include this information? Probably – the Priest didn't even bother to go down there. And that is another thing that happened in our culture, is that the Roman Catholic priests have too much to say about what happened, or what didn't happen on paper. Some of them they say, "Well, a lot of the records were destroyed during the deportation and they burnt the churches and they burnt the registers", but in some cases the registers were fudged.

Terry Punch spoke of the problems with historic census records as well:

> The problem with the census, of course, is people's ages and this who answers the door….There are people who don't actually know the ethnicity of their partner. They're sort of mainstream Nova Scotian sort of people. They have white faces and they talk English …"Well, I guess he's English. I am so I guess he is". So that's a problem. People get ages wrong. Sometimes I suspect one of the kids answered the door because sometimes you get some really interesting answers and they don't match the ten-year census, either side of it…Somebody was there filling in. I often wonder if they didn't get the neighbour next door because there's nobody home and so the neighbour next door said, "Well, I know them. I'll tell you the bulk of what you need to know. He's about 50, she's about 45. Let's see now Johnny was in school with my Mary so he'd be about 11" The other thing is—and one comes in genealogical work, look at different sources and try to give people ideas about them and one of those sources is very useful for a city and sometimes for the counties in the early years is the directories, like a city directory type of thing. The problem with the directories is when they went out in the country I can see whole parts of Nova Scotia where the person compiling the directory information, il ne parle pas français. So he didn't go down the road where all the Boudreaus lived and all the — he stopped to the guy who kept the general store and that's what you've got. And as far as people who are Native— sometimes you'll read a census and at the end it'll say, "and 25 Indians," as if it didn't matter who they were…Our records have, for want of a better word, they have a bias against visible minorities in the early years. As you get more recent, you get more stuff about people. Same thing with church records--some clergy were very good. I do think Catholic clergy were a little more forthcoming keeping records about people—

Paul and Kevin, both of Acadian descent, were not aware of their heritage until after they had turned fifty. Paul mentioned the problems he faced with his mother when he first began researching his family tree:

> I was not aware of my true ancestry, oh yes – oh, no question. No question, even my own mother is a very staunch Acadian person. Very proud and I mentioned to her that I was going to look into finding some of our ancestral history; you have to look way back to find it. You know, there is nothing too recent, it is all back in the 16/1700s. I thought she would be taken aback but she didn't, she accepted it. To my surprise; but she had some biased in her. I told her that I had some Muise, she said – oh all those Pubnico people always got their nose up, thinking they are better than the rest. But you know something that surprises me, those Muise's

> around here some ended up being Professors; some of them were very smart. You know – implying that this family was stupid. I know she didn't mean that but it came out. She is one of those "elite" types.

Paul was simply pointing out an issue that a few of the Acadians interviewed discussed; the "Puritan" notion of being from France. Kevin experienced the same situation. He blames the idea on the Catholic/Protestant debate; where he is from religion was so polarized, one was better off identifying as "French" opposed to anything else. Paul's mother (living on the French Shore) was proud to be Acadian, whereas Kevin's mother wanted to hide being Acadian (she lived in Glace Bay). The differing beliefs are interesting, considering each family is from either side of Nova Scotia. Perhaps an explanation would be that the South Western or Eastern Acadians were proud of their heritage because many families living in the Yarmouth region had not been expelled. Even if one was expelled, Yarmouth was the first County that Acadians returned. Paul added his interpretation:

> From the deportation years, no doubt that that is where it has all come from; and denial of one's ancestry rather than pride in your ancestry stems from something and if you have to put one big factor that is probably it. Today, most people do not realize; I always say that you have to have one foot in the grave before you are interested in ancestry it seems.

David believes one may have hidden their ancestry because of socio-economic reasons:

> Well the difficulty is that—one of, you know, the biggest difficulties I face is that nothing is really spelled out. A large part of the families that might have that ancestry are only nowadays coming to grips in the very recent past with multi-ethnicity within their families. In one respect I can understand that because if, in the past, in the distant past and in the more recent past—up until the 1960s or thereabouts—if people were known to have ethnic minority ancestry they were treated different and inferior, whether that be in the area of education, employment, social relations, etc., so in one respect I can understand them not wanting to mention it or talk about it or bring it to anybody's attention even though some of these families have family bibles and other family records or other stuff done like genealogies done on their own families, but they wouldn't share that

> information because they might have been treated differently, and in that respect I can understand, but overall it's not giving the accurate history of those families because, you know, some parts of the family are being left out because of them being so-called—from the so-called ethnic minority groups

Participants also discussed the value that genealogical data can add. If one can surpass the difficulties researchers face when compiling genealogy, these data can hold great value. A wave of genealogical interest was expressed by Jane:

> They are now [aware of their heritage] because it seems like in the past couple years, genealogists have been coming out of the woodwork. People are interested more so now in finding out where they come from and who they are related to. The school system could do more.

Roland Surette noted there is an increased interest in genealogical data in recent years; he said:

> More and more genealogy is becoming a vogue topic. People want to know, there are programs popping up all over the place, ancestors in the attic, different things that are coming out are saying there are simple ways of finding out genealogy. The Nova Scotia Government is putting out 100 000 names online here in the last month or so to help one find things out; when you used to have to go to the Public Archives in Halifax and dig it out. People are finding enjoyment in doing this; I am hooked and have been for a long time. I took a genealogy course seven years ago just for something to do and it has kept me going and I am still going. I use the term Métis/ Acadian always on purpose and it is the way our Métis group has done also because we are Acadians who have aboriginal heritage, and it is like, I say it is like being pregnant – either you are or you aren't. You either are aboriginal or you aren't. When someone asks what quantums in line, if you want to be full blooded Indian in this country you have to have 12.5% to get an APSE card and be a member of First Nations. I don't care about that one way or another. I was offered that at one time but I refused. I am a Métis/Acadian and that comes back to identity.

Living in the twenty-first century offers a plethora of technology and two of the respondents discussed their experiences with DNA and the significance DNA holds in terms of ancestry:

> This month I am going up to Amherst I am going to get the DNA test and a kit done up. Through the National Geographic Survey anyway, there is a number of reasons you want to know. We have a number of communities here that are Acadians we have what is called the Acadian disease. Every now and then it is like both parents can be carriers and if the right combination occurs, these children become oversized, blind, diabetic, that type of thing. They usually only live to about 18-25 years of age and it would be good to know if you are both carriers of that gene without wanting to go any further with getting married and having children of your own. I mean, not everyone gets married and has children anymore so it might not be the threshold to pass but it is still good to know. Knowing how you are and where you come from can help with that. Knowing who you are and where you come from also helps you as I have said before to establish where you come from and where you are going.

Therefore, delving into the archives is not the only way to research heritage. With the advance of technology and the increase in multiculturalism, the future is beginning to move in the right direction towards acceptance.

# Chapter VIII

# Conclusions

The powerlessness of oppression has detrimental effects on society. Segregated schools, ghettoized neighborhoods, unequal access to employment, low health status and unfair treatment in the criminal justice system – all factors of inequality affect the social relationship of the family. Being marginalized contributes to solidarity among ethnic minorities because of a common bond. Quality of life may be related to cultural hegemony because of an understanding of "who one is" and "where one comes from".

We are all ethnic; many times more than one strain of ethnicity is present in an individual's family. People have strains of ethnicity in descent lines whether they are aware of it or not. Research presents an increase in intermarriage in Nova Scotia between 1950 and 1970; this wave of culture became increasingly accepted in society today. All twelve interview respondents agreed that intermarriage has been embraced in contemporary Canada; however, opinions are subject to individual families, as the family marks the beginnings of collective thinking – pedagogic knowledge.

Six families were documented as having interconnected ethnic ties and twenty-five surnames were mentioned containing Acadian, Mi' kmaq and Black in their line of descent. Further study could provide documentation for the surnames identified. An interconnected ethnic family is unique because individuals possess various physical traits. Exogamy brings together cultures and heritage which creates a debate: (a) how does a family decide which culture to embrace (if any); (b) does exogamy transcend ethnic minority groups and create a new "Nova Scotian" ethnicity?

Ethnocultural diversity has great impact on Atlantic Canada. The religious differences date back centuries. Intermarriage is widespread in Nova Scotia amongst the Mi' kmaq population, creating a contentious political debate; status and non-status First Nations are affected by intermarriage. The government contributes to hostility and negative stigma surrounding interconnected marriage by denying recognition to families that have married outside "First Nations" blood too many times.

The primary concern with those interviewed was the understanding of personal identity. The diversity Canada claims to encompass with multiculturalism has been criticized as becoming a "melting pot" of ethnicity. This "melting pot" culture is certainly apparent in Canada's cities. However, the question remains: With immigration in Canada increasing, internet and media becoming increasingly accessible and intermarriage on the rise – how does Canada maintain culture? "Dividing up the government's purse" was mentioned as a key political issue because the quest for unique identity is increasing, and rights and reparations are in monetary form. Genealogical research is on the rise as the quest for identity continues.

Discursive evidence concerning Nova Scotia's ethnic minorities' settlement history is tenuous. The process of tracing one's ethnic descent line is an elusive task; however, the information a Nova Scotia family can retrieve is abundant. Nova Scotia is one of Canada's oldest European settlement locations, dating back four centuries, with inhabitants of various cultures. The notion of ethnic intermarriage is pertinent to Canada's multicultural mosaic; however, in a struggle to resist a cultural "melting pot", with immigration on the rise, a paradigm of identity emerges.

The paradigm of identity consists of the complex intermingling of various ethnic groups. If one has Black, Acadian and Aboriginal ancestry in a family pedigree, what traits and traditions does the family encompass? Biracial children have been argued as "blurring racial lines"; however, such children could erase racial lines just the same. Being unable to categorize an individual based on physical appearance is positive when analyzing race constructions. Placing people in a hierarchy based on physical attributes is learned behavior. Other researchers have argued that each ethnicity encompasses genetic predispositions that could taint one's social status because of a differing from the norm. The problem is the role of the state and the creation of "the norm". A superior race is nonexistent and the idea should become obsolete. Creating subcategories of human beings is not a positive method when visualizing equality.

History presents a hierarchical picture of a physically-dominant ethnic class. Nazism and the idea of an "Aryan" race, eugenics, and cultural genocide all depict a picture of a superior race; however, the concept of race is conceptually and theoretically complex. Ideas of race and what constitutes racism varies from person to person. Individuals grow up in different settings, hence the variance in pedagogic knowledge. The question remains why we are fixated on a superior physical appearance. Capitalism and technocracy has created subcategories of human, based on appearance, culture, class, race, and other attributes. Since before colonial times, the role of the state served as a catalyst for such limited thinking.

Historical oppression is the force behind shaping the lives of Nova Scotia's ethnic descendents. This century shows minor changes in society embracing those marginalized. Although policies, such as affirmative action, strive to fill the racialized

income gap, the reality remains that whites and ethnic groups continue to compete for the same jobs. In Nova Scotia, where jobs are scarce, the potential is already there for an increase in racialization. An increase in immigration can lead to a precarious shift within Nova Scotia's society. If contemporary Nova Scotia has difficulties with ethnic settlers, discrimination is bound to increase towards those from other parts of the globe. The problem with discrimination is certainly not a problem exclusive to Nova Scotia.

Social exclusion and racial segregation remain common in Nova Scotia today. For example, although 1783 was the beginnings of free Blacks in Nova Scotia, it took until 2006 to receive government funding to preserve cultural heritage for Black Loyalists. Cheticamp, Clare and Pubnico are areas that remain predominantly Acadian. Mi' kmaq continue to live on reserves, although First Nations are perhaps more assimilated into white society, than previously. However, in order to receive full benefits from the federal government, one has to maintain ties with the reserves. Tight-knit ethnic communities are scattered through all of Nova Scotia; and close family ties within them signify solidarity amongst these peoples.

Solidarity among ethnic minorities is clearly disadvantaged when analyzing past events. The Acadians returned to Nova Scotia in large numbers to reunite with family after the expulsion and eventually came to an agreement with British government to stay in the province. The example of Africville adds to the colonizing notion because the interviews with the former residents presented a retrospective view on a government organized "planned social change". Although the townspeople of Africville could not resist the relocation at the time, former residents, and the Nova Scotia's Black community in general, would combine in numbers to resist the disrespect portrayed by

the government. Interethnic marriage relationships reinforce ties between ethnic groups, creating stronger solidarity amongst marginalized groups of people.

Labour relations were mentioned as a variable of interethnic marriage. The coal mining industry in Cape Breton, the ship building industry in Queens County, lobster fishing in South West Nova Scotia and many unskilled manual labour jobs, were meeting places for ethnics. Work relations were identified as a contributor, influencing intermarriage because historically, timely daily tasks, lack of transportation and access to few jobs in ethnic minority communities, all contribute to ties to ethnic groups in Nova Scotia. Settlement patterns were congenial to intermarriage because the phenomenon of ethnic minorities living on the outskirts of white settlements is predominant all across Nova Scotia and has been for over five centuries. "Like attracts like", as one of the respondents noted; a common genealogical bond between different ethnicities can expand in notion that 'our' and 'like' is humanity.

Records of thousands of families of the ethnic historically-oppressed minorities were destroyed in Nova Scotia –hence, the importance of restoring genealogical ties. Most of these families have vague documentation, yet pieces remain available. Retrieving data is only one step to the process. Oral histories provided by community members from remote areas, exclusive to specific ethnic groups, are important to the nature of this study. Respondents noted the need for archival and heritage societies to begin preserving digital recordings of elder community members' knowledge of ethnic history.

A complete overhaul of written history is virtually impossible. However, future literature can provide an increased basis of the extent that indigenous and other

historically-oppressed groups faced historical tyranny from colonists. The ability for the educational system to implement textbooks written first hand by those peoples that are historically-oppressed is the preliminary step to a future of greater acceptance. Diversity in publication is crucial for today's classroom, in order to provide comprehension of inclusive multiculturalism in Canada.

Motivating people at a younger age to engage in genealogical research is vital to ethnic studies as well. Many participants in this research expressed that it was not until the retirement phase of life that they became interested in such research. Many mentioned they wished that they had been inspired to find their roots earlier in life, to gain a better understanding of themselves, contributing to their individual identity. Genealogical research is on the rise; data and resources are available at the click of a button. Perhaps a wave of genealogical work will increase awareness across the country concerning Canada's ethnic heritage – this fortifies Canada as diverse in many ways.

Sustaining culture seems to be a problem facing Canadians today. An incredible amount of immigration is taking place in this country and intermarriage will become inevitable in years to come. Therefore, Canada needs to embrace each unique culture and the occurrence of the combining of cultures that intermarriage entails. Recognition of truly diverse Canadian heritage can begin on a small-scale basis through genealogy in the classroom and research specific to each province. Studies such as this one serve as a catalyst to extensive research in terms of oppressed minorities. This topic has gained recognition only recently, and hopefully studies such as this will only increase, shedding light on a significant topic that has been lurking in the shadows for so long.

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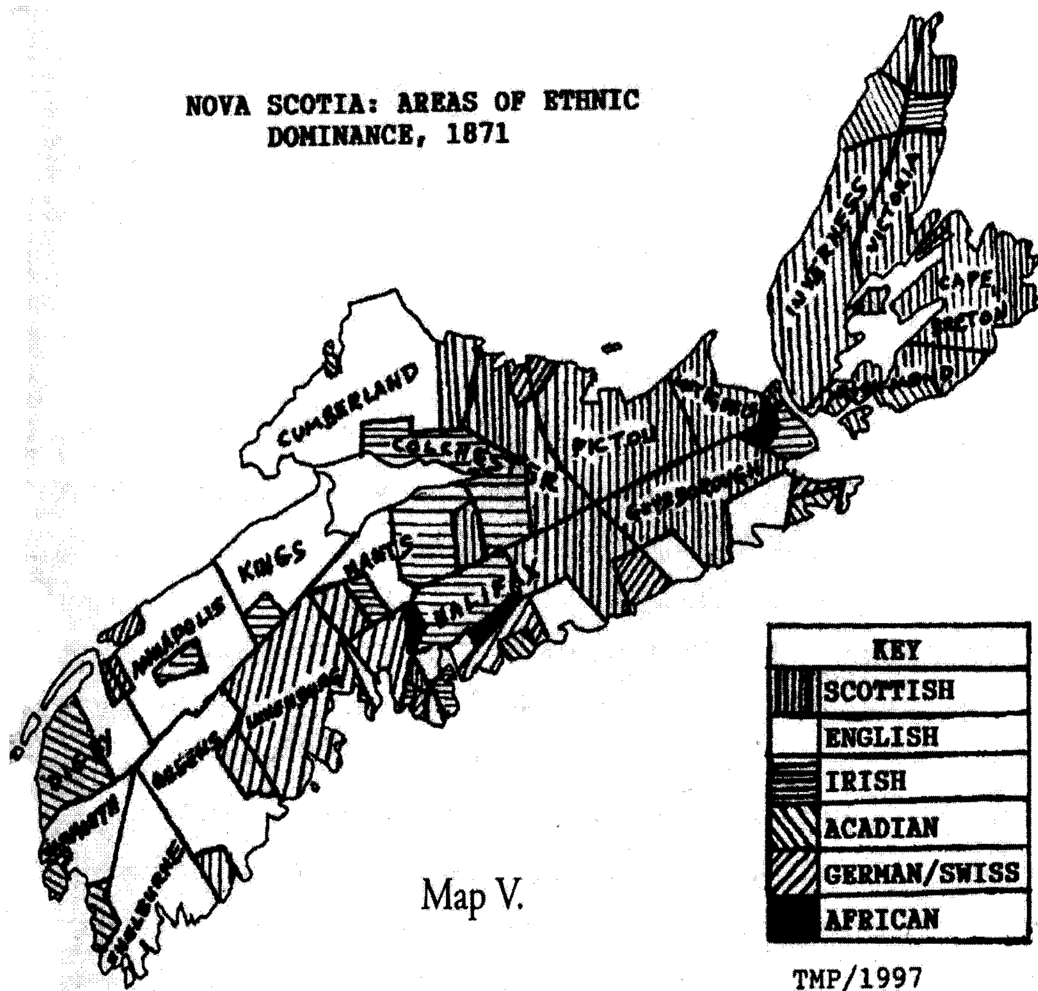
Appendix 2




Map V.

Reference: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# Appendix 3

Methodology Pseudonyms

Dan – a 36-year-old male who currently lives with his partner. He has researched extensively on his families' pedigree which encompasses all three ethnicities, Black, First Nations and potentially Acadian (unconfirmed due to lack of documentation). Dan hails from Queens County and has worked voluntarily with the Queens County Museum for many years.

Jane – a 52-year-old female, works part-time at the Yarmouth County Archives. Jane has all three ethnicities, Acadian, Black Loyalist and Native in her descent line. Jane is married to Tom, they have been married for 37 years and have one son.

Kevin – a 51-year-old farmer who resides in Hants County, born and raised in Glace Bay. He has one daughter and one son who are now adults and live on their own. He has been married for many years. Kevin is of Acadian descent and did not become aware of his true heritage because it was hidden from him, until the age of fifty.

Mike – 65, a former military employee who has since moved on as an artisan. He was born and raised in New Waterford, Cape Breton and moved away to Alberta where he currently resides. Mike's family is a mix of black and native.

Paul – a 58-year-old Yarmouth County resident, member of the Eastern Woodland Métis Society. James has an Acadian wife who is Catholic and has one daughter. James is a retired conservation officer.

Sam – a 55-year-old female, married and has two children. Sam is a member of the Acadia First Nations band and is a Status Aboriginal. She works as a personal care worker in Queens County.

Tom – a 60-year-old male retiree who self-identifies as Afro-Canadian. He is married to Jane and has Acadian within his descent line as well as Black. He grew up in Weymouth Falls, N.S., a historic Black Loyalist settlement in Yarmouth County. Tom and Jane have one son.

Stan – 72-year-old Black Loyalist. Stan has been married for many years and has one son and one daughter. He has lived in Weymouth Falls, Yarmouth County and Birchtown, Shelburne County. He is a retiree and a member of the Black Loyalist Heritage Society Board of Governors.

# Appendix 4

Professionals Interviewed

David States – historian for Parks Canada. David has recently published work on his own family which encompasses Black, Acadian and Scottish in his ancestry. His works centers on Hants County and he is currently a resident of Halifax County.

Debra Hill – 53, registrar and genealogist/historian for the Black Loyalist Heritage Society. Resident of Shelburne County, Debra has worked for BLHS for over twelve years. She has two daughters and is divorced from a man from Jamaica. She is of Black Loyalist descent.

Roland Surette - a 62-year-old retired principal. Resident of Yarmouth County and a member of the Eastern Woodland Métis Society. He is married and has one daughter. Roland has genealogical data on his family dating back over twenty generations.

Terry Punch – leading genealogist in Nova Scotia and guest speaker on CBC Radio noon. Terry is married to an Acadian woman and has one son and a daughter who is deceased. He is a resident of Halifax County and has both Irish and German in his ancestry. He has extensively researched ethnicity in Lunenburg County as this is his county of origin.

# Appendix 5

*Interview Questions*

Name:
Age:
Residence:

1. Have you lived in Nova Scotia? If so, for how long?

2. Where did you attend school?

3. Do you recall ethnic minorities (Acadians, Black Loyalists or Mi' kmaq) being in your school system during your education? How were these minorities treated in school – by teachers, principles by other students, by each other? Do you recall any racism or exclusion for those individuals?

4. a.)Are there currently any members of any of these three ethnic groups (Acadians, Black Loyalists or Mi'kmaq) living in your community? If so, how do you feel they are treated by the community today compared to twenty or thirty years ago?

   b.)Can you supply examples? Why have things changed (or not)? Do you notice a difference now that you live in another province/ rural vs. urban? (if yes)Why do you think that is so?

5. Can you identify the various Acadian/Métis communities in Nova Scotia?

6. Understanding that the term Minorities is used in relation to population size, not in the derogatory sense; How do you feel about the use of the term "Minority"?

6. a. How important is identity to you?
   b. would you agree that anyone can benefit from learning their genealogy?

7. Would you agree that racism still exists, just on a more silent level?

8. How do you feel about the relationships between Acadians and First Nations today?

9. Would you say it is easier to marry outside of your "race" today compared to twenty or thirty years ago? Why do you think this?

10. a)Do you feel it is possible for ethnic minorities who make up a part Nova Scotia's settlement history could be interrelated whether through marriage or liaisons because of their settlement patterns in Nova Scotia?

    b)or because of the common bond they share in terms of sustaining themselves/making a living?

11. Would you say that inter-marriages important are to Nova Scotia's cultural mosaic?

Appendix 6

# Modified Register for Jean Baptiste MIUS

## First Generation

1. **Jean Baptiste MIUS** .

Jean married **Micmac named Marie** .

They had the following children:

2 F i. **Marie JM MIUS** .

Marie is Métis

Marie married **Samuel HATFIELD** on 18 Nov 1800 in Yarmouth, N.S. .

3 F ii. **Marie Josephe MIUS** was born in 1778 in Annapolis Co..

Note: 2F is married to 5M on page 138 (there descendants are listed on page 139)

Appendix 7

# Modified Register for Phillip MIUS d'ENTREMONT

## First Generation

1. **Phillip MIUS d'ENTREMONT** was born on 1 Nov 1601 in Normandy, France.

Phillip married **Madeline HELIE** in 1647 in France .

They had the following children:

+ 2 M i. **Phillip II dit D'Azy MIUS d'ENTREMONT** was born in 1660.

## Second Generation

2. **Phillip II dit D'Azy MIUS d'ENTREMONT** (Phillip) was born in 1660.

Phillip married **Micmac wife** .

name unknown

Phillip and Micmac had the following children:

+ 3 M i. **Joseph D'Azy MIUS** was born in 1678.

## Third Generation

3. **Joseph D'Azy MIUS** (Phillip II dit D'Azy, Phillip) was born in 1678.

Joseph married **Marie AMIRAULT** daughter of F CT AMIRAULT and Marie PETRIE.

They had the following children:

+ 4 M i. **Charles Al MIUS** was born on 17 Dec 1701. He died in 1799.

## Fourth Generation

4. **Charles Al MIUS** (Joseph D'Azy, Phillip II dit D'Azy, Phillip) was born on 17 Dec 1701 in Shelburne, County N.S. . He died in 1799 in Yarmouth, N.S. .

Charles married **Marie M HEBERT** daughter of Antoine HEBERT and Jeanne CORPORON on 21 Jan 1731. Marie died in 1803 in Yarmouth, N.S. .

They had the following children:

5 M i. **Chalres Al MIUS** was born in 1722.

Reference: Yarmouth County Archives- supplementary file (prepared by Sharon Robart-Johnson 2007)

Appendix 8

# Modified Register for Charles Amand MIUS II

## First Generation

1. **Charles Amand MIUS II** .

Charles married **Marie Joseph MIUS** .

Marie Joseph MIUS is Métis

Charles and Marie had the following children:

\+ 2 F i. **Claire MIUS** .

## Second Generation

2. **Claire MIUS** (Charles Amand).

Claire married **Jean Marie BLANCHARD** .

They had the following children:

\+ 3 F i. **Frances Muree** .

## Third Generation

3. **Frances Muree** (Claire MIUS, Charles Amand).

Frances married **Joseph Louis PAUL** .

They had the following children:

4 F i. **May Helen PAUL** .

May was part Native and Black

May married **Charles Alexander DAURIE** .

Charles is Dutch

Appendix 9

# Modified Register for James JOHNSON

## First Generation

1. **James JOHNSON** .

James Johnson is listed in the 1871 census as African

James married **Martha JOHNSON** .

Martha is of German descent

James and Martha had the following children:

2 M i. **John JOHNSON** was born in 1805.

John is listed in the 1871 census as African

3 M ii. **Thomas JOHNSON** was born in 1834.

Thomas is listed as African

Thomas married **Susan JOHNSON** .

Susan is listed in the 1881 census as "Indian" (Thomas and Children are listed as African)
In the 1901 census of Guysborough, Susan is listed as "white" (Thomas and the Children as listed as African)
Susan and Thomas had eight children

Reference: Census records of Guysborough County: years 1838, 1871 (205), 1881 (179), 1901 (246)

Appendix 10

# Modified Register for George Joseph JARVIS

## First Generation

1. **George Joseph JARVIS** .

George married **Margaret MUMBOURQUETTE** .

Margaret is Métis (Acadian and Native)
She is from Cheticamp

George and Margaret had the following children:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| + | 2 F | i. | **Lottie JARVIS** . |
| + | 3 F | ii. | **Jane JARVIS** . |
| + | 4 F | iii. | **Alice JARVIS** . |
| | 5 M | iv. | **Bill JARVIS** . |
| + | 6 F | v. | **Josephine JARVIS** . |

## Second Generation

2. **Lottie JARVIS** (George Joseph).

Lottie married (1) **?? ASH** .

They had the following children:

7 F i. **Ardella ASH .**

8 M ii. **Walter JARVIS .**

9 F iii. **Mary Ellen ASH .**
Mary married **Joe ISIT .**

10 M iv. **George ASH .**

11 F v. **Margaret ASH .**

Lottie married (2) **John JORDAN .**

3. **Jane JARVIS** (George Joseph).

Jane married **George PARRIS .**

They had the following children:

\+ 12 F i. **Margaret PARRIS .**

13 M ii. **Patton PARRIS .**

4. **Alice JARVIS** (George Joseph).

Alice married **M. Ralph WHALON .**

They had the following children:

14 M i. **Pasty WHALON** .

15 F ii. **Margaret WHALON** .

16 F iii. **Valerie WHALON** .

17 F iv. **Deanna WHALON** .

18 F v. **Catherine WHALON** .

19 M vi. **George WHALON** .

20 M vii. **Ronnie WHALON** .

6. **Josephine JARVIS** (George Joseph).

Josephine married (1) **Unknown, KING** .

They had the following children:

21 F i. **Mary Elizabeth KING** was born on 8 May 1927 in Mulgrave.

22 M ii. **Frank KING** died in Halifax .

23 F iii. **Margaret KING** .

Margaret was burned to death in a tragic house fire

24 F iv. **Irene KING** .

Irene was given up for Adoption

Josephine married (2) **Jim TALBOT** .

They had the following children:

25 M v. **Jim Jr TALBOT** .

26 M vi. **Walley TALBOT** .

27 F vii. **Evylene TALBOT** .

28 F viii. **Lucy Mae TALBOT** .

## Third Generation

12. **Margaret PARRIS** (Jane JARVIS, George Joseph).

She had the following children:

29 M i. **David PARRIS** .

Reference: Black Loyalist Heritage Society – JARVIS supplementary files

Appendix 11

# Ahnentafel Chart for Ann FRANCIS

## First Generation

1. **Ann FRANCIS** .

Ann married **Charles GOOSELEY** on 3 Jul 1838 in Liverpool, N.S. .

## Second Generation

2. **Robert FRANCIS** .Robert married Priscilla (O'Neal) FRANCIS in 1824 in Liverpool, N.S. .

3. **Priscilla (O'Neal) FRANCIS** .

## Third Generation

4. **Joshua FRANCIS** .Joshua married Susannah FRANCIS.

5. **Susannah FRANCIS** .

Reference: 1871 Liverpool Census, see also BLHS supplementary files (FRANCIS)

Appendix 12

# Modified Register for Job STATES

## First Generation

1. **Job STATES** was born in 1761 in New Haven Connecticut. He died on 24 Jul 1785 in Cornwallis, N.S. .

Job married **Mary CRAUSEN** on 7 Dec 1782 in New York State . Mary was born on 17 Nov 1762 in New York State . She died on 30 Sep 1830 in Parrsboro, N.S. .

They had the following children:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 2 F | i. | **Abagail STATES** was born on 25 Nov 1783 in Cornwallis, N.S. . She died in Dec 1800 in Halifax . |
| + | 3 M | ii. | **Job STATES II** was born on 14 Feb 1786. |

## Second Generation

3. **Job STATES II** (Job) was born on 14 Feb 1786 in Cornwallis, N.S. .

Job married **UNKNOWN** .

They had the following children:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| + | 4 M | i. | **George W. STATES** was born in 1818. He died on 24 Oct 1900. |
| + | 5 M | ii. | **John STATES** was born in 1826. He died on 6 Sep 1898. |

\+ 6 M iii. **Joab STATES** was born in 1832. He died in 1887.

## Third Generation

4. **George W. STATES** (Job, Job) was born in 1818 in Parrsboro, N.S. . He died on 24 Oct 1900 in Mount Denson, N.S. .

George married **Ruth (McCulloch) STATES** on 3 Sep 1855 in Falmouth, N.S. .

Ruth was born in Belfast, Ireland - daughter of Hugh McCulloch from Belfast, Ireland

George and Ruth had the following children:

7 M i. **George W. STATES II** was born in Apr 1856. He died in May 1859.

8 F ii. **Martha STATES** was born in Aug 1859. She died in Oct 1859.

9 M iii. **Robert Isaiah STATES** was born on 7 Jun 1860. He died on 26 Jul 1917.

10 M iv. **Charles Richmond STATES** was born on 15 Mar 1864. He died in Mar 1942.

5. **John STATES** (Job, Job) was born in 1826 in Parrsboro, N.S. . He died on 6 Sep 1898 in Hantsport, N.S. .

John married **Sarah Jane (Kental) STATES** . Sarah died on 4 Jan 1917 in Panuke Rd., N.S. .

They had the following children:

11 M i. **Job STATES** was born in 1854 in Falmouth, N.S. . He died on 16 May 1923 in New York State .

12 M ii. **John William STATES** was born on 3 Oct 1857. He died on 16 Sep 1921 in Windsor, N.S. .

13 M iii. **W. Frank STATES** was born in 1860. He died on 25 Oct 1901.

14 M iv. **James Arthur STATES** was born in 1861.

15 M v. **Oscar Delbert STATES** was born in 1863.

16 M vi. **Thomas H. STATES** .

17 M vii. **Alfretta M. STATES** was born on 18 Mar 1868. He died on 8 Jan 1943.

6. **Joab STATES** (Job, Job) was born in 1832. He died in 1887.

Joab married **Mary Eliza (McCulloch) STATES** on 8 Apr 1858 in Falmouth, N.S. . Mary died on 19 Feb 1880.

Joab and Mary had the following children:

18 M i. **James Albert STATES** was born on 16 Jan 1859. He died on 4 Feb 1877 in Wolfville, N.S. .

19 M ii. **George Henry STATES** was born on 24 Sep 1861. He died on 17 May 1871.

20 M iii. **Joseph Philip STATES** was born on 14 Mar 1864. He died in 1927.

21 M iv. **John Edward STATES** was born on 13 Dec 1866.

22 F v. **Sharlot Irene STATES** was born on 7 Apr 1870. She died on 23 Apr 1871.

23 M vi. **William Henry STATES** was born on 19 Jan 1872 in Wolfville, N.S. . He died on 10 Jan 1910.

24 M vii. **Wellington Ney STATES** was born on 1 Oct 1874 in Wolfville, N.S. . He died on 3 May 1927 in Dartmouth, N.S. .

25 F viii. **Ada Viola STATES** was born on 1 Nov 1878 in Wolfville, N.S. . She died on 14 Apr 1879.

Reference: States, D. (2007). *Genealogy of the States Family of Kings, Cumberland and Hants Counties, N.S.* p. 6-9

Note: The States genealogy continues - 4th generation onward up to 5th generation in1925 in the publication above.