

FIRST THINGS IN AFRICADIA; OR, THE TRAUMA OF BEING A BLACK LAWYER IN LATE VICTORIAN SAINT JOHN

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The subject of this article is Abraham Beverley Walker (1851-1909), who was the first native-born African-Canadian to be called to the bar. Describing him as an "Africadian" requires explanation and acknowledgment. The term is of recent origin, having been coined in 1991 by literary historian, George Elliott Clarke:

I use the term "Africadian" [Clarke writes], a word I have minted from "Africa" and "Acadia" (the old name for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick), to denote the Black populations of the Maritimes and especially of Nova Scotia. Other appellations - "Afro-Nova Scotian," "Black Nova Scotian," etc. are unwieldy. Moreover, if Africadians constitute a *state*, let it be titled *Africadia*.¹

Clarke's neologism provides a framework for interpreting the multifaceted career of Walker, as a lawyer, itinerant lecturer, journalist-cum-cultural magazine editor and race leader, who is the progenitor of the literature of Black New Brunswick. Indeed one of the categories which Clarke developed in order to classify Africadian literature, "Orature", applies particularly to Walker. Walker not only made a name for himself as a public speaker, but also published in 1893 a condescending short essay in which he lamented the decline of "Oratory" among modern public men, especially lawyers.²

A.B. Walker was the descendant of an African-American refugee from slavery during the Revolutionary years. His grandfather, William Walker, was one of the free Blacks coming to Saint John, where he was a grantee of Partrtown.³ William Walker eventually settled on the Kingston Peninsula, northeast of Saint John, where his family was one of the few Africadians remaining after the exodus to Sierra Leone in 1791. Walker's ancestry, not to mention his lifelong adherence to the Church of England, bred into him a chauvinistic anglophilia, which rendered him as much a victim of the Loyalist myth, as the descendants of those who had treated the free Blacks with contempt. Walker nevertheless succeeded in transcending his origins, to the extent of

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¹George Elliot Clarke, *Fire on the Water: An Anthology of Black Nova Scotian Writing*, vol. 1 (Lawrencetown Beach NS: Pottersfield, 1991) at 9.

²A.B. Walker, "The Law School" (1893) 15 *King's College Record* 104.

³D.G. Bell, *Early Loyalist Saint John: The Origin of New Brunswick Politics, 1783-1786* (Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1983), at 57 and n. 116.

breaching the learned professions at a time when Black people in Saint John had barely begun to penetrate the world of trade and commerce.⁴

The purpose of this article is to examine Walker's career in law, with a focus on his legal education and professional development. Special reference will be made to his ambiguous relationship with the King's College School of Law in Saint John, where Walker was the first matriculant.⁵ Also notable is the rich oral tradition which subsisted among members of the Saint John Law Society as recently as the 1930s, which is evidence of contemporaneous attitudes toward Walker within the legal profession. I shall leave aside Walker's formative years as well as his significant, but ultimately self-defeating, alternative career as a self-appointed race leader: the Marcus Garvey of Canada.⁶ The sheer range of his activities: itinerant lecturer, journalist, magazine editor, political organizer and civil rights activist, suggests that Walker could not and did not earn his living as a lawyer. Indeed, there is no direct evidence that he ever had a conventional law practice; he seems to have looked elsewhere for real or potential sources of income in order to support his wife and five children including shorthand reporting, the lecture circuit and journalism. Walker's shopkeeper wife, the former Eliza Ruth Marsh of Fort Lawrence, Nova Scotia, doubtless made the greater and more stable contribution to the family's subsistence.

John W. Regan, a Halifax real estate agent, became interested in A.B. Walker in connection with his ongoing "First Things" project.⁷ This was not surprising since Regan was a friend and admirer of James Robinson Johnston (1876-1915), who was Nova Scotia's first Black lawyer and Canada's third. Regan commenced his research in November 1937 by writing to the president of the University of New Brunswick, with which the former Faculty of Law at the University of King's College in Saint John had affiliated in 1923.⁸ Regan had "heard there was a practicing barrister, a colored man in Saint John some years ago, who achieved considerable distinction in winning a case at the Privy Council, but did not conduct a general practice." The exaggerated quality of this hearsay must have discouraged U.N.B. from replying to his enquiry, but

⁴See generally W.A. Spray, *The Blacks in New Brunswick* (Fredericton: Brunswick Press, 1972), *passim*; R.W. Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History*, 2d ed. (Montreal & Kingston: MQUP, 1997), at 292, 398-401, 411; R.W. Winks, "Negroes in the Maritimes: An Introductory Survey" (1968-69) 48 *Dalhousie Review* 453 at 467-9.

⁵See generally D.G. Bell, *Legal Education in New Brunswick: A History* (Fredericton: University of New Brunswick, 1992), at 78, 83, 85, 88, 93, 95.

⁶Jim Mason, "Saint John Activist Urged Black People in North America to Emigrate to Africa" [Saint John] *Evening Times Globe* (19 July 1994).

⁷John Quinpool [pseud.], comp., *First Things in Acadia: The Birthplace of a Continent* (Halifax: First Things Publ., 1936).

⁸For this and what follows see correspondence in the John W. Regan fonds: MG 1, vol. 783, file 4, Archives and Records Management of Nova Scotia.

Regan afterwards wrote to the university registrar, only to be told that no degree had ever been conferred on Walker.

That was true as far as it went, for Walker was almost certainly the first native Black New Brunswicker to obtain a university degree, although not in New Brunswick. Walker not only attended the official opening of the King's College Law School on 8 October 1892, but also contributed an article to the *King's College Record*, summarizing its first year of operation.⁹ During the inaugural academic session of 1892-93, Walker attended lectures in the faculty as a general student, a practice quite common for practicing barristers who were unable or ineligible to enroll as undergraduates in the degree program. Though Walker's American LL.B appears after his name, the minutes of the Board of Governors of the University of King's College indicate that Walker was not successful in having his law degree recognized.¹⁰ This would have enabled him to matriculate either as an undergraduate or as a postgraduate degree student. According to faculty regulations, "[a] Barrister of three years' standing who is a graduate in Law of any recognized University may be admitted to the Degree of B.C.L. on passing the examination in Roman Law provided for the second year."¹¹ Walker not only had ten years' standing at the bar, but had also obtained his LL.B from the law department of the National University of Washington, now the National Law Center of George Washington University.

It is clear from the New Brunswick statute regulating admission of attorneys that the National University was deemed to be a "lawfully authorized College or University in ... the United States,"¹² because Walker's possession of the LL.B reduced his studentship from four years to three. Walker was also not the only Saint John resident to have taken a law degree at the National University. In June 1881, Campbell Gibb Berryman, who was the son and namesake of a prominent Saint John merchant, graduated LL.B from the same institution. While this was in the same month that Walker was admitted as an attorney, Berryman afterwards became a student-at-law but was never admitted to the New Brunswick bar. It is ironic that during the heady days of postbellum radical Reconstruction, the National University of Washington, which came into existence in 1869 and of which the President of the United States was *ex officio* chancellor, had been fully accessible to Black people. Afterwards it was segregated and Blacks were refused admission. The perception of the National University as a Black institution, one which was multiracial and integrated, effectively prevented Walker from having his undergraduate law degree recognized in New

⁹*Supra*, note 3.

¹⁰I am grateful to D.G. Bell for this information.

¹¹King's College (Windsor), *Calendar of the School of Law ... 1893-94* at 3.

¹²*Admission of Attorneys*, C.S.N.B. 1877, c. 33, s.3

Brunswick and thus from ever taking his B.C.L. at the University of King's College. Having attended one year as a general student and another as a partial student, Walker disappears from the register of the Faculty of Law of the University of King's College.

When Walker died in April 1909, the Saint John newspapers, having no idea where he had received his university degrees, resorted to conjecture. Racial segregationist bias, which added to the dim recollection that he had studied in Washington, produced the conclusion that Walker must have been a graduate of Howard University,¹³ an exclusively Black institution. In fact, Walker had no connection whatsoever with Howard. Such speculation does nothing to help solve the thorniest problem of all, namely the origin of Walker's D.C.L., a degree which he assumed as early as 1897 and on account of which he was carefully styled "Dr." for the rest of his life. Certainly it was not the higher research degree offered by the Faculty of Law of the University of King's College, for candidates had to be a B.C.L. of five years' standing complete, and to "have composed a thesis on some legal subject to be appointed by the Faculty."¹⁴ One can only surmise that Walker's doctorate was conferred *honoris causa*, and by his alma mater, though evidence to this effect is wanting. It certainly was not conferred by the University of King's College.

Having received only a negative reply from the University of New Brunswick, and apparently uninterested in discovering that Walker had been the first Black student rather than the first Black graduate of King's College Law School, Regan wrote to Horace Alfred Porter, K.C., a senior partner in the Saint John law firm of Porter and Ritchie.¹⁵ Porter, a B.C.L. of King's College and former president of the Saint John Law Society, clearly knew of and had probably known Walker, who died the year after Porter entered the Law School. "We had in Saint John", Porter wrote, "a colored lawyer named A.B. Walker, who antedated [James R.] Johnston by many years",¹⁶ eighteen, to be exact. Porter's anecdotal and impressionistic biographical sketch of Walker deserves to be quoted in full:

Walker was apparently a good reporter and I understand, at one time could have been appointed a Court Stenographer. However, he thought he was capable of higher things and therefore got admitted to the Bar. He was not really a success due possibly to an inherent laziness. Like Mr. Tutt he had a great liking for a tall hat. He was connected with law offices before the Saint John fire of 1877, and I understand was at one time in the offices of Shanks Kerr, Q.C. later with Palmer, Q.C. (afterward judge in equity) and

¹³The [Saint John] *Standard* (22 Apr 1909).

¹⁴*Supra*, note 12.

¹⁵*Supra*, note 9.

¹⁶*Supra*, note 9.

finally with Brad Gilbert¹⁷ after Palmer's elevation to the Bench. He also did considerable work for S. L. Tilley, reporting political speeches, etc.¹⁸

Porter knew nothing of Walker's university degrees, taking for granted that in all probability Walker never went near any college, and rather perversely attributed the failure of Walker's law practice to want of effort on his part. As early as July 1885, Walker had been an unsuccessful examinee for the statutory post of Official Court Stenographer. His obituarist, writing in the *Canadian Law Times* in June 1909, conjectured that Walker "was probably the only African Canadian to ever perform the duties of official stenographer."¹⁹

Porter's characterization of Walker sheds interesting light on the literary tastes of the élite of the Saint John bar. When Porter read for pleasure, he evidently read other lawyers and legal fiction. It is instructive that he should have drawn a sartorial comparison between Walker and Ephraim Tutt, whom David Flaherty has described as "an ideal lawyer embodying the virtues of Robin Hood, Lincoln, Puck, and Uncle Sam."²⁰ Walker did not live to see Tutt, who was created as an alter ego by Arthur Cheney Train, a real New England lawyer and author in 1919, ten years after Walker's death. The comparison nevertheless could only have been intended as a backhanded compliment to Walker, whose efforts to secure equal justice for himself and other Black New Brunswickers were scarcely less passionate than those of Ephraim Tutt. If the purpose of Train's fictional creation was "to portray the inherent difference between law and justice,"²¹ then it was perfectly realized in Walker's frustrating career as the first native African-Canadian law student, attorney and barrister.

It also seems unlikely that Walker could have worked in a law office before the great fire of Saint John in 1877, except as a legal secretary or stenographer. He did not become a student-at-law until June 1878,²² and the city directories of the time give his occupation as shorthand reporter. By March 1881, however, shortly before his admission as attorney (solicitor), Walker was elected to the executive committee of the

¹⁷The reference to Bradford Simonds Gilbert, who was a merchant not a lawyer, resulted from confusion between him and his brother, George Godfrey Gilbert, with whom Walker served his studentship and after whom he named one of his sons. Gilbert was the first New Brunswick lawyer to graduate LL. B from Harvard University Law School. Walker's connection with him would have come through Gilbert's brother-in-law, Rev. William Elias Scovil, the Church of England rector of Kingston N.B., and schoolmaster from whom Walker probably acquired his proficiency at shorthand.

¹⁸*Supra*, note 9.

¹⁹(1909) 29 Can. L.T. 599.

²⁰"Train, Arthur Cheney," 3 *Dictionary of American Biography Supplement*, 3 at 773.

²¹Flaherty, *supra* note 18 at 774.

²²A.B. Walker, bar admission file: Barristers Society of New Brunswick fonds, MC 288 MS 4, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

Law Students' Society.²³ Porter could hardly have intended the irony of his reference to Nova Scotian expatriate lawyer David Shanks Kerr, who in 1885 precipitated a public scandal by conspicuously omitting Walker alone from the list of invited guests to the Law Society's private dinner, which he was organizing to commemorate the centenary of the Saint John bar. Acalus Lockwood Palmer, judge in equity from 1879 to 1894, publicly advocated Walker's cause from the bench during this little local "exclusion crisis".²⁴ Walker had the last laugh, burying the 77-year-old Kerr within eight months of the latter's ill-starred banquet.

Walker's connection with Sir Samuel Leonard Tilley dated back to the decisive National Policy election of 1878, just before which Walker organized his "colored compatriots into a political club, and turned the club over to the Conservative Party."²⁵ Tilley's narrow, nine-vote margin of victory over the Liberal incumbent may indeed be attributable, as has been argued, to the insults hurled at him by the "carpet-baggers ... from Upper Canada."²⁶ However, the block voting of the small Africadian electorate of Saint John, organized and led by Walker, may have tipped the balance in a very close election which Tilley was not expected to win. Moreover, it was Tilley, by then Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick for the second time, to whom Walker applied in 1889 for a testimonial letter to the bar of Georgia, where he had made up his mind to emigrate because of the lack of professional prospects in Saint John.²⁷ Walker, who was an inveterate name-dropper, claimed to have procured letters of introduction from the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General and the justices of the Supreme Court, among whom was his champion, Judge Palmer. The "other prominent members of the bar"²⁸ who supplied characters were probably not sorry to see him go, but Walker was nevertheless back in Saint John within a year or two.

The persons to whom Porter suggested that Regan should write for "more definite information" about Walker's career were Stephen W. Palmer, the Stipendiary Magistrate of Saint John, and Leonard Percy DeWolfe Tilley, judge of the County Court for Albert and Kings, either or both of whom Porter thought might "be able to furnish considerable detail" about Walker.²⁹ Palmer, who like Walker had been a

²³The [Saint John] *Globe* (7 March 1881); I am grateful to Professor D.G. Bell for this reference.

²⁴See, for example, [Saint John] *Globe*, (15 Dec 1885); *Daily Sun*, (16 Dec 1885).

²⁵For this and what follows see A.B. Walker to W. Laurier, 28 Aug 1896, Wilfrid Laurier papers, NA MG 26 G pp. 6212-4 (mfim at NSARM).

²⁶"Tilley, Sir Samuel Leonard," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 12, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990) 1051 at 1057.

²⁷A.B. Walker to S.L. Tilley (5 Nov 1889), Tilley family fonds, box 11, folder 1, doc. 24, New Brunswick Museum (Saint John).

²⁸*Supra*, note 25.

²⁹*Supra*, note 9.

non-degree student at the Law School during the foundation year 1892-93, was a grandson of Judge A.L. Palmer, while Tilley, a former Conservative premier of New Brunswick, was a son of Sir Samuel. Porter even went so far as to raise the question of Walker directly with Palmer, whose knowledge was "meagre", but who said that Walker was practicing in 1890, which, if true, would mean that Walker returned to Saint John from Atlanta very much sooner than anticipated.

Following Porter's advice, Regan then wrote to the Supreme Court in Fredericton for details of Walker's bar admission. The registrar, Hollis Lester Smith, not only expressed the sympathetic knowledge that Walker "was considered a very well informed and fine type of colored gentleman," but also stated that Walker "had not practiced for some time prior to his death."³⁰ The appearance of the first number of his cultural magazine, *Neith*, in February 1903, suggests that Walker finally abandoned even the pretense of practicing law in order to devote himself entirely to literary editing and the lecture circuit. Smith further volunteered that some of the older men in the profession in Saint John might possibly be able to provide more information, and suggested writing to Thomas P. Regan K.C., another contemporary of Walker's.

In a subsequent letter Porter related two anecdotes about Walker which illustrate the depth to which systemic racism and the pseudo-science of eugenics had influenced élite Black perceptions of white people. Porter understood that one of "Walker's suggestions was that the white race was deteriorating so badly that a little admixture of negro blood would be good for it."³¹ It was paradoxical that Walker, who vaunted his "pure Abyssinian lineage", should have been advocating miscegenation at the height of the Jim Crow era, when interracial marriage was outlawed throughout much of the United States. "They tell a rather good story about Walker", Porter continued,

when he was trying a case in Kings County against one of the leaders of the Bar. Evidently, the leader rather resented the intrusion of a colored man into the profession and Walker claimed he wasn't being treated with the proper courtesy. He complained that his learned friend had a deep prejudice against him, so much so that he understood he had openly stated he would not attend Walker's funeral. At that time it was the custom to turn out the Law Society whenever a member died. The learned Counsel on the other side quickly rose to his feet and said "Your Honor, my friend is badly misinformed. Nothing would give me greater pleasure."³²

Herein lies the explanation of the insurmountable obstacles confronting Walker in his attempt to practice his profession. The narrative may just possibly relate to an actual incident in October 1893, involving Walker, which was reported in the Saint

³⁰Walker's name disappears from Hardy's *Canadian Law List* in 1902, seven years before his death.

³¹*Supra*, note 9.

³²*Supra*, note 9.

John newspapers. The occasion was chamber applications for *habeas corpus*, arising out of Scott Act (Canada Temperance Act), convictions in Kings County. Counsel for the petitioner was Robert LeBert Tweedie, the only resident barrister practicing in Hampton, the shire town. The application was being heard by Judge Palmer when Tweedie, who was in the midst of argument, collapsed and fell heavily onto Walker, thereby injuring Walker.³³ One wonders whether Walker, in view of Palmer's sympathetic support, was acting as law clerk.

Unquestionably the nadir of Walker's life in the law was his failure to become a Q.C. In 1893, thanks no doubt to the influence of his former principal, George Godfrey Gilbert, who was a Member of Council, Walker was appointed Librarian of the Saint John Law Society. Then in 1895, a number of prominent Black voters of Saint John City and County petitioned the conservative Minister of Justice, Sir Charles H. Tupper, to have Walker appointed as a Dominion Queen's Counsel.³⁴ The petitioners were assured that the distinction would be conferred when the next list was made out for New Brunswick. Walker himself also received assurances from both the local Conservative M.P.s and the Minister, just before and just after the near-run federal election of June 1896, that he would be included in the list then being made up. However, when the list became public, two days after the new Liberal government took office, Walker's name was not among the twenty-two New Brunswick barristers decorated, fully one-half of whom were from Saint John. As Dominion Q.C.s were patronage plums handed out on strictly political grounds, Walker correctly attributed his omission to racial prejudice: "[t]hey appointed Barristers who had as a matter of fact left the practice of the law altogether. In one instance [Coster & Coster] they appointed a whole firm and family of Barristers I was left off simply because I was a colored man and nothing else". Walker afterwards complained to the new Prime Minister, Wilfrid Laurier: "As soon as it was rumored that I was likely to be appointed there was a fierce conspiracy at once got up here to prevent it, and the Ministry at Ottawa had not the courage and fairness to face it and do me justice and fair play."³⁵ Walker took an optimistic view of his own qualifications and fitness for the honour, believing sincerely that the fact of his being Black should not stand in the way of his being appointed, if the government was satisfied that he was entitled to the honour on the grounds of professional merit: "I may say", he wrote in his letter to Prime Minister Laurier, at once pressing and renewing his application, "that while I do not claim to be a brilliant lawyer, I feel that I am just as much entitled to the rank of Q.C. as seventeen out of the twenty-two lawyers on the New Brunswick list made up by the late

³³The[Saint John] *Globe* (18 Oct 1893).

³⁴See generally Laurier papers: *supra* note 23, at 6207-6215; Order in Council PC 4316: "Dormants," 1896, Privy Council Office, RG 2, series A-1-c, vol. 5230, National Archives of Canada.

³⁵*Supra*, note 23.

[Conservative] government."³⁶ Two of the Saint John eleven even had less seniority at the bar than Walker.

Despite Walker's conviction that the "real and true cause" of his being left out was that he was Black, there may have been other reasons, chiefly of a political nature, which rendered Walker a victim of circumstances. In his report to Cabinet the new federal Minister of Justice, Senator Sir Oliver Mowat, remarked of the 173-strong list that the publication of the names contained in the recent Order had created a sensation among members of the profession and others. He also commented that:

the list has been very generally disapproved of, and that the disapproval is shared by some who are named on the list, as well as by gentlemen previously holding the rank of Queen's Counsel, and by others. An examination of the list shows that the selection of the names was not made on the basis of professional or personal merit. On the contrary, there are names in the list of gentlemen in regard to whom there could be no pretense or supposition of their having any claim on that ground, and, on the other hand, many gentlemen have been omitted from the list whose professional merit exceeds that of many of those named.³⁷

Needless to say, the offending Order in Council was annulled. Having been stabbed in the back by the leaders of his own defeated party, Walker at least had the satisfaction of knowing that none of the twenty-two New Brunswick barristers who were intended to receive the honour actually did. Of course, on the face of it, there was no reason why the Liberal government in Fredericton, or for that matter, in Ottawa, should ever have contemplated the appointment of Walker, an avowed Tory die-hard: "I was a Tory of the Tories", he confessed to Laurier, "and like Saul of Tarsus I persecuted the Liberals even unto strange Cities."³⁸ Piling irony upon irony, Walker even quoted as a reference Andrew George Blair, the former Liberal Premier and Attorney-General of New Brunswick turned federal cabinet minister, though hastening to add that he did so without Blair's knowledge or permission. This unfortunate episode had the effect of destroying Walker's allegiance to the Conservative Party, which he had faithfully and energetically supported for eighteen years in the expectation, but always without the benefit, of patronage accruing either to himself or to the Black community of Saint John, which was just too small and marginalized to achieve recognition. It was racial, not electoral politics which ultimately frustrated Walker's efforts. He never became a Q.C., nor did he live to see the decoration conferred on the only other Black Canadian lawyer of his generation. It is a poignant irony that the year following Walker's death Delos Rogest Davis of Ontario, who needed a statute to be called to the Bar of Ontario four years after

³⁶For this and what follows see letter from A.B. Walker to W. Laurier (3 Aug 1896): *supra* n. 23, at 6208-6210.

³⁷Minister's report, reprinted as "Appointment of Queen's Counsel" (1896) 32 Can. L.J. at 642-3.

³⁸*Supra*, note 23.

Walker, was appointed a King's Counsel. Those members of the Black community in Saint John who lobbied unsuccessfully for Walker's appointment as a Q.C. based their initiative on the fact that he was the first native African-Canadian to gain admission to the bar; that he was the first and until 1900, the only "colored Barrister" in the Maritime provinces; and that he was "the leading or representative man of [his] race"³⁹ in Atlantic Canada. In retrospect it is impossible not to concur with the judgement of his peers. To paraphrase historian Judith Fingard, Walker's reliance on British traditions of justice and fair play and on the moderate reformist approaches represented by newspaper articles, petitions and dialogue, did little to protect him against ridicule and contempt. Entry into the learned professions failed to mitigate racial prejudice. Walker wanted to work inside the system, reforming it from within, but the system would not have him.⁴⁰

As circumscribed and unsuccessful as Walker's career may have been within the context of a white-chauvinist culture, which would not accept him as a *practicing* barrister, his role as ideologist and race leader, derived from his status as a member of the learned professions, is of much greater historical significance. In particular, his approach to the "Negro problem" and his elaboration of "the philosophy of race development from a Canadian standpoint" require close examination.⁴¹ Moreover, Walker, though not an historian, deserves to be numbered among the Saint John School, those late Victorian literati whose achievements David Bell has rediscovered. "The products of Saint John's extensive professional community," writes Bell, "these gifted amateurs were to a striking extent lawyer-journalists."⁴² Walker's cultural magazine, *Neith*, "the first African-Canadian literary periodical,"⁴³ though it survived for barely a year, merits a study in itself. The time has come to prepare a

³⁹*Ibid.*

⁴⁰J. Fingard, "Race and Respectability in Victorian Halifax" (1992) 20(2) *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 169 at 189-90.

⁴¹A.B. Walker, *The Negro Problem; or The Philosophy of Race Development; from a Canadian Standpoint; A Lecture* (Atlanta: Constitution Publishing Company 1890).

⁴²D.G. Bell, "Introduction," in J.W. Lawrence, *The Judges of New Brunswick and Their Times* (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1985 [reprint of 1907 ed.], at v. Bell (note 1) is mistaken that Walker's magazine *Neith* was "directed at the Black community." Though intended to promote better understanding of the Black community among the ethnic majority, and to provide a forum for Black writers, *Neith* was among Walker's few publications *not* aimed at his confrères.

⁴³George Elliott Clarke, "Africana Canadiana: A Primary Bibliography of Literature by African-Canadian Authors, 1785-1996/97, in English, French and Translation," (1996) 28: 3 *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 107 at 112, 195. Only one of Walker's many published writings is noticed here, at 183; and Walker is misdescribed as born in the United States. For *Neith* see also D.R. Jack, "Acadian Magazines," (1903) 9(2) *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, ii, 173, at 199; and J. Russell Harper, *Historical Directory of New Brunswick Newspapers and Periodicals* (Fredericton: UNB, 1966), at 72, §307. For Harper a "Negro magazine" (p. xxii) was a magazine edited by a Black person; for Walker, however, *Neith* was not Black, nor even African-Canadian, but "Canadian" *tout court*.

comprehensive critical bibliography of Walker's *opera omnia*,⁴⁴ which would greatly enrich the corpus of Africadian literature and show him to have been, if not Canada's Marcus Garvey, then certainly its W.E.B. Du Bois. Both Walker and his younger contemporary Du Bois were Black intellectuals in revolt against Booker T. Washington's limited vision of Black people as hewers of wood and drawers of water.

⁴⁴A copy of Walker's circa 700-page *magnum opus* on the African Civilization Movement, the back-to-Africa organization of which he was "president and promoter," has not yet been located. Thought to have been published in New York in 1908, it is almost certainly an elaboration of the twenty-six sections of Walker's booklet, *A Message to the Public* (Saint John: Telegraph Book and Job Print, 1905) at 31.