



THE IMMIGRATION & SETTLEMENT  
OF THE

# black refugees

OF THE  
WAR OF 1812  
IN  
NOVA SCOTIA  
& NEW BRUNSWICK



John N. Grant

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# BLACK REFUGEES

THE BLACK CULTURAL  
CENTRE FOR NOVA SCOTIA



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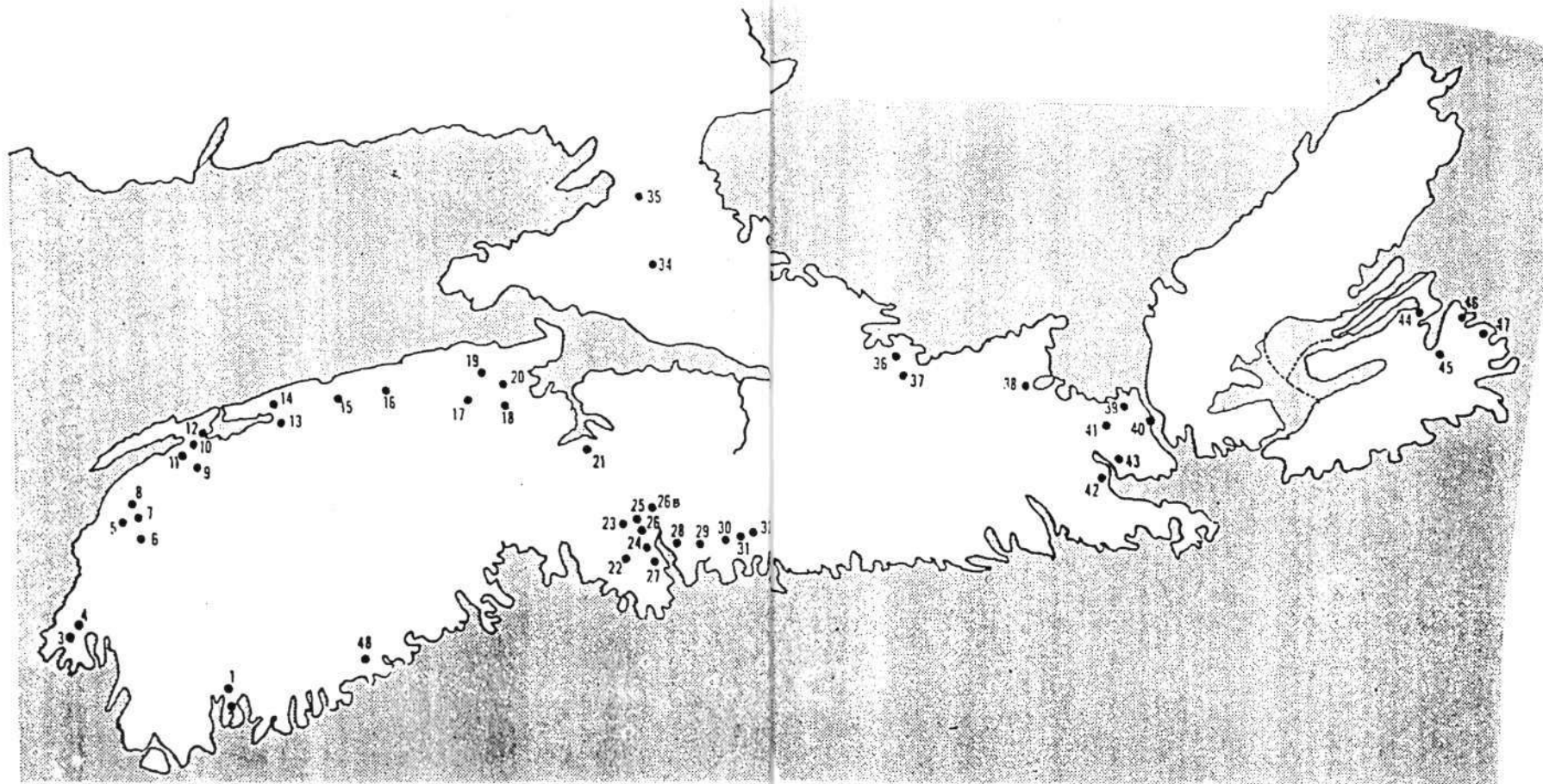
BY  
JOHN N. GRANT

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**CENTRE FOR NOVA SCOTIA**

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|--------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|---|
| 1. Shelburne       | *13. LeQuille               | *25. Lucasville    | 36. Trenton             | 48. Liverpool                                     |
| *2. Birchtown      | *14. Granville Ferry        | 26. Cobequid Road  | 37. New Glasgow         |   |
| 3. Yarmouth        | *15. Inglewood (Bridgetown) | *26B. Maroon Hill  | 38. Antigonish          |   |
| *4. Greenville     | 16. Middleton               | 27. Halifax        | *39. Monastery          |   |
| *5. Southville     | *17. Cambridge              | 28. Dartmouth      | *40. Mulgrave           |   |
| *6. Danvers        | *18. Gibson Woods           | *29. Lake Loon     | *41. Upper Big Tracadie |   |
| *7. Hassett        | *19. Aldershot              | *30. Cherry Brook  | *42. Lincolnville       |   |
| *8. Weymouth Falls | 20. Kentville               | *31. North Preston | *43. Sunnyville         |   |
| *9. Jordantown     | *21. Three Mile Plains      | *32. East Preston  | 44. North Sydney        |   |
| *10. Conway        | *22. Beechville             | 33. Truro          | 45. Sydney              |   |
| *11. Acaciaville   | *23. Hammonds Plains        | 34. Springhill     | 46. New Waterford       |   |
| 12. Digby          | 24. Africville              | 35. Amherst        | 47. Glace Bay           | * Specific rural black communities in Nova Scotia |

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## PUBLISHER'S NOTE

THE BLACK CULTURAL CENTRE FOR NOVA SCOTIA is pleased to be associated with this publication. As part of its mandate, the Centre undertakes research, and encourages research, on Nova Scotia black history and society. Some publications emerge as a result of these endeavours while others, like the present publication, results from co-operative ventures with distinguished scholars working in this field.

The Black Cultural Centre is proud to recognize Dr. John Grant as one such scholar who has made a significant contribution to the development and dissemination of knowledge on Nova Scotia's black history. Indeed, John Grant ranks among the pioneering few who, over the years, have worked quietly but constructively, opening new frontiers and inspiring by example and productivity. This area of investigation cries out for more researchers and writers.

John Grant's study, with its considerable body of source material, will enable students and researchers to move into detailed studies of various aspects which are opened up as a result of the foundations and framework provided in this book.

The Black Cultural Centre acknowledges its gratitude to its Executive Director who initiated this publication and worked on it even after assuming the position of Acting Executive Director of the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission on August 14, 1989.

The Centre and its parent body, the Black Cultural Society, wishes also to gratefully acknowledge the financial support received from Secretary of State, Multiculturalism, in project funding and from the Nova Scotia Department of Tourism and Culture for operations funding which, together, have made this publication possible.

Maxine Brooks  
Acting Executive Director  
Henry Bishop  
Curator  
Anne Johnson  
Programme Officer

August 25, 1989

## INTRODUCTION

THIS PAPER IS reproduced and presented here not without some considerable trepidation on the part of the author. This account was originally produced as part of the requirements for a Master of Arts degree in History from the University of New Brunswick in 1970. Consequently it is now twenty years old and this fact is represented by the material listed in the bibliography. However, when Dr. Bridglal Pachai of the Black Cultural Centre approached me concerning the possibility of making the material more widely available, he assured me that the heart of the material, that dealing with the black refugees, was still very useful. I have been pleased to accept his kind assurances, but with certain provisions.

First, I want the reader to be aware that while the early material written by Robin Winks and by James Walker was available to me, this study was completed without the complete text of either *Blacks in Canada: A History* (1971) or *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870* (1976), or any subsequent scholarship of these authors, especially that of James Walker. To partly compensate for this situation I have included a supplementary bibliography which should be useful to those interested in the study of the history of black Nova Scotians.

Second, Chapter I was written completely from the secondary sources then available and can most usefully be used in concert with the new materials, including some of my own

work which I built on this foundation.

Third, the remainder of this text was based on my then best judgement of the primary sources and other available material. While Robin Winks has also covered the story of the black refugees of the War of 1812, maybe there is sufficient distinction in our interpretations of their story to warrant making this material more readily available.

Fourth, this account has not been rewritten. While some editing, to correct errors in presentation and style has been undertaken, it is presented "warts and all," as it was written twenty years ago.

Fifth, this account only deals with a small part of the history of black Nova Scotians. While some more work has been done in this field, there is still much to be done. Only the time, work, and energy of historians and interested researchers, and such groups as the Black Educators Association and the Black Cultural Centre, can ensure the continuing unfolding story of Afro-Canadians in general and Nova Scotians in particular.

Under these circumstances and limitations, I make this material available and hope that it will serve a useful purpose.

J.N.G.

1989

## DEDICATION

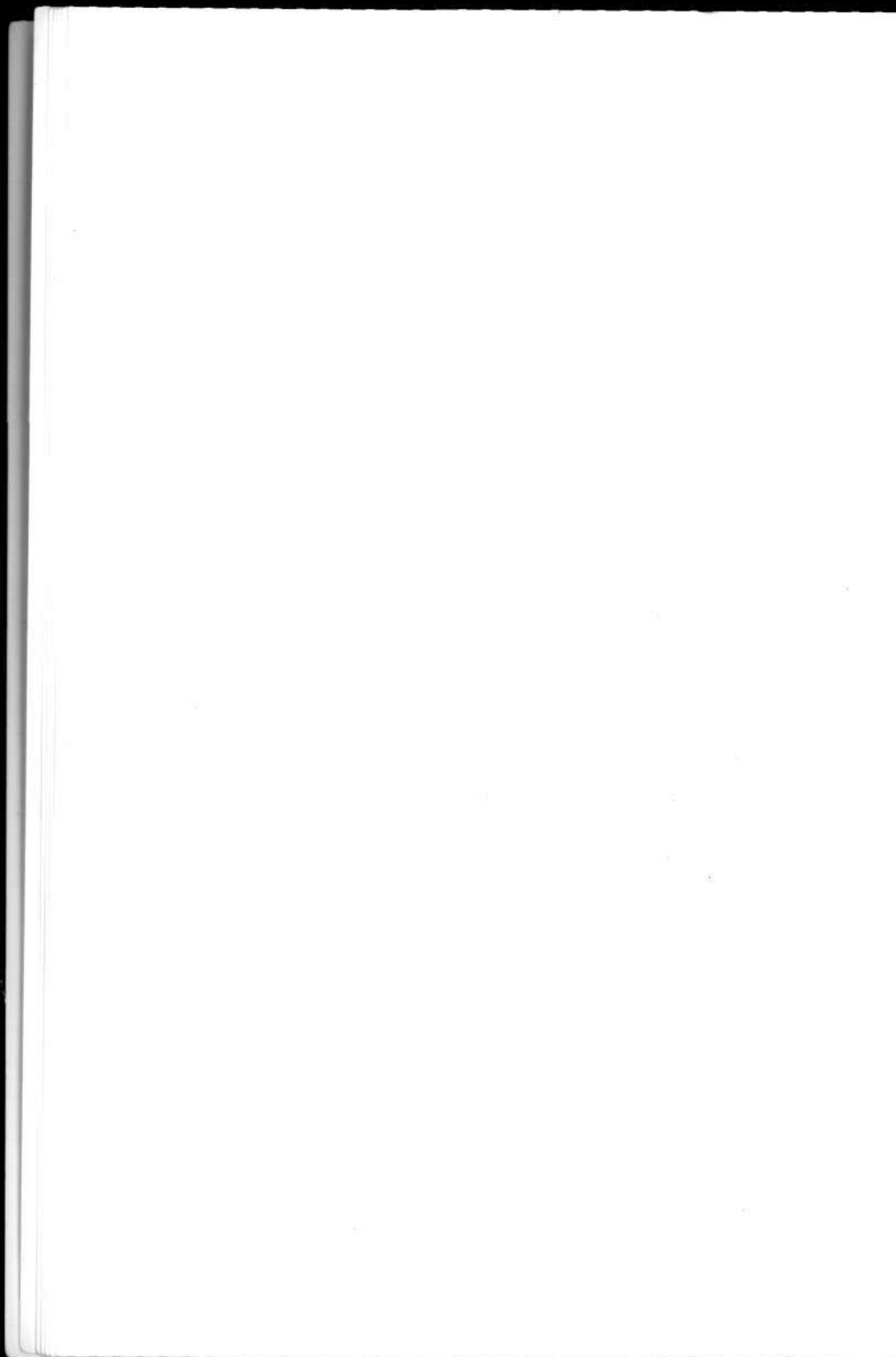
In 1970 this study was dedicated to, and acknowledged my debt to, my parents, Wilkie and Jean Grant of Guysborough, N.S. and to the late Dr. Phyllis R. Blakeley. It continues to be so dedicated.

It is further dedicated to the memory of my nephew, Charles Norman Grant (1968-1988) whose too short life covered my years of work on this material.

My thanks is extended to Dr. Bridglal Pachai and the Black Cultural Centre and to Principal Margaret A. Swan of the Nova Scotia Teachers College for their encouragement and to Yvonne MacDougall who kindly typed the manuscript.

John N. Grant, Ed.D.  
Nova Scotia Teachers College  
Truro, N.S.

April, 1989



CHAPTER 1

**Immigrants and Emigrants:  
Blacks in Nova Scotia and  
New Brunswick Prior to  
The War of 1812**

ONE OF THE paradoxes of the Atlantic migration was that almost side by side with the ships that carried the oppressed people of Europe to a free land and a free life in America were the ships that carried the free people of Africa to a life of slavery and generations of oppression. Faced with a seemingly limitless quantity of fertile land and a great scarcity of labourers, the stream of slaves developed into a torrent and the black man became known in even the remote corners of the east coast of North America. But even before the large numbers brought to cultivate the sugar islands of the West Indies arrived, record of blacks within the boundaries of early Nova Scotia can be found. Indeed, the first indication of black presence is at least as early as 1606 when Mathieu da Costa was reported to have been working at Port Royal as an interpreter for the de Monts fur trading venture. Mathieu da Costa was one of the four men who died of scurvy during the winter of 1606-1607. Accordingly, he was likely both the first black person to live, and to die, in Nova Scotia. A later reference is found in M. Meulles' census of the French in Acadia in 1686. He notes among the settlers at Cape Sable the name "La Liberté, le negre." It is likely that this man was an escaped slave who made his way to Acadia from one of the English colonies.<sup>1</sup> In the northern portion of Acadia, later to become



Mathieu daCosta was likely the first recorded black man in the region. Well educated and baptised, he had previously visited the area with the Portuguese and had become fluent in the Micmac language. He served as an interpreter with the deMonts' expedition but died of scurvy at Port Royal during the winter of 1606-1607.

the Province of New Brunswick, proof of the black presence is found only ten years later. In 1696, returning from an expedition against the Baron St. Castin and the Indians at Penobscot, Major Benjamin Church brought back with him to Boston, a black man, formerly of Marblehead, who had been for some time a prisoner of the French.<sup>2</sup> This man was undoubtedly among the earliest of his race within the boundaries of present-day New Brunswick.

The complexities of English-French treaty negotiations which resulted in the 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the subsequent return of Cape Breton to France, necessitated the founding of Halifax in 1749 to offset the military might of Louisbourg. It is at Halifax that evidence of black presence is found under British rule of the province. The report of victualled persons given before Governor Edward Cornwallis on 28 November 1750, included fourteen blacks.<sup>3</sup> It does not state whether these men were free or slave, but certainly there is ample proof of the existence of the latter in Halifax; "In September, 1751," the *Boston Evening Post* advertised:

Just arrived from Halifax and to be sold, ten strong negro men, mostly tradesmen, such as caulkers, carpenters, sail makers, and ropemakers; any person wishing to purchase may inquire of Benjamin Hallowell of Boston.<sup>4</sup>

In the following year, the *Halifax Gazette* carried an advertisement for a sale of slaves there:

Just imported, and to be sold by Joshua Mauger, at Major Lockman's store in Halifax, several negro slaves as follows: a woman aged thirty-five, two boys aged twelve and thirteen respectively, two of eighteen and a man aged thirty.<sup>5</sup>

A similar sale, held just over a fortnight later, on the 30th of May 1752, offering "a very likely wench," two boys and three men,<sup>6</sup> and other such advertisements throughout this period demonstrate that slavery was an accepted institution.

Whether or not it was recognized in law was a question which was later to be discussed at length in the courts in Nova Scotia<sup>7</sup> and also in New Brunswick.<sup>8</sup>

Indications of the existence of slavery in New Brunswick date from the year 1767:

On the 20th of June in this year James Simonds wrote from St. John to Messrs. Hazen and Jarvis, his partners in New England, informing them that he had promised 30 to 40 hogsheads of lime, manufactured at St. John, and to a merchant in Halifax. He adds: 'Expect nothing but to disappoint him as that rascal negro West cannot be flattered or drove to do one forth [sic] a man's work; shall give him a strong dose on Monday morning which will make him better or worse, no dependence can be put on him.'

Since free blacks were rare in North America at this time, it is likely that West was a slave of one of the partners of the St. John firm.<sup>9</sup> Obviously, West had chosen this method of protesting his slavery.

Together with the notices of slave sales, the local papers carried numerous advertisements for runaways, usually containing cautions to sea captains which might indicate their likely method of escape,<sup>10</sup> and indicating another way slaves protested their bondage. In pre-Loyalist Nova Scotia, with the value of slaves running from £20 to £35 for women and £50 to £100 for men,<sup>11</sup> the loss of a slave could be a serious financial set-back and this factor explains the numerous advertisements for the return of missing slaves. T.W. Smith in his article "The Slave in Canada" prints several of these:

Ran away from her master, John Rock, on Monday, the 18th day of August last, a negro girl named Thursday, about four and a half feet high, broad set, with a lump over her right eye. Had on when she went away a red cloth petticoat, a red-baize bed-gown, and a red ribbon about her head. Whoever may harbour said negro girl, or

encourage her to stay away from her said master, may depend upon being prosecuted as the law directs; and whoever may be so kind as to take her up and send her home to her said master shall be paid all costs and charges with two dollars reward for their trouble.

Smith explains further that apparently Thursday did not manage to retain her freedom for "in the 'inventory of the late John Rock' as recorded in Halifax probate court in 1776, this item — 'a negro wench, named Thursday' appears . . ." and was later sold by the executors of the estate for twenty pounds, five less than the sum for which she had been appraised.<sup>12</sup>

In the "General Return" of the townships of Nova Scotia made by Lieutenant-Governor Michael Franklin on 1 January 1767, the blacks appeared in a separate column. This return gave the number of persons in Nova Scotia as 13,374, and 104 of these were black. Halifax contained by far the greatest number, with over one-half, 54 in all, resident in the capital.<sup>13</sup> The others were scattered throughout the province with two in Canso, seven on Cape Breton Island, six at Annapolis, one at Maugerville, and others in the various townships.<sup>14</sup>

External rather than internal developments produced the events that led to the next phase not only of black history in Nova Scotia, but of the history of Nova Scotia in general. In the 1770s the Yankees of Nova Scotia cast anxious eyes southward, viewing with increasing alarm the breakdown in relations between the mother country and her colonies. Sympathy for the principles of the revolution and concern for the fate of her sister colonies on the Atlantic seaboard were no doubt strong in outpost Nova Scotia. However, the only military attempt to include Nova Scotia with the revolting colonies, the invasion led by two disaffected members of the Nova Scotia Assembly — Jonathon Eddy and John Allan — was a failure. The Province's scattered communities and poor communications, the presence of the British naval base at Halifax, dependence on the Halifax market, the presence of uninterested segments of the population, such as the

Lunenburg German and the Yorkshire English, the lack of aid and leadership from the Continental Congress and the religious revival in the province — all these kept Nova Scotia “loyal” to the British Crown.<sup>15</sup>

The defeat of Lord Charles Cornwallis at Yorktown on 19 October 1781 sounded the death knell for the hopes of thousands of supporters of the Royal cause in America. The Loyalists were left with a decision — either to put action to their avowed principles and leave the republic to rebuild their lives under the system in which they professed belief, or to return to their homes and hope that their neighbours would forget their stand and allow them back into the community. Many neighbours did not forget, however, and necessity as well as loyalty brought many to the former decision.<sup>16</sup> For them, as for the hundreds who served in His Majesty's land forces, the decision became not whether to go, but where to go. Some went to Britain; others to the West Indies and the Province of Quebec; thousands chose Nova Scotia.<sup>17</sup>

Among the multitudes awaiting evacuation from New York were several thousand blacks,<sup>18</sup> formerly slaves, who had been induced to flee their masters and cross British lines seeking the liberty and protection promised by the proclamation of Sir Henry Clinton.<sup>19</sup> Over the objections of General George Washington and the American Congress, Sir Guy Carleton determined to remove the blacks from New York with the other Loyalists under his charge.<sup>20</sup> Included among these blacks were the ‘Black Pioneers,’ an all black regiment under the command of Colonel Bluck. This was the only black regiment established by the British, although other regiments had black buglers and labourers.<sup>21</sup>

Governor John Parr of Nova Scotia, in a letter to Lord Shelburne dated July, 1783, noted that he was expecting a ‘Brigade of Blacks’ totalling 1500 in number.<sup>22</sup> Arriving at Shelburne in August, they were, by order of the Governor, settled “up the N[orth] W[est] Harbour”<sup>23</sup> and called their settlement Birchtown, in honour of General Birch, commandant of the City of New York. They received not only

free land but, as was given to all the immigrants, rations for three years<sup>24</sup> and other aid necessary for their establishment. They were the fortunate ones in that they received anything. Many of the free black settlers in Nova Scotia never received any assistance. Those who did receive land usually were given very small lots and generally only after white claimants were served. Other free blacks were, however, settled at Digby, Annapolis, St. John and Preston,<sup>25</sup> with smaller settlements elsewhere,<sup>26</sup> while others found employment in Halifax and the larger centres. In total it is estimated that between 3,000 and 3,500 blacks<sup>27</sup> came to Nova Scotia, of whom about one-half, 1,521, were mustered in Shelburne in 1784.<sup>28</sup>

Together with the free blacks, large numbers of slaves were brought into Nova Scotia by their fleeing Loyalist masters. A "Return to the disbanded troops and Loyalists settling in Nova Scotia" was made by Colonel Morse, commanding Royal Engineer, under instructions from Sir Guy Carleton in the autumn of 1783 and summer of 1784 for the purpose of ascertaining the number entitled to the "Royal Bounty of Provisions":<sup>29</sup>

In the column allotted to "servants" are, Dartmouth 41; Country Harbour, 41; Chedabucto, 61; Island St. John, now Prince Edward Island, 26; Antigonish, 18; Cumberland, etc., 21; Partridge Island, now Parrsboro, 69; Cornwallis and Horton, 38; Newport and Kennetcook, 22; Windsor, 21; Annapolis Royal, etc., 230; Digby, 152; St. Mary's Bay, 13; Shelburne ..... ; River St. John, 441; a total number, inclusive of some small figures not quoted, of twelve hundred and thirty-two persons, to nearly all of whom must have belonged the appellation of "slave."<sup>30</sup>

As no slaves or 'servants for life' were recorded for either Shelburne or Cape Breton Island and as there is no doubt that they existed in both localities,<sup>31</sup> the number 1,232 is not extravagant. The 441 slaves reported on the "River St. John"



A black woodcutter at Shelburne, Nova Scotia, 1788.

William Booth, Watercolour  
Public Archives of Canada

in the above were augmented by others who arrived with their masters after the partition of Nova Scotia in 1784. The creation of the province of New Brunswick opened eagerly-sought-after government positions and many of the seekers who moved to the "Loyalist Province" owned slaves.<sup>32</sup> In addition to the slaves there were a number of free blacks settled in New Brunswick. A "*Return of Disbanded Loyalists*" mustered on the St. John River who received certificates of the "*Royal Bounty Provisions*," dated 25 September 1784, lists 182 persons under the heading "Black Companies."<sup>33</sup> At the Milkish settlement a report dated 14 January 1784, lists 251 "Black Refugees on the north side of the creek."<sup>34</sup> Further

report on the free blacks in New Brunswick is found in the correspondence of Governor Thomas Carleton and Henry Dundas. Writing in December, 1791, Carleton informed the British Government of the action taken to accommodate the blacks upon their arrival in the province. At first they, in common with the other new settlers, were granted lots in the Town of St. John. However, it becomes increasingly clear that, when the "King's Bounty" was discontinued, they would never be able to subsist upon town lots. Accordingly, early in 1785, it was suggested to them that those who wished to become farmers should form themselves into companies and that any vacant land they wished to occupy would be surveyed and laid out for them in 50-acre lots. When they proved their industry to the Government, additional allotments would be available. After their formation into three companies, a tract of land was surveyed for each group in situations they had respectively pointed out. Governor Carleton goes on to say:

Their choice naturally fell on lands as near as could be had to the market of Saint John. The first consisted of forty-seven lots situate on the Nerepis Creek and adjoining the southern boundary of Major Coffin's farm. The second consisting of fifty lots was located on the Melkish [sic] Creek; and the third of twenty-four lots adjoining the lands of the Orange Rangers at Oraquaco.<sup>35</sup>

W.O. Raymond concludes that very few of the blacks became farmers<sup>36</sup> as the majority preferred to enter the service of private families where wages were good, owing to the scarcity of laborers. Although these attempted settlements were apparently unsuccessful, another was to prove more lasting. Otnabog, although not established until about 1812, was settled by freed slaves and free blacks of Loyalist ancestry.<sup>37</sup>

As the 1780s wore into the 1790s, some of the heady enthusiasm and great expectations of the Loyalists disappeared. The planned role of the reorganized provinces as

suppliers of the West Indian market failed to be realized as only the longest established settlements had foodstuffs available for export. Often faced with infertile and rocky land, with isolation, and sometimes failing to make use of what opportunities were available,<sup>38</sup> many flourishing Loyalist communities dwindled to the point of disappearing.<sup>39</sup> The decline of these settlements and more especially Shelburne, which threw many of Birchtown's 649 breadwinners out of work, seriously affected the fortunes of hundreds of blacks. Coupled with a 1789 famine and faced with racial intolerance and the militant opposition of white labourers, whom they would undersell, the black settlers in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick became disillusioned with what they believed would be the land of freedom.<sup>40</sup> As the numbers of Loyalists diminished, so did the number of slaves in the two provinces since they were obliged to follow their "masters."<sup>41</sup> The Loyalist blacks, however, suffered under an additional disability that their white neighbours lacked — they were less able to flee "Nova Scarcity" and return to the United States, as did many disgruntled white Loyalists.<sup>42</sup>

Among the dejected and disappointed of the free black settlers of Nova Scotia was Thomas Peters, formerly a sergeant in the regiment of "Black Pioneers." Peters had settled at Annapolis and later applied for land in New Brunswick. Upon the rejection of his application, Peters removed to Britain where he laid a petition of his grievances<sup>43</sup> before Lord Grenville, Secretary of State for the Colonies. In early August, 1791, dispatches on the subject of the treatment of the free blacks were sent to Governors Parr of Nova Scotia and Carleton of New Brunswick. The Governors were reprimanded for the neglect complained of and ordered to inquire immediately into the facts, and, if the complaints were found true, they were to take the necessary steps to atone for the injustice. The Governors were further informed that, since the petitioner was interested in removing to a warmer climate and as the Sierra Leone Company had expressed interest in their situation, they were to make inquiries as to how many of

the free blacks desired to emigrate to Sierra Leone in western Africa. Likewise, they were ordered to inquire as to the number of blacks that might be willing to enlist for military service in the West Indies, either as a separate corps or to be attached to a regiment on duty there.<sup>44</sup> In reply, the Governors insisted that no intentional injustice had been committed in their respective provinces and that there was little interest in enlisting. On the other hand, numbers of persons were interested in emigrating to Sierra Leone.

On 7 October 1791, John Clarkson, agent of the Sierra Leone Company, arrived in Halifax to take charge of organizing the emigration of the black Loyalists.<sup>45</sup> Travelling widely throughout the province, Clarkson met with groups of blacks and explained the plan, arranged for lodging, transports, and saw to all the details that necessarily accompany such an undertaking. Clarkson, who laboured under the difficulty of travelling to isolated communities, faced the opposition of white Nova Scotians,<sup>46</sup> and ignorant of the situation in England and Sierra Leone, had completely expended himself physically and, on the date of departure, had to be hoisted on board ship in a basket.<sup>47</sup>

It had also been part of the government's original intention to use black dissatisfaction to benefit the Empire by forming a West Indian regiment of Loyalist blacks. A recruiting officer, Lieutenant Francis M. Miller, had come from the West Indies in early October, but the Sierra Leone offer proved so attractive that few were inclined to enlist in the army instead of going to Africa.<sup>48</sup> Early in the new year, with costs rising, enlistments for the new colony were cut off and transports made ready for the voyage. On 15 January 1792, the fleet, consisting of about 1,190 persons<sup>49</sup> — 222 of them from New Brunswick — left Halifax Harbour bound for Africa. On board were "almost all the Baptists,"<sup>50</sup> Moses Wilkinson's Methodist congregation,<sup>52</sup> and groups from Digby, Preston, Halifax, and Saint John. The British government expended close to £16,000 on the emigration of the black Loyalists, a large sum when it is considered that the entire budget of Nova

FREE SETTLEMENT  
ON THE  
COAST OF AFRICA.

THE SIERRA LEONE COMPANY, willing to receive into their Colony such Free Blacks as are able to produce to their Agents, Lieutenant CLAREMONT, of His Majesty's Navy, and Mr. LAWRENCE HARTMOND, of Halifax, or either of them, satisfactory Testimonials of their Characters, (more particularly as to Honesty, Sobriety, and Industry) think it proper to notify, in an explicit manner, upon what Terms they will receive, at SIERRA LEONE, those who bring with them written Certificates of Approbation from either of the said Agents, which Certificates they are hereby respectively authorized to grant or withhold at Discretion.

*It is therefore declared by the Company,*

THAT every Free Black (upon producing such a Certificate) shall have a Grant of not less than TWENTY ACRES of LAND for himself, TEN for his Wife, and FIVE for every Child, upon such terms and subject to such charges and obligations, (with a view to the general prosperity of the Company,) as shall hereafter be settled by the Company, in respect to the Grants of Lands to be made by them to all Settlers, whether Black or White.

THAT for all Stores, Provisions, &c. supplied from the Company's Warehouse, the Company shall receive an equitable compensation, according to fixed rules, extending to Blacks and Whites indiscriminately.

THAT the civil, military, personal, and commercial rights and duties of Blacks and Whites, shall be the same, and secured in the same manner.

AND, for the full assurance of personal protection from slavery to all such Black Settlers, the Company have subjoined a Copy of a Clause contained in the Act of Parliament whereby they are incorporated, viz.

—“PROVIDED ALSO, and be it further enacted, that it shall not be lawful for the said Company, either directly or indirectly, by itself or themselves, or by the agents or servants of the said Company, or otherwise howsoever, to deal or traffic in the buying or selling of Slaves, or in any manner whatsoever to have, hold, appropriate, or employ any person or persons in a state of slavery in the service of the said Company.”

*Given under our Hands, LONDON, the 2d Day of AUGUST, 1791.*

Henry Thornton, *Chairman,*  
Philip Sanfom, *Dep. Chairman,*  
Charles Middleton,  
William Wilberforce,  
Granville Sharp,  
John Kingdon,  
Samuel Parker,

Directors.

Joseph Hardcastle,  
Thomas Clarkson,  
Vickeris Taylor,  
William Sanford,  
Thomas Fildred,  
George Wulfe.

N. B. For the convenience of those who are possessed of property which they cannot dispose of before their departure, the Company will authorize an Agent, who, on receiving from any Proprietor a sufficient power for that purpose, shall sell the same for his benefit, and remit the Purchase-money (through the hands of the Company) to such Proprietor at Sierra Leone.

Free Settlement on the Coast of Africa. In 1791 posters like this informed the Black Loyalists in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick of new opportunities in the British colony of Sierra Leone on the west coast of Africa. Many of the frustrated left.

Public Archives of Nova Scotia

Scotia in 1792 amounted to only £5,326.17.6.<sup>53</sup> On 29 May 1792, the *Royal Gazette* announced "We are happy to have it in our power to inform the public that the fleet which sailed from hence last January with the free Blacks, all arrived safe after a passage of forty days," (and with this notice the emigrated Black Loyalists disappear from Nova Scotian history).

The second immigration of free blacks, like the first, developed from events entirely divorced from Nova Scotian affairs. In Jamaica the Maroons — defined in Littré's French dictionary as "a fugitive slave who betakes himself to the woods"<sup>55</sup> — had, since 1655 and the British conquest, waged intermittent warfare against the white inhabitants of the Island. Hostilities, interrupted by periods of peace of varying duration, were resumed in 1795. The military under the command of General Walpole, and aided by Cuban bloodhounds,<sup>56</sup> was able to strike quickly and the war was practically over by the end of January, 1796, although the final surrender was not until March. The Jamaican legislature, tired of the expense of maintaining peace, decided to rid themselves of the problem. Preparations were made for their expulsion and plans laid for their settlement in Lower Canada:

Upper Canada had also been suggested as a suitable place, but finally the decision was arrived at that they were to be taken to Halifax, there to remain until instructions were received from the Secretary of State, and Messrs. Quarrel and Ochterlony, the commissaries who were to accompany the banished Maroons were directed accordingly.<sup>57</sup>

On 6 June 1796, three transports, the *Dover*, *Mary*, and *Anne*,<sup>58</sup> sailed from Port Royal Harbour, arriving in Halifax<sup>59</sup> on the 21st, and landing 543<sup>60</sup> Maroon men, women, and children. The Duke of Kent, then Commander-in-chief of the British Army in North America, impressed with the manly character of the Maroons, employed the entire group to work on the new fortifications at Citadel Hill.<sup>61</sup> Sir John



Rose Fortune served as the first (and unofficial) policewoman in Annapolis Royal. She also started a truckage business with her wheelbarrow which developed into a hauling firm which lasted for generations. Rose Fortune's descendants include the first female mayor of Annapolis Royal.

Wentworth, who replaced Governor Parr in August 1792, having suggested that they would be good settlers, received instructions from the Duke of Portland to settle the Maroons in Nova Scotia "if it could be done without injury to the colony."<sup>62</sup> Accordingly the two commissioners responsible, with credit of £25,000, Jamaica currency, from the Island government expended £3,000 on 5,000 acres of land and

construction in the neighbourhood of Preston. Wentworth, keenly interested<sup>63</sup> in their welfare, obtained an allowance of £240 annually for the support of a school and to provide religious instruction.<sup>64</sup> Following the first winter, the Maroons, bred into a warrior culture, became increasingly discontented. Wentworth writes of them, "they wish to be sent to India or somewhere in the east, to be landed with arms in some country with a climate like that they left, where they might take possession with a strong hand . . ." <sup>65</sup>

The unusually severe winters of 1796-97 and 1797-98 increased the discomfort and shortened the tempers of the Maroons. In the spring of 1799 Sir John was forced to dispatch Captain Solomon and 50 men of the Royal Nova Scotia Regiment to Preston and withhold supplies from the most refractory to maintain order.<sup>66</sup> Wentworth became increasingly disillusioned with the Maroons' potential as settlers and the monies granted for their support by the Jamaican government was running out. Since they were unwilling to support themselves and must necessarily have become a charge on the public purse, and in accordance with their own request, the Lieutenant-Governor agreed that the only course of action was to remove them. In 1796, before the Maroons arrived in Nova Scotia, Sierra Leone had been suggested as a possible place of settlement. The Company, whose relations with the black Loyalists of Nova Scotia had not been entirely cordial,<sup>67</sup> refused to entertain the notion of receiving a "body of negroes whose reputation could not be held to warrant such a step."<sup>68</sup> In 1799 the Secretary of State reopened negotiations with the Sierra Leone Company on the subject of the Maroons. The company remained unenthusiastic. Sir John Wentworth, on the other hand, gave his approval to the scheme and added that the inhabitants would be pleased with their removal.<sup>69</sup> Having finally persuaded the Sierra Leone Company to receive them, preparations were made for their transportation to Africa. "On the 6th of August Wentworth reported that they had embarked and were ready to sail."<sup>70</sup>

The advertisement below appeared in The Royal Gazette  
And The Nova Scotia Advertiser.

NUMBER 1111

THE ROYAL AND THE NOVA-SCOTIA ADVERTISER.



THE ROYAL AND THE NOVA-SCOTIA ADVERTISER.

TUESDAY, July 3, 1792.

DIGBY, 21st June 1792.



**R**UN AWAY, Joseph and Peter Lawrence (Negroes) from their Masters, and left Digby last evening, the first mentioned is about Twenty four years of Age, five Feet six Inches high, had on a light brown Coat, red Waistcoat and thicklet Breeches, but took other Cloaths with him, he is a likely young Fellow with remarka'le white Teeth.— The other is about five Feet eight Inches high, very Black, had on lightish coloured Clothes.—Whoever will secure said Negroes so that their Masters may have them again, shall receive TEN DOLLARS Reward, and all reasonable Charges paid.

DANIEL ODELL,  
PHILIP EARL.

The persistence of the demand for freedom is attested to by the frequent advertisements for the apprehension of runaway apprentices or slaves.

Public Archives of Nova Scotia

The second experiment with the immigration and settlement of free blacks in Nova Scotia ended, like the first, with their eventual emigration. The experiment cost the Jamaican government "upwards of forty-six thousand pounds . . . and a very great outlay on the part of the British government."<sup>71</sup> On 1 October 1800, the Maroons arrived in Freetown Harbour, Sierra Leone, where upon disembarking, they assisted in quelling the insurrection of the black Loyalists who had previously emigrated from Nova Scotia.

Although the emigration of the black Loyalists and the Maroons reduced the black population of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, there remained in the provinces numbers of free blacks, mainly located in the urban centres.<sup>72</sup> There also remained in the provinces numbers of black slaves:

In 1798 Jeremiah Northrup offered a reward through the ROYAL GAZETTE to any person who would bring to Mr. Davis Rudolph at Halifax, or to himself at Falmouth, a 'negro boy . . . a smart likely lad;' . . . and by a certificate acknowledged before a justice of the peace James Cox of Shelburne, in 1800 hired 'my slave, Georgia Cox, to Captain Samuel Mann, of the brig *Greyhound* for a costing voyage of Newfoundland and back.<sup>73</sup>

In 1804 a slave was sold in Annapolis<sup>74</sup> and on 2 March 1807, Simon Fitch of Wolfville purchased one, Nelly, for £39 from the Allison estate in what is considered to be the last slave sale in Nova Scotia.<sup>75</sup> In New Brunswick bills of sale dated 1797,<sup>76</sup> 1804, and 1808<sup>77</sup> prove beyond doubt the continued presence of slaves in that province. The subject of the 1804 purchase was again sold in "about 1810, to James Isaac Hewson, with whom he remained until after the emancipation of slaves."<sup>78</sup> He was undoubtedly one of the last slaves in New Brunswick. The latest known advertisement for the public sale of a black slave appeared in the *Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser* of 7 September 1790, in Halifax while the notice of Daniel Brown in the New Brunswick *Royal Gazette* of 16 October 1809 is the last known advertisement for the private sale of a slave.<sup>79</sup> In the 10 July 1816 issue of the *Royal Gazette* of New Brunswick appears the last offer of a reward for the apprehension of a runaway.<sup>80</sup>

These instances would apparently disprove the October, 1796, statement of Governor Wentworth to the Duke of Portland that "slavery being almost exterminated here, distinctions naturally painful to those people are gradually dying away."<sup>81</sup> This statement, unsupported by fact, may be a closer illustration of the spirit of the time. Anti-slavery sentiment in Nova Scotia followed public opinion of the time in England.<sup>82</sup> In Britain, pushed by various philanthropic men and groups, it was first declared illegal to remove a slave from the country; then Judge Mansfield's decision in 1772 declared "the state of slavery so odious that nothing could support it but

Part Copy of the Deed of Sale of a Slave  
Sold at Windsor, N.S., in August, 1779.

Know all men by these Presents  
that I, Joseph Northrup of Falmouth in King  
County for and in consideration of the sum of One  
Hundred Pounds to me in hand paid at & before the  
Sealing and Delivering thereof by John Parmer of  
Windsor and the Receipt whereof I do hereby Acknowledge  
have Bargained and Sold & by these Presents do Bargain  
and Sell unto the said John Parmer of Windsor a  
negro Man Named Mintur Now Remaining and  
Being in the Said Joseph Northrup

to have and to hold..... the said Negro man  
..... the said Joseph Northrup have put the  
Said John Parmer in full Possession by Delivering  
him the Above Said Negro man at the Sealing  
Hereof

In Witness Whereof I have Put my  
hand and Seal this twenty fourth Day of August  
in the year of our Lord one thousand Seven Hundred  
and Seventy nine.

Witness:

Stephen Herrington  
Gerald Northrup

Joseph Northrup  
(Seal)

Slaves could be inherited, purchased, and sold like any other "property." Deeds and wills can be found in Registry and Probate offices in various communities in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

positive law”<sup>83</sup> and freed the nation’s 14,000 slaves. In 1807 the “General Abolition Act” abolished the slave trade and finally slavery within the British Empire was abolished by an Act of the Imperial Parliament in 1833. In Nova Scotia, too, anti-slavery feeling was growing. The open letters and pamphlets of the Rev. James MacGregor<sup>84</sup> in 1778, damning the practice of slavery and those involved in it, received the sympathetic eye of most non-slaveholding Nova Scotians. In 1787 a clause inserted in an ‘act for regulating servants’ was rejected by the House of Assembly on the grounds that slavery did not exist in the province, and ought not to be mentioned.<sup>85</sup> Again, in April, 1789, a bill entitled “The Regulation and Relief of the free Negroes within the Province of Nova Scotia” was rejected by Council, as passing it would necessarily approve the clause recognizing slavery as a statute right.<sup>86</sup>

The Courts also undermined the position of slave holders. In Shelburne numbers of blacks sued their masters for freedom on the grounds that they were illegally held. The 25 August 1785 case of James Singletory is typical. On that date James Singletory applied to James McEwen and “prayed” that he might be discharged from Samuel Anderson, late of Augustine. Anderson claimed Singletory, his wife, and his child as his slaves, and one J. Fanning witnessed to the effect that he knew Singletory as the slave of Andersons in Florida. The Court, however, ordered Anderson to prove that Singletory was a slave by producing a bill of sale in twelve months, or to give him wages. In the interval he was to be treated as a hired servant, not to be sold or removed from the province and produced from time to time as the Court ordered. Further, both Anderson and Fanning were bound over to the Court, the former for £50 and latter for £25, which would be forfeited if the Court’s ruling was disobeyed.<sup>87</sup> As most Loyalists were forced to move rather quickly, papers such as bills-of-sale were often lost and those unable to prove ownership had to give up their slaves.<sup>88</sup> On other occasions the Courts deemed it necessary to prove not only the immediate owner’s right to hold or sell the slaves, but the right of the



The Maroons had had a semi-military political organization in Jamaica. Governor Wentworth maintained at least the semblance of this system and "appointed captains and majors among them. Officers' uniforms, ordered by Wentworth, included handsome coats and vests, cocked hats, scarlet cloth, and gold lace." The illustration above represents the design of the Maroon uniform buttons. The order to a London firm of button makers requested that they be of "strong white metal and showing an alligator holding within its mouth stems of ears of wheat and an olive branch with the words 'Jamaica to the Maroons 1796'."

person from whom they obtained the slaves, to sell them.<sup>89</sup> In Nova Scotia the Supreme Court also placed obstructions in the path of the slave-holder. Chief Justices Thomas Andrew Strange and his successor, Sampson Salter Blowers, both

laboured on the bench for the slave, but neither seems to have made a direct ruling on the question of the legality of slavery. In a 22 December 1799 letter to Ward Chipman of New Brunswick, Blowers writes:

My immediate predecessor dexteriously avoided any adjudication of the principal point, yet as he required the fullest proof of the Master's claim in point of fact, it was found generally very easy to succeed in favour of the negro . . . a summary decision of the question of slavery between master and negro here has always been resisted, and the party claiming the slave has been put to his action; and several trials have been had in which the jury has decided against the master, which has so discouraged them that a limited service of Indenture has been generally substituted by *mutual consent* . . . I had frequent conversations with Mr. Strange on the question, and always found that he wished to wear out the claims gradually, than to throw so much property as it is called into the air at once.<sup>90</sup>

In New Brunswick, Chief Justice George Duncan Ludlow proved to be no such opponent of slavery. Ward Chipman, undertaking the defence of a slave and applying to S.S. Blowers for assistance, wrote, "the Chief Justice undertakes to indicate the right of slavery." The Court promised to be divided, however, as "Judge Allen as strenuously insists that it is beyond the power of human nature to justify it."<sup>91</sup> The test case, *Nancy Morton vs. Caleb Jones*, occurred in Fredericton in 1800. Jones, acting on behalf of Stair Agnew, claimed Nancy as his slave and had as legal council, Jonathan Bliss, Attorney-General of the province, Thomas Wetmore, John Murray Bliss, Charles J. Peters, and William Botsford, while Ward Chipman and Samuel Denny Street appeared on behalf of Nancy. After long and exhaustive argument of the principles involved,<sup>92</sup>

the four judges of the Supreme Court divided evenly on the issue: Chief Justice Ludlow and Judge Upham being



Sir John Wentworth (1737-1820). The last royal governor of New Hampshire, Wentworth was the lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia between 1792 and 1808. At the height of his powers, Wentworth felt equal to the challenge of settling the Maroons in Nova Scotia.

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of opinion that under the existing laws negroes might be held as slaves, while Judge Allen and Judge Saunders were of the opinion that slavery was not recognized by the laws of New Brunswick.<sup>93</sup>

No decision having been reached by the court and the title having become "a matter of dispute," Agnew, on 27 February 1800, reconveyed Nancy to William Bailey from whom he purchased her, to whom she bound herself for fifteen years.<sup>94</sup>

Just eighteen months later, in September, 1801, the case of James DeLancey vs. William Wooden, tried before the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, marked one of the last stages of the emancipation of slaves in the province. Jack, a slave of DeLancey's, ran away and upon arriving in Halifax was employed by Wooden. DeLancey, hearing of this, demanded Jack's wages. In subsequent legal procedure, DeLancey won but Wooden's attorney, Richard J. Uniacke, requested that the court arrest judgment on the grounds that Jack and all other blacks in Nova Scotia were free. Although given a year to prepare a case, apparently no decision was reached on it, but DeLancey never recovered his slave.<sup>95</sup>

In 1807-08 the slave holders in Annapolis County made a last-ditch effort to preserve their "property." Hoping for relief by legislative action, they presented a petition to the House of Assembly. The petition, signed by twenty-eight proprietors, stated:

owing to certain doubts now entertained by the King's Court of Law in the Province, such property is rendered wholly untenable by your Petitioners, whose negro servants are daily leaving their service and setting your Petitioners at defiance.

In conclusion the petitioners requested either that "such regulations that are required to bind their servants to them" be made or that they might receive equitable compensation.<sup>96</sup> On the same date as the petition was presented, 9 January 1808,

Mr. Thomas Ritchie, Member for Annapolis, introduced a bill to "regulate Negro servitude" within the province. The bill provided for the gradual emancipation of the remaining slaves with compensation from the public purse for the slave holders. Although given a second reading on 11 January 1808, the bill was deferred three months and never became law. As a result of the action of the courts and the rebuffed efforts to strengthen the system, the slave holders' position was well described by one of their contemporaries: "The masters hold them [the slaves] when they can but dare not bring the case to court."<sup>97</sup>

Following the action of the Legislature in Nova Scotia and the courts in both provinces, the general opinion prevailed that slavery did not lawfully exist.<sup>98</sup> Coupled with slavery's unpopularity as a system was the uncertainty of being able to retain one's "property," which caused the decapitation of the ugly head of slavery, not by one swift blow, but by slow strangulation.

Although, as noted above, slavery did exist at least into the first decade of the nineteenth century in Nova Scotia and until the general emancipation of 1833 in New Brunswick, it is likely that by the time of the arrival of the Refugee Blacks of the War of 1812, slavery was largely a dead issue in the provinces. As no compensation was paid by the British government to anyone in the Maritime Provinces for "property" lost due to the Act of 1833,<sup>99</sup> it may be safe to assume that any person who could be classified as a slave after 1815 was one who was intimidated, or who remained with a family by choice rather than seek a new, unfamiliar position and to whom no one had legal claim.<sup>100</sup>

## CHAPTER 2

# The Immigration of the Chesapeake Blacks: The War Background and Early Arrivals

IN THE LAST decade of the eighteenth century and the first of the nineteenth, Britain was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with Napoleon's Europe. In America, storm clouds, long present, began to gather and the British Empire was confronted with still another theatre of war. Ill feelings had marked British-American relations since the conclusion of the American Revolution. The failure of both parties to honour many of the clauses of the Treaty of 1783, the provocative habit of the British Navy of searching and seizing men and contraband merchandise from American ships, and the urging of the western "war hawks" in the United States Congress for the conquest of Canada contributed to the increasing ill-will.<sup>1</sup> On 19 June 1812, President Madison of the United States, convinced that peace with honour could no longer be maintained, issued a formal declaration of war.

Paradoxically, just four days later, a new British government headed by Lord Liverpool provisionally repealed the Orders-in-Council which had permitted the searching of American vessels. Mr. Madison's War, as it came to be called, while supported in the south and the west, proved unpopular in New England and New York, the chief trading areas. Lacking universal support, and being almost totally unprepared for war, the Americans could do little but launch ineffective

operations against Upper and Lower Canada. In these land battles of the Upper Provinces, opposed by only small numbers of British Regulars, under Sir George Provost, and by the Canadian militia, the war ground to a stalemate. At sea, where the British Navy had hitherto reigned virtually unopposed, the Americans proved more successful. The Navy of the Republic controlled the Great Lakes for much of the war and on the high seas boasted of victories in many single ship engagements. These spectacular victories, while they affected both British and American public morale, had no major effect on the British fleet, however, as her superiority in numbers and firepower did eventually and necessarily tell.

In 1813, the British government, convinced that the news of the revocation of the offending Orders-in-Council would not change America's determination for war, sent Admiral J.B. Warren to harry the American coast with a landing force of soldiers and marines from his fleet. On 6 February 1813, Warren placed Chesapeake Bay and the Delaware River under blockade "in the most strict and rigorous manner."<sup>2</sup> Although the blockade was later extended, "the Delaware and Chesapeake — the latter particularly — became the principal scenes of active operations by the British Navy."<sup>3</sup> Warren, receiving reinforcements with the arrival of his second-in-command, Rear Admiral Sir George Cockburn, moved his fleet into the mouth of Chesapeake Bay and blockaded rivers and landed raiding parties. The ability of the British troops to move almost unopposed within a few miles of the national capital, and in those states which had supported the war, not only damaged American morale, but allowed the British the opportunity of cutting off American supplies and destroying their ". . . foundries, stores, and public works."<sup>4</sup> On 6 September 1813, the main portion of the British fleet left the Chesapeake for the winter season, leaving behind a ship-of-the-line and some smaller vessels to maintain the blockade.<sup>5</sup>

In the first few months of 1814, the warfare on the Chesapeake continued on the same general lines as in 1813. This campaign, however, was to exceed that of 1813 in

“offensive purpose and vigor, and in effect.”<sup>6</sup> A portion of the new-found offensive-mindedness was supplied by the appointment of a new Admiral to the North American station. In January of 1814, the Admiralty decided upon separation of the Royal Navy’s combined West Indian and North American command. The former Admiral of the United Command, J.B. Warren, was informed that his duties were to be restricted to the West Indian station, while Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Inglis Cochrane was to be responsible for the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. Relieving Warren on 1 April 1814 Cochrane, a veteran of the Revolutionary War, brought with him a desire

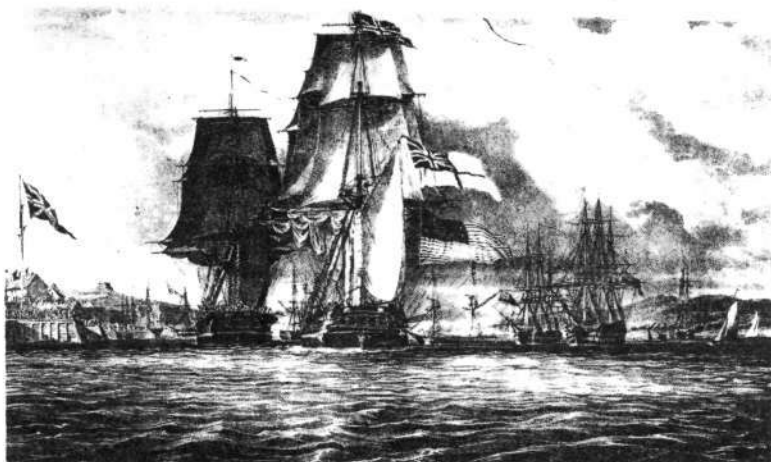
to give them [the Americans] a complete drubbing before peace is made, when I trust their northern limits will be circumscribed and the command of the Mississippi wrested from them.<sup>7</sup>

In an offensive effort designed to carry out his expressed wish, Cochrane, on 25 April 1814, extended the blockade

from the Point of Land commonly called Black Point, to the Northern and Eastern boundaries between the said United States and the British Province of New Brunswick in America, to be in a state of strict and vigorous blockade.<sup>8</sup>

Aided by the ships and men freed from the European theatre, Napoleon being considered safe on Elba Island, Cochrane strangled the commerce of the American seaboard and harassed its population with his landing parties of troops and marines from his vessels.

The existence of a huge fifth column within the ranks of the Americans did not go unnoticed by the British command. Admiral Warren, however, had been instructed not to incite rebellion among the slave population; although he was ordered to receive aboard his ships any blacks who might petition him for assistance. These he was to receive as free men, not as slaves,<sup>9</sup> and send them to any of several of His Majesty’s



The famous 1813 victory of the *H.M.S. Shannon* over the American frigate *Chesapeake* in single ship engagement was important for public morale. However, by this time British war ships like the *Shannon* were carrying the black refugees to Halifax and beginning to limit the commerce of the U.S. east coast.

colonies. Captain Robert Barrie of *H.M.S. Dragon* reported to Admiral Warren on the state of the black population:

The slaves continue to come off by every opportunity and I have now upwards of 120 men, women and children on board. I shall send about 50 of them to Bermuda in the *Conflict* . . . there is no doubt but the blacks of Virginia and Maryland would cheerfully take up arms and join us against the Americans.<sup>10</sup>

Warren relayed the information to the Admiralty, but no steps were taken to utilize it until Cochrane took command. On 2 April 1814, a proclamation was issued by Sir Alexander

Cochrane. Although not issued *eo nomine* to the blacks, Cochrane did instruct raiding parties to distribute it among the slave population.<sup>11</sup>

By the Honourable Sir Alexander Cochrane, K.B., Vice Admiral of the Red, and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's ships and vessels, upon the North American station, etc., etc., etc.

#### A Proclamation

Whereas it has been represented to me that many persons now resident in the United States have expressed a desire to withdraw therefrom, with a view to entering into His Majesty's Service, or of being received as free settlers into some of His Majesty's colonies.

This is therefore to give notice that all persons who may be disposed to emigrate from the United States with their families, be received on board of His Majesty's ships or vessels of War, or at the military posts as maybe [sic] established upon or near the coast of the United States, when they will have their choice of either entering into His Majesty's sea or land forces, or of being sent as free settlers to the British possessions in North America or the West Indies where they will meet with all due encouragement.

Given under my hand at Bermuda this second day of April, 1814 by command of Vice Admiral

Alex Cochrane<sup>12</sup>

Hundreds of blacks in the Chesapeake Bay states, as well as the other areas of British blockade, seized their opportunity and made their way to the British vessels and the promised freedom. The British, knowing that the removal of the slaves would reduce the affected area's contribution to the war effort, and becoming increasingly ideologically opposed to slavery, liberated several thousand. This figure included those who departed on their own initiative, those who were enticed by their fellows (sent back for that purpose) to escape,<sup>13</sup> and those

who had freedom forced upon them as a result of the continuous raids of the British marines.<sup>14</sup> That many were completely willing to escape is attested to in the dispatches to the Governor of Virginia. "The Northumberland slaves are every day affecting their escape," reported R.E. Parker;<sup>15</sup> Thomas M. Bayly of Accomack complained that deserting slaves supplied the British with intelligence that destroyed the success of his planned ambushes;<sup>16</sup> and W. Lambert reported that sixty-nine blacks from Lancaster County escaped with a British raiding party.<sup>17</sup>

Cochrane was determined to remove the slaves, not only to reduce the Americans' work force, but also to employ them as active soldiers and marines. In late April or early May 1814, Cochrane ordered his second-in-command, Admiral Sir George Cockburn "to endeavour to raise a Corps of Colonial Marines, from the People of Color who escaped to us from the Enemy's shore in their neighbourhood [Chesapeake Bay] and to cause such as . . . may enlist for this purpose to be immediately armed, drilled and brought forward for service . . ."<sup>18</sup> By 9 May 1814, a "considerable number" had enlisted and an officer of the Royal Marines, William Hammond, was put in charge of their training and later commanded them in the field. Often mentioned in dispatches for their ability in combat, the Colonial Marines quickly proved a valuable addition to the British fighting force.<sup>19</sup>

The presence of armed blacks, especially any who "conducted themselves with the utmost order, forbearance and regularity [and who] were uniformly volunteers for the station where they might expect to meet their former masters,"<sup>20</sup> represented the worst fears of the southern slave-holders. On 3 August 1814, the Governor of Virginia received a petition, "numerously signed" from the inhabitants of Caroline County against the call of the militia of that county into service elsewhere because of apprehension of slave insurrection.<sup>21</sup> On the following day J.P. Hungerford reported to the Adjutant General:

Our negroes are flocking to the enemy from all quarters, which they convert into troops, vindictive and rapacious [sic] with a minute knowledge of every bypath. They leave us as spies upon our strength, and they return upon us as guides and soldiers and incendiaries.

To them he attributed much of the effectiveness of British ambushes, as the blacks knew the country so much better than did the officers of the American forces. In closing, he expressed what must have been the fear of many of the inhabitants:

The example too which is hold out in these bands of armed negroes, and the weakness of the resistance which as yet has been made to oppose them, must have a strong effect upon those blacks which have not as yet been able to escape.<sup>22</sup>

Without doubt the black troops were producing the desired effect.

In September 1814, Cochrane decided to combine the three hundred men of the Colonial Marines with two hundred from the Second Battalion of the Royal Marines to form a third battalion called the Royal and Colonial Marines. He was also determined to pay the black troops an additional eight dollars bounty for their capable conduct.<sup>23</sup> The Colonial Marines and the other refugees from the United States who had enlisted in different regiments<sup>24</sup> served faithfully until peace was signed on Christmas Eve, 1814, and in the anti-climactic Battle of New Orleans.

When news of the signing of the Treaty of Ghent arrived, Cochrane was faced with the problem of dismantling his war machine. Regular troops could be returned to Europe where they were needed to recapture Napoleon who had recently escaped from Elba, and who was busy gathering another army. Colonial troops, raised for duty only in North America, had to be disbanded and provided for. The usual method was to provide incentives for their settlement in some part of the British possessions, often where they were raised. But in the



Melville Island Depot. In 1855 the *London Illustrated News* published this sketch "by Lieut. Bland, 76th Regiment" of Melville Island. The temporary home of many of the refugees it was, in 1855, described as "... remarkably picturesque; and in summer it is a great resort of the ladies of Halifax, for picnics [sic] and lobster-spearing."

Public Archives of Nova Scotia

case of the Colonial Marines, this was not possible. At the close of hostilities, they were removed to Ireland Island, Bermuda, the site of the British naval establishment where, as in the case of Halifax, hundreds of the refugees who had not joined the forces had been sent.<sup>25</sup> There they took over the jobs that had employed many of the black civilians. Ultimately the Colonial Marines were reduced and settled in Trinidad, where, paradoxically, they were invited to be the first line of defence in case of slave uprisings.<sup>26</sup>

The establishment of the Colonial Marines at the Ireland Island Naval Base presented Cochrane with the additional

problem of what to do with the dislocated civilian employees who had lost their positions. As the local laws of Bermuda did not permit the settlement of free blacks, he was forced to remove them to a colony that would receive them.<sup>27</sup> Thus, on 25 March 1815, Sir Alexander Cochrane addressed a letter to Lieutenant-Governor Sherbrooke of Nova Scotia informing him that he intended to send between fifteen hundred and two thousand refugee blacks from Ireland Island to Halifax.<sup>28</sup> Sherbrooke relayed the information to Lord Bathurst, adding:

This unexpected importation of so great a number of people of colour for which I was totally unexpected may under the circumstances involve me in difficulty.

Sherbrooke also informed the minister that

Since the commencement of the late war with America about 1200 negroes (including men, women and children) have been brought into the Province by the King's ships from the United States.<sup>29</sup>

It is with these approximately twelve hundred blacks who arrived during the war years that the remainder of this chapter is to concern itself. Those who arrived as a result of Cochrane's correspondence of 25 March 1815, quoted above, will be dealt with in Chapter 3.

Of the twelve hundred blacks who arrived in Nova Scotia prior to the actual conclusion of the war, most arrived during the years of 1813 and 1814. The British Navy, moved into the Chesapeake in 1813, and having proven more effective in 1814, the numbers of black refugees accordingly increased. The first record of blacks from the Chesapeake landing in Halifax dates their arrival as September 1813. On the 18th of that month, the *Acadian Recorder* announced the arrival of several vessels from the south under the command of Admiral J.B. Warren and H. Hotham, Captain of the Fleet.<sup>30</sup> On 2 October 1813, 77 men, 29 women and 27 children were landed from the ships — a total of 133 "Chesapeake blacks." The men were almost

entirely recorded as laborers or farmers, although some had trades such as shoemakers, sawyers, and wheelrights.<sup>31</sup> Together with the few others who arrived in 1813<sup>32</sup> several hundred blacks arrived in the province in 1814. On 1 September 1814, Captain Watt of the *H.M.S. Jaseur*, in the company of a transport, arrived in Halifax "with a few hundred negroes."<sup>33</sup> On 17 May 1814, His Majesty's Ship *Arab* landed a number of refugees<sup>34</sup> and on 10 July the *Lord Collingwood* transport discharged an additional number.<sup>35</sup> Others arrived before 7 October of that year for, on that date, Lieutenant-Governor Sherbrooke informed Vice-Admiral Cochrane that a number of blacks had been allowed to land, in the absence of Admiral Griffith and himself, without the knowledge of their presence being reported to the Provincial Secretary's Office or to anyone else, and requested that such reports be made in the future.<sup>36</sup> Lieutenant-Governor Sherbrooke reported to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Bathurst, that after he had had a list compiled of the refugees' names and administered the oath of allegiance to them, he had "authorized [them] to go into the interior of the province in search of employment."<sup>37</sup> With the war economy booming in Nova Scotia, common laborers could obtain constant employment at 5 shillings to 7/6 per day,<sup>38</sup> Sherbrooke reported in 1814. White skilled tradesmen were undoubtedly the best off, as they obtained positions on a yearly basis in Halifax<sup>39</sup> and the other urban centers, while the unskilled laborers were forced to rely on seasonal employment.

The American black refugees were not alone in vying for positions as domestics and laborers. There were still large numbers of Loyalist blacks in the Province. In a letter to London, one contemporary in 1812 estimated that in Halifax "and with the etc's of that town [the blacks] form about 1/6 of the population."<sup>40</sup> This estimate may have been high, as the census of the Town of Halifax published in 1818 lists 745 blacks — 391 males and 324 females — out of a total population of 11,156 persons.<sup>41</sup> It is not known, however, what number of the "etc's" referred to above were covered by the

official census. These Loyalist blacks were considered good house-servants as well as "adequate hands on board vessels"<sup>42</sup> and they, combined with the numbers of bound white servants and laborers present in colonial society, occupied many of these positions as they became available. Accordingly, although there were full-time jobs available, their numbers must have been limited.

In the spring of 1814, concerned with the unfilled ranks of the newly-formed New Brunswick Fencibles, it was suggested that American black refugees might be recruited. Sherbrooke informed the military command that up to 26 April 1814, very few blacks had been brought to Nova Scotia by His Majesty's ships and that of those brought "not any have appeared to be qualified for the Land Service."<sup>43</sup> The Lieutenant-Governor, requesting the feeling of the men from Sir Thomas Saumarez, the Military Administrator of New Brunswick, was informed that "the men belonging to the New Brunswick Fencibles would not object to serve with the negroes." Despite this, Sherbrooke, to whom the decision was left, decided against the enlistment of blacks. Henry Goulburn, the Under-Secretary of State, was informed "that under the circumstances stated by Sir John Sherbrooke, the Commander-in-Chief does not think it advisable to carry that arrangement into effect."<sup>44</sup> Later, this solution was again suggested. The historian of the famous 104th Regiment of Foot, the first Regiment of the New Brunswick Fencibles, wrote:

With all the casualties, desertions, and discharges noted in the two preceding years and very few enlistments, the Regiment by 1815 was far below its establishment. There had been no provision made for replacements while it was on active service and the raising of the New Fencible Regiment there made it impossible to get recruits from New Brunswick. There was considerable official concern and at one point the Earl of Bathurst proposed that Negro slaves who had escaped to British ships in Virginia should

be permitted to enlist in the 104th Regiment but this did not take place.<sup>45</sup>

Perhaps this later enlistment did not take place because of the news of the imminent peace with the United States. Two years later, on 24 May 1817, the 104th regiment was disbanded, as Britain "weighed down with the debts of twenty-four years of war, determined to reduce its armed forces."<sup>46</sup>

As early as the fall of 1813, Sherbrooke warned the colonial office that Nova Scotia winters, a strain on the most established settlers, would prove to be an especially difficult period for the American refugees. Reporting on the position of the blacks, the Lieutenant-Governor wrote:

I have no doubt but that they will be able to maintain themselves comfortably by their labours; it is probable, however, that in the course of the Winter greater numbers will arrive, when the inclemency of the season, and difficulty to procure employment may occasion temporary distress.

"Such distress," he informed Lord Bathurst, would be difficult to alleviate as "there is no fund placed at my disposal to enable me to extend any relief to those poor wretches however great their distress may be." Further, he requested information from the Minister as to whether the

bounty of the British government can be extended toward them in any way either by giving them clothing or an allowance of rations of provisions for a short time.<sup>47</sup>

As no evidence exists to the contrary, it is assumed that the refugees who arrived in Nova Scotia before the spring of 1814 were able to obtain sufficient employment or private charity to render government assistance unnecessary during the winter of 1813-1814.

This was not the case the following year. By October 1814, many of the black refugees were in distress. The

Commissioners of the Poor at Halifax informed the Lieutenant-Governor that they were "in a deplorable state of distress and unable to gain their Subsistence."<sup>48</sup> On 5 October Vice-Admiral Cochrane, who sailed from the Chesapeake for Halifax on 19 September to arrange the details of the attack on New Orleans,<sup>49</sup> informed Sherbrooke that he considered it his duty to acquaint him with the fact that "some of the negro families that were lately brought from Virginia are in the greatest misery and destitute of clothing, food and shelter." Lord Bathurst had informed the Vice-Admiral that orders would be sent to Nova Scotia and Bermuda to supply the refugees with such necessities as they would require. Cochrane concluded that he had understood that "they were to be admitted as settlers in the colonies; in consequence of this assurance I issued the . . . proclamation which had induced them to come over."<sup>50</sup> The following day Cochrane addressed himself by letter to Lord Bathurst, acquainting him with the condition of the black refugees, and prayed that Sherbrooke "may be directed to provide for these poor people until they are settled, when they will become valuable subjects."<sup>51</sup>

On 5 October 1814, Sherbrooke directed letters to both Bathurst and Cochrane acquainting them with the steps he had taken to alleviate the distressed conditions of the blacks. To Bathurst he commented that he felt that much of the distress felt by these people was their own fault:

I have to state to Your Lordship that though such of them as are industrious can very well maintain themselves as a common labourer here can at this season earn a dollar and a half per day yet the generality of them are so unwilling to work that several of them are absolutely starving owing to their own idleness.

The Lieutenant-Governor added, "In addition to this there are many old and infirm men and numbers of women and children incapable of work who will I fear, become a heavy burden to the government."<sup>52</sup> Upon learning of the distressed condition



Richard Preston (                      -1861). Richard Preston arrived in Halifax in 1814 a refugee from the United States. By chance he found his mother in Preston, N.S. In Halifax he joined the Rev. (Father) Burton's church, in England he studied theology, and home in Nova Scotia organized the African Baptist Church on Cornwallis St.

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of some of the blacks, Sherbrooke explained to Cochrane that he "gave immediate directions that all who required medical aid or were by age or infirmities unable to earn a comfortable subsistence should be received into the Poor House in Halifax [as many as the building would hold, he informed Bathurst<sup>53</sup>] and supplied with a daily allowance of provisions."<sup>54</sup> The provisions were to be supplied on three levels. The men were to receive the same allowance as the British soldiers and the women and children, the same quantity as was received by the wives and children of the soldiers. Food was not the only necessity, he informed the British Government, shelter and clothing must also be supplied, "or the poor wretches would not survive the inclemency of our winter."<sup>55</sup> Assuring Cochrane that everything possible would be done to aid the blacks and at the same time assuring Bathurst that everything would be done as economically as possible, Sherbrooke again requested instructions as to how much aid was to be paid for, as he had no funds available for such a purpose. Finally he suggested that the Deputy Commissary General at Halifax could supply what was approved as necessary, but recommended that because of the "high price of everything at Halifax . . . that some sort of course [sic] clothing should in future be sent out from England for their use."<sup>56</sup>

On the Dartmouth side of the harbour, the refugees were also feeling the effect of the approaching winter. The Nantucket Quaker, Seth Coleman, reported to Richard Temain, the Chairman of the Committee of the Poor in Halifax, that "many . . . for want of employment . . . are becoming needy, and in want of some assistance." He too felt the need of funds to aid the refugees as he contributed out of his own store to assist the poor. Commenting on a robbery committed at Cole Harbour by two of the refugees, he stated his belief that this was likely caused by necessity, as he did not "consider them much disposed to those evils." There were more complaints, he added, because of their begging than of their stealing.<sup>57</sup> To compound the misery of the destitute blacks, an epidemic of small pox broke out in the autumn of

1814 and “. . . prevailed in an alarming manner at the then small village of Dartmouth, opposite Halifax.”<sup>58</sup> On 10 October 1814, a letter from Seth Coleman was presented to the Halifax County Quarter Sessions, concerning the spread of the disease among blacks. Sherbrooke commissioned Dr. William Bruce Almon to report on the situation. On the condition of the blacks, Almon wrote:

the small pox is spreading among them, and by reason of their poverty they are unable to procure the necessary attendance and comforts,

and recommended

that medical and other comforts be provided for them who are already infected and that vaccination should be administered to others by way of prevention and that Mr. Seth Coleman, a competent person, be requested to attend to their relief.

Acting on the recommendations of the report, Coleman was able to write on 6 February 1815 that he had “now the satisfaction to report to announce a total stop to the fatal disease on this side of the water,”<sup>60</sup> and reported that he had vaccinated 423 persons, 79 whites from Dartmouth and Preston, 59 Indians, and 285 blacks.<sup>61</sup>

During this period many of those who were too ill or unable to support themselves were provided for at public expense in the Halifax Poor House. A daily average of 55 were accommodated with 20 on the sick lists. Numbers of the sick, under the care of Dr. Almon, must have died as is indicated by the purchase of 74 coffins. Despite Sherbrooke’s frequent complaints that he had no funds, on 2 March 1815 he revealed an expenditure of £354/8/7 on the attempt to curb disease among the refugees.<sup>62</sup>

On 24 February 1815, the Lieutenant-Governor sent a message to the House of Assembly on the subject of the Chesapeake Refugees. It read:

During the recess of the General Assembly, many families, principally people of colour, have arrived in this Province from the United States of America. They have fled from the calamities of War, and the misery which they were suffering in their native country, to seek an asylum under the protection of the British Government, and have indulged the hope that they will be admitted as free settlers in this Province. A great proportion of these people, active, healthy, and endured to labour, have gone to the interior of the Province, affording, I trust, a large accession of useful labour to the agriculture of the Country. But there are some instances of decrepit age, helpless infancy, and unavoidable sickness, which require relief: considering the manner in which they left their native Country, it was naturally to be expected, and I have the satisfaction to add, that public assistance and, private charity have hitherto been extended to these people in proportion to their wants; but they appear to be more properly the objects of Provincial care: I therefore recommend this subject to your consideration, and request that you will make provision for the assistance of the distressed among these people, and to facilitate the settlement of the residue upon the forest lands of the Province.<sup>63</sup>

In its consideration of the situation the House decided that more information was necessary and accordingly requested the Commissioners of the Poor in Halifax to take a census of the immigrants stating the number in each family, their age, sex, and occupation. The report disclosed that at least 705 refugees had entered the Province by March 1815, of whom 336 were in Halifax, 150 in Preston, 72 resided on the Windsor Road and 49 at the South East Passage and Cow Bay while 27 were on Rufus Fairbanks' estate at Porter's Lake.<sup>64</sup> The fact that 705 were enumerated does not completely discredit the Lieutenant-Governor's estimate of approximately twelve hundred. Many of these he stated had

gone into the interior of the province in search of employment while the Commissioners' report merely covered "Halifax and its etc's." The report further demonstrated the distressed conditions of many of the refugees and remarked on the numbers, including those under Seth Coleman's care, who wished to work but could not find employment.

On 1 April 1815, the Members, in a "humble address" of the House of Representatives in General Assembly, presented to Sir John Sherbrooke the resulting opinions of their deliberations. Granting a sum of money to provide for the temporary relief of the blacks — £500 was granted to prevent the spread of smallpox — the House expressed its "concern and alarm [at] the frequent arrival in this province of Bodies of Negroes and Mulattoes of whom many have already become burden some [sic] to the Public." The petition also stated that the House did not wish to expend public funds in the encouragement of settlers whose "character, Principles and Habits are not previously ascertained," and feared that the introduction of more could cause the "Establishment of a separate and marked class of people unfitted by nature to this Climate or to an association with the rest of His Majesty's Colonists." The petition concluded with the request that

Your Excellency will use your endeavours to prohibit the bringing of any more of these people into this Colony, by making such representations of His Majesty's Ministers as your Excellency may deem proper or taking such Measures as to Your Excellency may seem expedient.<sup>65</sup>

To this Sherbrooke replied that he would endeavour to carry out their request and communicated the wishes of the House to Lord Bathurst.<sup>66</sup> Bathurst's 10 May 1815 reply, received on 26 July of that year, informed the Assembly that the Ministry was pleased that the termination of the war with the United States solved the problem to which their petition alluded. Bathurst and the Ministry could not understand how available labourers could go unemployed in a new country where they

considered the necessity of it was great and added, "But if difficulties have hitherto existed a remedy will surely be found in those new sources of occupation which the opening of the coal mines is calculated to afford . . .,"<sup>67</sup> a situation which unfortunately never occurred to any extent.

When the Treaty of Ghent was signed on 24 December 1814, those blacks who had shed the bonds of slavery were not forgotten by the Americans. Article I of the Treaty provided for the mutual restoration of "all territory, places and possessions whatsoever, taken by either party from the other during the war," including public property, and "any slaves or other private property."<sup>68</sup> The British command on the scene interpreted the portion of the Article concerning blacks, which had been included on the insistence of the Americans, differently<sup>69</sup> than did the United States' Commissioners and refused to surrender the refugees.<sup>70</sup>

In 1818, deadlocked in the negotiations over the clause, the two powers agreed to allow the question to be settled by arbitration. On 28 April 1822, the arbitrator, the Czar of Russia, communicated to the plenipotentiaries of the two nations his opinion, "That the United States of America are entitled to a just indemnification, from Great Britain . . . for all such slaves as were carried away by the British forces."<sup>71</sup> With that settled, the question of how much was a "just indemnification" had to be worked out by Britain and the United States. In 1824 the commissioners decided that the average value of each slave to be allowed as compensation was, from Louisiana \$580, from Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina, \$390, from Virginia, Maryland and all other states, \$280. In 1825 Henry Clay presented a claim for compensation for 3,601 slaves, totalling \$2,693,120. The British declined to accept this statement but in 1826 made a formal offer of \$1,200,000 and finally settled on \$1,204,960 or £250,000.<sup>72</sup> By accepting the responsibility and paying compensation to the United States, Britain assured the freedom of more than 3,000 slaves, "a fitting prelude to the great Act of 1833 whereby she freed 800,000 slaves and paid £20,000,000 for the privilege."<sup>73</sup>

Early in the negotiations of peace at Ghent, the charge was laid by the Americans that the British had been selling the refugees in the West Indies. In the *London Times* of 21 November 1814, a letter to the American commissioners at Ghent from the United States Secretary of State Monroe read:

It is known that a shameful traffic has been carried on in the West Indies, by the sales of these persons there, by those who profess to be their deliverers. Of this fact, the proof that has reached this Department shall be furnished you.

In communication with Secretary James Monroe, Sir Alex Cochrane informed him that while he had not been in command at the time of the complaint, he felt that out of fairness to the former commander he must reject the charges completely. He wrote:

I have no hesitation in declaring that I do not believe any Negro, either free or a slave, who had taken refuge on board the fleet under my command, has at any time been sent to the West Indies; the whole were either ordered to the Island of Bermuda or to Halifax. I further declare that none of these persons have been kept in a state of slavery.

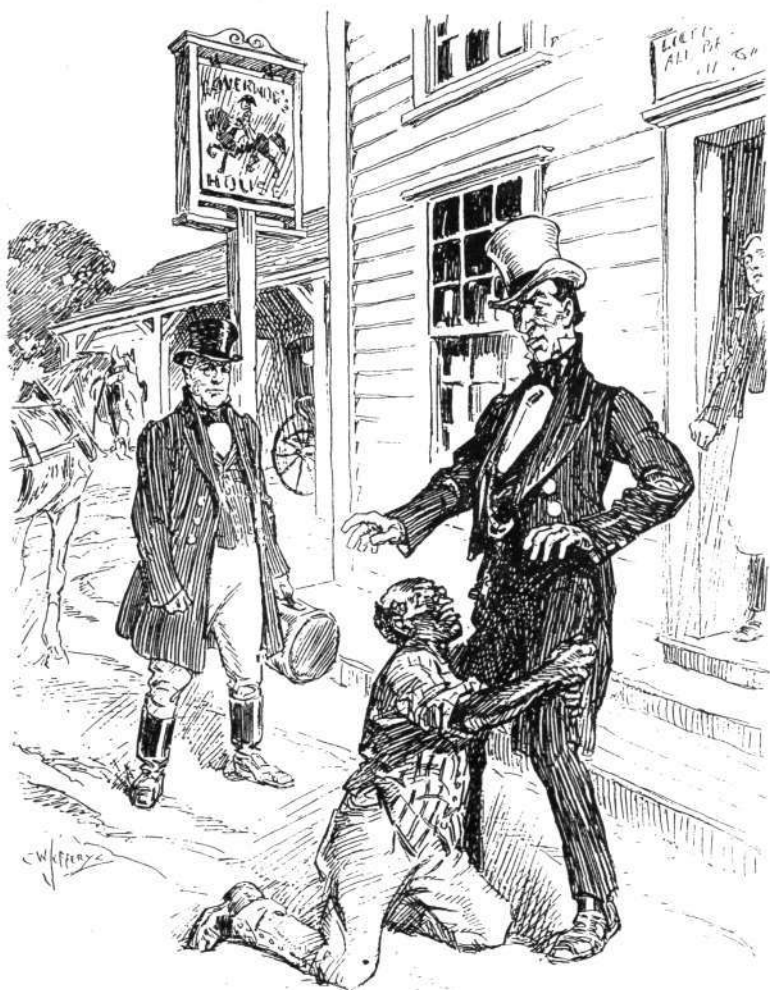
Cochrane also informed the Secretary that the regulations established in the West Indies since the abolition of the slave trade would not allow the local authorities to permit the landing of slaves.<sup>74</sup>

Later in the month (13 March), replying to the Admiralty's letter of 28 November requesting information on Monroe's accusation, Cochrane informed them that he had called upon the Secretary to substantiate and "produce his authority" for so serious a charge. He added that he hoped any investigation would embrace the period during which he had command and it would be an opportunity to refute the rumours that he had sent "some of these people to an Estate I possess in Trinidad." He concluded by stating his belief that no

foundation would be found for Mr. Munroe's charges, "but a story trumped up among the people on the coast to prevent their Negroes deserting, a thousand such having been related by the refugees coming off from the shore."<sup>75</sup> In the course of the investigation Lord Bathurst requested Governor Sherbrooke to investigate the matter in the province. He wrote,

However incredible the facts therein stated may appear to be from the circumstance of Slavery not being recognized by the Laws of Halifax yet it is most important that the question should be investigated most scrupulously and should receive the contradiction which I have little doubt can be furnished.<sup>76</sup>

He also requested information on the situation and disposal of the blacks landing in Halifax, as well as those in New Brunswick, from the Governor of that province. No proof having been supplied of the sale of even one refugee, the United States' Minister of Great Britain declared the charge to be "utterly destitute of foundation."<sup>77</sup>



In 1838 Thomas Chandler Haliburton's second series of *Sam Slick, The Clockmaker* appeared. Here Haliburton recounted the humorous and satirical comments of the fictional Yankee clockpeddler on the state of Nova Scotia and Nova Scotians in general. Haliburton has been described as being "... essentially Tory" who "... believed in the union of church and state, in

hereditary titles, in an aristocracy of birth and property. He doubted the wisdom and justice of abolishing slavery, opposed any extension of the franchise, objected to the diffusion of popular knowledge, detested democracy, dissenters in religion, women's rights, temperance, self-government for the colonies, and altogether was a fine old reactionary ... (Lorne Pierce, ed., *Sam Slick in Pictures: The Best of the Humour of Thomas Chandler Haliburton*, Toronto: Ryerson, 1956).

Brought to life by the master illustrator C.W. Jefferys, this drawing likely reflected the views of Haliburton more closely than it did any of those who risked so much in the pursuit of freedom.

Here Sam Slick and his travelling companion, the Squire, stop at an Inn when a black stableman recognized Sam and rushed to greet him. Sam soon realized that it was Scip, a slave from "Slickville," U.S.A. who had run away and come to Nova Scotia. According to the story, Scip wanted to return to slavery in the U.S. rather than stay in the cold, hard climate of Nova Scotia. This is undoubtedly more representative of how some white people felt about the situation than it is of how any ex-slave, or their descendants, felt about slavery versus freedom.

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### CHAPTER 3

## The Settlement of the Black Refugees

THE GENTLEMAN OF the House of Assembly who expressed their "concern and alarm" at the numbers of blacks arriving in the country and who requested that the Lieutenant-Governor use his influence to stop the immigration were doomed to disappointment. In the same dispatch that Sherbrooke informed the Secretary of State for the Colonies of the wishes of the House, he also stated that,

On the following day I received a letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane dated Bermuda 25 March . . . informing me that he was about to send from 1500 to 2000 Refugee Negroes hither by the earliest opportunity from thence.<sup>1</sup>

These, Cochrane had informed him, were "in want of clothing as well as provisions."<sup>2</sup> Sherbrooke accordingly expressed his fear that these late arrivals would find it difficult to obtain employment and concluded that it would be necessary to feed and clothe them at the expense of government. He also stated that,

as it would not be possible for me to provide for the great numbers of Negro population which may be daily

expected in the same way I have done for the smaller numbers which have hitherto arrived, I shall advantage myself of the idea that was suggested by Your Lordship . . . and place all such as may be brought into this Province in future in charge of the Collector of the Customs to be maintained and provided for in the same manner as under the Regulations now in force he is directed to provide for the Native of Africa who may have been condemned as Prize of War or Forfeiture [sic] to the Crown.<sup>3</sup>

Sherbrooke also informed Lord Bathurst that because of the prevalence of smallpox any of the refugees who did not appear to have had that malady would be vaccinated immediately. At the same time he recommended

as encouragement to those who are industrious and may be willing to settle and cultivate land, that they should on being located receive Rations gratis for themselves and families in the same proportions and for the same period as was allowed to the disbanded soldiers and their families who settled in this Province at the Peace of 1783.

In conclusion he requested a "reasonable compensation" for the Officer of the Army Medical Staff whom he directed to take charge of any medical problems, including vaccination, of the refugees.<sup>4</sup>

The "Regulations" referred to were contained in a circular letter received in 1808 from Lord Castlereagh, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, and were part of the British effort to suppress the slave trade. The "Collector or Chief Officer of the Customs" in Nova Scotia was thereby ordered to "receive, protect and provide" for all the blacks who might be committed to his charge by order of the Vice-Admiralty Court and was also to maintain an accurate account of all the expenses incurred in his duties. These accounts were to be passed quarterly before the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council who would then issue instructions for bills to be drawn on the

Lords Commissioners of the Treasury. For his services the Collector of Customs was to "charge one Ginnea [sic] per head, above all other charges upon each slave he shall receive and provide for as a remuneration for his trouble." In the last instance the responsibility was left with the Lieutenant-Governor, to ensure

That the said Chief Officer of the Customs do attend to the duties imposed upon him in this behalf with the utmost care and vigilance, in order that the benevolent purposes of the Act may be carried into execution in the most beneficial manner.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, with the authority of Castlereagh's circular of 1808 and with the approval of the Colonial Office, Sherbrooke placed the responsibility of caring for the expected refugees in the hands of the Collector of Customs at Halifax, Thomas N. Jeffery. Jeffery chose Melville Island as the depot to which the black refugees were to be taken for food, shelter, and medical care. This island had been used since the turn of the century as a compound for prisoners-of-war and in 1808 a large wooden structure was built to provide better housing for the captives. On the outbreak of the War of 1812, American prisoners were added to the throngs of Frenchmen inhabiting the Island. The fall of Napoleon in 1814 and the news of peace with the United States, received early in 1815, emptied the prison of its occupants leaving it ready for the arrival of the "Chesapeake Blacks."<sup>6</sup>

The first wave of refugees was not, however, received at Melville Island, nor even in Nova Scotia. On 6 May 1815, Sherbrooke informed Lord Bathurst that, because of the Assembly's opposition to further immigration of blacks, he had sought assistance from the Government of New Brunswick. "I thought it was expedient," he wrote, "to address myself to the President of New Brunswick and to ask whether it would be in his power to afford me any relief in this dilemma, by receiving a portion of these people into that Province."<sup>7</sup>

Sherbrooke was notified by Major-General Smyth, the Military Commander and the Administrator of the Government of New Brunswick, that the province would receive a number not exceeding 500 "provided they are to be clothed and supported at the expense of Government until they are able to provide for their own subsistence."<sup>8</sup> Smyth also informed Sherbrooke that he had advised the Collector of Customs at St. John to prepare to receive any refugee blacks who arrived in that port and requested advice whether to keep them in a group until instructions were received from England or to distribute them throughout the province to facilitate their immediate employment.<sup>9</sup> Accordingly, one of the first transports arriving in Halifax from Bermuda with refugees, the *H.M.S. Regulus*, was redirected to St. John, New Brunswick.

On 27 May 1815, the notice appeared in a St. John paper that "On Thursday, May 25, 1815, *H.M.S. Regulus*, Capt. Trescot, arrived from Halifax, N.S., having on board 371 blacks, which were disembarked yesterday." The New Brunswick Council apparently decided to assist the blacks in seeking employment since the notice continued:

We understand the government intends to settle them in the province, and any person desirous of placing on his land one or more families of this description, or of taking as apprentice any one or more of the children, or of hiring any of the men or women as servants, by applying at the secretary's office in Fredericton, or at the office of the Collector of Customs at St. John may know upon what terms.<sup>10</sup>

It is not known to what extent the offer was taken up although, on 11 July 1815, Sir J.C. Sherbrooke wrote in a letter to Smyth, "I am happy to find you have been able to distribute the Negroes with so much facility thro' [sic] the Province."<sup>11</sup> The refugees, however, were not dispersed to the extent that assistance — food, shelter and medical aid — did not need to be supplied. Barracks and cook houses were built, rations



Halifax Market. Both blacks and whites from the rural communities around Halifax supplied the Halifax Market. Products of the farm, the forest and the sea were available there to the citizens of the Capital. Other products sold included berries, baskets, brooms, flowers and firewood. The Market became a tradition for many families as an important source of income.

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issued, orphan children were boarded and coffins were supplied for three children and one man.<sup>12</sup>

Major-General Smyth feared that creating a hospital to care for any except minor illnesses, which could be looked after by the military hospital's staff, would be an unnecessary expense. He decided to send back to Halifax any "whom the Medical Officer . . . has represented to be disqualified by Age or Infirmity from earning their Subsistence." Sherbrooke, who had already provided for the establishment of a hospital at the

Melville Island depot, and was anxious to reduce expenses, agreed. To save further money, he instructed that they should be sent whenever passage could be procured for them in a transport or some other way that would not be an additional charge on government. Sherbrooke further expressed his hope that the refugees would prove as valuable to New Brunswick as he believed they would to Nova Scotia. Also, while he informed Smyth that more refugees were expected from the south, he promised to give him "timely notice" if it proved necessary to send additional numbers to New Brunswick.<sup>13</sup> No records have been found of any additional black refugees being sent to New Brunswick from Halifax.

There was apparently some confusion as to whether the Collector of Customs in St. John was eligible to receive the one guinea per head as allowed by the circular of 1808. Lieutenant-Governor Sherbrooke wrote:

The impression made upon my mind from the tenor of your correspondence respecting these people was, that in consequence of the Collector of the Customs having refused to maintain and provide for the Negroes sent to New Brunswick . . . you had ordered them to be victualled from the Military Stores. Upon what grounds therefore the collector can claim the remuneration granted to the Person who takes [the] trouble and preforms [sic] this duty I cannot conceive.<sup>14</sup>

Lieutenant-Governor Sherbrooke, completely taken up with his own work, soon gave up on the question leaving the final decision on payment to the Customs Officer to Major-General Smyth. They agreed, however, that no payment should be made to the Collector for those sick or incapacitated blacks who were sent back to Halifax. These would be received under the care of the Collector of the Customs in that port and he, they believed, should receive the bounty provided.<sup>15</sup> However, as the bills for the expenses incurred were drawn in favour of William Scourl, acting Collector at St. John, not William

Wanton, the appointed Collector of Customs, he perhaps deserved the payment he received.<sup>16</sup> On 17 April 1816, Smyth transmitted to the Colonial Office the "Accounts and Vouchers" of the expenses undertaken in the care of the black refugees. The abstract of expenses give a total of £516/16/01/4 New Brunswick currency or £480 sterling expended on account of the Chesapeake blacks.<sup>17</sup>

In 1816 an additional small number of refugees were landed in New Brunswick. They came, not from Halifax or Bermuda, but directly from the south of the United States. On 27 May 1816, Charles Bagot, one of the King's Ministers in Washington, informed Admiral Griffith that a number of slaves who had been captured on board British vessels by the American during the war, were to be given their freedom. They had been claimed by the United States government to give weight to their demand for the restoration of all slaves taken during the war. When they found that the British government laid no claim to them, they too gave up all title to the blacks and decided to set them free. However, as the people of Savannah and Charleston, where some were being held, protested against their being discharged, it was proposed that they might be released in charge of a British agent, who was to remove them from United States territory.

Accordingly, Bagot ordered the British Consuls at the two cities to receive them and convey to Halifax, at the earliest opportunity, the twenty-six from Charleston and the twenty-three from Savannah.<sup>18</sup> From Savannah the Vice-Consul, J. Wallace, informed the British government that he had taken the first opportunity to send the blacks imprisoned there northward: "I availed myself of the Brig *Alexander* . . . on her passage from Kingston to St. Andrews New Brunswick and have sent the whole of them to that place." The passage was to cost twenty dollars each, including provisions, and on 28 June 1816, the *Alexander* set sail northward. Wallace pointed out that the vessel would have called for those blacks at Charleston and Wellington but her insurance would have been void if she had.<sup>19</sup> On 17 July 1816, Charles Bagot informed the New

Brunswick government to expect the arrival of "20 black and coloured Persons" at St. Andrews and requested that they be received and given every opportunity "to provide themselves with the means of subsistence."<sup>20</sup>

In Nova Scotia the mass of refugees that Admiral Cochrane informed Lieutenant-Governor Sherbrooke to expect soon arrived. During the first quarter, 27 April to 26 July 1815, that Thomas Jeffery, the Collector of Customs was responsible for the care of the black refugees, a total of 727 persons were received at Melville Island.<sup>21</sup> On 27 April 1815, 76 refugees — 19 men, 32 women, and 25 children — were received from the Halifax Poor House, many of whom were admitted into the Melville Island establishment's hospital. On 2 May 1815, *H.M.S. Bruns* landed 297 refugees — 156 men, 61 women, 80 children — and they were received at the Island the following day. One hundred men, 86 women and 86 children, a total of 272 persons, were landed from the *H.M.S. Ceylon* on 13 May and 62 from the *H.M.S. Nymph* — 54 men, 4 women, 6 children — on May 23. On 7 June 1815, *H.M.S. Bores* and *Espois* landed 28 — 13 men, 8 women, and 7 children — while smaller numbers were landed from almost any ship which arrived from Bermuda.<sup>22</sup> During this period many were in the hospital, an average of 39 a day, and 76 of them appeared to have died there.<sup>23</sup>

The total cost of the Melville Island establishment amounted to £2577/17/1 1/4 Nova Scotia currency or £2320/1/4/3/4 sterling with an additional £848/3/4 currency payable to Collector Jeffery for his "trouble."<sup>25</sup> The expenditure for the first quarter, amounting to a total of £3476/0/5 currency or £3083/8/4 sterling, was passed in Council with the recommendation that this amount "may be paid to the said Thomas N. Jeffery."<sup>26</sup>

A Halifax contractor, Lewis DeMolitor, was engaged to feed the refugee blacks at Melville Island. The diet was carefully stipulated in the contract, both for those who were sick and for those who were well. DeMolitor received one shilling per day for those blacks "in health" and two shillings

per day for supplying "each and every sick negro." Every woman and female child over twelve years was to receive two-thirds of the ration allotted to each male and male child over twelve years; while children under twelve years were to receive one-third of a man's ration.<sup>27</sup> During the first quarter 28,668 rations were issued to refugees "in health" and 3,989 to those in the hospital, at a cost of £2035/17/9 1/4 to government.<sup>28</sup> On 12 July 1815, as DeMolitor's contract expired at the end of that month, a notice calling for tenders to supply the refugees for the next quarter appeared in the *Royal Gazette*.<sup>29</sup> DeMolitor protested that he had understood that his contract was to be extended past the three months but, with four other persons, submitted a bid for the new contract. DeMolitor retained the contract but at a reduced rate, 9 pence sterling per diem for those in health and 1 shilling 7 pence sterling for those in hospital.<sup>30</sup>

With winter again fast approaching, Sherbrooke repeated his plea of 1814 for clothing for the refugee blacks. Such supplies had been sent by the transport *Britannia* on 26 December 1814, he was informed by Henry Goulburn the Under-Secretary of the Colonial Office, but had never arrived. If the needed articles did not arrive, Sherbrooke warned the British government that

it will become absolutely necessary, for the preservation of the Negroes, that I should direct the purchase of warm clothing for them, which in this Country is considerably dearer than in England.<sup>31</sup>

Again, on 23 September 1815, Sherbrooke pointed out that the expected clothing and bedding had not arrived and the necessity of procuring it in Halifax would greatly increase the expense of the "Negro department" to the Government.<sup>32</sup> Finally, on 16 October 1815, the Lieutenant-Governor was pleased to inform the Colonial Office that the articles sent the year before had arrived at Halifax from Bermuda, where Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane had made an issue to the

refugees there. The shipment removed the necessity of purchasing many items in Halifax but did not alleviate the need for women's and children's shoes which had not been received.<sup>33</sup>

On 9 November 1815, Richard Best, the Deputy Collector of Customs who was in charge of the "Negro department" while Jeffery was absent in England, reported on his visit to Melville Island. Making the trip to assure himself that the terms of the contract were being complied with and to investigate the general state of the refugees, Best reported that Spruce Beer and ground coffee had not been supplied as stipulated by contract and that a new issue of clothing should soon be made to the blacks.<sup>34</sup> Because of the failure to issue these items, Sir John Sherbrooke, in Council, deducted £15 currency from the payment to contractor DeMolitor.<sup>35</sup>

The number of black refugees arriving in Halifax during the second quarter, from 27 July to 26 October 1815, was considerably smaller than the number that were disembarked during the preceding three months. On 9 November, 26 men, 6 women and 1 child were received into custody from the *Coromandel* and on 12 November, 10 men, 10 women, and 9 children were landed from the *H.M.S. Narcissus*.<sup>36</sup> These, with other unrecorded arrivals, totalled 79 persons for whom Richard Best received £82/19/0 sterling allowance.<sup>37</sup> During the second quarter, 19,808 rations were issued to blacks in health and 3,146 to those in the hospital, an average of 254 daily,<sup>38</sup> at a total cost to government of £1561/13/11 1/2 currency or £1405/10/6 3/4 sterling as approved in Council on 16 November 1815.<sup>39</sup> On 26 October DeMolitor was given verbal notice of the termination of his contract to supply the refugees in the hospital. Doctor Robb of Halifax undertook to supply their needs, and it was recommended by Richard Best that "he be taken under a contract to that effect."<sup>40</sup>

The attempts of Governor Sherbrooke to settle the blacks on the vacant land of the province, which will be discussed later,<sup>41</sup> were successful to the point that on 18 November 1815, he was able to reduce the Melville Island establishment. To



This sketch of Richard Preston by Dr. J.B. Gilpin was drawn in the 1850s and portrays an itinerant preacher carrying religion to his often widespread and isolated congregation. By carriage or on horseback, Preston traveled from Halifax to Yarmouth preaching and establishing churches. Described as being "of ready wit, humorous, and a good extemporaneous speaker" and "as fluent on the platform as in the pulpit" Preston was also President of the Halifax Abolitionists. His crowning achievement was the 1854 creation of the African Baptist Association of Nova Scotia. The church and the Association was the chief organized voice of blacks for many decades.

Nova Scotia Museum

reduce expenses the number of persons employed was cut to three, David Garrand, surgeon at 3/10 per diem, H. Noonan, clerk at £100 per annum, and R. Hodges, keeper and steward at 7/6 per day.<sup>42</sup> It still proved necessary to maintain the establishment, however, both for the blacks who remained and those who were forced to return there for shelter<sup>43</sup> when earlier employment had ended. Thus, on 2 December 1815, Deputy Collector Best reported to Henry Cogswell that in compliance with the orders of the Lieutenant-Governor he had called for tenders for "victualatting" the blacks.<sup>44</sup> Accordingly, on 16 December 1815, a contract was made and entered into between Lewis DeMolitor and T.N. Jeffery to supply the blacks on or "who shall come" to Melville Island. The diet was to remain the same, "all of which provisions shall be of good sound and healthful quality," "at the cost of one shilling per ration."<sup>45</sup>

On 9 January 1816, Richard Best reported to H.H. Cogswell on the deplorable condition of the refugees' clothing. On the following day he was informed that "the Military Secretary will give Mr. Best an order for as many pairs of shoes as will complete every man and woman (of the refugee Negroes) on Melville Island with one pair each." He was further ordered to purchase the necessary children's shoes and to issue "such warm clothing as these Blacks are in want of."<sup>46</sup>

The first report of any trouble at Melville Island came on 7 December 1815. On that date Richard Best reported that he had been informed that a number of blankets had been stolen from the establishment's store room.<sup>47</sup> On the ninth of that month a court of enquiry was held at Melville Island by the order of Major General Gosslin, Commandant of the Garrison of Halifax. The Court proved unable to throw any additional light on "the person or persons unknown" who stole the twelve missing blankets. It was reported that some of the refugees were stealing from their fellows, but in this instance the blame was attached to no one.<sup>48</sup>

During the third quarter that the refugees were maintained at Melville Island, between 27 October 1815 and 26 January 1816, thirteen were received by the Collector of

Customs. Eight others were placed on the books of Melville Island by the special permission of the Lieutenant-Governor as the Commissary of the Poor refused to consider them transient paupers and receive them into the Poor House. All of these refugees were previously in Nova Scotia and not new arrivals.<sup>49</sup> During these three months the number of persons dwelling at the Island varied from a total of 276 on 27 October 1815, to 64 on 24 January 1816. A total of 7059  $\frac{2}{3}$  full rations were issued to blacks in health at the Island and 1394 to those in the hospital.<sup>50</sup> On 6 April 1816 Sherbrooke reported to Bathurst that the accounts of the Collector of Customs for the expenses incurred in providing for the black refugees that had been received at Halifax had been reviewed and passed in Council, and he had given to Deputy Collector Best Bills of Exchange upon the Lords of the Treasury for the amount of £1153/1/11 sterling.<sup>51</sup> The Lieutenant-Governor further reported that he had drawn a bill for £13/13/0 in favor of Richard Best for the refugees that had come under his care. He informed Lord Bathurst that no blacks had arrived from the south during that quarter. But, of the upward of a thousand refugees who arrived previous to the establishment of the Melville Island center, instances of sickness and distress among them had forced some to seek an asylum at the depot. Accordingly, he contended, that for every such refugee received, the Collector of Customs or his deputy was entitled to his guinea. At the same time he inquired whether the Collector would be entitled to the bounty in the case of children born at the depot.<sup>52</sup> During March, Sir John Sherbrooke was informed that due to the "distressing events that has recently occurred in Mr. Best's family, he was forced to resign and that James Fawson had been appointed Deputy Collector in his place and would be responsible for the Melville Island depot.<sup>53</sup>

The fourth quarter, running from 27 January to 26 April 1816, saw very little reduction in the number of persons located on Melville Island. On 27 January there were 64 refugees living there; three months later, on 26 April, there were 63. During

the quarter, 5,459 rations were issued to people in health and 998 to those in the hospital<sup>54</sup> at a total cost to the government of £601/0/6 sterling.<sup>55</sup> Four refugees were landed from His Majesty's ships during the quarter<sup>56</sup> and bills were drawn on the Lords of the Treasury in favor of Deputy Collector James Fawson for £4/4/0 head money.<sup>57</sup>

The Melville Island establishment, having existed for a full year was now being maintained for only a very small number of refugees, the others either receiving land and settling, or obtaining employment, and Governor Sherbrooke decided to close the depot. On 6 May he received a report on the state of the blacks on Melville Island. It disclosed that there were forty healthy refugees on the Island and ten in the hospital, of whom seven were stricken with ulcers, one with dysentery, one with fever and one with chronic rheumatism.<sup>58</sup> By 21 May 1816, there were only twenty-six persons remaining at the depot.<sup>59</sup> On 5 June 1816 Sherbrooke informed the Colonial Office of his action. He wrote:

Finding out that there were several convalescent and idle negroes who had taken refuge at the depot during the severity of the winter and who would be able to procure a livelihood by labor as the season improves I directed the medical officers to inspect them and from their report I have ascertained that there will be only 8 negroes remaining at Melville Island who are unable to work viz: a very infirmed old man (who says he is 80 years of age), a blind woman and six patients who require medical aid — the two former I have placed in the poor house upon the condition that they are to receive their rations there and the 6 sick negroes I have removed to the Military Hospital where they will be taken care of in the same manner as sick soldiers are and the expense thus incurred will be settled by the Deputy Inspector and the Collector of the Customs at the end of every quarter. By this arrangement the pay of the Medical Officer, Nurses, etc., heretofore residing at Melville Island will cease and the establishment for the



Unidentified portrait of negro youth, Halifax, N.S. A water-colour, likely rendered between 1840 and 1862 by Miss McKie of Halifax.

Public Archives of Canada

present will be done away which will be a considerable saving to the Public.<sup>60</sup>

The depot was not closed, however, until an order was received from Governor Sherbrooke dated 20 June 1816, which discharged the whole of the department at the Island and provided for the remaining blacks.<sup>61</sup> To reduce expenses further, Sherbrooke replaced the civilian, Mr. Hodges, who had been in charge of the stores at the depot, with a military man, Sergeant Edward Randal of the 1st Battalion 62nd Regiment,<sup>62</sup> who was to receive an allowance of 2/6 per week for taking care of the establishment.<sup>63</sup> The expenses incurred in the quarter between 27 April and 16 July 1816, "in providing for the American Refugee Negroes, at Melville Island, and the different settlements" amounted to £679/3/3 currency.<sup>64</sup>

In the year that followed the reception of Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane's letter which had warned the Governor to expect from 1,500 to 2,000 refugees,<sup>65</sup> a total of approximately 812 arrived. T.N. Jeffery in a letter to Major General Smyth, who moved from New Brunswick to take charge of the government on Sherbrooke's appointment to Quebec as Governor-in-Chief in June 1816, explained that he had received "about eight hundred negroes of different ages and sizes" of whom many were "in a most distressed state afflicted with the small pox, and various other diseases." Of those afflicted many died, "not less I believe than one eighth."<sup>66</sup>

During 1816 a number of black refugees were received into the Poor House Hospital at Halifax "from the Military Hospital and Melville Island" and at least one died there. On 24 September 1816, John Lawson requested the rations, which had not been furnished "to remunerate the institution, and for their further subsistence."<sup>67</sup>

In August 1816, as had occurred in New Brunswick and of which Admiral Griffith had been advised,<sup>68</sup> a further group of black refugees arrived in Nova Scotia. On 23 August, William Phillips, the Health Officer of the port of Halifax approved the

disembarking of the passengers of the brig *Ceres* from Charleston, South Carolina.<sup>69</sup> On board were 36 blacks<sup>70</sup> who had been captured by the Americans on British ships during the war and who had been released to the British authorities.<sup>71</sup> There had been a total of 37 persons when the *Ceres* left Charleston but one had died of "dropsey" two days out of Wilmington.<sup>72</sup> Twenty-two of the blacks had been received at Charleston, N.C. and fifteen from Wilmington of whom thirty-six were received by the authorities in Halifax.<sup>73</sup> The records do not disclose any further arrivals of refugee blacks in Nova Scotia or in New Brunswick.

During the first two decades of the 1800s, Nova Scotia was hungry for immigrants to settle on the waste lands of the province. In 1814

when the war in Europe seemed about to end, the Council and Assembly of Nova Scotia, speaking as was their wont for all British North America, 'humbly' told the Imperial Government that henceforth immigration from Britain should be directed to the colonies.

The colonies, they said, had already been deprived of too much strength by British immigrants flocking to the United States.<sup>74</sup> Lieutenant-Governor Sherbrooke wanted regiments of soldiers disbanded and settled in Nova Scotia; but, with the news of Napoleon's return to the field, all regiments were recalled to Europe and none were available for settlement. The black refugees were a different case. The early arrivals had been able to find employment during the peak years of war prosperity "but by the autumn of 1814 there was no longer any demand for Negro labour."<sup>75</sup> Sherbrooke realized that those who arrived as a result of Cochrane's correspondence of 25 March 1815, would have little chance of finding positions and must be charges on Government. He therefore recommended

as encouragement to those who are industrious and may be willing to settle and cultivate land, that they should on being located receive rations gratis for themselves and

families in the same proportions and for the same period as was allowed to the disbanded soldiers and their families who settled in this Province at the Peace of 1783.<sup>76</sup>

Two months later Lord Bathurst, while approving Sherbrooke's Melville Island depot, pointed out

the advantage which might result from giving to those persons who are mostly accustomed to agriculture labour, small grants of land by the cultivation of which they might in a short time be enabled to provide for their own subsistence and to promote the general prosperity of the province.<sup>77</sup>

This, of course, corresponded with Sherbrooke's own wishes and he replied that he wanted the plan adopted. On a note of caution, however, he pointed out that

the barren appearance of this country before it is cleared operates with other causes against the immediate execution of it, as the negro on the first arrival seem to dread so arduous an undertaking as the tilling of ground of this description appears to be.

He was hopeful, however, that many of the blacks, after being employed in the country and seeing the potential of the soil, might desire to cultivate it. To those so inclined, he promised to give every encouragement and informed the Colonial Office that he had

already directed the Surveyor-General to look out for and reserve the most favourable situations now unappropriated for the purpose of locating such of the free Negroes as are willing to become settlers.<sup>78</sup>

On 6 September 1815, Surveyor-General Charles Morris reported to the Lieutenant-Governor on the lands available in Preston for the settlement of the Chesapeake blacks. Preston

had been the site of the settlement of many of the black Loyalists, as well as the Maroons, and was easily accessible from both Dartmouth and Halifax. Morris reported that from "the tracts of land which have reverted to the Crown by a regular course of escheat and a disposition on the part of the proprietor," land was available "to place two hundred families on one connected settlement favourable for cultivation." Many of the refugees, Morris reported, had viewed the land and were pleased with it and appeared desirous of settling at once, clearing land and building houses to shelter their families before the approaching winter. The community had the advantage of being close to the markets of the more urban centres as it was only six and one half miles from the Dartmouth ferry, one and one half miles from Cole Harbour and seven and three-fourths miles from Halifax. This, Morris assured the Governor, would enable the new settlers to sell all the vegetables and poultry they could raise as well as the trout, gaspereau, eels and perch which were plentiful in nearby lakes and streams. The market for lathes, shingles, hoop poles, brooms, axe handles, oar rafters, and clapboards would also invite the industry of the refugees and supply them with employment and the means to support their families. Morris recommended that

compact lots be laid out so as to form a Village — each lot to contain about ten acres — and regularly drawn for in the usual manner and that a reserve of fifteen hundred acres be made as a Commons to afford them fuel, fencing and building materials when that on their own lots is exhausted — and that no land be confirmed to them by grant — until they are actually settled and satisfactory proof afforded to your Excellency of their fixed determination to make a permanate [sic] settlement.

Norris further advised that provisions be granted to them and "a few implements of Husbandry," such as axes, hoes, spades, saws, grindstones and boards, to help them get started.<sup>79</sup>

Land was obtained to settle the blacks together, as Morris had suggested, at Preston. It was felt that they would prefer that arrangement to settling among strangers, perhaps far from the market and the public roads, and would be able to "assist, comfort and support" each other.<sup>80</sup> This arrangement, followed in the military settlements set up by the Nova Scotia government, was used in this the first government-planned community.<sup>81</sup>

Several proprietors gave up lands in the Preston area to enable the government to settle the refugees together upon assurance of equal quantities of land in other parts of the province. One proprietor, the Surveyor-General reported, had land that strictly speaking was liable to escheatment, but in consideration of the amount Michael Wallace had paid for it "in or about the year 1800" and the sums he had spent on his lands contiguous to it, should receive compensation.<sup>82</sup> Others who relinquished lands for the settlement at Preston and therefore were entitled to compensation were William Lawson, William Hughes, Theophilus Chamberlain, Philip Tidmarsh, and Robert O'Brian. On 11 December 1817, the Committee of the Council investigating land titles recommended that compensation in the form of new grants of land be made to the affected parties.<sup>83</sup>

After a plan for the establishment of the refugees at Preston had been presented, a further step in their settlement was outlined. Surveyor-General Charles Morris, proposed

that fifty of the most expert and active of the men of colour be immediately collected and placed on the range of lots assigned for those people [,] that provisions be deposited in the safe custody of some person of confidence and trust, as near to the proposed settlement as possible — and that these people be served with a weekly allowance upon the express condition of their remaining steady at their work — and these people to be employed for the general benefit of the whole.<sup>84</sup>



Loch Lomond, N.B. While blacks lived in various communities in New Brunswick, the Loch Lomond establishment was the principal settlement created for the refugees in the province.

Province of New Brunswick

Of the fifty, sixteen were to be employed as sawyers, with eight whip saws, with which it was estimated they could cut 1,600 feet of boards per day "sufficient to cover the Roofs and to floor two houses of 13 by 16 feet." Ten accustomed to carpenter's work were to be employed with broad axes to hew

logs into timbers for roofs and floors, and for sawing into boards while six more were to be equipped with nailing hammers, augers and chisels to do the "little necessary carpenters work for erecting log houses." The others were to be equipped with felling axes, three grindstones, hoes, spades, pick-axes, trowels, crosscut saws, and drawing knives for making shingles for battening the roofs. Under proper management, Morris expected that two houses with stone chimneys could be erected every day and "in the course of six weeks, houses might be built sufficient to shelter five hundred people." Morris expected that the government would supply nails, hinges, and glass for the windows and pay to have provisions transported to the settlement, but asserted that in order to keep expenses to a minimum, "it would be no more than reasonable . . . to insist on each individual working at the business of which he is most capable while the houses are building." The carpenters and sawyers, who would do more than their share in the building of the houses, were to be compensated by the others clearing the land around their houses. If the government granted rations when these regulations were complied with, Morris stated they would soon "become a thriving settlement."<sup>85</sup>

On 21 November 1815, the Lieutenant-Governor, reported to his superiors. He informed Lord Bathurst that, as intended, he had previously settled about "sixty black families" at Preston, and added,

To which number I have since been able to make considerable addition as there are now located in that township 151 men, 117 women, and 200 black children all of whom are already under cover.

These were all receiving rations but he hoped that in the course of two years they would be able to provide for themselves. Governor Sherbrooke continued:

Another Situation has been discovered well suited for the Negroes, and with which they appear to be much pleased

[.] at Hammonds Plains about twenty miles from Halifax.

The Lieutenant-Governor explained that one hundred eighty of the refugees were at work, clearing the land and building houses and that he hoped to have them and their families under shelter before the "severe weather sets in." These measures, Sherbrooke assured the Colonial Office, would enable him to further reduce the Melville Island establishment. To lower expenses he already had done "away with the contract for the sick" and made use of the existing military hospital, saving one shilling per patient per diem. To further assist the refugees Sherbrooke requested that the items recommended by Council — axes and implements of husbandry, potatoes and seeds for two years, surveyors to run lines, issuers of rations, and conveyance of provisions — could be provided. These expenses were later "sanctioned and approved" by the Colonial Office.<sup>86</sup>

Perhaps mindful of the maxim "out of sight, out of mind," the refugees had wisely insisted on being located close to the capital, within easy reach of the Halifax market and the government offices.<sup>87</sup> Other smaller communities were established at the North West Arm, on the Cobequid Road, at Dartmouth, the Shubenacadie Road, and around the major settlements of Preston and Hammonds Plains. By 2 October 1815, several agents were appointed to issue rations to the black refugee settlers. Theophilus Chamberlain and Charles Morris were agents for the blacks at Preston; Thomas N. Jeffery and John Rule received the appointment for the refugees settled on the Shubenacadie Road; Henry H. Cogswell for those at the North West Arm; Thomas Williams for Cobequid Road; Rufus Fairbanks for Porter's Lake, and John Liddell at Hammonds Plains.<sup>88</sup> Between 2 October and 22 December 1815, Deputy Commissary-General Oliver Goldsmith reported on what was issued as rations to the refugee blacks at the above places including, 152,499 lb. 4 oz. biscuit; 104,227 lb. 4 oz. salt beef; 30,896 lb. 6 oz. pork; 41,918 lb. 4 oz. rice; and 413 gallons and 5 pints of peas.<sup>89</sup> One

thousand, forty-eight iron hooks, likely fish hooks, were also issued from His Majesty's magazine to Mr. Liddell for the blacks.<sup>90</sup>

Having received Lord Bathurst's approval of the steps he had taken in regard to the location and encouragement of the blacks,<sup>91</sup> Sherbrooke arranged in December 1815, to furnish those at Preston with another issue of clothing. Each head of family was to receive one coat, waistcoat and pantaloons, two pairs of shoes and two pairs of stockings. Two pairs of shoes and stockings were also provided for the women; while each family which had at least three children was to receive a double blanket while smaller families and single men were to receive a single blanket. It was also recommended that because of the uncertain state of the weather, two months' provisions should be deposited at one time to provide for the 568 people at Preston.<sup>92</sup>

Late in 1815 or early 1816, there were 838 refugees reported residing in Preston and its vicinity. Forty-four at Porter's Lake, 131 on Poetts [sic] Route, 113 on the Frog Lake Route, 190 on Gardiner's Route, 36 on the Partridge River Route, 139 on the Cole Harbour Route, 46 on Crane's Route, 45 on Bundy's Route, while 94 lived on the road between Lake Loon and the Dartmouth Ferry House.<sup>93</sup> It was reported that 293 resided at Hammonds Plains,<sup>94</sup> 80 at Refugee Hill and at the head of the North West Arm;<sup>95</sup> while 59 more lived on the Windsor and Colchester roads.<sup>96</sup> In the communities reported upon, there was a total of 1,316 black refugees.

On 4 January 1816, T. Chamberlain reported to Charles Morris that, although he had received provisions to provide 400 rations per day, he soon had claims for as many as 430. However, he informed Morris

by attending to his Excellency's order to withhold the allowance of those who were doing nothing toward the building of houses we have never issued more than at the rate of 384 rations a day, and on an average not more than 360.



Licence to Men of Colour at Refugee Hill, 27 March 1818( vol. 419, doc. 36:

By His Excellency Lieutenant General Right Honorable George Earl of Dalhousie Baron Dalhousie of Dalhousie Castle Knight Grand Cross of the most Honorable Military Order of the Bath Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief in and over his Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia and its dependencies—&—

Licence is hereby given to the following men of colour to occupy possess and enjoy for and during the term of five years from the date hereof (then if their conduct as industrious peaceable and loyal subjects shall be approved to receive Grants of confirmation from Government) the following Lots of Land on which they are respectively settled, Situate lying and being in the Township of Halifax to the Westward of the Peninsula of Halifax and within the limits of a tract of Land formerly Granted Martin Shier and others in the following Shares or proportions to wit, Unto Abraham Barns the Lot Number One in the division letter A containing ten Acres, unto William Roberts the Lot Number two in said division containing ten acres, Unto Joseph Blackwell the Lot Number three containing ten Acres, Unto Abraham Green the Lot Number four in said division containing ten Acres, Unto David Chain the Lot Number five containing ten Acres. And unto Pompey Cooper the Lot Number one in the division letter B containing ten Acres, Unto Benjamin Roberts the Lot Number two in said division letter B containing ten Acres, Unto Robert Hamilton the Lot Number five in said division letter B containing ten Acres, unto Hendrick Hamilton the Lot Number six in said division letter B containing ten Acres, unto Aaron Wheeler the Lot Number Seven in said division letter B containing ten Acres, Unto Charles Lovet Senr. the Lot Number Eight in said division letter B containing ten Acres, and unto Charles Lovet Junior the Lot Number nine in said division letter B containing ten Acres, all which several Lots of Land are abutted and bounded according to this Plan.

Given under my Hand and Seal at Arms at Halifax this 27th day of March 1818 in the 58th Year of His Majesty's Reign.

By His Majesty's Command.—

Rupert D. George

Part of the Township of Halifax—

(Plan)

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OPPOSITE:

Refugee Hill, N.S. While Preston and Hammonds Plains were the two larger settlements established by the refugees, there were a number of smaller establishments. One of these was Refugee Hill where, like elsewhere, the lots were limited to an uneconomical ten acres and held by tickets of location.

Public Archives of Nova Scotia

By this method Chamberlain asserted that many who had been inclined to laziness had been prompted to assume more industrious habits.<sup>97</sup>

On 1 February 1816, Dr. Samuel Head, who had visited several families at Preston on the request of agent Morris, reported that he found several people near death from consumption. Dr. Head pointed out that it was likely due to the indifferent protection against the weather that some of the houses provided, to the poor condition of their clothing, and to the lack of medical attention. Dr. Head recommended that Seth Coleman be supplied with medicine, a horse and advice from Halifax doctors and appointed to administer to the simpler medical needs of the refugees as he had experience in the field, although he was not a doctor.<sup>98</sup> Dr. Head's recommendations apparently were followed, for in the abstract of expenses there is itemized a charge of £40/0/0 from Seth Coleman for being "Medical Attendant to American Refugees at Preston and Cow Bay" from 24 June 1816, to 24 December 1816. In the same abstract, bills from William B. Almon, M.D., for "medical expenses" and Dr. Mackesey for "medical attention" attest that medical attention was provided.

On 20 April, with spring approaching, Sherbrooke informed Lord Bathurst that "implements of agriculture and seeds" would be purchased immediately and distributed to the refugees "as these articles will be of the greatest service to the Black settlers at this Season."<sup>100</sup> On 10 May it was reported that most lots at Preston had a quarter to one half acre cleared. Many families had their houses completed; while others were still building. There were then 205 able men "fit for military duty and any kind of labour" with seven old men and ten boys in Preston.<sup>101</sup> There remained in the store house in Dartmouth, from the provisions received on 2 November 1815, rations for 27 men for six months, reported T. Chamberlain in May, 1816. He also informed the Lieutenant-Governor that the bags of bread charged to Government at 112 pounds weight each averaged only 107 pounds.<sup>102</sup> In June 1816, the refugees remaining at Melville Island were removed to Preston, and

Theophilus Chamberlain was ordered to assign them lots of land and grant them the usual allowance of provisions.<sup>103</sup> On 5 June 1816, Lieutenant-Governor Sherbrooke informed Lord Bathurst that

the implements of Husbandry, Seeds, etc. sanctioned by your Lordship for the use of these peoples have been purchased and distributed to those negroes who have been located, in proportion to the quantity of land which each has cleared.

The season, he commented, was so backward that he feared that full advantage of the Government's bounty would not be realized by the refugees. An issuer of rations was retained at Preston and Hammonds Plains and, Sherbrooke reported, "from the ignorance and helpless state of these people it appears quite impossible to do without them." Sherbrooke further recommended that another issue of "warm clothing but particularly of shoes for men, women and children should be sent out for the use of the people of color for the ensuing Winter." On the dispatch it was notated by the Colonial Office that supplies were to be provided and forwarded.<sup>104</sup>

Rations continued to be issued during the spring and summer of 1816. At Preston, between 2 May 1816 and 2 August 1816, 40,369 rations were issued leaving only 2,042 rations "of all kinds" in the store at Dartmouth.<sup>105</sup> To receive rations it was necessary for those concerned to obtain a certificate which attested to their industry from either the agent in charge of them or the proprietor of the land on which they had settled.<sup>106</sup> On 3 June 1816, an order was given to issue an additional month's ration to twelve black refugees settled upon lands near the North West Arm called Refugee Hill.<sup>107</sup> On 10 June 1816, it was reported that 307 persons were settled in the refugee community of Hammonds Plains.<sup>108</sup> Likely they too were recipients of the rations issued by the Government. By this time all of the black refugees were settled, mainly in the four principal situations set aside for them. The two most

important were Preston and Hammonds Plains, under the superintendence of Charles Morris and John Liddell respectively. Of the two smaller settlements, one was located at Refugee Hill on the Saint Margaret's Bay Road and the other on the road to Colchester. T.N. Jeffery was responsible for the Colchester Road settlement; while Lieutenant-Governor Sherbrooke himself assumed responsibility for the Refugee Hill community.<sup>109</sup>

Some of the refugee blacks were also settled on the estates of private landowners by the proprietors of the estates. As early as 14 April 1815, Laurence Hartshorne, in communication with Rupert George, expressed his desire to settle some of the expected refugees on his land. He wrote,

I hereby offer the following terms on the following conditions. I will give fee simple thirty acres to each of five families at Parrsboro, and the like quantity to each of ten families at Addington, Antigonish and further will give to each family one cow as soon as they shall have enough land cultivated to cut hay sufficient to keep them through the winter.

The conditions he imposed were that the refugees actually "sit down on and cultivate" the land they received, and they could not sell it, without Hartshorne's permission, until seven years after he had deeded it to them, "after which period they may be at liberty to dispose of it as they like."<sup>110</sup> Apparently there were other offers of this kind, for on 30 October 1815, there is record of five families dwelling on land conveyed to them by Rufus Fairbanks.<sup>111</sup> Others were located on Dr. Cochrane's land<sup>112</sup> and more on holdings belonging to John Rule. These had several acres in cultivation, partly in "fall wheat," had cut a road and "erected a very considerable bridge." They also "prayed" that they might receive rations for an additional six months.<sup>113</sup>

During the period that Major-General Smyth was the administrator of the Government of Nova Scotia (27 June to

24 October 1816) very little was done with regard to the Chesapeake blacks.<sup>114</sup> On the other hand, Lord Dalhousie, commissioned Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia on 24 October 1816, concerned himself with the situation of the black refugees almost immediately on his arrival in the province. On 15 November 1816, he addressed the Council requesting advice on what steps could be taken with regard to the refugees, and also requesting that "some line, or regulation were drawn to ascertain what Negroes were entitled to receive rations, Clothing or assistance as there are great numbers wandering about without fixed abode, and Daily claiming relief."<sup>115</sup> Later that month, Chief Justice S.S. Blowers, President of the Council, replied to Dalhousie's address, presenting to him the Council's resolutions on the subject. The first recommendation was that a census of the blacks permitted to receive rations, etc., be made. Second, that the provisions for Preston "where the greater number reside" be stored at Dartmouth and issued at the blacks' convenience. This, the Council pointed out, would save the Government the cost of tonnage and "secure the provisions from the depredations and casualties to which they have been liable at Preston." The Council also suggested that the Hammonds Plains people continue to be able to receive their rations "through the agency of Mr. Johnson" but that those at Refugee Hill, Waterloo Farm on the Colchester road, and at "other places" should come to Halifax for their provisions and those of no fixed abode or "who are in service in Halifax or elsewhere on wage, be not allowed rations." Council further recommended that, in the case of the heads of families leaving to find employment, rations should be issued only to the wives and children at home unless "such absence is casual and had no direct tendency to impeede [sic] the cultivation of the ground allotted, for the improvement of which the provisions are chiefly allowed." In summary it was suggested that the Collector of Customs, T.N. Jeffery, who knew many of the blacks by sight, issue certificates "to such as are entitled to receive rations" and be duly compensated for his trouble.<sup>116</sup>

When Dalhousie received these suggestions he brought the Colonial Office up to date on 2 December 1816. While not prepared to make a full statement on the refugee blacks, Dalhousie informed Lord Bathurst that, on account of the lack of action by the Smyth Administration, he found the refugee account two quarters in arrears. After he had ordered them completed, the Lieutenant-Governor reported that the first quarter would be about £100 while the second would be a mere trifle "as the whole affairs have stood still for the last three months." The blacks, he stated, were thus left in

a state of starvation, their crops having totally failed; their numbers much increased by those, who having first obtained day Labour, now have joined the settlers unable to get any work to give them bread

and that he considered it a matter of necessity to issue rations until 1 June 1817, and to give them whatever remained of the clothing which remained in storage. The rations were to be issued from the Commissary General's Stores under the direction of Collector of Customs, T.N. Jeffery. The Lieutenant-Governor requested instructions as to the intentions of the Government with regard to the black refugees, pointing out that he feared that they would "long be a burden to the Public" but hoped in time they would become valuable settlers, although cautioning that "there are many bad subjects who never will do well under any circumstances."<sup>117</sup>

Later that month, Dalhousie again reported to the Colonial Office on the state of the black populace, again stating his belief that "little hope can be entertained of settling these people so as to provide for their families and wants — they must be supported for many years."<sup>118</sup> Enclosed was a copy of the regulations which were to be observed in "vicualling and clothing the refugee Negroes in this Province," issued on 4 December 1816. The regulations listed what was to be included in every ration and spelled out the terms on which provisions were to be received. To be eligible a person had to

enter the province "under the proclamation of Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane since April 1815" and had to be settled "and constantly reside" upon the lands they had received either from Government or the individual proprietors. Those, who, instead of settling, remained "idling about the streets of Halifax," would be refused rations "unless by infirmity or other peculiar circumstances they are judged to be objects of charity." Three main depots were to be established for the issue of provisions, one at Halifax, one at Nine Mile River, and one at Preston from which rations were to be dispensed until 1 June 1817, when all issue was to cease. To help Jeffery in the management of the black refugees' affairs, Richard Inglis was appointed to superintend the issue of the government aid.<sup>119</sup> On 30 December 1816, the census of the refugees, which Dalhousie had warned Bathurst might exceed what he had anticipated,<sup>120</sup> was submitted. Richard Inglis reported that 924 refugees resided at Preston, 504 at Hammonds Plains, 76 at Refugee Hill and 115 more in the town of Halifax — a total of 1619 persons for whom provisions would be required.<sup>121</sup> If there were added to this figure the numbers of refugees that managed to retain gainful employment and those settled by individual proprietors it is likely safe to estimate that between 1700 and 2000 refugees were received into Nova Scotia from the Chesapeake.

On 12 March 1817, Lord Dalhousie received orders to reduce the expenses incurred by the refugees and, in compliance with his orders, issued instructions that rations were to cease on 31 May. Thereafter new lists were to be made which would, Dalhousie assured the Colonial Office, include only those who had been industrious or those "who by age or infirmity might be thought objects of compassion." Dalhousie felt that this move would cut the number who would receive rations by one half, and, to limit further the cost to Government, the rations themselves would be reduced. At the same time Dalhousie insisted that he "give those people Rations until they can raise their crops, for without that support they must utterly starve." Richard Inglis, who had

been reduced from the Commissariat Department, was appointed to aid the Government to look after the refugees' expenses at 10 shillings per day, with an allowance for his horse, as well as rations, lodging, and fuel.<sup>122</sup>

In August, Dalhousie reported that he had reduced the ration list to those who had families and who were living on the land allotted to them and had reduced the rations to pork and Indian flour, by which the cost per ration fell from ten to five pence. He added that he was able to express a much better opinion of the blacks than previously. After visiting the settlements he wrote, "I find almost every man had one or more acres cleared and ready for seed and working with an industry which astonished me." Dalhousie provided the refugees with 1,500 bushels of seed potatoes, as well as "cabbage and turnip seeds, in proportion to each mans [sic] cleared land" and some nets for fishing and sought a market for the boards and shingles some of them had produced. In a note of caution, however, he advised the Colonial Office that rations would have to be issued the following winter and until they could produce sufficient crops "to feed their numerous families — without it they may perish."

Another group of settlers was also requiring aid — the disbanded soldiers of the Nova Scotia and Newfoundland Regiment. Their crops were also insufficient to support their families through the winter "and if the rations were stopt [sic] they must quit."<sup>123</sup> Obviously it was not only the black refugees who had difficulty successfully establishing themselves in Nova Scotia. From 1 to 31 August 1817, the 1,153 persons receiving provisions at Preston and Hammonds Plains were issued 704  $\frac{2}{3}$  rations per day. Of the total, 388 persons at Hammonds Plains received rations, as did the 765 from Preston.<sup>124</sup> Another return about the same time gave a total of 469 blacks dwelling at Hammonds Plains.<sup>125</sup> Between 6 December and 31 May 1817 and 1 June and 31 August 1818, issues of clothing were made to the blacks. Blankets, red shroud, jackets, trousers, blue coats, cotton shirts, Dutch caps, grey trousers, baize waist coats, brown serge pieces and

stockings were provided to those who required them.<sup>126</sup>

On 24 October 1818, following orders, Dalhousie instructed that no more rations be issued, leaving the black refugees to their own resources. On 10 June 1819, he reported to Lord Bathurst: "They persevered under great privations and want, until the ninth of March when their means totally failed, and most urgent representation was made to me of their starving state." When the House of Assembly, which was sitting at the time, refused to make any grant to assist them, Dalhousie authorized an issue of one's month's rations which he hoped would "relieve their necessity until spring then approaching, offered them labour in the country." Dalhousie's earlier pessimism reasserted itself as he wrote "these miserable creatures will be for years a burden on Government."<sup>127</sup> A year later (1 June 1820) Lord Dalhousie left Nova Scotia, leaving behind him the continuing problems of the Chesapeake blacks.

Maintaining the refugees on Melville Island had been expensive. The cost of their settlement was also high. In the quarter ending 26 January 1816, £594/9/5 currency had been spent

in removing from Melville Island, locating and furnishing with impliments of husbandry, etc., etc., two detachments of the said people of colour upon lands in the Township of Preston and Hammonds Plains

with a total expenditure of £1336/1/1<sup>128</sup> in that quarter. The records become spotty through the period of the change from the Sherbrooke to Smyth to Dalhousie administrations but the abstracts show an expenditure of £572/12/11 1/2 sterling between 27 April and 26 July 1816.<sup>129</sup> Between 27 July 1816, and 26 January 1817, £293/8/8 was spent "for victualling and incidental charges,"<sup>130</sup> while £151/19/10 1/2 was expended between 27 January and 31 May 1817.<sup>131</sup> The following quarter saw an expenditure of between £500 and £590<sup>132</sup> and an additional £256/18/3 was paid out in the following year (to 31 August 1818).<sup>133</sup> With even the sketchy records available it is

apparent that between 27 October 1816 and 31 August 1818, the British Government expended at least £3200 in addition to the approximately £7800 which the refugees had cost between April 1815 and July 1816. During these years by comparison the receipts and expenditures of the Nova Scotia Government, boosted by the war-economy, were high. In 1816, £67,839 were collected and £59,120 expended, while the figures for 1817 were £76,937 and £76,837 respectively, but by 1819 receipts had fallen to £49,305 and expenditures to £47,747. During succeeding years, until 1825, expenditures were further reduced while receipts varied from year to year.<sup>134</sup>

By 1851 the black population of Nova Scotia was at least 4,908 and in 1871 it was at least 6,212,<sup>135</sup> and as their population grew they gradually assumed a larger share of the responsibilities of the community. Although their numbers slowly increased, it was not the lot of most to prosper and many were forced to rely on the assistance provided by the Nova Scotia Assembly for many years.<sup>136</sup> One might think that they did not, however, have to remain in Nova Scotia, with its lack of economic opportunities, but during this period the majority seem to have done just that. One chance to leave and the reasons why so few availed themselves of the opportunity will be discussed below.

From the time the first of the Chesapeake blacks arrived in Nova Scotia, there were those who argued that settling them in a country which was climatically and culturally completely foreign to them was not acting in the interest of either the refugees or the provinces. Further, the idea of aiding their emigration to Trinidad or other of the West Indies Islands was mooted from 1815 on. On 10 November of that year Lord Bathurst wrote to Sir John Sherbrooke,

As it appears from your dispatch that many Negroes from the southern parts of the United States have been conveyed to Halifax contrary to the intentions of His Majesty's Government — I fear that they may during the winter experience considerable inconvenience from the

cold. Should this be the case, and should you be of the opinion that they would prefer a settlement in a warmer climate, I will, upon receiving from you an estimate of the number to be provided for, take measures for their conveyance [sic] to Trinidad, where every preparation has long since been made for their reception and where the means of procuring a subsistence will be immediately afforded them.<sup>137</sup>

Governor Sherbrooke informed the Colonial Office that he would "inform himself" of the number of the refugees who desired to remove to Trinidad and report as soon as possible.<sup>138</sup>

On 20 April 1816, the Lieutenant-Governor advised Lord Bathurst that he had taken "considerable pains" to advise the refugees of the advantages that could be theirs if they took advantage of the Government offer.

But I find on account of certain prejudices entertained by several of these people that they would prefer remaining where they are not withstanding the inconvenience many of them experience from the severity of this climate to being sent to any part of the West Indies.<sup>139</sup>

Later in 1816 Lord Dalhousie, the new Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, thinking that the refugees would not be able to support themselves for years, recommended that it might be better for them to go to Sierra Leone or if pardoned by the American Government, back to the United States but added, "to the West Indies they will not go."<sup>140</sup> By May 1817 Dalhousie had revised his thinking somewhat. Reporting on the condition of the refugees he wrote,

I have also to state that none of them are inclined to return to their masters nor to America — Many of them point out Tobago and Trinidad . . . I have no doubt as winter approaches, many more will desire to be sent there.

Dalhousie requested further instructions on the point but nothing more transpired until after he had left the province.<sup>141</sup>

In 1820 the question of the relocation of the refugees was again brought to the attention of the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. On 8 June of that year the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury directed Sir James Kempt to ascertain the number of blacks interested in emigrating to Trinidad, which information he promised to communicate as soon as it became available.<sup>142</sup> Lieutenant-Governor Kempt accordingly instructed Richard Inglis to visit the black communities to make the offer of relocation known to the refugees. On 20 August 1820, Inglis reported that he had visited the settlements and that a total of thirty-four families from Beach Hill, Preston, and Hammonds Plains had expressed interest in the plan.<sup>143</sup> He wrote, however, that many "still appear to be possessed with the idea that Government wishes to dispose of them there."<sup>144</sup> In January 1821, the Lieutenant-Governor reported to the Colonial Office the steps he had taken on the matter. He wrote,

I have now to acquaint you for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury that it having been reported to me that about ninety of them were so disposed I caused notice to be given in the newspapers [11 December 1820] that tenders would be received from persons desirous of contracting to convey them hither, and to victual them during the voyage.<sup>145</sup>

Nine tenders were received by the authorities with passage rates varying from £5/15/0 for men and women to £3/0/0 for children to £7/0/0 for the former and £3/10/0 for the latter. Of the nine, the lowest bid was entered by R. and J. Tremain, £5/15/0 and £3/0/0 respectively, and their vessel the schooner *William*, of 107 tons burden, was found to be fit and prepared for the voyage.<sup>146</sup> The Tremain bid was accepted and on 6 January 1821 "81 black men and women and 14 children sailed . . . under the care of an officer of the Commissariat, [Richard

Inglis] . . . to see that they were properly treated and victualled during the voyage."<sup>147</sup>

On 17 April 1821, Kempt reported that he had received word from Sir Ralph Woodford, the Governor of Trinidad, that the refugees had arrived safely. The expense of the venture amounted to £542/19/2 currency or £488/13/3 sterling, plus £30 given to Richard Inglis as payment for his extra services. The Lieutenant-Governor also reported that when they heard of the kind of reception the emigrant refugees in Trinidad received, many of their fellows in Nova Scotia expressed an interest in following them. Kempt suggested that in the future it might be more economical to make use of vessels already in His Majesty's service rather than chartering one specially for the voyage.<sup>148</sup> The Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury approved of Kempt's action and informed him that they would communicate with the Commissioners of the Navy to determine if navy vessels could be used as suggested.<sup>149</sup>

In August 1821, Richard Inglis was again sent into the black settlements to inform the refugees of the opportunity to emigrate if they so desired. They were advised that they would receive grants of land and provisions until their farms would support them; but this would be their last opportunity to make the move under Government sponsorship.<sup>150</sup> In August two navy vessels arrived at Halifax, one of which had instructions to proceed to Trinidad with any refugee blacks who might desire to go there. Inglis was again dispatched by the Governor to ascertain the number who "might be so disposed," but was forced to report, in Kempt's words,

that notwithstanding a great many of these people were extremely desirous, at the beginning of the year, to join their friends at Trinidad, it appears . . . that none of them are inclined to avail themselves of the opportunity now afforded them by Government of doing so.<sup>151</sup>

On 22 November 1821, the Treasury Board was advised that

none of the refugees in Nova Scotia desired to join their companions in Trinidad.<sup>152</sup>

The efforts of Sir Ralph Woodford and the government of Trinidad to attract labourers to the Island did not end there. In 1823 he suggested to Lord Bathurst, that if more of the refugees could be sent from Halifax, "a good foundation would be laid for establishing a free coloured English population, very superior to any that I have yet seen in this part of the world."<sup>153</sup> Governor Woodford's desires were made known to Sir James Kempt<sup>154</sup> who replied, "I have in vain used every influence in my power but these people entertain so great a fear of slavery that no persuasions can induce them to remove to any place where slavery exists."<sup>155</sup> Further efforts were made by the government of Trinidad to persuade black Nova Scotians to settle on that Island but all to no avail.<sup>156</sup>

Sir James Kempt had pointed to the fear that kept the refugees from taking advantage of the Trinidad offer. Referring to the 1821 emigration he wrote,

At first a considerable number expressed their desire of going thither; but, when the time for their departure approached many who had given in their names as being so disposed withdrew them in consequence of their having been made to believe by fanatical preachers interested in keeping them in the province that it would not be intended to send them to Trinidad, but to sell them to their former Masters in the United States.<sup>157</sup>

Thereafter, he reported, even when good reports of their companions' treatment in Trinidad were received, so strong was the influence of these "fanatical preachers" over their people "that they persist in believing that all their friends have been sold," a belief that Kempt feared would be very difficult to erase. Besides fearing for "their civil and religious liberty"<sup>158</sup> if they moved, it was reported, even after the Act of 1833 removed the fear of slavery, that

there are several of their numbers who have great

influence among them, and being able to earn their own subsistence do not wish to leave the Province, and the rest, poor and miserable though they be, are unwilling to leave without them.<sup>159</sup>

Further, any who did have any interest in emigrating often found that they would not be able to sell their land and did not wish to leave their improvements to be used by others. Also, it was reported "they seem to have some attachment to the soil they have cultivated, poor and barren as it is."<sup>160</sup> Perhaps with the development of this attachment to the land, and the unwillingness to leave the province, the Chesapeake blacks became Nova Scotians.

The settlement of the Chesapeake blacks in New Brunswick took place later than it did in Nova Scotia, although the idea of settling them was communicated to New Brunswick as soon as it was considered in Nova Scotia. On 8 August 1815, in reply to Major-General G.S. Smyth's (the Administrator of the Government of New Brunswick) query on provisioning the refugees, Lieutenant-Governor Sherbrooke of Nova Scotia wrote,

I would beg to [inform] you in reference to provisioning the negroes, that it is only where they are actually settled on lands granted to them, or located on portions of lands to cultivate for themselves

that they were entitled to provisions from the government. Where they were employed in agriculture by other proprietors, the employer was obliged to provide for them. In the same communication Smyth was informed that Lord Bathurst had authorized the granting of provisions to those refugees cultivating the land for their own subsistence for the same duration of time as was allowed to discharged soldiers — two years.<sup>161</sup> In July of the same year Sherbrooke informed the Administrator of Lord Bathurst's suggestion of the advantages

which might result from giving to the Refugee Negroes



Dr. William Pearly Oliver (1912-1989). Rev. Dr. W.P. Oliver, clergyman, educator, and activist, was raised in Wolfville, N.S. and spent many years working in Halifax. During the last years of his life he lived on land that was part of the original grant to his refugee ancestors.

who are accustomed to agricultural labour small grants of land by the cultivation of which they might in a short time be enabled to provide for their own subsistence<sup>162</sup>

Land was apparently granted for the use of the refugees in the Loch Lomond area either in late 1816 or early 1817,<sup>163</sup> but was not immediately taken up by the black settlers. On 14 February 1817, a member of the Legislative Assembly, Mr. Peters, presented to the House the

petition of William Flood in behalf of himself and forty other black people brought into this province by order of His Majesty's Government, in the year 1815, praying aid to assist them in forming a Settlement at Loch Lomond.<sup>164</sup>

The petition, signed by the mark of William Flood and counter-signed by Ward Chipman, illustrated the destitute condition of the blacks. They had "already consumed the rewards of the last summer's labour" and were unable to find employment. To add to their miseries they were in want of warm clothing, a necessity in a New Brunswick winter. The last clothing they had obtained had been received from government and was nearly worn out and they were in "no position" to purchase a fresh supply. The petitioners further expressed their desire to settle as early as the "season would allow" and cultivate the lands granted to them to provide a living for their families.<sup>165</sup>

The allotment of land was, by order of His Majesty's Government, "to be held by lots in severalty under the licence of occupation . . . the survey and allotment of such land to be made at the expense of the applicants."<sup>166</sup> The applicants, however, protested that not only did they not have the means to settle their lands but that they could not even afford to have their allotment surveyed without some aid being extended to them for that purpose which they "prayed" the House of Assembly in its "wisdom and liberality" would grant.<sup>167</sup>

A year later, in February of 1818, the question of the black settlement at Loch Lomond was again before the House, brought up by a petition of Ward Chipman on behalf of himself and John Robinson requesting a remittance of funds expended on behalf of the black refugees.<sup>168</sup> In the early spring of 1817 a Warrant of Survey was issued from the Surveyor General's Office directing Bernard Kierman, Deputy Surveyor for the city and county of Saint John, to make the survey and allotments of land to the refugees. Finding that the blacks would not be able to defray the full cost of the operation,

Kierman applied to Chipman and Robinson for advice. The two men, feeling

that in this emergency, it being extremely desirable that the allotment should be made in time for the blacks to occupy their lands, as many of them were living about Saint John in a very distressed state, and without any fixed habitation,<sup>169</sup>

made themselves personally responsible for the cost of the survey over and above what the refugees could afford to pay. Accordingly the survey and the allotment of land was made in the spring of 1817, the black settlers taking up their lands at that time. Deputy Surveyor Bernard Kierman reckoned the total cost of surveying the 112 fifty acre lots at £38/10/0.<sup>170</sup> Of this total amount, £14/18/6 was contributed by sixty-two blacks in amounts varying from one shilling to six shillings, three pence,<sup>171</sup> with Ward Chipman and Robinson paying the remaining £23/11/6. For this amount Chipman and Robinson humbly petitioned "the Honorable House." On Friday, 27 February 1818, the House awarded "John Robinson and Ward Chipman, Esquires, the sum of £23/11/6 to reimburse them for expenses incurred in locating the Refugee Blacks near Loch Lomond."<sup>172</sup>

The Surveyor's plan of the settlement, which came to be known as Willow Grove, shows 112 lots, mostly containing 55 acres, allotted to one hundred twelve different persons.<sup>173</sup> Not all the refugees, however, took up land at the settlement. A few remained in Saint John where "some half dozen families took possession of vacant lands near the [Martello] tower."<sup>174</sup> The lands of Loch Lomond were held by tickets of location for a number of years. The first grant was lot 35 to Hannah Flood, dated 28 July 1837.<sup>175</sup> Some members of the community received assistance from the Assembly over the years,<sup>176</sup> and in 1904 it was reported that only twenty black families remained in the whole settlement.<sup>177</sup>

## CHAPTER 4

# The Black Refugees in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick

IN THE PREVIOUS chapters the reception of the black refugees by the representatives of the British Government, the Colonial Governors, and the settlement of the refugees have been discussed. In this chapter their reception by the colonial Assemblies and the general opinion of the inhabitants towards the blacks will be examined.

As has been pointed out, blacks were present in Nova Scotia as early as whites,<sup>1</sup> but always in a minority and often as slaves. The decline of slavery in the early 1800s, partly due to the unpopularity of the practice, left hundreds of free blacks in the province who, theoretically, enjoyed the same rights and duties as did other citizens.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the general opinion Nova Scotians held of blacks was expressed by a Halifax letter writer in August of 1812:

Black people are good house servants, and make very good common Hands on board Vessels; they make but indifferent Country Laborers — and never become the Masters of others — they are quick and inventive in the small way never in the great — traitable [sic], cheerful, and good tempered, of much value in the towns, very little in the country; — sober, honest, industrious but not often laborious — love their own Society and are very talkative.<sup>3</sup>

There is evidence, however, that the colonials did not regard the blacks as equals. In 1814, when plans to fill the ranks of the New Brunswick Fencibles with black refugees were considered, Lieutenant-Governor Sherbrooke advised against it:

I am inclined to believe from what I have observed of a prejudice in these Colonies against meeting intimately with People of Colour, which prejudice exists strong among the lower orders, that they shall consider the proposed measure objectionable<sup>4</sup>

Sherbrooke felt his opinion was substantiated when Major-General Sir Thomas Saumarez reported that,

The Men belonging to the New Brunswick Fencibles would not object to serve with Negroes, provided the latter were formed into separate Companies, and they were not compelled to live with the black men.<sup>5</sup>

A year later, on 1 April 1815, the Nova Scotia Assembly, which had seen, with some apprehension, between 1000 and 1200 blacks enter the province since 1812, petitioned the Governor not to allow the immigration of any others. They wrote,

We beg leave respectfully to suggest that the proportions of Africans already in this Country is productive of many inconveniences, and that the Introduction of more must lend to the discouragement of white labourers and servants, as well as the Establishment of a separate and marked Class of people unfitted by nature to this climate or to an association with the rest of His Majesty's Colonists.<sup>6</sup>

The Assembly proved unable to prevent the arrival of an additional eight hundred of the refugees. And, except immediately after the arrival of the first large group<sup>7</sup> for many

years refused to grant any funds for their support.

When the plans for the settlement of the black refugees were being discussed, Theophilus Chamberlain, the patriarch of Preston, was delighted to welcome them to this community. His reasons were not entirely humanitarian. He wrote,

when the idea was suggested of settling a number of those People of Colour upon these lands I entered warmly into it, not only as what would serve to improve this place in general and afford assistance to us towards repairing the roads, but likewise furnish us with labourers of whom we stand in too much need to make any tolerable progress in our own improvements.<sup>8</sup>

There are, however, few who could blame Chamberlain for putting the interests of the community, which he and others had settled in the 1780s, high on his list of priorities and his own a close second. He no doubt had a genuine interest in the refugees's welfare, if only because they corresponded with his own. In January 1816, reporting on the progress the blacks had made in completing their houses, he wrote,

If the same mode of proceeding is continued with them we have a prospect of seeing a settlement that will be useful to the town as well [as] advantages to themselves [and] may possibly enable them to laugh at the squibs that ignorance or ill nature and contempt has induced some silly body to through [sic] out against them.<sup>9</sup>

Nor is this the only reference to obstacles presented by human nature which the refugees had to overcome. Reporting to the Colonial Office in August 1817, Lord Dalhousie wrote that they were being "opposed, abused and cheated by the old settlers near whom they have been placed."<sup>10</sup>

Many of these attitudes can be partly explained, even if they cannot be condoned. The men of the New Brunswick Fencibles wished to serve in segregated companies, although they did not object to serving with blacks. Perhaps they



The Stag Hotel, a clever play upon the name of the proprietor, William Deer, was an "Inn" located in Preston, Halifax County, N.S. An example of entrepreneurialism in a black community, it was sometimes the terminus of Lieutenant-Governor Joseph Howe's carriage drives and was popular with sportsmen in the mid and late 1800s.

The "Stag Hotel" is kept by William Dear,  
 Outside, the House looks somewhat queer,  
 Only Look in, and there's no fear,  
 But you'll find Inside, the best of Cheer,  
 Brandy, Whiskey, Hop, Spruce, Ginger Beer,  
 Clean Beds, and food for Horses here:  
 Round about, both far and near,  
 Are Streams for Trout, and Woods for Deer,  
 To suit the Public taste, 'tis clear,  
 Bill Dear will Labour, so will his dearest dear.

considered the blacks as members of a slave race and they did not want to lose social prestige by association with people late from slavery. Their objection to living with the blacks can be partly accounted for by the same reasoning and perhaps partly by the stereotypical complaint of an odour associated with blacks.<sup>11</sup> In their petition to cease the flow of immigrant blacks, the Nova Scotia Assembly perhaps perceived the difficulties that might and did ensue. Their refusal to grant funds for the assistance of the blacks could be considered as smart politics, forcing the British Government to accept responsibility for the debts incurred by the refugees, for, although revenue was high due to the war prosperity, there were many demands on the Treasury.<sup>12</sup> In the 1820s, the Assembly accepted its responsibility, in both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and extended assistance to the refugees.<sup>13</sup> Chamberlain, and the many others like him, could be accused of selfishness; but then these were hard times and no other source of charity was at hand.

When Governor Dalhousie reported that the refugees were being "opposed, abused and cheated" he did not elaborate or explain what was being done. Undoubtedly every poor, poorly educated, minority immigrant group was faced with economic and personal exploitation. Again, undoubtedly, colour presented the blacks with problems in addition to those faced by the Irish, Scottish, and other settlers. But while colour might present additional difficulties, Thomas D'Arcy McGee could argue that:

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OPPOSITE: The rhyming sign of William Deer's Stag Hotel likely cheered many weary travelers with its promise of bed, board, and service. Inns, stage stops, coffee houses and taverns were important social and commercial establishments in early Nova Scotia.



Sam Langford (1884-1956). A native of Weymouth Falls, N.S., Langford learned to box in the United States and fought as "The Boston Tar Baby." He fought over 600 bouts and was considered by many, despite his size, to be the uncrowned heavyweight champion of the world. He battled both his ring opponents and racial prejudice to win his place in sports history.

In great cities like New York and Philadelphia the Irish have been used and abused by native-born Irish demagogues. They have come roughly into competition with native labour. They have jostled native respectability at the polls. They formerly arrayed themselves insanelly and most cruelly against the Negro, while right and justice were plainly on the side of the slave.

It is for these and for other reasons that the Irish of this generation, their numbers and industry considered, are socially and politically the weakest community in the Republic — weaker than the Negroes themselves in the free States.<sup>14</sup>

On the other hand, many of the colonials used whatever means they had at their disposal to assist the refugees. Some, like Lewis Hartshorne, who called on “you and the Friends of the unfortunate who have the ear of His Majesty’s Ministers,”<sup>15</sup> and like Lieutenant-Governor G.S. Smyth of New Brunswick,<sup>16</sup> petitioned philanthropic groups in England to consider the Chesapeake blacks as worthy objects of their charity. In Nova Scotia public-minded citizens formed groups such as the Poor Man’s Friend Society<sup>17</sup> to aid the needy, and special committees<sup>18</sup> were independently established to help the blacks, augmenting the public assistance.

The necessity of this continuing public and private charity points to the failure of the refugees to become self-sufficient. This is not to say that none reached this state. There were individual success stories associated with the refugees. One Mr. Campbell is said to have owned the chief livery-stable in Halifax and

no mean personage is Mr. Campbell, when an *invite* [sic] to some universal party, on a rainy eve, renders his huge *mourning* [sic] coach the object of at least half-a dozen separate engagements.

His farm and “cattle” were frequently compared with those of the Governor with the decision on superiority going to “Black



William Hall, V.C. (1826-1904). One of Nova Scotia's true military heroes, William Edward Hall was the son of refugee parents. He won the Victoria Cross, the British Empire's highest military award, for conspicuous bravery at the relief of Lucknow in 1857 during the Indian Mutiny.

Campbell" as often as to Sir James Kempt, the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia.<sup>19</sup> Others petitioned the government for, and received, additional grants of land<sup>20</sup> and became moderately successful farmers. Indeed, they became as successful and self-supporting as did some members of any other immigrant group of land holders. However, many did not prosper for a number of reasons.

The economic climate of the area and the period was hardly conducive to the successful introduction of unskilled, uneducated settlers.

From the new heights of prosperity gained during the war, Halifax was dragged to a low point in 1822 by the ordinary letdown of peace and a succession of untoward events: crop failures throughout the province in 1816 and 1817, the British-American convention of 1818 re-admitting the Americans to the fisheries, the lowering of Imperial duties on foreign timber in 1819, and, the same year, the reduction of the naval dockyard.<sup>21</sup>

There can be no doubt but that the economic conditions adversely affected the refugees, as demonstrated by Seth Coleman's report of 1815 to William Sabatier, concerning the blacks:

I found a disposition in them to Labour, and to help themselves but the fact is they have nothing to do, I found but four men that had Families, that had employment, others were making Brooms or taking care of the Family, while the Mother was out to seek a days work at washing or sewing, on their scanty pittance depended the subsistence of perhaps themselves and 4 or 5 children.<sup>22</sup>

As additional numbers arrived, with no work available for them, land was procured for settlement.<sup>23</sup> The land obtained, which had an advantage of being located conveniently close to Halifax and its market, was like much of the land on Nova Scotia's Atlantic coast. It was uncleared, rough, rocky and

### 1851 Census of Colored Persons

	Males	Females	Total
Halifax.....	733	955	1,688
Lunenburg.....	7	4	11
Queen's.....	107	106	213
Shelburne.....	209	231	440
Yarmouth.....	126	121	247
Digby.....	226	228	454
Annapolis.....	253	230	483
King's.....	95	90	185
Hants.....	75	95	170
Cumberland.....	61	75	136
Colechester.....	10	10	20
Pictou.....	13	7	20
Sydney.....	73	89	162
Guysboro'.....	294	309	603
Inverness.....	1	2	3
Richmond.....	20	21	41
Cape Breton }.....	18	14	32
Victoria }			
Total.....	2,321	2,587	4,908

Appendix 94, Assembly Journal 1852.

**1851 Census of Colored Persons.** The term "colored persons" was commonly used for many decades. Note that Sydney County in 1851 is today Antigonish County.

infertile. In addition, the ten acre lots assigned were far too small "for a family to exist in this country [and] no class of settlers could do well there."<sup>24</sup> And, although some applied for and obtained additional land, the majority did not, and in time even the wood from which they made charcoal, shingles, and other items was depleted to the point that little was left for their own consumption.

The first few years that the refugees were on the land must have proved extremely disheartening. Brought from a hot climate and from a form of agriculture different from anything

they would experience in their new homes, they arrived during an especially cold period. A "considerable quantity" of ice was reported in Halifax Harbour on 1 June 1815, and "planting had not commenced in many parts of the Province."<sup>25</sup> That summer remained wet and cold, while 1816 became known as the "year with no summer" and crops reflected the adverse conditions. In 1817 disaster struck again. That year, known as the "year of the mice," hordes of rodents pillaged the countryside:

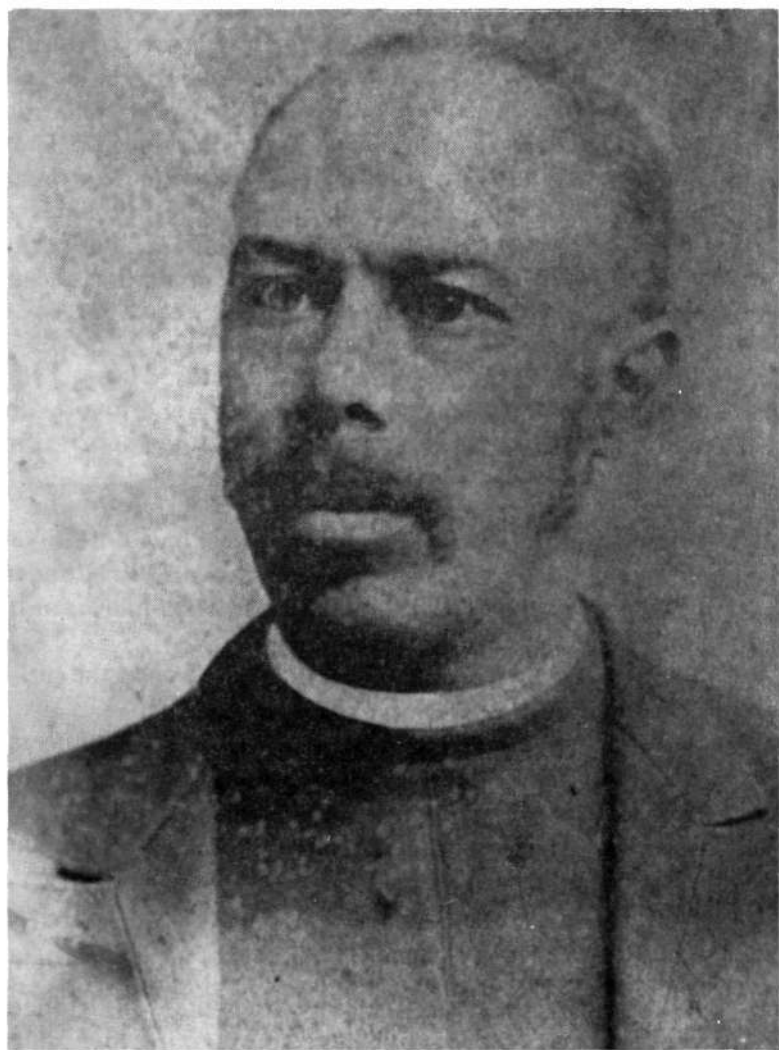
They devoured the seed grain in the fields. They ate the seed potatoes. They destroyed the growing crops. Their march was towards the seashore, where they perished in heaps and lay like lines of seaweed.<sup>26</sup>

In 1818, the Nova Scotia Assembly which had not as yet accepted responsibility for the refugees, expended just under £8000 "in provisions and grain to settlers, who had been in distress from the failure of crops."<sup>27</sup>

These events, which must have distressed even the most established settlers, likely turned the heart of the refugees away from the land to seek employment as town labourers. Available positions remained scarce, as John Chamberlain reported in 1837. He pointed out that there was not enough manufacturing in Halifax to employ men "constantly and dependently," especially during the winters, when white labourers were working "for food alone."

Besides these persons very generally prefer white labouring people to the blacks by which these unfortunate people have not an equal chance to obtaining their share of even the little labour that is wanted.<sup>28</sup>

Moreover, the refugees were, in effect, tied to the land. Possessing their holdings by tickets of location only and not by grant until 1837,<sup>29</sup> they were unable to leave unless they were prepared to give up any improvements they had made. This provision not only kept many where there was little profit to be



Dr. William Harvey Goler (1846-1939). William Goler left his native Halifax as a bricklayer to further himself in the United States. There he became a clergyman, a professor of history and later President of Livingstone College. He is the only Black Nova Scotian known to have become president of a college.

gained by their remaining, but also proved harmful to those who wished to work the land. Many would leave the settlements in the spring to obtain employment in the country,<sup>30</sup> probably working for little besides "room and board" and would return in the fall to exist on the charity of their neighbours. As Mr. Scott reported to Sir James Kempt in 1821,

Many of them are industrious and have raised a considerable quantity of potatoes last summer, but the more helpless have fed upon them during the winter, so that they have all for some time [been] upon an equality in rechetness [sic].<sup>31</sup>

Coupled with the "difficulties of nature about unseemountable [sic]"<sup>32</sup> that the refugees had to overcome, were the difficulties of their own experience. One of these was the lack of any tradition of education. Because they had come from southern plantations, where blacks were only rarely educated, it was a "lack" that is not difficult to understand. But it is one that must have proved a serious obstacle in their path to equality with their white neighbours. Often the lack of schools and teachers prevented the blacks, and other poor people, from obtaining an education. Occasionally schools were available. The "Acadian school" in Halifax had thirty-seven black children registered in 1814<sup>33</sup> and later the National or Madras school system operated separate schools for blacks.<sup>34</sup> Likewise church, state, and philanthropic groups, such as the Associates of Dr. Bray,<sup>34</sup> supported schools for blacks, but they were often poorly attended. This was no doubt partly due to the cost of attending even a free school, and perhaps partly due to the lack of a tradition of education.<sup>36</sup>

No doubt it is partly because of this fact that these black immigrants produced so few recognized leaders — Richard Preston<sup>37</sup> was an exception — from their own ranks. It is interesting to speculate what would be the lot of blacks in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick if the Black Loyalists had not



Edith (Drummond) Clayton (1920-1989). A descendant of the refugees of the War of 1812, Mrs. Clayton became nationally famous for her handcrafted baskets. Learning the craft at her mother's knee when she was only eight years old, she followed a technique of basket making which had its origins in the southern United States. She taught her craft and represented the province in craft events in Ottawa, in Vancouver (Expo '86) and in Toronto. Honoured by filmmakers and poets, she was awarded a Silver Jubilee Medal by H.R.H. Queen Elizabeth in 1977 and also honoured by the Black Hall of Fame and by the Black Professional Women. Year after year, in the tradition of the Preston basket makers, she could be found at the Halifax Market selling her baskets.

chosen to emigrate to Sierra Leone. When they departed, activists like Thomas Peters and educated men like Boston King and David George served their connections with the area, thus removing, at one blow, most of the black leadership from the provinces. One must be careful to note, however, that there was often a distinction between black leaders as recognized by blacks and black leaders as recognized by white society.

But, however important all or any of the above may be, the fact of the refugees' slave background must be considered. It is far beyond the scope of this study to attempt to analyse the sociological and psychological effects of slavery on the slaves, but it is interesting to note that this was the major reason that Lord Dalhousie gave for their seeming lack of success. In 1816 he wrote,

Permit me to state plainly to Your Lordship that little hope can be entertained of settling these people so as to provide for their families and wants — they must be supported for many years — Slaves by habit and education, no longer working under the dread of the lash, their idea of freedom is idleness and they are therefore quite incapable of industry.<sup>38</sup>

And similarly, several years later,

tho [sic] they use their best exertions [and] have severly experienced the effect of idleness to prompt them to further industry and frugality — the habits of their life — constitutional laziness will continue and these miserable creatures will be for years a burden on Government.<sup>39</sup>

Lord Dalhousie would argue that on the plantations free time was idle time and perhaps because of this, freedom and idleness became synonymous. He would likely further argue that while the refugees were willing to accept freedom from slavery, they were not prepared for the unremitting drudgery of grubbing

Major Immigrations and Emigrations  
of Black Settlers  
To and From Nova Scotia



Immigrations:

Black Loyalists from New York to Shelburne and Halifax, 1783.  
Maroons, Jamaica to Halifax, 1796.  
Black Refugees, Delaware and Chesapeake to Halifax, 1813-1815.  
Black Refugees, Delaware and Chesapeake to Halifax, via Bermuda, 1813-1815.

Emigrations:

Black Loyalists, Halifax to Sierra Leone, 1792.  
Maroons, Halifax to Sierra Leone, 1800.  
95 Black Refugees, Halifax to Trinidad, 1821.

out a living on a dirt farm in backwoods Nova Scotia or New Brunswick. But even a precarious existence appeared more acceptable than a return to slavery. Captain W. Moorson, when he inquired of a black Nova Scotian from Hammonds Plains why, if times were so bad there, they did not go back to their old masters in the States, was informed " 'cause what I works for here, I gets."<sup>40</sup>

From what has been written above, it would appear that the settlement of the refugees was an uncompromised failure. This should be judged, however, only on a comparison with the progress made at various other settlements, formed by disbanded soldiers at about the same time, and jointly sponsored by the British and Nova Scotian governments. One such group was

Placed along a projected road leading straight from Halifax to Annapolis and given every possible assistance, they were expected to establish thriving communities that would eventually make the road the main thoroughfare between the old and new capitals.<sup>41</sup>

The soldiers (including the Royal Newfoundland and the Nova Scotian Fencibles) settlements proved to be a disappointing failure. The

net result was two straggling villages, Sherbrooke (now New Ross) and Dalhousie. The third, Wellington, had practically disappeared by the 1830s, and in time the spreading forest was also to reclaim much of the unfinished road.

Thereafter the government, except for a small Welsh community started behind Shelburne in 1818, sponsored no further settlements, although uncounted numbers, including the Scots at Pictou and Cape Breton, requested and received assistance.<sup>42</sup> In explanation, Dalhousie informed the home government that the reason for the failure was very simple, merely that soldiers were not civilians.<sup>43</sup> In New Brunswick and Cape Breton, where soldier settlements were formed, they "were not more successful than they were in Nova Scotia."<sup>44</sup> Thus, comparatively speaking, the black settlements were not the failure they would first appear to be; but this is not to term the black settlements successful because the others were an even more dismal failure.

One difference between them was that the soldiers and

other white settlers had the option of remaining or leaving. On the other hand the blacks, even if they decided to give up their improvements, had nowhere to go — a situation which neutralized the selective process that some would argue is imposed by the frontier. They could not, or thought they could not,<sup>45</sup> go to the United States, as did so many of their white neighbours, for fear of being returned to slavery. And while some did go to Trinidad in 1821<sup>46</sup> the majority feared, likely with some reason until 1833, the West Indies as well. A frontier farm supported only those who were determined to wrestle a living from it, others found their particular niche in other modes of livelihood. As has been pointed out previously, other “niches” for blacks in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were extremely rare.

Because of these conditions the refugees were pushed to the bottom of the provincial economic and social ladder. Although members of the Afro-Canadian community have obviously made their mark on society, the majority have struggled for over a century and a half to overcome the forces aligned against them and to achieve their equal place in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

## APPENDIX 1

Mr. Wiswall reported from the committee appointed to prepare an address to his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, on the subject of the introduction and settlement of Negroes and Mulattoes into this Province; that the committee had drawn up an Address accordingly; and he read the Address in his place, and afterwards delivered it in at the Clerk's Table, where it was read and is as follows:

To His Excellency Lieutenant-Governor Sir  
JOHN COPE SHERBROOKE, Knight, Grand Cross  
of the Most Honourable Military Order of  
the Bath, Lieutenant-Governor, and Commander  
in Chief, in and over His Majesty's Province  
of Nova Scotia, and its Dependencies, etc. etc.  
etc.

### THE HUMBLE ADDRESS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY:

May it please Your Excellency,

We, His Majesty's dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Representatives of his good people of Nova Scotia, in General Assembly, beg leave most respectfully, to state to Your

Excellency, that we observe with concern, and alarm, the frequent arrival in this Province of Bodies of Negroes, and Mulattoes, of whom many have already become burdensome to the public.

In compliance with Your Excellency's human recommendation, a sum of money is, by this Assembly, placed at Your Excellency's disposal, for their temporary relief.

We are well persuaded that these poor people have been cast upon this Province by unforeseen events, not in the power of Your Excellency to control: But it becomes our duty to state to Your Excellency, for the information of such of His Majesty's Officers, as we have not the means of communicating with, that we are unwilling by any aid of ours to encourage the bringing of Settlers in this Province, whose character, principles and habits, are not previously ascertained.

In the full persuasion, that our most Gracious King, in the exercise of his just prerogatives, will ever consider interests of his faithful Subjects in this Province; we beg respectfully to suggest, that the proportions of Africans already in this country is productive of many inconveniences; and that the introduction of more must tend to the discouragement of white labourers and servants, as well as to the establishment of a separate and marked class of people, unfitted by nature to this climate, or to an association with the rest of his Majesty's Colonists.

Relying upon your Excellency's approved zeal, in behalf of this Province, we humbly pray that Your Excellency, will use your endeavours to prohibit the bringing any more of these people, into this Colony, by making such representations to His Majesty's Ministers, as Your Excellency may deem expedient.

We conclude this Address, with expressing our grateful sense of the attention on all occasions, shewn by Your Excellency, for applications made to you, by the Representatives of His Majesty's Subjects in this Province, and

with offering our earnest wishes for Your Excellency's health and happiness.

*Resolved.*

That the said Address be presented to His Excellency by a committee of this House.

Ordered. That Mr. Wiswall, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Roach, Mr. Pyke and Mr. Barss, be a committee for the above purpose.

Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly,  
April 1, 1815, pp. 106-8.

## APPENDIX 2

### **Contract between Lewis DeMolitor and Thomas N. Jeffery for supplying Negro Refugees on Melville Island from April 27 to July 26, 1815**

Articles of Agreement, indented, made, concluded and agreed on the first day of May in the year of Our Lord One Thousand, Eight Hundred and Fifteen Between, The Honourable Thomas Nicholson Jeffery Esq. Collector of His Majesty's Customs, for the port of Halifax in the Province of Nova Scotia, of the one part, and Lewis DeMolitor of the same place Merchant of the other part in manner following. That is to say he and the said Lewis DeMolitor does hereby convenient agree and engage with him the said Thomas Nicholson Jeffery, that he the said Lewis DeMolitor will regularly supply every day all the articles herein after specified for the use and consumption of any number of Negroes, who may be placed in the prison on Melville Island and in the care and management of the said Thomas Nicholson Jeffery, the said provisions to be issued and dressed at the expence of him and said Lewis DeMolitor, on the said Melville Island, and to be delivered at such places on the said Island and at such times as shall be appointed and directed by him the said Thomas Nicholson Jeffery "Videlicet," for each and every man or male child above the age of Twelve Years, who shall be in health the following allowance or ration four days in the week which four days shall be appointed by the said Thomas Nicholson Jeffery.

One Pound of Bread  
Half of a Pound of Beef  
One Pound of Potatoes, or one Gill Pease  
Half of a pound of Indian Meal  
One Gill of Molasses  
One quart of Spruce Beer, and  
One Third of an Ounce of Salt

For three days in the week which days are to be appointed by the said Thomas Nicholson Jeffery

Half a Pound of Pork  
One Pound of Indian Meal  
Half of a Pint of Molasses  
Half of a Pound of Potatoes  
or Half a Gill of Pease  
One Ounce of Coffee  
One quart of Spruce Beer  
One Third of an Ounce of Salt

and for each and every woman, and female child above the age of Twelve Years, two thirds of each of the above enumerated articles: the days on which the said articles are to be supplied, to be appointed by him and said Thomas Nicholson Jeffery, and for each, and every child male or female under the age of Twelve Years, he the said Lewis DeMolitor engages to supply such allowance or ration in such quantities as shall be appointed or directed by any person to be nominated and appointed for that purpose by the said Thomas Nicholson Jeffery, and he the said Lewis DeMolitor further engages and agrees, that the Beef and Vegetables, so to be supplied as aforesaid shall be made into soup and issued in Messes to consist of not less than eight grown Persons and that each Mess shall be supplied with a Messpan, and every man, woman, and child with a spoon, and that he will hire and employ a sufficient number of cooks and persons to dress the Victuals and supply the said Messes in a proper and regular manner under the

direction of the said Thomas Nicholson Jeffery and will pay all the expense attending the same, and find everything necessary and proper for cooking and supplying the same, except fuel, which is to be supplied by the said Thomas Nicholson Jeffery. And he the said Lewis DeMolitor further covenants, engages and agrees with him the said Thomas Nicholson Jeffery, that he the said Lewis DeMolitor, will regularly supply every day all the articles herein after specified for the use and consumption of any number of sick Negroes, who may be placed in the prisons or hospitals on the said Melville Island under the care and management of the said Thomas Nicholson Jeffery, which said provisions and other articles are to be issued and dressed at the expense of him the said Lewis DeMolitor on Melville Island aforesaid and to be delivered at such places on the said Island and at such times as shall hereafter be appointed and directed by the said Thomas Nicholson Jeffery, "Videlicet." For each and every Man, Woman and Child who shall be on the sick list the following allowance: For those on full diet every day at Breakfast, One pint of Coffee and one forth of a Pound of Bread, at Dinner, three fourths of a Pound of Meat, half a Pound of Bread, half a Pound of Potatoes, and one quart of Beer, at Supper, One pint of Coffee, or Rice Gruel one forth of a Pound of Bread;

For those on half Diet, at Breakfast,  
 One pint of Rice Gruel, and one forth of a Pound of Bread  
 at Dinner,  
 Half a Pound of Meat, one Pound of Potatoes —  
 One fourth of a Pound of Bread, and one quart of Beer,  
 at Supper

One point of Rice Gruel, and One fourth of a pound of Bread  
 for those on Low diet  
 at Breakfast

One pint tea, two Ounces Bread  
 at Dinner

One fourth of a pound Meat, four ounces Bread, Half a Pound  
 Potatoes —  
 at Supper

One pint Rice Gruel

Spoon diet

at Breakfast

One pint Tea

at Dinner

Half a Pound of Bread, made in Panada or Pudding, or four ounces Sago, or one ounce arrowroot —

at Supper

One pint of Tea

And the said Thomas Nicholson Jeffery, doth hereby covenant, promise, and agree to and with the said Lewis DeMolitor, that he the said Thomas Nicholson Jeffery will well and truly pay or cause to be paid unto him the said Lewis DeMolitor the sum of One Shilling per day Current Money of England, for each and every Negro, man, woman or child being in health who shall be victualled and supplied in the manor herein before mentioned and agreed upon and the Sum of Two Shillings per day like Current Money aforesaid for each and every sick Negro, Man, Woman or Child, who shall be victualled and supplied as herein before mentioned and agreed upon, to be paid in Cash or in Bills of Exchange drawn at the same rate as those drawn by His Majesty's Commissary General at Halifax, at the option of him the said Thomas Nicholson Jeffery which payment is to be made quarterly, and he the said Lewis DeMolitor further engages and agrees to find and provide such other articles as may be deemed necessary by the Surgeon for the use and comfort of such Negroes, men, women and children, as may be in extreme sickness, and to employ and pay the Nurses necessary for the Hospital and to be at the expense of washing the Hospitals Linen and Clothing, finding and providing candles, Mess Pans, tin Cans, Spoons, Chamber Pots, Spitting Boxes, and all other utensils used in Hospitals and to be at every other expense which may be conceived necessary to the comfort of the Sick by the Surgeon who may be employed to attend the Hospital.

And it further agreed by and between them the said Thomas Nicholson Jeffery, and Lewis DeMolitor, that this

contract is to be in full force, virtue, and effect, for and during the Space of three months unless the negroes so to be provided for shall be discharged or otherwise provided for.

P.A.N.S., Vol. 420, doc. 17.

### APPENDIX 3

His Excellency the Lieutenant-General Commanding has been pleased to establish the following regulations to be observed in victualling and clothing the refugee Negroes in this Province.

1st. Those only to be considered refugees who have been brought into this Province under the proclamation of Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane since April 1815.

2nd. Three principal depots to be established for the issue of provisions, viz: in Halifax, at nine mile river and Preston. From these stores the provisions will be issued monthly up to the 1st of next June when the issues will cease.

3rd. Such of the refugees as are already located or shall immediately settle themselves on any of the three settlements of Hammond plains, Preston or Refugee hill and shall constantly reside there, shall be entitle to rations for themselves and families. Such also as are located on the lands of individual Proprietors and have heretofore received rations shall continue to receive them.

4th. Those who remain idling about the streets of Halifax, instead of settling themselves upon the lands shall not be considered entitled to rations unless by infirmity or other peculiar circumstances they are judged to be objects of charity.

5th. The full weekly ration to consist of

7 lbs. of bisquet

4 10/16 lbs. of pork

2 lbs. of rice

Each man to receive a full ration

Each woman one half

Each child one third

6th. Mr. Richard Inglis Clerk in the Commissariat Department is appointed to superintend this issues under the direction of Mr. Jeffery Collector of the Customs who will take the chief management of the affairs of these people.

He will immediately hire proper stores as depots for the provisions at the three points of issue up to the first of next June. He will also direct the clothing and blankets in store to be issued to those who upon inquiry may be found to be most in want of such relief.

7th. In consideration of the nature of the service required of Mr. Inglis His Excellency is pleased to grant him forage for one horse while employed on this Duty.

8th. Mr. Strath and Staff Adjutant is directed to render what assistance may be required of him by Mr. Jeffery in mustering the refugees when necessary or by any other means that may tend to the promotion of this service.

Mr. Straths employment in this Department is not to extend beyond the 31st of this month.

Halifax, 4 Dec. 1816

By Command  
Hon. C. Darling (Mil. Sect.)

## NOTES

### Chapter 1

1. Beamish Murdock, *A History of Nova Scotia*, (Halifax: James Barnes, 1865), I, 168-72, has extracts from this census. Also see T.W. Smith, "The Slave in Canada," *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society* [hereafter C.N.S.H.S.], X, (1896-98), 6, n. 1 M. de Meulles was the Intendent of New France and was at the time visiting Acadia.
2. W.O. Raymond, *The River St. John*, ed. J.C. Webster (2nd ed.; Sackville, N.B.; Tribune Press, 1950), p. 62.
3. *Report of the Board of Trustees of the Public Archives Nova Scotia*, (Halifax: Kings Printer, 1929), p. 43.
4. Smith, "The Slave in Canada," p. 9.
5. *Halifax Gazette*, May 15, 1752, as quoted in Smith, "The Slave in Canada," p. 10.
6. New Brunswick Museum [hereafter N.B.M.], Scrapbook No. 29, Book B., p. 112. Numerous scrapbooks of newspaper articles, etc., were gathered and contributed to the Museum by various persons. The

reference is to one in the Raymond Collection. Those in the holdings of the Museum as referred to by number.

7. Smith, "The Slave in Canada," p. 11.
8. W.O. Raymond, "The Negro in New Brunswick," *Neith*, I, (February, 1903), p. 27.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
10. Smith, "The Slave in Canada," p. 12.
11. Smith, "The Slave in Canada," pp. 13-17 *passim*.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
13. D. Allison, "Notes on A General Return of the Several Townships in the Province of Nova scotia for the first day of January, 1767," *C.N.S.H.S.*, VII, (1891), p. 56. Negroes: 36 Men, 19 Boys, 30 Women, 19 Girls, Total 104.
14. Undoubtedly some of the townships which are recorded as having no black population in 1767 possessed one by the time of the Loyalist immigration. For example, Windsor, with a population of 243, had no record of blacks in 1767. But in 1779 evidence is found of the presence of slaves in the form of a bill of sale between Joseph Northrup of Falmouth and John Palmer of Windsor for a man named Mintur for the sum of one hundred pounds. See C.W. Vernon, "The Deed of a Slave Sold at Windsor, N.S., in 1779," *Acadiensis*, III, 4, (1903), 253. Vernon explains that this slave was later given his freedom and spent the remainder of his life in Queens County with his free wife and son.
15. See J.B. Brebner, *The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937), and

- "Nova Scotia's Remedy for the American Revolution," *Canadian Historical Review* [hereafter C.H.R.], XV, (June, 1934), 171-81, and W.B. Kerr, "The Merchants of Nova Scotia and the American Revolution," *C.H.R.*, XIII, (March, 1932), 20-36. For a general discussion of the historians and their theories on Nova Scotia and the Revolution see G.A. Rawlyk, "The American Revolution and Nova Scotia Reconsidered," *Dalhousie Review*, XLV, (Autumn, 1963), 379-394, and his book, *Revolution Rejected*, (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1968), pp. 18-55 *passim*.
16. Wallace Brown, *The Good Americans*, (New York: Morrow, 1969), pp. 126-46, *passim*.
  17. *Ibid.* Brown says that likely 100,000 loyalists left the United States of whom 50,000 made their way to Nova Scotia. Of this number 14,000 went to what became New Brunswick. W.S. McNutt, *History of New Brunswick*, (Toronto: MacMillan, 1963), p. 41, supplies the same figure.
  18. N.B.M. Scrapbook No. 3, p. 236, Glimpses of the Past — The Loyalists (Raymond Collection). Also see Smith, "The Slave in Canada," p. 21, and Phyllis Blakeley, "Boston King: A Negro Loyalist who sought *Refuge* in Nova Scotia," *Dalhousie Review*, XLVIII, 3. (Autumn, 1968), 351.
  19. For an autobiographical account of a black man who answered the call of freedom, crossed British lines, waited in fear of recapture by his master in New York, was given a certificate of freedom by the commanding officer and finally evacuated to "Burchtown" (Shelburne) see Blakeley, "Boston King," pp. 347-56.
  20. N.B.M., Scrapbook No. 3, pp. 236-37. Sir Guy Carleton stated that it would be a breach of faith not to honour

their promise of liberty to blacks and declared that if removing them proved to be an infraction of the treaty then compensation would have to be paid by the British Government. To provide for such a contingency he had a register kept of all blacks who left, entering their name, occupation and name of their former master. See Smith, "The Slave in Canada," p. 22, n. 1.

21. Raymond, "The Negro in New Brunswick," p. 28.
22. Governor Parr to Lord Sherbrooke, July 25, 1783, Shelburne Papers, vol. 88, p. 87, *Canada Archives Report*, 1921, Appendix E., pp. 263-63.
23. University of New Brunswick [hereafter U.N.B.], Archives, *Diary of Benjamin Marston, 1782-1787*, Winslow Papers, vol. 22. Marson was the government surveyor at Shelburne and to his diary is owed much of the available information of the early settlement of Shelburne.
24. C.B. Fergusson, *A Documentary Study of the Establishment of the Negroes in Nova Scotia between the War of 1812 and the Winning of Responsible Government*, (Halifax: Publication No. 8, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1948), p. 2.
25. See Smith, "The Slave in Canada," p. 22 and Mrs. William Lawson, *History of the Townships of Dartmouth, Preston and Lawrencetown*, ed. Harry Piers (Halifax: For the author, 1893), pp. 156-157, and Fergusson, *Establishment of Negroes*. Also see T.C. Haliburton, *Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia*, (Halifax: Joseph Howe, 1829), p. 32.
26. Eric LeBlanc, *The Negroes at Tracadie*. Unpublished B.A. Thesis, St. Francis Xavier University, n.d.

27. James Walker, *The Black Loyalists of Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone*, The author's notes. Walker breaks the 3000 down to 1,336 men, 914 women and 750 children. C.H. Fyfe, "Thomas Peters: History and Legend," *Sierra Leone Studies*, New Series, I, (December, 1953), pp. 4-5, also gives the number removed from New York as 3000. Not all the blacks came from New York; for example on April 9, 1785, 194 arrived at Halifax from St. Augustine, see, Lawson, *History of Dartmouth*, p. 157, n. 1.
28. Public Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter P.A.N.S.], White Collection, Vol. 3, doc. 340. This compilation of "Persons mustered at Shelburne 1784 by order of Major General Campbell" records 1,521 blacks — 649 men, 485 women, 134 children over 10 years and 253 children under 10 years.
29. Lieutenant Colonel Robert Morse, "Report on Nova Scotia 1784," *Report of the Canadian Archives for 1884*, ed. Douglas Bryner, (Ottawa: Maclean, 1885), pp. xxvii-liv passim, also see Smith, "The Slave in Canada," p. 32.
30. Smith, "The Slave in Canada," p. 32.
31. P.A.N.S., *Shelburne Records, 1796-1868*, and Smith, "The Slave in Canada," pp. 32-34, have evidence of slaves in these places.
32. Judge Isaac Allen, Chief Justice Ludlow, Jonathan Odell and other government officials were slave holders. See I.A. Jack, "The Loyalists and Slavery in New Brunswick," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* [hereafter T.R.S.C.], 2nd Series, IV, (1898), pp. 137-85.
33. U.N.B. Archives, Maxwell Collection, Typescript of

Papers from the Public Archives of Canada concerning blacks in New Brunswick. Men 89, Women 58, Children over ten — 9, Children under ten — 26.

34. N.B.M., New Brunswick Settlements I, Ganong Papers, doc. 402. Ganong also lists here the names of the principal families who settled at Milkish. The total of 251 persons is broken down to include 106 Men, 92 Women, 15 children over 10 and 38 under 10.
35. U.N.B. Archives, *Maxwell Collection*, Typescript, Carleton to Dundas, December 13, 1791. Also see Raymond, "The Negro in New Brunswick," p. 29. Raymond explains that Oroquaco is now Quaco or St. Martins.
36. Raymond, "The Negro in New Brunswick," p. 30. Carleton says only five attempted to make any settlement or cultivation on their allotments.
37. N.V.M., New Brunswick Settlements I, Gosman to Ganong, November 28, 1892.
38. Governor Parr to Lord Shelburne, October 9, 1789, Shelburne Papers, vol. 88, p. 124 in *Canada Archives Report, 1921*, Appendix E., p. 372.
39. Shelburne must be considered the classic example of Loyalist "boom and bust." With a population of 10,000 in 1784-86 it ranked as the fourth largest city in North America. By 1816 it had dwindled to only a few hundred people.
40. For evidence of matters related see the Diary of Benjamin Marston, July 26-27; Phyllis Blakeley, "Boston King"; and I.E. Bill, *History of the Baptists*, St. John, N.B.: John Barnes, 1880), pp. 19-26, and Smith, "The Slave in Canada," p. 80.

41. Smith, "The Slave in Canada," p. 118. Others were sent from Nova Scotia to places where slaves were of more use. Governor Wentworth, for example, sent nineteen slaves to cousin Paul Wentworth's estate in Surinam (Dutch Guiana) in February 1784. See R. V. Harris, *The Church of Saint Paul in Halifax, Nova Scotia: 1749-1949*, (Toronto: Ryerson, 1949), pp. 64-65.
42. Although it is impossible to estimate any number, Robin Winks adds, "Ironically, between 1787 and 1800 in particular, fugitive slaves from British North America fled south into New England and the Northwest Territory to find freedom, reversing the popularly recognized direction of flow." See Robin Winks, "Negroes in the Maritimes: An Introductory Survey," *Dalhousie Review*, XLVIII, 4, (Winter, 1968-69), 457. But just as few escaped American slaves are recorded as arriving in the Maritimes, except for those aided by the British, it is questionable as to how many slaves left the Maritimes by escaping. Some no doubt were carried off by unscrupulous ship captains and unlawfully sold in West Indies or elsewhere. Some free blacks may indeed have returned to the free northern states during this time as well. See Bill, *History of the Baptists*, p. 24.
43. Peters' complaints were specifically that he and others of the "Pioneers" and some other free blacks did not receive their proper allotment of land. See U.N.B., Archives, Typescript, Petition of Thomas Peters.
44. Adams, Archibald, "Story of the Deportation of Negroes from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone," *C.N.S.H.S.*, VII, (1889-91), 35-36. Also see U.N.B. Archives, Typescript, Dundas to Carleton, August 6, 1791.
45. For a discussion of the founding of Sierra Leone and the philanthropic group of Englishmen involved, including

- Wilberforce, Clarkson, etc., see C. Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1962). For the most complete account of the Nova Scotian blacks' participation in the venture, see Walker, *Black Loyalists*. Also see Archibald, "Deportation," and G. Haliburton, "The Nova Scotia Settlers of 1792," *Sierra Leone Studies*, New Series, III, (December, 1954), pp. 16-25.
46. Many Nova Scotians were opposed to the removal because of Clarkson's avowed intention to take only the best of the black population leaving the rest behind, whom the whites feared would be a charge on government. Likely more important was that they did not like to see a sure supply of cheap labour lost to them. See Bill, *History of the Baptists*, p. 24, and Archibald, "Deportation," p. 140.
  47. Archibald, "Deportation," p. 144.
  48. Walker, the author's notes.
  49. Lawson, *History of Dartmouth*, pp. 156-57, says 1195 left in sixteen ships. Haliburton, *History of Nova Scotia*, p. 282, also allows sixteen ships but gives the number of persons as 1196. Blakeley, "Boston King," p. 355, also gives the number of persons as 1196, but allows for only fifteen ships. Walker, *Black Loyalists*, and Archibald, "Deportation," p. 144, allow fifteen vessels and 1190 persons. Walker gives the figures as 385 males, 349 females, 73 children between 10 and 16, and 383 under 10 years. Also see G. Haliburton, "Nova Scotia Settlers," p. 24, n. 2.
  50. Bill, *History of the Baptists*, p. 24.
  51. Walker, the author's notes.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 177. Also see Fyfe, *Thomas Peters*, p. 54.
53. Walker, the author's notes.
54. *Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser*, May 29, 1792.
55. D. Brymner, "The Jamaica Maroons — How they came to Nova Scotia — how they left it," *T.R.S.C.*, 2nd series, I, sect. 2, (1895), 81.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 87, using General Walpole as his source places much less importance on the role of the dogs than does Archibald, "Deportation," p. 150, and Haliburton, *History of Nova Scotia*, pp. 282-84.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 88.
58. Haliburton, *History of Nova Scotia*, p. 285.
59. Brymner, "Maroons," p. 88.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 89. Archibald, "Deportation," p. 150, gives the number as between 500 and 600 while Haliburton, *History of Nova Scotia*, p. 285, says they amounted to 600.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 88.
62. Haliburton, *History of Nova Scotia*, p. 287.
63. T.H. Raddall, *Halifax: Warden of the North*, (New York: Doubleday, 1965), p. 123, ascribes less than completely charitable interest in the welfare of the Maroons and suggests that Wentworth took one Maroon woman as his mistress.
64. Archibald, "Deportation," p. 151.

65. Archibald, "Deportation," p. 152.
66. Murdoch, *History of Nova Scotia*, III, 177.
67. The Nova Scotia black Loyalists were in open revolt in 1800. Further, the settlement was for Christian blacks and most of the Maroons were not Christian. See Archibald, "Deportation," p. 153.
68. Brymner, "Maroons," p. 89.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
70. *Ibid.*
71. Haliburton, *History of Nova Scotia*, p. 291.
72. Thomas Akins, "History of Halifax City," *C.N.S.H.S.*, VIII, (1892-94), 103. Akins gives the number of blacks in Halifax City in 1791 as 422, and in 1802 (p. 132) he estimates there were 451 in the town and peninsula of Halifax. See also Murdoch, *History of Nova Scotia*, III, 215. A Halifax letter writer of the period estimated that the black population of Halifax "and its etes" amounted to one sixth of the whole. See note 97 *infra*.
73. Smith, "The Slave in Canada," p. 62.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
75. N.B.M. *Milner Collection*, box 12, doc. 5. Also see Smith, "The Slave in Canada," pp. 65-66.
76. N.B.M., *Ward Historical No. 6*, p. 168, and J.W. Lawrence, "Judges of New Brunswick and their Times," *Acadiensis*, VI, 4, (October, 1906), p. 270. These two sources give bills of sale for three slaves.
77. Smith, "The Slave in Canada," p. 67. Also see N.B.M.,

- Milner Collection*, Folder 6, packet 2, doc. 27.
78. *Ibid.*
  79. Smith, "The Slave in Canada," p. 71.
  80. New Brunswick, *Royal Gazette*, July 10, 1816.
  81. Fergusson, *Establishment of Negroes*, p. 4.
  82. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
  83. C.E. Carrington, *The British Overseas: Exploits of a National of Shopkeepers*, Part I, *Making of the Empire*, (2nd ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 222.
  84. George Patterson, *Memoir of the Rev. James MacGregor, D.D.*, (Philadelphia: Joseph Wilson, 1859), pp. 151-58. Robin Winks, "Negroes in the Maritimes," pp. 460-64, and Smith, "The Slave in Canada," p. 57, hold accounts of MacGregor's participation in the anti-slavery cause.
  85. Smith, "The Slave in Canada," p. 109.
  86. Fergusson, *Establishment of Negroes*, p. 6.
  87. P.A.N.S., *Shelburne Records 1796-1868*, Courts, Special Sessions.
  88. However, if the claimant could prove ownership, the slave would be denied his freedom.
  89. Jack, "Loyalists and Slavery," p. 150, Blowers to Chipman, December 22, 1799.
  90. Jack, "Loyalists and Slavery," pp. 149-50, Blowers to Chipman, December 22, 1799.

91. *Ibid.*, p. 148, Chipman to Blowers, December 15, 1799.
92. Besides the usual arguments expounding the virtues of the system for the slave, the principle argument for the legality of slavery in the Maritimes was the 1790 Act of the British Parliament. Wishing to facilitate the moving of many Loyalists still in Britain and the "late Loyalists" in the United States they were allowed, in the words of the Act, "to import into the same [the British provinces in the West Indies or British North America] any negroes, household furniture, utensils of husbandry, or clothing, free of duty." See *The Royal Gazette and New Brunswick Advertiser*, Tuesday, January 14, 1800. This is a reprint. The Act originally appeared in 1790.
93. Raymond, "The Negro in New Brunswick," p. 33. For a more complete discussion of the case, see Jack, "Loyalists and Slavery," p. 137-185. Also see Smith, "The Slave in Canada," p. 100-5.
94. Lawrence, "Judges," p. 75.
95. Ronald S. Longley, "The DeLancey Brothers, Loyalists of Annapolis County," *C.N.S.H.S.*, XXXII, (1959), 72. Also see Smith, "The Slave in Canada," pp. 105-10; Winks, "Negroes in the Maritimes," pp. 461-62; and Fergusson, *Establishment of Negroes*, pp. 6-8. This trial produced the only known public defence of slavery in British North America. Joseph Alpin, a former Attorney-General of Prince Edward Island, was asked by DeLancey to prepare an opinion and published "Opinions of several Gentlemen of the Law on the Subject of Negro Servitude in the Province of Nova Scotia" in Saint John in 1802.
96. Fergusson, *Establishment of Negroes*, pp. 8-9.

97. [Author Unknown] to M. Atcheson, August 30, 1812, C.O. 217/96.
98. Haliburton, *History of Nova Scotia*, p. 280, and Jack, "Loyalists and Slavery," p. 152.
99. Smith, "The Slave in Canada," p. 125.
100. Smith, "The Slave in Canada," p. 125.

## Chapter 2

1. For a discussion of the causes of the War of 1812, see R. Horsman, *Causes of War of 1812*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962), passim.
2. J. MacKay Hitsman, *The Incredible War of 1812*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 107. This is a good general history of the War of 1812. Also see R. Horsman, *The War of 1812*, (London: Eyre and Spattiswoode, 1969), passim. For the best account of the naval warfare, see A.T. Mahan, *Sea Power in its Relations to the War of 1812*, II, (Boston: Little Brown, & Co., 1919), passim.
3. Mahan, *Sea Power*, p. 155.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 156.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 177.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 330.
7. Hitsman, *The Incredible War of 1812*, p. 206.
8. The Proclamation of Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, April 25, 1814, Admiralty Papers I, vol. 506

[hereafter Adm. I/506], microfilm, Public Archives of Canada [hereafter omitted].

9. Horsman, *The War of 1812*, p. 78.
10. Captain Robert Barrie to Vice-Admiral J.B. Warren, November 14, 1813, Adm. I/505.
11. Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane to Edward Nicoll, July 4, 1814, Adm. I/506. Nicoll, the Captain of the 156th Company of Royal Marines, was sent to the mainland from the fleet to issue arms to the Indians so that they might fight the Americans. His instructions from Cochrane were, "You will herewith receive a number of printed Proclamations which you will distribute among the Black Population, and further assure them that those who emigrate from America shall have lands given them in some of the British Colonies on which to settle, and that at any further period when there may be peace with America they shall not be returned to their former masters."
12. Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Manuscript documents Relating to the American Refugee Negroes, vol. III, pp. 97-98 [hereafter P.A.N.S., vol. III, p. (or doc.) 97-98]. Cochrane to Sherbrooke, October 5, 1814.
13. R.E. Parker to the Governor, June 18, 1814, Virginia State Papers, ed. H.W. Flournoy, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, X, 1805-1835, (Richmond, 1892), p. 338, reprinted New York: Knaus Reprint Corporation, 1968.
14. John Bassett Moore, *History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to which the United States has been a Party*, I, (Washington: 1898), p. 150.
15. R.E. Parker to the Governor, June 18, 1814, *Calendar*

*of Virginia States Papers* [hereafter C.V.S.P.], X, 1808-1835, p. 338.

16. Thomas, M. Bayly to the Governor, August 8, 1814, *C.V.S.P.* X, 1808-1835, p. 374.
17. W. Lambert to the Governor, April 22, 1814, *C.V.S.P.*, X, 1808-1835, p. 324.
18. Sir George Cockburn to Wm. Hammond, 9 May 1814, Adm. 1/507.
19. G.C. Hormster to Captain Barrie, June 1, 1814, Adm. 1/507. Hormster approved of their conduct in the field. Sir George Cockburn reported to Admiral Cochrane on May 29, 1814, "The new raised Black Corps and Colonial Marines gave a most excellent Specimen of what they are likely to be, their conduct was marked by great spirit and vivacity and perfect obedience . . ." Adm. 1/507.
20. Captain Barrie to Sir George Cockburn, June 19, 1814, Adm. 1/507.
21. Petition from the inhabitants of Caroline County to the Governor, August 3, 1814, *C.V.S.P.*, X, 1808-1835, p. 367.
22. J.P. Hungerford (B.G.) to the Adju't General, August 5, 1814, *C.V.S.P.*, X, 1808-1835, p. 368.
23. Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane to John William Croker, September 28, 1814, Adm. 1/507.
24. Sir George Cockburn to Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, August 15, 1814, Adm. 1/507. In this dispatch Cockburn comments on the presence of Lieutenant Col. Brown whom Cochrane had sent to

raise men, by enlisting refugee American blacks for the West Indian Regiments.

25. David Hardgraves Statement, May 30, 1818, *C.V.S.P.*, X, 1808-1835, p. 333; documents in the P.A.N.S. to be discussed later; Evans to Cochrane, April 1, 1814, Adm. 1/505, which mentions the presence of refugee blacks at the British naval base on Ireland Island, Bermuda, support this statement. Also see Cochrane to Monroe, March 8, 1815, Colonial Office 37, vol. 73 [hereafter C.O. 37/73].
26. Donald Wood, *Trinidad in Transition*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 38. "The other group . . . were escaped American slaves who had fought in the Corps of Colonial Marines against their former masters in the War of 1812. When this force was disbanded . . . some were sent to Trinidad where . . . they were settled in seven villages, named after their companies, in the Savanna Grande region. By 1824 there were 923 in the settlements . . . although they had been slaves themselves, they were considered to be a bulwark against any slave insurrection because of their military training and the respect for authority this was reputed to bestow." Wood later added that they had brought "wild Baptistness" with them.
27. Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane to Secretary of State James Monroe, March 8, 1815, C.O. 37/73.
28. Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane to Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke, March 25, 1815, C.O. 217/96.
29. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Lord Bathurst, April 6, 1815, C.O. 217/96.
30. *Acadian Recorder*, September 18, 1813.

31. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 1-8. Of the 133 persons the following were landed from the several vessels. *Junon*, 20; *Mariner*, 6; *Fox*, 5; *Rifleman*, 7; *Marlborough*, 43; *Diameade*, 24; *Diadem*, 28.
32. Fergusson, *Establishment of Negroes*, p. 11, n. 32.
33. *Acadian Recorder*, September 3, 1814. Also see Murdoch, *History of Nova Scotia*, III, 369 and 379.
34. P.A.N.S., vol. 111, p. 83, Sherbrooke to Jane, May 17, 1814. Jane was Captain of the H.M.S. *Arab*.
35. P.A.N.S., vol. 111, p. 93, Sherbrooke to Griffith, July 10, 1814.
36. P.A.N.S., vol. 111, p. 112, Sherbrooke to Cochrane, October 7, 1814.
37. P.A.N.S., vol. 111, p. 66, Sherbrooke to Bathurst, October 18, 1813.
38. J.S. Martell, "Halifax During and After the War of 1812," *Dalhousie Review*, XXIII, 3, (October, 1943), p. 292.
39. Akins, *History of Halifax City*, p. 163.
40. [Author unknown] to M. Atcheson, August 30, 1812, C.O. 217/96.
41. Murdoch, *History of Nova Scotia*, III, 424, and Akins, *History of Halifax City*, p. 187. The breakdown of the total population was as follows: White — men 50+ — 457; men 16 to 50 — 2657; boys — 2120; women — 3076; girls — 2101; TOTAL 10,411. Blacks — men 50+ — 45; men 16 to 50 — 200; boys 146; women — 210; girls — 114; TOTAL 745. Total population 11,156.

42. *Ibid.*
43. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Colonel Torrens, April 26, 1814, C.O. 217/95.
44. H. Pinens [?] to H. Goulburn, July 12, 1814, C.O. 217/95.
45. W. Austin Squires, *The 104th Regiment of Foot 1803-1817*, (Fredericton: The Brunswick Press, 1962), p. 177.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 176.
47. P.A.N.S., vol. 111, p. 66, Sherbrooke to Bathurst, October 18, 1815. Also see Sherbrooke to Bathurst, October 18, 1813, C.O. 217/92.
48. Fergusson, *Establishment of Negroes*, p. 14.
49. Theodore Roosevelt, *The Naval Operations of the War Between Great Britain and the United States 1812-1815*, (London, London, 1934), p. 239, n. 3. Roosevelt writes, "Cochrane sailed for Halifax on September 19th to make arrangements for the New Orleans expedition. On the same day Rear-Admiral Cockburn departed for Bermuda; and on October 14th Rear-Admiral Pulteney Malcolm quitted the Chesapeake for Negril Bay, Jamaica."
50. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 10, Cochrane to Sherbrooke, October 5, 1814.
51. Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane to Lord Bathurst, October 6, 1814, C.O. 217/95.
52. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Lord Bathurst, October 5, 1814, C.O. 217/93.
53. Vice Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane to Lord

Bathurst, October 6, 1814, C.O. 217/93.

54. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, October 5, 1814, C.O. 217/95.
55. *Ibid.*
56. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Lord Bathurst, October 5, 1814, C.O. 217/95.
57. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 132, Coleman to Tremain, March 5, 1815.
58. Murdoch, *History of Nova Scotia*, III, p. 369.
59. P.A.N.S., Halifax County Quarter Sessions Records, October 10 & 11, 1814. Also see Fergusson, *Establishment of Negroes*, p. 16.
60. Fergusson, *Ibid.*, p. 16.
61. *Ibid.* Murdoch, *History of Nova Scotia*, III, p. 369, says he treated over 400 cases "with great success."
62. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 12.
63. P.A.N.S., vol. 288, doc. 101. Also see *Journal of the House of Assembly*, Fergusson, *Establishment of Negroes*, p. 17, and Murdoch, *History of Nova Scotia*, III, p. 380.
64. P.A.N.S., vol. 305, docs. 5, 6, 7 and 18.
65. The Humble Address of the House of Representatives in General Assembly to His Excellency Sir John Cope Sherbrooke, April 1, 1815, C.O. 217/95. Also see *Journal of the House of Assembly*, April 1, 1815, and P.A.N.S., vol. 305, doc. 3. See Appendix I for full text.

66. Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Cope Sherbrooke to Lord Bathurst, April 6, 1815, C.O. 217/96.
67. P.A.N.S., vol. 217, Council Minutes, July 26, 1815. Also see vol. 288, doc. 102, and Fergusson, *Establishment of Negroes*, p. 22.
68. Arnold Toynbee, Fred Israel, Emanuel Chill, eds., *Major Peace Treaties of Modern History*, I, (New York: Chelsea, 1967), p. 698.
69. Captain Clavelle, in command in the Chesapeake, took the ground that the treaty meant that only such slaves or other private property should be delivered up as were "originally captured" in the forts or places to be restored. See Moore, *International Arbitrations*, I, p. 252.
70. One instance of a British officer surrendering black fugitives to the Americans, occurring off Georgia, was poorly received by the British Press. The *Naval Chronicle* titled its comment on the occurrence as a "Breach of Faith with American Negroes" and termed it an "extraordinary transaction," and concluded with saying, "It certainly appeals with peculiar force to the benevolent Advocate for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, by some of whom it will, we trust be brought under the consideration of Parliament." The "Breach of Faith with American Negroes," *Naval Chronicle*, XXXIV, (June to January, 1815), p. 213.
71. Moore, *International Arbitrations*, p. 370.
72. *Ibid.*, pp. 375-81, passim.
73. William Renwick Riddell, "The Slave in Canada," *Journal of Negro History*, V, 3, (July, 1920), p. 375.

74. Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane to Secretary of State James Monroe, March 8, 1815, C.O. 37/73.
75. Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane to John W. Croker, March 13, 1815, C.O. 37/73.
76. P.A.N.S., vol. 365, doc. 103, Bathurst To Sherbrooke, May 10, 1816.
77. William R. Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, Canadian Relations, 1784-1860*, (Washington, 1940), p. 806, Adams to Monroe, August 24, 1816, as quoted in Fergusson, *Establishment of Negroes*, p. 34.

### CHAPTER 3

1. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Lord Bathurst, April 6, 1815, C.O. 217/96.
2. Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane to Sir J.C. Sherbrooke, March 25, 1815, C.O. 217/96.
3. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Lord Bathurst, April 6, 1815, C.O. 217/96.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Lord Castlereagh to Sir George Prevost, April 10, 1808, C.O. 217/96. Also see P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 9.
6. Major H. Logan, "Melville Island, the Military Prison of Halifax," *The Annual Journal of the United Services Institute*, VI (1933), 12-15 passim.
7. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Lord Bathurst, May 6, 1815, C.O. 217/96.

8. Major-General Smyth to Sir J.C. Sherbrooke, April 13, 1815, G.P. New Brunswick Dispatches, vol. 1, 1784-March 1818. Also see, Smyth to Sherbrooke, April 10, 1815, *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. Clarence Ward, *Old Times in St. John 1819-1836*, Miscellaneous Articles, War of 1812, p. 28, *St. John Globe*, May 17, 1905, Scrapbook, New Brunswick Museum. There was apparently some confusion as to the actual numbers that arrived. The newspaper claimed that only 371 arrived while the official number that arrived was 381 of whom 376 were landed.
11. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Major-General Smyth, July 11, 1815, G.P. New Brunswick Dispatches, vol. V, 1815-1820.
12. Major-General Smyth to Lord Bathurst, April 17, 1816, C.O. 188/22.
13. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Major-General Smyth, July 11, 1815, G.P. New Brunswick Dispatches, vol. V, 1815-1820.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Major-General Smyth, July 25, 1815, G.P. New Brunswick Dispatches, vol. V, 1815-1820.
16. Major General Smyth to Lord Bathurst, April 17, 1816, C.O. 188/22.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Charles Bagot to Admiral Griffith, May 27, 1816, G.P. New Brunswick Dispatches, vol. V, 1815-1820.

19. Vice-Consul Jas. Wallace to [?] Baker, June 30, 1816, G.P. New Brunswick Dispatches, vol. V, 1815-1820.
20. Charles Bagot to Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, July 17, 1816, G.P. New Brunswick Dispatches, vol. V, 1815-1820.
21. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Lord Bathurst, September 23, 1815, C.O. 217/96.
22. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Lord Bathurst, October 16, 1815, C.O. 217/96.
23. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 13.
24. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 42.
25. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 43.
26. *Ibid.*
27. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 17. See Appendix II for the text of the contract between T.N. Jeffery and DeMolitor.
28. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 42.
29. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 71. DeMolitor to Jeffery, July 21, 1815
30. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 68. DeMolitor to Jeffery, July 21, 1815.
31. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Lord Bathurst, September 8, 1815, C.O. 217/96.
32. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Lord Bathurst, September 23, 1815, C.O. 217/96.
33. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Lord

Bathurst, October 16, 1815, C.O. 217/96.

34. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 80. Best to Cogswell, November 9, 1815.
35. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 64.
36. *Ibid.*
37. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 62. Also see Sherbrooke to Bathurst, November 21, 1815, C.O. 217/96.
38. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 64.
39. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 81.
40. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 80.
41. See p. 79 below.
42. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 82. Best to Cogswell, November 23, 1815.
43. *Ibid.*
44. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 85. Best of Cogswell, December 2, 1815.
45. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 84.
46. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 131. Jeffery to Cogswell, January 9, 1816.
47. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 86. Best to Cogswell, December 7, 1815.
48. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 87.
49. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 126.

50. *Ibid.*, doc. 127.
51. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Lord Bathurst, April 6, 1816, C.O. 217/98.
52. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Lord Bathurst, April 6, 1816, C.O. 217/98.
53. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, doc. 56. Fawson to Sherbrooke, March 20, 1816.
54. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, doc. 63.
55. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Lord Bathurst, June 5, 1816, C.O. 217/98.
56. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, doc. 62.
57. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Lord Bathurst, June 5, 1816, C.O. 217/98.
58. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, doc. 1.
59. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 63.
60. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Lord Bathurst, June 5, 1816, C.O. 217/98.
61. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, doc. 34. Jeffery to Cogswell, July 30, 1816.
62. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, doc. 5. Fawson to Adesion, June 20, 1816.
63. T.N. Jeffery to Major-General G.S. Smyth, August 5, 1816, C.O. 217/98.
64. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, doc. 40.

65. Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane to Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke, March 25, 1815, C.O. 217/96.
66. T.N. Jeffery to Major-General G.S. Smyth, August 5, 1816, C.O. 217/98.
67. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, doc. 66.
68. Charles Bagot to Admiral Griffith, May 27, 1816, New Brunswick Dispatches, vol. V, 1815-1820.
69. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, doc. 58.
70. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, docs. 61 and 57.
71. Charles Bagot to Admiral Griffith, May 27, 1816, New Brunswick Dispatches, vol. V, 1815-1820.
72. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, doc. 59.
73. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, doc. 60.
74. J.S. Martell, *Immigration to and Emigration from Nova Scotia 1815-1838*, (Halifax: Publication No. 6, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1942), pp. 15-16.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
76. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Lord Bathurst, April 6, 1815, C.O. 217/96.
77. P.A.N.S., vol. 63, doc. 12, Bathurst to Sherbrooke, June 13, 1815.
78. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Lord Bathurst, July 20, 1815, C.O. 217/96.
79. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 76, Morris to Sherbrooke,

September 6, 1815.

80. *Ibid.*
81. J.S. Martell, "Military Settlements in Nova Scotia after the War of 1812," *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, XIV (1938), 75-105.
82. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 76, Morris to Sherbrooke, September 6, 1815.
83. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, doc. 102. Also see Fergusson, *Establishment of Negroes*.
84. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, docs. 72 and 73.
85. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, docs. 72 and 73.
86. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Lord Bathurst, November 21, 1815, C.O. 217/96.
87. *Ibid.* Also see Martell, *Immigration*, p. 17.
88. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 89.
89. *Ibid.*
90. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 16.
91. P.A.N.S., vol. 63, doc. 21, Bathurst to Sherbrooke, Nov. 10, 1815.
92. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, doc. 442, 189 men, 149 women, 230 children.
93. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 110, 273 men, 213 women, 352 children.
94. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 111.

95. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 112.
96. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 113.
97. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, doc. 46.
98. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, doc. 47.
99. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, doc. 65-92.
100. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Lord Bathurst, April 20, 1816, C.O. 217/98.
101. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, doc. 3.
102. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 78.
103. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, doc. 70.
104. Sherbrooke to Bathurst, June 5, 1816, C.O. 217/98.
105. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 79. Also see vol. 422, doc. 109, which states that 40531 rations were issued and 1890 remained in the store.
106. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, doc. 67, is an example.
107. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, doc. 53.
108. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, doc. 9. Men 129, Women 89, Boys over 12 — 7, Girls over 12 — 15, Boys and Girls under 12 — 71.
109. T.N. Jeffery to Major-General G.S. Smyth, August 5, 1816, C.O. 217/98.
110. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 11, Harthshorne to George, April 14, 1815.
111. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 77.

112. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, doc. 44.
113. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, doc. 67.
114. P.A.N.S., vol. 112, Governors Letter Book 1816-1820, Dalhousie to Bathurst, December 2, 1816.
115. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, doc. 36.
116. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, doc. 37.
117. P.A.N.S., vol. 112, Governor's Letter Book 1816-1820, Dalhousie to Bathurst, December 2, 1816.
118. Lieutenant-Governor Lord Dalhousie to Lord Bathurst, December 29, 1816, C.O. 217/98.
119. *Ibid.* See Appendix III for full text.
120. *Ibid.*
121. *Ibid.*
122. P.A.N.S., vol. 112, p. 19, Dalhousie to Bathurst, May 16, 1817.
123. P.A.N.S., vol. 112, p. 27, Dalhousie to Bathurst, August 14, 1817.
124. Lieutenant-Governor Lord Dalhousie to Lord Bathurst, August 14, 1817, C.O. 217/99.
125. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 19.
126. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, doc. 2, and vol. 422, doc. 14.
127. Lieutenant-Governor Lord Dalhousie to Lord Bathurst, June 10, 1819, C.O. 217/102.

128. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 128.
129. Lieutenant-Governor Lord Dalhousie to Lord Bathurst, January 3, 1817, C.O. 217/99.
130. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, doc. 93. Also see Dalhousie to Bathurst, June 14, 1817, C.O. 217/99. Equal to £226/9/5 sterling.
131. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, doc. 95. Equal to £136/15/2 sterling.
132. There seems to have been some confusion in the accounts for this quarter. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, doc. 113, gives £588/8/5  $\frac{3}{4}$  as the amount owing while Dalhousie to Bathurst, December 11, 1817, C.O. 217/99, gives £568/8/5  $\frac{3}{4}$ . Both are in "Halifax" currency.
133. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, doc. 127. Also see vol. 422, docs. 16 and 17.
134. J.S. Martell, *A Documentary Study of Provincial Finance and Currency 1812-36*, (Halifax: Bulletin of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1941), II, 4. See Appendix III, p. 37 for Provincial Receipts and Appendix V, p. 43, for Provincial Expenditures, for a more complete study of provincial finances and currency.
135. Fergusson, *Establishment of Negroes*, p. 67. Census reports are obviously only as good as the census takers and blacks were often under-reported.
136. *Ibid.*, pp. 45 and 52.
137. P.A.N.S., vol. 63, doc. 21. Bathurst to Sherbrooke, November 10, 1815.
138. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Lord

Bathurst, February 2, 1816, C.O. 217/98.

139. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Lord Bathurst, April 20, 1816, C.O. 217/98.
140. P.A.N.S., vol. 112, p. 6, Dalhousie to Bathurst, December 29, 1816.
141. Lieutenant-Governor Dalhousie to Lord Bathurst, May 16, 1817, C.O. 217/99.
142. P.A.N.S., vol. 113, p. 9, Kempt to Harrison, August 16, 1820.
143. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 20.
144. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 30, Inglis to George, August 20, 1821.
145. P.A.N.S., vol. 113, p. 35, Kempt to Harrison, January 20, 1821.
146. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 26.
147. P.A.N.S., vol. 113, p. 35, Kempt to Harrison, January 20, 1821.
148. P.A.N.S., vol. 113, p. 38, Kempt to Harrison, April 17, 1821.
149. P.A.N.S., vol. 64, doc. 5, Harrison to Kempt, June 12, 1821.
150. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 29, George to Inglis, August 14, 1821.
151. P.A.N.S., vol. 113, p. 47, Kempt to Harrison, August 21, 1821.

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153. P.A.N.S., vol. 64, doc. 78, Woodford to Bathurst, April 30, 1823.
154. P.A.N.S. vol. 64, doc. 77, Horton to Kempt, July 31, 1823.
155. Lieutenant-Governor Sir James Kempt to Lord Bathurst, October 16, 1823, C.O. 217/142.
156. P.A.N.S., vol. 65, docs. 23, 24, 25, 26, and 28. Also see Kempt to Horton, May 4 and June 7, 1825, C.O. 217/144.
157. Lieutenant-Governor Sir James Kempt to R.W. Horton, May 4, 1825, C.O. 217/144.
158. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 43, Deslinsay to George, March 9, 1837.
159. Nova Scotia, *Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1837, Appendix 9, Grey to James, May 11, 1836.
160. Nova Scotia, *Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1837, Appendix 9, Lowe to James, June 7, 1836.
161. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Major-General C.S. Smyth, August 8, 1815, New Brunswick Dispatches, vol. V, 1815-1820.
162. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Major-General G.S. Smyth, July 25, 1815, New Brunswick Dispatches, vol. V, 1815-1820.
163. P.A.N.B., *Assembly Petitions*, 1817, Petition of diverse black people February 1, 1817.

164. New Brunswick *Journal of the House of Assembly*, Friday, February 14, 1817, p. 15.
165. P.A.N.B., *Assembly Petitions*, 1817, Petition of diverse black people, February 1, 1817.
166. P.A.N.B., *Assembly Petitions*, 1818, Petition of Ward Chipman, February 19, 1818.
167. P.A.N.B., *Assembly Petitions*, 1817, Petition of diverse black people, February 1, 1817.
168. New Brunswick, *Journal of the House of Assembly*, Saturday, February 21, 1818, p. 46.
169. P.A.N.B., *Assembly Petitions*, 1818, Petition of Ward Chipman, February 19, 1818.
170. *Ibid.*, Bill of Bernard Kierman.
171. *Ibid.* Names of Black refugees who contributed towards the survey of their allotments in the neighbourhood of Loch Lomond.
172. New Brunswick, *Journal of the House of Assembly*, Friday, February 27, 1818, p. 64.
173. Government of New Brunswick, *Department of Natural Resources*, Lands Branch, vol. H, Grant 1192.
174. N.B.M., *New Brunswick Scrapbook*, No. I, Ganong Collection, p. 84, coll. 1, Alfred H. DeMille, "The Carleton Tower — A Plea."
175. Government of New Brunswick, Department of Natural Resources, Lands Branch, vol. H, Grant 1192. Also see Grant to Hannah Flood, New Brunswick Legislative Library.

176. New Brunswick, *Journal of the House of Assembly*, Friday, March 16, 1821, p. 356. Also see Wednesday, March 13, 1822 and Friday, March 21, 1823.
177. N.B.M., *Ganong Collection*, New Brunswick Settlements, p. 128, Murdock to Ganong, April 4, 1904.

#### CHAPTER IV

1. See Chapter 1 above, *passim*.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Unknown author to Mr. Atcheson, August 20, 1812, C.O. 217/96.
4. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Colonel Torrens, April 26, 1814, C.O. 217/95.
5. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Colonel Torrens, May 23, 1814, C.O. 217/95.
6. Lieutenant-Governor Sir J.C. Sherbrooke to Lord Bathurst, April 6, 1815, C.O. 217/96.
7. See Chapter 2, p. 36 above.
8. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, doc. 41, Chamberlain to Morris, November 11, 1815.
9. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, doc. 46, Chamberlain to Morris, January 4, 1816.
10. Lieutenant-Governor Lord Dalhousie to Lord Bathurst, August 14, 1817, C. O. 217/99.
11. A.A. Johnson, *History of the Roman Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia*, (Antigonish: Saint Francis

Xavier University Press, 1960), p. 336 relates an instance of this complaint and its consequences.

12. See Chapter 3, p. 100, n. 134.
13. See Journals of the House of Assembly, 1820-1822.
14. T.B. Slattery, *The Assassination of D'Arcy McGee*, (Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1968), p. 286.
15. L. Hartshorne to R. Barclay, March 8, 1817, C.O. 217/100.
16. P.A.N.B., Smyth Papers, Photocopy.
17. Haliburton, *History of Nova Scotia*, I, 202, Also see Murdoch, *A History of Nova Scotia*, III, 517.
18. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 37, Starr to George, January 16, 1827. This document contains evidence of the establishment of one such group.
19. W. Moorson, *Letters from Nova Scotia comprising Sketches of a Young Country*, (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830), p. 131. It is likely that "cattle" was here used as a slang expression for well bred horses, or even livestock in general.
20. Fergusson, p. 45-46. Also see P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 28, "A few of the most deserving of those at Preston, have had grants in additional to the ten acres — and some vacant lands remain in that neighbourhood which was intended for further location by the blacks.
21. J.S. Martell, "Halifax During and After the War of 1812," p. 292.
22. P.A.N.S., *Assembly Papers*, vol. 22, March 1815.

23. See Chapter 3 above, passim.
24. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 49.
25. Haliburton, *History of Nova Scotia*, I, p. 297. Also see D.R. Jack, *Centennial Prize Essay on the History of the City and County of St. John*, (Saint John, J. & A. McMillan, 1883), p. 103. Jack writes, "The crops in this year [1816] all failed — the failure being the worst since 1805."
26. George Monro Grant, ed., *Picturesque Canada: The Country as it Was and Is*, II, (Toronto: Beldon Brothers, 1882), p. 840. The author incorrectly gives the date as 1815.
27. Murdoch, *History of Nova Scotia*, III, p. 405.
28. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 49.
29. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 46.
30. P.A.N.S., vol. 112, doc. 6.
31. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 28.
32. Lieutenant-Governor Lord Dalhousie to Lord Bathurst, August 14, 1817, C. O. 217/99.
33. Murdoch, *History of Nova Scotia*, III, 363.
34. See F. Coster, "The Eighth Report of the Governor and Trustees of the Madras School in New Brunswick made agreeably to the Direction of the Charter," (Saint John: Henry Chubb, 1827), pp. 1-12 passim. Also see, K.F.C. MacNaughton, *The Development of the Theory and Practice of Education in New Brunswick 1784-1900*, (Fredericton: University of New Brunswick Press, 1947.) St. Paul's church in Halifax also ran a school for

the blacks teaching among other things, seamanship and navigation to the men and domestic skills to the women.

35. See the "Account of the Institutions by the late Rev. Dr. Bray and his Associates for Founding Clerical Libraries in England and Wales and Negro Schools in British America etc. etc. with an Abstract of their Proceedings for 1839," (London, 1840) for an example of the work of the Associates of Dr. Bray.
36. Robin Winks, "Negro School Segregation in Ontario and Nova Scotia," *Canadian Historical Review*, L, 2, (June 1969, pp. 164-191, has a more complete, although in itself incomplete, account of Negro education in Nova Scotia.
37. Pearleen Oliver, *A Brief History of the Colored Baptists of Nova Scotia, 1782-1953*, (for the Author, 1953), pp. 22-30 passim, contains an account of Richard Preston's leadership in the founding of the African Baptist Churches.
38. P.A.N.S., vol. 112, doc. 6.
39. Lieutenant-Governor Lord Dalhousie to Lord Bathurst, June 10, 1819, C.O. 217/102.
40. Moorson, *Letters from Nova Scotia*, p. 126.
41. Martell, *Immigration*, p. 17.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.
43. Martell, "Military Settlements," p. 98.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
45. Lieutenant-Governor Sir James Kempt to [?] Horton,

May 4, 1825, C. O. 217/144. Kempt wrote that they have "been made to believe by fanatical Preachers interested in keeping them in the province that it was not intended to send them to Trinidad, but to sell them to their former Masters in the United States." Thus the fear was present, although perhaps the fear was more real than the reality.

46. See Chapter 3, pp. 102-107 passim.

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# black refugees

The War of 1812 is an often forgotten event in the history of North America. It is however of paramount importance to the descendents of the approximately 2000 black refugees from the United States who gained their freedom and settled in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. This account traces the early history of Afro-Nova Scotians, concentrating on the story of the black refugees.



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